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**RULERS OF THE PROVINCIAL EMPIRE:  
OTTOMAN GOVERNORS AND THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF PROVINCES, 1895-1908**

**Dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate Institute of Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy  
in History**

**by  
Abdulhamit Kırmızı**

**Boğaziçi University  
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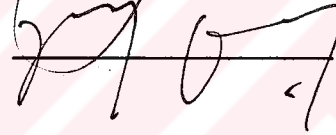
“Rulers of the Provincial Empire: Ottoman Governors and the Administration of Provinces, 1895-1908”, a dissertation submitted by Abdulhamit Kırmızı in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History.

This thesis has been approved by


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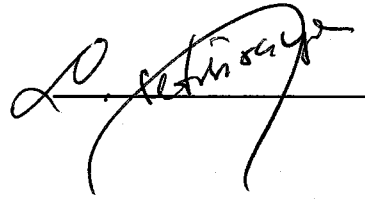
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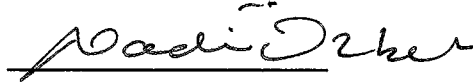
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# ABSTRACT

Rulers of the Provincial Empire:  
Ottoman Governors and the Administration of Provinces, 1895-1908

Abdulhamit Kırmızı

This study is a portrayal of the operation of provincial government in the last thirteen years of the first Ottoman constitutional period, from 1895 to 1908. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the mentality of the high officialdom of the late Ottoman Empire, to display the soul of the Ottoman *fin de siècle*, as well as the mechanisms of the provincial government apparatus, and the power struggle between the center and the provinces. This is a study of the functioning of the state from a provincial perspective that, while giving no privilege to the perspective of the imperial capital, tries to locate the interdependence of province and center in the question of state centralization. To focus on the provincial government will help understand the nature of Hamidian autocracy as a system of government and late Ottoman bureaucratic culture. I discuss how governors interacted within and influenced the decision making system of the Ottoman empire. I do this by analyzing who the governors were, how they functioned, and why they acted as they did and presenting them in light of ordinary events, coping with a wide range of problems, dealing with institutions, groups, and individuals at both the imperial and local level. The relationship between social and educational background and official career patterns is investigated to measure the success of the bureaucratic reforms.

## KISA ÖZET

Taşra İmparatorluğunu Yönetenler:  
Osmanlı Valileri ve Vilayetlerin İdaresi, 1895-1908

Abdulhamit Kırmızı

Bu çalışma 1895-1908 yıllarında Osmanlı vilayet idaresinin işleyişini tasvir etmektedir. Taşra idaresinin mekanizmalarını ve merkez ile vilayetler arasındaki güç ilişkilerini inceleyerek üst düzey Osmanlı idarecilerinin zihniyet dünyasını ve dönemin kendisini anlamak mümkündür. Taşradan bakarak devletin nasıl işlediğini incelemek, giderek merkezileşen ve bürokratikleşen bir devlette merkezle vilayetler arasındaki bağımlılık ilişkisini tanımlamaya yardımcı olacaktır. Valilere ve vilayet idaresine odaklanmakla bütün bir idare sistemi olarak otoriter Hamidiye idaresi ve son dönemin bürokrasi kültürü daha iyi anlaşılacaktır. Kimliklerini, işlevlerini ve eylemlerini analiz ederek valilerin devletin karar alma sistemi içindeki yerini ve bu sistemi nasıl etkilediklerini araştırdım. Valilerin rutin işlerde ve olağanüstü olaylarda, başka görevliler ve kurumlarla, yerel halk ve güç odaklarıyla ilişkilerini nasıl yönettiklerini inceledim.

Tezin birinci bölümünde Tanzimat'tan itibaren vilayet idaresinin gelişimi anlatılmıştır. İkinci bölüm valilerin görevlendirilmesiyle ilgili prosedürü, onların sosyal kökenlerini, eğitim durumlarını ve kariyer çizgilerini içermektedir. Üçüncü bölüm valinin saray, sadaret ve nezaretlerle ilişkilerini, dördüncü bölüm ise taşradaki faaliyetlerini konu edinmektedir. Beşinci bölümde valilerin vilayetlerde karşılaştıkları sorunlar ortaya konmuştur.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. MKT. MHM.	Sadaret Mektubî-i Mühimme Kalemî Evrakı
BOA.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
DH. İD.	Dahiliye Nezareti İdare Kısmı Evrakı
DH. MUI.	Dahiliye Nezareti Muhâberât-ı Umûmiye İdaresi
DH. TMİK	Tesrî-i Muamelât ve Islahat Komisyonu
DİA	Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi
EHİB	<i>Ermeniler Hakkında İngiliz Belgeleri</i>
HR. SYS.	Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kısım
İ.DAH	İrade-i Dahiliye
İ.HUS	İrade-i Hususiye
MV	Meclis-i Vükelâ
SA	Sicill-i Ahval Defterleri
TFR. 1 MKM	Rumeli Müfettişliği Makâmât
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
YA. Res.	Yıldız Sadaret Resmî Maruzat
YA. Hus.	Yıldız Sadaret Hususî Maruzat
Y. EE.	Yıldız Esas Evrakı
Y. PRK. A.	Yıldız Sadaret Maruzatı
Y. PRK. AZN	Yıldız Adliye ve Mezâhib Nezareti Maruzatı
Y. PRK. ASK	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Askerî Maruzat
Y. PRK. AZJ.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Arzuhal Ve Journaller
Y. PRK. BŞK.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Mabeyn Başkitabeti
Y. PRK. EŞA	Yıldız Perakende Elçilik, Şehbenderlik ve Ataşemiliterlik
Y. PRK. HH	Yıldız Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti Maruzatı
Y. PRK. HR.	Yıldız Perakende Hariciye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y. PRK. KOM	Yıldız Perakende Komisyonlar Maruzatı
Y. PRK. ML	Yıldız Perakende Maliye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y. MTV.	Yıldız Mütenevvi Mâruzât
Y. PRK. TKM.	Yıldız Perakende Tahrirat-ı Ecnebiye ve Mabeyn Mütercimliği
Y. PRK. UM.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umum Vilayetler Tahriratı
Y. PRK. ZB	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Zaptiye Nezareti Maruzatı
M.	Muharrem
S.	Safer
Ra.	Rebûlevvel
R.	Rebûlâhir
Ca.	Cemâziyelevvel
C.	Cemâziyelâhir
B.	Receb
Ş.	Şaban
N.	Ramazan
L.	Şevval
Za.	Zilkâde
Z.	Zilhicce

## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the state and the society drastically changed during the nineteenth century. This change was affected by new developments in the way the state functioned, specifically through legislation and bureaucratization. Likewise, the state's bureaucratic reforms were the result of massive social changes in this period.

Ottoman realities changed as well. With the demand for greater administrative capabilities, from the 1830's the Ottoman state expanded the ministerial government. This in turn led to the emergence of a bureaucratic apparatus along institutional lines. Due in part to sheer increase in size, this was also a product of functional specialization. The transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a modern centralized state increased the need for a well-trained and reliable civil service. Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), after dividing the central government into ministries and forming a cabinet, made considerable efforts to raise the standards of his officials by granting them regular salaries and by abolishing certain institutions and usages that had formerly made lives and properties insecure. He established the translation bureau (*Tercüme Odası*), which became the nursery for prominent Ottoman officials of the century, the *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye* and the *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Edebiyye*, schools



designed specifically to train qualified employees for government offices.<sup>1</sup> These efforts continued under Abdülmecid (1839-1861) who strongly denounced bribery in the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* and urged that salaries of officials should be regulated. The foundation of a high consultive organ, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*),<sup>2</sup> which was later divided as the Supreme Court of Appeal (*Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) and the State Council (*Şura-yı Devlet*), was one of the most important reforms of this period. Additionally, several councilary bodies were established in the center as well as in the provinces.<sup>3</sup> In December of 1839, the Ottoman government declared that public officials were to be paid fixed salaries and to be promoted only according to merit. An oath, including not taking bribes, become compulsory for officials.<sup>4</sup> The imperial decree of 1856 repeated the demand for regular payment. The organization of a new administrative system for the provinces and the establishment of the Council of Audits (*Divan-ı Muhasebat*), were achieved under Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876). His reign was under the strict control of the Sublime Porte (*Bâbıâlî*) as it was during the reign of his predecessor Sultan Abdülmecid. The offices of the Grand Vizier and the ministers were located at the Porte, which was the effective center of Ottoman officialdom from 1839 until the death of Ali Pasha in 1871, and finally the reign of Abdülhamid II.

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<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Cevad, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı* (İstanbul 1338), pp.25-26; Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1939), vol.I, p.56-60 and vol.II, p.324-341.

<sup>2</sup> Mehmed Seyitdanoğlu, "Tanzimatın Ön Hazırlıkları ve Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye'nin Kuruluşu 1838-1840", *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri 28-30 Haziran 1989, Bildiriler* (İstanbul: 1990), pp.107-112 and *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vâlâ (1838-1868)* (Ankara: TTK, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, "The Origins of Representative Government in the Ottoman Empire: An Introduction to the Provincial Councils, 1839-1876", *Near Eastern Round Table, 1967-68*, ed. R. Bayly Winder (New York: New York University, 1968), pp.53-142

<sup>4</sup> *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lutfi Efendi Tarihi*, vol. IX, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984), p.17.

İlber Ortaylı named this era as *Bâbîâlî Asrı*.<sup>5</sup> The hierarchy of officialdom in the provinces represented a mixture of centralization and decentralization. Except for popular selection of the lowest officials, all channels of authority led directly to the Sublime Porte.<sup>6</sup>

It was during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), the “Hamidian” era, that the general rules of official service which had been promised in 1856 began to become law in significant quantity. Many of these measures proved worthy of retention or elaboration after 1908. Carter V. Findley’s survey of the civil-bureaucratic measures of the Hamidian years, including the personnel record keeping, the promotion and retirement laws and the compensation system, reveals their significance for the development of a modern bureaucratic tradition.<sup>7</sup> The major development in civil personnel policy of the Ottoman state after the Tanzimat occurred in the aftermath of the accession of Abdülhamid II. Along with the creation of the personnel record system, a decree on the promotion and retirement of civil officials was promulgated. Civil official commissions emerged in different ministries and a modern type of retirement fund was created. The spread of educational institutions and the Sultan’s preference for recruiting officials from institutions like the Civil Administration School (*mekteb-i mülkiye*) increased the quality of officialdom. The Tanzimat men had tried to introduce many educational institutions, whose transformations never ceased throughout the century. But the spreading out of the schools was during the reign of Abdülhamid II.

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<sup>5</sup>İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: Hil, 1983), p.64.

<sup>6</sup>Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.147.

<sup>7</sup>Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1980) pp.270-271.

The professionally trained officials who emerged in response to modern demands made possible the preparation, formulation, and execution of bureaucratic reforms. It is this particular experience which led these bureaucrats, like their European counterparts, to invent, adopt and discuss particularly 'modern' forms of government. Expansion of personnel and institutions was simultaneously an instrument for and an effect of the process of bureaucratic growth, defined as administration by full-time salaried and professional officials, hierarchically organized, with regular procedures and formalized record-keeping.

Bureaucratic transformation can be defined as transition *from* the traditional importance of family ties, patronage (*himaye* and *intisab*), on-the-job training for civil service (*çıraklık / mülazemet*), and a mixed civil and military career *to* an emphasis on objective criteria in employment, such as the completion of specified periods of formal education prior to service, and the reduction in the number of civil officials with prior military service. Traditional governments attempted to tie various classes hereditarily to their tasks, perfectly solving personnel problems in times of manpower shortages (*kaht-ı rical*). But later administrative service constituted a major channel for social mobility and provided contacts between the major groups and strata in the empire. Civil service became a lifetime career with its own specific entrance requirements. Patronage appointments, occupational heredity, foreign-born or foreign-trained career bureaucrats, employment of soldiers or ex-soldiers in civil branches of the government and rival court cliques are seen as indicators of an underdeveloped civil service. In Weberian terms, officials should be personally free, recruited on the basis of their qualifications, compensated by salary, acquire no proprietary rights in their posts or in the accompanying resources, be subject to a unified system of disciplinary control in the conduct of their duties, and the office

must be their sole or at least primary occupation. The official's obligations should be contractually limited and there should be a definite career pattern with promotion by seniority or merit. The offices should be hierarchically organized and each office should have distinct and specific functions.<sup>8</sup> Weber further states that, informal links are mostly seen to work against the official aims of an administration and are the cause of dysfunctionality. Alternatively, it can be argued that formal structures are inflexible or insufficiently comprehensive, and a series of informal links could therefore supports the functioning of the formal administrative environment. Anthony Cohen's definition of community as the symbolic construction of a system of common values and norms<sup>9</sup> better illustrates how personal affiliation, as opposed to objective structures, can help administrations work more effectively.

Weber developed his archetype with a particular model of bureaucracy in mind – and it was not the Ottoman model. Although his theory of bureaucracy is quiet compelling, it is not a neutral model. One major impediment to historical understanding is the very ease with which European definitions and categories can be applied to Ottoman realities. The popular picture of Ottoman historiography depicts an informal system of favoritism and patronage that determined bureaucratic appointments, with no resemblance to contemporary “European” systems. Political convictions of candidates determined appointments to posts. Accordingly, it was a bureaucracy in which written documents could be delayed, ignored, or lost. How this system reacted to personal vice, inattention to duty and even wild abuse is yet another matter.

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<sup>8</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), vol.I, pp.220-21.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1998).

According to Davison, the weakness of society and institutions, combined with bureaucratic underdevelopment made the administration of Ottoman governmental offices dependent on personality, style, and administrative competence. Factors like connections at court, or being well known to important people could determine appointments. The absence of clear and specific criteria for holding posts in the imperial service contributed to the notion that bureaucrats were chosen with little regard to their abilities, and that informal procedures were of considerable importance in appointment decisions. Letters of recommendation or support were written by superiors, family, and friends. After mentioning that changes in the bureaucracy came slowly, Davison notes that the ruling class of the Tanzimat era was “an aristocracy of office rather than blood. The tendency grew for sons of officials to follow their fathers’ calling, but birth was in itself no guarantee of official position, and the ruling group was replenished by additions from below”.<sup>10</sup>

Works dealing with the Hamidian era especially tend to express more ideological views: Scholars of these tend to take an idealized Weberian notion of bureaucracy as the “western standard” and then measure the Ottoman “shortcomings”. For example, Metin Heper writes that the practice of *intisab* intensified after the demise of the Classical Age. When ascending to an important position, officials of rank filled critical posts with their coterie of proteges and retained their clientele groups. Heper further asserts that during the reign of Abdülhamid II the practice reached its apogee. It was the Sultan himself who resorted to this method as he attempted “to dismantle the remaining vestiges of institutionalized recalcitrance against his rule by completely debureaucratizing the system”.<sup>11</sup> Heper just dismisses

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<sup>10</sup> Davison, *Reform*, p.32.

<sup>11</sup> Metin Heper, “Ataturk and the Civil Bureaucracy”, in *Ataturk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed.M.Jacob Landau (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

all the bureaucratic reforms accomplished and institutionalization attempts made by Abdülhamid II and the reader waits in vain for examples of this “debureaucratization”.

Carter V. Findley writes in his introduction to *Ottoman Civil Officialdom* (1989, p.3) that in the 1830s, “...the centralized continental European governments were largely staffed by professional officials, who were supposed to apply official administrative doctrines and regulations”. It is surprising that a historian uses not a historical source for such a pretentious sentence, but Max Weber. Findley cites the Northcote-Trevelyan report of 1853, but does not note the incongruous situation of British officialdom in practice. The detailed recommendations of the report –the abolition of patronage and the establishment of open, competitive examination for civil service entry- were not properly addressed until Gladstone’s reforms of the 1870s and even then not realized.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the acceptance of open competitive entry for recruits in public offices was introduced to the Ottoman bureaucracy in 1838,<sup>13</sup> this was the case in Britain only after 1870.<sup>14</sup>

Historians of Ottoman constitutionalization and institutionalization tend to point to the promulgations of official documents as a standard by which to evaluate development. The success or failure of these documents are rarely taken into account. As in many branches of Ottoman historiography, it is typical to single out the nature of Ottoman officialdom as a deviation from classic Weberian norms like education, ethos, and efficiency. Imperial Ottoman bureaucratic realities were more complex

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas Osborne, “Bureaucracy as a Vocation: Governmentality and administration in nineteenth-century Britain”, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.7, No.3, Sept.1994, p.293.

<sup>13</sup> Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836-1856)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993), p.54.

<sup>14</sup> Jill Pellew, *The Home Office 1848-1914: from Clerks to Bureaucrats* (London: Heinemann, 1982), p.21.

than the above views suggest and worked in a different way. The experience of “modern” problems made these people “modern”. Given that the problems were different from those of say Prussian bureaucrats, they did not come up with the same solutions as Prussian bureaucrats did. Whether a bureaucratization process necessarily requires a Prussian or British model in order to flourish is another question. Was the process lacking indigenous roots and merely established by an isolated group who imported it from Western Europe?

I propose to confirm the impressions gained at this point by looking at materials of a broader character. An examination of the social origins, education, and career patterns of a group of Ottoman bureaucrats of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century will provide us with a clearer picture of these problems. Analysis of the continuities and changes in bureaucratic appointments and the evolution of the selection policy, for example, would make more sense as an approach to the problems, rather than repeating standard citations that have lost their sources and directions. This study is an attempt to check earlier efforts of dealing with Ottoman bureaucracy, like that of Roderic H. Davison, who thinks that “naturally” the machinery of government was not “operated by an efficient and honest sort of civil service on the European model”. Some of the officials were half-westernized in costume and habits, “but this did not necessarily mean an improvement in administration”.<sup>15</sup> It is a pity for Ottoman historiography to have accepted comparisons to the “European model” without investigating the contemporary English, French, German, or Austrian bureaucracies, or even second-hand studies on these contemporary bureaucracies which show indifference to statements of Ottoman conditions. Daniel Orlovsky noted that the Tory democracy of Disraeli, the ‘liberal

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<sup>15</sup> Davison, *Reform*, p.140.



empire' of Napoleon III, Bismarck's Prussia and later Germany, Austria during the years leading to the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, China during the T'ung Chih restoration, Meiji Japan, Russia under Alexander II, and the Ottoman Empire of the Tanzimat era offer a unity of experience that transcends wide cultural diversity and differences in levels of economic development.<sup>16</sup> Orlovsky used biographical characteristics and career patterns of five ministers and a group of 87 civil servants to explore *The Limits of Reform*, in his brilliant monograph on the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs during the nineteenth century. Ottoman historiography is in urgent need of similar studies, before using sociological explanations of development or westernization.

In regard to the nineteenth century Ottoman state, academic studies mostly refer to the Tanzimat as an era of essential change in the state-society relationship without searching for the results of the aftermath. This is a problem of viewing the story teleologically from the nation-state, the assumptions of which could be fixed in studying the aftermath. In my study I concentrate, using a more internal perspective, on the last thirteen years of the first constitutional period from 1895 to 1908. The last phase of the Ottoman Empire is subjected to a heavy emphasis on patterns of government with regard to the reforms of the foregone era. Who governed the Ottoman provinces of the post-Tanzimat period? How and why did a governor achieve his position and how did his conditions of approval and dismissal change over the time? How much power did the governors enjoy? Did they have any capacity for adaptation to local conditions? How were the decisions at the provincial level made? I approach the questions by analyzing who the governors were, how they functioned, and why they acted as they did. I present them in light of ordinary events, coping

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<sup>16</sup> Daniel Orlovsky, *The Limits of Reform: The Ministry of Internal Affairs in Imperial Russia, 1801-1881* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1981), p.202.



with a wide range of problems, dealing with institutions, groups, and individuals at both the imperial and local level. The relationship between social and educational background and official career patterns can be taken as evidence for the success of bureaucratic reforms. The use of disciplinary tools to reprimand, denial of decorations and awards, transfers and dismissals, ways of selection and training, security and tenure, working conditions, supervision and career opportunities are other indicators.

Historians of the Ottoman empire should be cautious in using modern sociological concepts like modernisation, secularisation, or nationalism. Ebru Boyar, who warned of the dangers of force-feeding history into a preconceived conceptual framework, complained about the conceptual confusion of Ottoman historians in a review article:

History-writing on the late Ottoman period has increasingly become an arena in which western concepts and theories shaped in the 20th century, have dictated the framework of research. These conceptual frameworks, acting as prisms through which the researcher perceives the late Ottoman empire, have further come to define the content of such research. This not only results in a mismatch between historical data and research framework, determined according to conceptual and theoretical concerns, but also creates a conceptual confusion, since concepts acquire different meanings over time or, in the case of nationalism theories for example, as used by the theoreticians who employ them.<sup>17</sup>

Evaluating any perspective of Ottoman administrative, political, or intellectual life in relation to its contribution to the trend of westernization was once rightly defined by Engin Deniz Akarlı as a pitfall of the teleological framework of interpretation offered by the paradigm of modernization theory.<sup>18</sup> Teleological, positivist and statist assumptions about institutionalization have driven historical

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<sup>17</sup> Ebru Boyar, "Concepts, Constructs and Confusion: Modern Historians and the Late Ottoman Empire", *Eurasian Studies*, III/I (2004), p.135.

<sup>18</sup> Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdülhamid II (1876-1909): Origins and Solutions* (PhD. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1976), p.1

analysis in the past to regard the state as the primary agent of history, to facilitate normative interpretations based on modernization and development, and to restrict the notions of society and social organization to the confines of formal organizations. The employment of organic metaphors of growth –birth, aging, death- in analyses of the Ottoman state is another problematic method that focuses on the building of modern institutions. By critically approaching to these interpretations, I try not to examine this topic as a necessary prelude to the Ottoman constitutional revolution of 1908.<sup>19</sup>

I have selected and woven together a variety of incidents in a way that illustrates the nature and style of Ottoman provincial administration. The study can be treated as a portrayal of the operation of provincial government in the last years of the imperial regime. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the mentality of the high officialdom of the late Ottoman Empire, to display the soul of the Ottoman *fin de siècle*, as well as the mechanisms of the provincial government apparatus, and the power struggle between the center and the provinces. This is a study of the functioning of the state from a provincial perspective that, while giving no privilege to the perspective of the imperial capital, tries to locate the interdependence of province and center in the question of state centralization.

The benchmark years (1895-1908) were chosen for several reasons. 1895 was a turning point for the Armenian question. Between 29 September and 3 December, twenty-four Armenian revolts occurred all over Anatolia. They happened, chronologically, in Divriği (Sivas), Trabzon, Eğin (Elazığ), Develi (Kayseri), Akhisar

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<sup>19</sup> See Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor : The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement, 1905-1926* (Leiden : Brill, 1984).

(İzmir), Erzincan, Gümüşhane, Bitlis, Bayburt, Marash, Urfa, Erzurum, Siverek (Diyarbakir), Malatya, Elazığ, Arapkir (Elazığ), Sivas, Merzifon (Sivas), Antep, Marash, Mush, Kayseri and Yozgat. After the Sason incidents, the Armenian atrocities became an international question. England, France and Russia pressured for reforms. The foundation of the General Inspectoriat of Anatolian Reforms, *Anadolu Islahatı Umumî Müfettişliği*, and the appointment of Müşir Ahmed Şakir Pasha to this post on 27 June 1895 is a major result of this reform debate.<sup>20</sup>

Many governors were replaced because of these events. The decision to dismiss the Minister of Police (*Zabtiye Müşiri*), Hüseyin Nazım Pasha, and send him later to the governorship of Beirut and Syria was also linked to his handling of the Armenian disturbances in İstanbul in September 1895 and August 1896.<sup>21</sup> The fall of Kamil Pasha<sup>22</sup> from the Grand Vizierate and his appointment as governor of Aydın (headquartered in İzmir) in 9 November 1895, after his request of assigning the ministers by himself,<sup>23</sup> is the major indication of the final breakdown of the *Bâbüâlî*'s power, and the beginning of a new era where the Sultan *de facto* made his court the sole center of government. Kamil Pasha was a provincial governor by career and succeeded in becoming Grand Vizier for over five years (September 1885- September 1891 and October-November 1895). On the other hand, 1895 was also the date of the beginning of a unified Young Turk opposition. Hanioglu states that the oppositional

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<sup>20</sup> Ali Karaca, *Anadolu Islahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa (1838-1899)* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), p.55.

<sup>21</sup> Max L. Gross, *Ottoman Rule in the Province of Damascus 1860-1909* (PhD. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1979), p.460. For Hüseyin Nazım Pasha's memoirs, *Hatıralarım: Ermeni Olaylarının İçyüzü* (İstanbul: Selis Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> Hilmi Kamil Bayur's *Sadr-ı Âzam Kamil Paşa: Siyasi Hayatı* (Ankara: Sanat Basımevi, 1954) is a biography based on his memoirs and official writings.

<sup>23</sup> "[M]akam-ı vekaletde bulunacak olan kimseye mesuliyeti nisbetinde mezuniyet i'tasıyla ve bunun tarafından dahi birlikde işleyecek zevâtın intihabıyla bir heyet-i vukela teşkil [o]lunub", Kamil Paşa, *Hatırat-ı Sadr-ı Esbak Kamil Paşa, Cild-i Evvel* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1329), pp.190-194.

activities before this date were of no importance and can not be considered as activities of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*)<sup>24</sup> which came to power after the putsch of 1908, known as the Young Turk Revolution. The first known activity of the committee was preparing a manifesto on 5 October 1895, just after the Armenian demonstration in front of the *Bâbîâlî*. Ali Birinci goes further by claiming the foundation of the *İttihad ve Terakki* was in 1895,<sup>25</sup> which seems a more accurate argument.

Ali Akyıldız arrives at a similar point by referring to two memoir sources. First, Ali Cevad Bey, a *mâbeyn* clerk, wrote that until Tahsin Pasha's appointment in 26 November 1894 as head clerk to the court office (*mâbeyn başkatibi*), the *mâbeyn*'s main duty was correspondence between the court and *Bâbîâlî*. But after Tahsin Pasha, the *mâbeyn* became the center of all state affairs, including the correspondence of the embassies. Second, Nadir Ağa, the second gentleman-in-waiting (*ikinci musahib*) also mentions that the center of gravity switched to the court after officials like Tahsin Pasha were appointed.<sup>26</sup> Akyıldız also points to a quarrel between the Sultan and the *Bâbîâlî*, when the latter objected to the consul appointed by the former. In his order on 10 January 1895, the Sultan wrote to the *Bâbîâlî* that he had the right of consul appointments, that the objection must have been a clerk's error, and no such error against the rights of the Sultan should be repeated again.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, these thirteen years were the times of the longest term of a Turkish Minister of the Interior

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<sup>24</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: the Young Turks, 1902- 1908*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.75, 93 and 138.

<sup>25</sup> Ali Birinci, "Leskovikli Mehmed Rauf", *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.100 (April 1992), p.57- 60.

<sup>26</sup> Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p.168, referring to Ali Cevad Bey, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanı ve Otubir Mart Hadisesi* (Ankara 1985), p.4 and "Musahib-i Sani-i Hazret-i Şehriyârî Nadir Ağa'nın Hatıratı I", Haz. Hasan Ferit Ertuğ, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 49 (January 1998), p.15.

<sup>27</sup> Akyıldız, p.169.

(*Dahiliye Nazırı*) ever. Memduh Pasha, himself a successful former governor of Konya, Sivas and Ankara from 1887, was charged by the Sultan as Minister of the Interior from November 1895 until the Young Turk Revolution in July 1908. By comparison, it should be noted that thirty-three people were raised to the post of Interior Minister during the thirteen years *after* Memduh Pasha.

The term of Memduh Pasha was unique in many ways. One can speak of his time as a real “Hamidian bureaucracy” in charge of the central and provincial administration of the Ottoman state. “Hamidian” by means of working within certain parameters of loyalty created by educational and bureaucratic internalization in a period of strong centrifugal forces. After Abdülhamid II’s first twenty years of reign from 1876, the cadres who experienced the days of the Tanzimat, the extraordinary times of state reorganization and rise of the bureaucratic elite, were either dead, retired or inactive. By “Hamidian bureaucrats” I mean officials whose first influential posts were granted to them by Abdülhamid II.

To focus on the provincial government institution will help understand the nature of Hamidian autocracy as a system of government and late Ottoman bureaucratic culture. By analyzing the structure and personnel of a powerful governmental institution, this study will discuss how Ottoman bureaucrats interacted within and influenced the decision making system of the Ottoman empire. Much of the historiographical literature tends to compare the Ottoman bureaucracy with an idealized European standard and proceeds to point out its deficiencies compared to the Weberian ideal. This study will be an attempt to offer a different perspective. The study shows also how a multi-ethnic state, with its long bureaucratic tradition, sought to meet the problem of rapid historical change during the last decades of the nineteenth century, how new institutions were created within traditional political

cultures, and how they evolved while maintaining features of their predecessors. This study especially seeks to show how officials fared in their dual roles as guardians of certain aspects of tradition and as harbingers of particular innovations within Ottoman society.

The 1890's are years of extraordinarily long durations of officeholding, not just for Memduh Pasha. To mention those among the highest echelon: Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi (*Şeyhülislam*, 1891- 1909), Selim Melhame Pasha (Minister of Forests and Mines, 1893-1908), Abdurrahman Nureddin Pasha (Minister of Justice, 1895-1908), Hüseyin Hasib Efendi (Minister of Post and Telegraph, 1895-1908), Ahmed Şefik Pasha (Minister of Public Security, 1896-1908), Mehmed Said Pasha (Head of the Council of State, 1895-1908), Hacı Ali Pasha (*Serkurena*, 1891-1908), Rıdvan Pasha (Mayor of İstanbul, 1890-1906), Mehmed Tevfik Pasha (Undersecretary of the Grand Vizierate, 1890-1906), Tahsin Pasha (Court Chamberlain, 1894-1908); all were record-holders of their posts. There was also great stability in the upper ranks of the military. Rıza Pasha was Minister of War from 1890 until the Young Turk Revolution. Edhem Pasha held the position of Chief of the General Staff from 1880 until his death in 1905. Zeki Pasha filled the post of Chief of the Tophane and Director of the Military Schools from 1891 until 1908. The same stability existed in the main military commissions and in the provincial commands, as noted by Albert Griffiths.<sup>28</sup> The same long terms are seen among the *valis*, the provincial governors general.<sup>29</sup> Bahri Pasha (Adana, 1898-1908), Kamil Pasha (Aydın, 1895-1907), Abidin Pasha (Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid, the Mediterranean Islands,

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<sup>28</sup> M. Albert Griffiths, *The Reorganization of the Ottoman Army under Abdülhamid II, 1880-1897*. (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966), p.109.

<sup>29</sup> I use hereafter the term "governor" for the *vali*, the governor-general of the province; and subgovernor or *mutasarrıf* for the *sancak*-governor.



1893-1906), Arif Pasha (Edirne, 1895-1907), Ahmed Ratib Pasha (Hijaz, 1893-1908), Enis Pasha (Kastamonu, 1897-1906), Rauf Bey (Mamuretülaziz, 1895-1903), Nazım Pasha (Syria, 1897-1906), Kadri Bey (Trabzon, 1892-1907), Tahir Pasha (Van, 1898-1906), Osman Feyzi Pasha (Yannina, 1897-1906), are examples of governors who were long-term office-holders. The Ottoman historian Ahmed Lütü Efendi complained about the short terms of governors in earlier times when, for example in 1874 almost all *valis* were changed twice in a month.<sup>30</sup>

The three Grand Vezirs of this period were Halil Rifat Pasha (November 1895-November 1901), an ex-governor; Mehmed (Küçük) Said Pasha (November 1901-January 1903) who served briefly in his sixth term as *Sadrızam*; and Mehmed Ferid Pasha (January 1903-July 1908), who was also a governor during the period of this study.

## Methods and Sources

The *Yıldız Evrakı* section in the Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry, named after the *Yıldız* court of Abdülhamid II in İstanbul, are products of contemporary administrative institutions and are encoded with their discourse. The main source of the study is this record collection, especially the Y.PRK.UM (*Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umum Vilayetler Tahrirâtı*) section, which contains the correspondence of the governors with the center.

Biographical collections were of great importance for this study. The *Sicill-i Ahval Defterleri* (Personnel Records Registers) of the Interior Ministry, the personnel records held solely during the Hamidian era, are also in the Prime Ministerial

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<sup>30</sup> “Lede’l-hisab ayda iki defa vali tebeddülü vuku bulmuşdur”, *Vakamıvis Ahmed Lütü Efendi Tarihi*, c. XV, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), p.39. Ahmed Lütü sees the frequent governor changes as the main reason of the Crete rebellion in vol.IX, p.61.

Archives of the Turkish Republic, in İstanbul. The personnel files contain the names of the official and his father, the rank and position of the father if an official, the family name if the official belonged to a well-known family, the date of birth, account of education, a list of the languages he knew, a list of any literary works he had written, a chronological account of his official service, dated entries of changes in salary and position, periods out of office and, receipts of unemployment stipend, if applicable. This collection contains many thousands of files of officials in 196 large registers, created from 1877 to 1908.<sup>31</sup> Due to the unmanageable size of the material for a single researcher, it would be too soon to speak of clear conclusions about the entire Ottoman officialdom. For a clearer picture many tens of such studies are needed. As to the issues raised here, more questions and hypotheses shall be left than answers. At every turn basic issues of fact remain to be uncovered by vigorous empirical research.

Printed biographical collections like the works of İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal on the Grand Viziers and poets,<sup>32</sup> Yılmaz Öztuna on the established families of Turkey,<sup>33</sup> Mehmed Zeki Pakalın on the Ministers of Finance<sup>34</sup> and Ali Çankaya on alumni of the School of Civil Administration (*mekteb-i mülkiye*),<sup>35</sup> were subjected to the same method. I used the prosopography guide of Sinan Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkan ve Ricali (1839-1922)*, as a handbook for quick reference, but always

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<sup>31</sup> According to the seventeen-volume long contents, there are 92.137 records of officials. But researchers has to notice, that many names are written twice, because of dualism in writing the names. For example, Salih Hamdi could be repeatedly recorded in the contents- volumes as Hamdi Salih. See my "Die Sicill-i Ahval Hefte", *İstanbul Almanach*, 4/2000, pp.104-105.

<sup>32</sup> *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar* (İstanbul: Maarif, 1965).

<sup>33</sup> *Devletler ve Hânedanlar, II: Türkiye (1074-1990)* (Ankara: Kultur Bakanlığı, 1996).

<sup>34</sup> *Maliye Teşkilatı Tarihi (1442-1930)* (Ankara: Maliye Bakanlığı Tetkik Kurumu Yayını, 1977).

<sup>35</sup> *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969).



checked it afterwards.<sup>36</sup> A. Heidborn's *Manuel de Droit Public et Administratif de L'Empire Ottoman* is still an important handbook for historians of Ottoman institutions.<sup>37</sup>

Although lack of memoir sources and personal papers of officials is raised as a major problem in Ottoman historiography, I made use of autobiographic material as much as possible with, of course, noting the difficulties stemming from the use of memory in history writing. Among the memoirs of the researched governors is Mehmed Tevfik Bey's most detailed on experiences in the provinces.<sup>38</sup> Memduh Pasha's own memoirs are also of great importance in understanding the ministry policy.<sup>39</sup>

An alternative source of information on conditions in the provinces are the reports of English foreign consuls, which I examined through *Ermeniler Hakkında İngiliz Belgeleri, 1896-1918* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002) by Muammer Demirel and *British Policy and the Application of Reforms for the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, 1877-1897* (Ankara: TTK, 2000) by Musa Şaşmaz.

In the context of modernization attempts by traditional administrative institutions, many studies have been published on the late Ottoman empire. The works of İlber Ortaylı, cited in the bibliography, were avant-gard studies of Turkish administrative historiography on the nineteenth century Ottoman empire. Ali Akyıldız made a great contribution to the study of modern bureaucratic reform, which

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<sup>36</sup> Sinan Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkan ve Ricali (1839-1922)* (İstanbul: ISIS, 1999).

<sup>37</sup> Vol. I (Vienne-Leipzig: Imprimerie Gustav Röttig et fils, 1909); Vol. II, *Les Finances Ottomanes* (Vienne-Leipzig: Imprimerie Gustav Röttig et fils, 1912).

<sup>38</sup> *Mehmet Tevfik Bey'in II. Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, ed. F. Rezan Hürmen, (İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 1993).

<sup>39</sup> Mehmed Memduh, *Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete*, II vols., ed. A.N.Galitekin (İstanbul: Nehir, 1995), containing transliterations of his *Kuvvet-i İktisat Alamet-i Zeval*, *Tasvir-i Ahval Tenvir-i İstikbal*, *Feyzan-ı Ezman*, and *Mirat-ı Şuunat*.

has still no parallel in Ottoman historiography. His *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Teşkilatında Reform, 1836- 1856* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993), is an original work written with precision and authority. Stanford J. Shaw presented the reforms of Selim III (1789-1807)<sup>40</sup> and the previously mentioned book of Roderic Davison dealt with the reforms of the late Tanzimat era, ending in 1876 - the start of the Hamidian era. Carter Findley's *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, in which he analyzes the paradoxical way that the Porte and scribal service acquired to political preeminence during the late period, overlaps both of the aforementioned writers' study periods. Another book by Findley looks at the transformation of the scribal service (*kalemiye*) into a civil officialdom (*mülkiye*). In *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, he examines the personnel files of 771 officials who served in the *Hariciye* (Foreign Ministry). While *Bureaucratic Reform* investigates the organizational dimensions of the transformation *Ottoman Civil Officialdom* is a social history of Ottoman scribes and civil officials. Findley used the personnel records collection of the Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Sicill-i Ahval Defterleri*) which are roughly one percent of the total civil personnel files in existence, a limitation in the effectiveness of the Foreign Ministry for representing Ottoman social diversity that he is aware of.<sup>41</sup> Selim Deringil's works on the Hamidian era are of great significance. In *The Well-Protected Domains*, he searched for the mindset of the late Ottoman power elite by dealing with the recharged legitimation policies inside the empire and the efforts to project the desired image abroad.<sup>42</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya is

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<sup>40</sup> *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>41</sup> Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, p.111.

<sup>42</sup> *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998).

another historian of the Hamidian era who mainly focusses on provincial administration of the Arabian provinces.

The scarcity of memoir sources and personal papers of the governors is a major problem in Ottoman historiography causing notable lacunae in inquiries. Without the memoirs and biographical publications of Ali Birinci and İsmail Kara, the study of the late Ottoman empire would be more difficult.

I faced several problems in undertaking this work. The first was the virtual absence of information on the Ottoman bureaucracy and the elite in the 1895-1908 period. There are of course many studies, but these works were far from being adequate for my purposes. I cannot resist to point out that most studies pretending to cover the Hamidian era<sup>43</sup> are not really covering the whole thirty-three years, but mainly the early years of Abdülhamid II because of the attractiveness of the promulgation of the First Constitution and related topics.

Another problem was my inability to establish a complete record of the careers of the governors who served between 1895-1908. I was not able to find the dossiers for every governor of the period in the Ottoman personnel registers, although biographical dictionaries, the writings of European observers, memoir literature, other archival materials were used to supplement the *Sicill-i Ahval* registers.

## **The Provinces**

At it's inception, there existed two large provinces in the Ottoman state: Rumelia (province designation for the European areas) and Anatolia. Six large

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<sup>43</sup> For a historiographical review on this era, see Nadir Özbek, "Modernite, Tarih ve İdeoloji: İkinci Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi (TALİD)*, no. 3 (2004).

provinces existed up to the reign of Suleyman I (1529 -1566) and some directly administered or autonomous areas. The first attempts of province organizations were experienced during this time. Called *eyalet* or *vilayet*, these were further partitioned into a different number of *sancaks*. Both administration units were militarily organized. The smaller administrative unit of the court circles (*kaza*) were subordinate to theological-legal administration. Near the year 1600 we have about 51 *eyalets*, and 43 *eyalets* around 1670. In the last years before the Tanzimat there were twenty-nine *eyalets* in the empire.<sup>44</sup> The number and borders of the provinces constantly changed during the following decades, every time with an argument about the need for reform. In the Tanzimat period, according to the first *salname* published by the state in 1846, there were thirty-nine *eyalets* and seventy-six subordinate *livas*. The *eyalet* of Beograd and the *liva* of Varna were governed as *muhafızlık* and the Mediterranean Islands were bound to the *kapudanıderya*. Eflak, Boğdan and Serbia were referred to as *voyvodalık*. Egypt's governor held the rank of Grand Vizier. The later *salnames* give the impression of instability in the formation of the *eyalets*. Finally, during the years of this inquiry (1895-1908), there existed thirty provinces until the loss of Crete to the Greeks in 1898. The scope of the following chapters are

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<sup>44</sup> These *eyalets* were Rumelia, Anatolia, Karaman, Bosnia, Silistria, the Mediterranean Islands, Maraş, Diyarbekir, Sivas/Rum, Adana, Erzurum, Damascus, Tripoli (Trablusşam), Sayda, Aleppo, Rakka, Kars, Çıldır, Trabzon, Van, Habeş, Kandia, Şehrizar, Mosul, Baghdad, Basra, Egypt, Tripolitania (Trablusgarb), and Tunisia, as counted by Fazıla Akbal, "1831 Tarihinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İdari Taksimat ve Nüfus", *Belleten* XV, 60 (1951), pp.617-28. Andreas Birken's *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orient Reihe B Nr. 13* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976) addresses many of the structural changes in administration province by province. For other sources on earlier structures, see Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan Eyalete, 1550-1650 Arasında Osmanlı Ümerası ve İl İdaresi* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978); Tuncer Baykara, *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyasına Giriş I: Anadolu'nun İdarî Taksimatı* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1988); Şerafettin Turan, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İdarî Taksimatı", *Atatürk Üniversitesi 1961 Yıllığı* (Ankara 1963); Fahameddin Başar, *Osmanlı Eyalet Tevcihatı, 1717-1730* (Ankara: TTK, 1997); Orhan Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı-Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ 1997). The Ottoman administrative structure (*vilayets, sancaks, kazas*) in 1890 can be found in: A.Üğür Peker, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu İdarî Taksimat ve Posta Şubeleri Hicri 1306, Miladi 1890* (İstanbul: Berkmen Philatelics, 1984).

twenty-nine *vilayets*;<sup>45</sup> fifteen Anatolian, nine European, five Arabian, and one African. I excluded Crete, which had a special status<sup>46</sup>. Although the holy city was a subdivision of the Hijaz, the Sharif of Mecca was also granted exceptional rights. The province of Eastern Rumelia (*Şarkî Rumeli Vilayeti*) was founded under special circumstances but did not last long. Lebanon and Jerusalem were *sancaks* directly bound to the center. Lebanon was governed with a special statute accepted after an international conference in 1864. Beirut was also a special *sancak*, but became a *vilayet* in 1887. The island of Sesam was an autonomous *beylik* since 1832. But the *bey* of the island had to be a Christian appointed by İstanbul.

The restructuring process of the provinces never did come to an end. As an example of the creation of a *vilayet*, the separation of Beirut from Syria is notorious. In December of 1887, the Sublime Porte decided to separate the five districts of Latakia, Tripoli, Beirut, Acre, and Nablus from the province of Syria and to create the province of Beirut. When the decision was implemented in 1888, the district of Acre, which included the subdistrict of Safad, Tiberias, Nazareth, Acre, and Haifa, was

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<sup>45</sup> Adana, Ankara, Aydın, Baghdad, Basra, Beirut, Bitlis, the Mediterranean Islands, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hijaz, Hudavendigâr (Bursa), Kastamonu, Konya, Kosovo, Mamuretülaziz, Manastir, Mosul, Salonica, Sivas, Syria, Shkodër, Tripolitania, Trabzon, Van, Yannina, and Yemen.

<sup>46</sup> A Cretan insurrection in 1897 led to the Ottomans declaration of war on and defeat of Greece. However, Britain, France, Italy and Russia decided that the Ottoman state could no longer maintain control and intervened. An independent Cretan Republic, headed by Prince George of Greece, was founded after Ottoman forces were expelled in 1898, and declared its own constitution one year later (1899 *Girit Kanun-ı Esasîsi*). Cretan deputies declared union with Greece in 1908. The last four years of Crete as an Ottoman province is not included to this study because of extraordinary legislative arrangements made in 1868 (*Girit Nizamnamesi*) and 1878 (*Halepa Misakı*), bypassing the Ottoman general provincial law. Three of the total five governors appointed in 1895-1898 were Ottoman Greek officials. This was never the case in other *vilayets* at the time. On the last phase of Ottoman Crete, see Ayşe Nûkhet Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı (1896-1908)* (Ankara: TTK, 2000). The “Girit Vilayet Nizamnamesi” is to be found in *Düstur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. I, pp.652-687 (25 Ramazan 1284/ 20 January 1868).

sturred into a section of the province of Beirut.<sup>47</sup> This structure of provinces existed until the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918.

The three provinces of Salonica, Manastir and Kosovo were mentioned in official correspondence as the *vilayat-ı selase*, and were under the supervision of inspector-general Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha for six years from December of 1902.<sup>48</sup> To encompass all Ottoman provinces which were governed in total by ninety-five different governors in this period, requires an enormous amount of material and interest, and it is only possible to present them by being highly selective in detailed analysis.

## The Chapters

Chapter I provides necessary background information on the provincial administrative reforms of the Tanzimat-era, with a special focus on the legal texts known as the *vilayet*-laws of 1864 and 1871. An interpretation of the extraordinary atmosphere after 1895 will follow the examination of the legal provincial reforms of the Hamidian era. The appointment and dismissal procedures of provincial governors are the topics of Chapter II. The influences of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, other ministers and members of the imperial entourage, and foreign embassies will be examined in detail. Much analysis of information concerning the education, social background, and career patterns of the governors will also be presented. The following chapter addresses the governors' relations with the center. Chapter III

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<sup>47</sup> Abu-Manneh, pp. 7-26; Abd Al-Aziz Awad, *al-Idara al-Uthmaniyya fi Wilayet Suriyya 1864-1914*, (Cairo, 1969), pp. 70-72.

<sup>48</sup> The governors of the three provinces were responsible to the inspector-general who was in charge of the administrative reforms in the Rumelian provinces. Fikret Adanır, *Die Makedonische Frage. Ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1908* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979); Mehmet Hacısalihoglu, *Die Jungtürken und die Mazedonische Frage, 1890-1918* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2003).

provides information on all means of correspondence of the governors with central institutions, including the court, the Sublime Porte and the ministries. The governors were not only sending telegrams, but also gifts and money. They were able to misinform the court or even hide great incidents. General reports on the provinces were a consequence of inspection tours in the rural province. Governors tried to bypass the ministries and use interference from the Sultan in problems with them. Chapter IV focuses on the province from the governor's arrival until his departure. The main duties of the governors and their relations with staff are examined here. This chapter also contains subheadings on provincial institutions like the board and law courts. Ceremonial duties and the reception of petitions are other areas covered. Chapter V looks at the contemporary relationship problems of the Hamidian governors. Their problems with the local people, the neighboring governors, predecessors, inspection bodies, military commanders, local notables and oppositional movements are investigated in this chapter.



## CHAPTER I

### OTTOMAN PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

#### AFTER THE TANZİMAT

##### Tanzimat Reforms in Provincial Government

The struggle between provincial governors and the central government was defined by Halil İnalcık as the most significant development of the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire. The measures undertaken to limit the governors' growing autonomy and to prevent their abuses were based on the tactic of creating countervailing forces. Although other instruments of provincial government like the *kadı* (judge), the *defterdar* (chief treasury officer), and the *muhassıl* (tax collector) were strengthened, in the next century it was the *âyân* (provincial notables) who mainly rose in prominence, using this prepared ground for decentralization.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Halil İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration", *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), pp.28-31.



The important role that the *âyân*<sup>50</sup> played in the public affairs of the province paved the way for local autonomy. The central government tried several times to put an end to this influence during the last quarter of the eighteenth century in order to restore its own authority. But only after 1812, during the reign of Mahmud II, was the system of centralized government restored. The *ayan*, who had established their hereditary rule over extensive territories, began to be suppressed.<sup>51</sup> Mahmud II established the military governors (*müşirs*) in 1836 to disempower the local *ayan* governors.<sup>52</sup> This temporary militarization of provincial administration was an important step to improve the centralized government. Indeed, the pendulum of centralization swang to the highest point, when the Sultan abolished the Grand Vizierate in March 1838. It was, however, reestablished just after the death of Mahmud II in July of 1839.<sup>53</sup> After this, the centralization project was led directly by the *Bâbüâlî*, where the office of the Grand Vizier was located, taking advantage of the enthronement of the inexperienced teenage Sultan Abdülmecid II.

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<sup>50</sup> On *ayan*, see H. Bowen, "A'yan", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition, I:778; Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", in H. İnalcık & D. Quatert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.658-679. Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık* (Ankara: TTK, 1994); Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte Ayanlar* (Ankara: TTK, 1997)

<sup>51</sup> İnalcık, *Centralization*, p.51. See also, A. Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," and M.Maóz, "The Impact of Modernization on Syrian Politics and Society during the Early Tanzimat Period," in W. R. Polk and R.Chambers, eds., *Beginning of Modernization in the Middle East*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 41-68 and pp. 333-49. For a certain local perspective on the change, see Schilcher, Linda. *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985); R. Roded, "Social Patterns among the Urban Elite of Syria during the Late Ottoman Period," in D. Kushner, ed., *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986) pp. 146-71.

<sup>52</sup> Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara: TTK, 1991), pp.16-17.

<sup>53</sup> Akyıldız, pp.26-29.

Reforming the provincial government was among the most sensitive issues in the reorganization of the administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The reestablishment of the central control by Mahmud II over the provinces and their governors was an initial step in the reform process<sup>54</sup>. But it was the Tanzimat era, beginning with the promulgation of the Gülhane Edict in 1839, that changed the whole idea of the state in the Ottoman Empire. Certain rights were declared to be enjoyed by the subjects, who were no longer seen as only tax-paying *reaya*.<sup>55</sup>

After having secured the central character of the provincial administration, the state tried to introduce a certain administrative flexibility, giving the inhabitants a voice in local government and modest control over the actions of the governors. This policy of the Ottoman government under Sultan Abdülmecid, the son and successor of Mahmud II, included calling delegates from the provinces to the capital, sending out commissioners from the center to the provinces, and attaching to each provincial governor a representative council.<sup>56</sup> The provincial councils, established by a founding *ferman* in 1840, represented small oligarchies. Nevertheless, as Shaw

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<sup>54</sup> A well-documented example of the transformation of administration at the provincial level during the reign of Mahmud II is that of Michael Ursinus, *Regionale Reformen im Osmanischen Reich am Vorabend der Tanzimat: Reformen der Provinzialgouverneure im Gerichtssprengel von Manastir (Bitola) zur Zeit der Herrschaft Sultan Mahmuds II (1808-39)* (Berlin: Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, 1982). For a general view of the centralization processes worldwide, see Wolfgang Reinhard, "Introduction: Power Elites, State Servants, Ruling Class and the Growth of State Power", in Reinhard W. (ed.), *Power Elites and State Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-18

<sup>55</sup> The classical age was basically built on the distinction of *askeri* and *reaya*. *Askeri* was used for rulers, consisting of military and civil officials who did not pay taxes. *Reaya* was used for the ruled, the taxpayers, although it literally means "flock" and is used for "community" even in the *Psalms* (79:13; 95:7; 100:3) and the sayings of the prophet of Islam (Muhammed bin İsmail al-Buhari, *As-Sahih*, ed. by Mustafa Dîb al-Buga (Beirut: Dar al- Mekteb al-İlmiyye, 1990), vol.VI, p.2614. For its usage in the Ottoman official language, see Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman Decline and its Effect Upon the Reaya", Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (eds), *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 338-354.

<sup>56</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.46.

points out, they provided an encouraging means for local initiative to survive and for local problems and needs to be expressed.<sup>57</sup> Non-muslims were urged to assume administrative responsibility in these local organs.<sup>58</sup>

Both the edicts of *Gülhane* in 1839 and the *Islahat* in 1856 promised to improve the provincial administrative system. In the third paragraph of the *Gülhane* edict, also known as the *Tanzimat Fermanı* and considered to have opened a new era in the history of the Ottoman Empire, “the improvement of the state of the provinces, and of relief to the (subject) peoples”, was set as a main goal of the imperial administration:

If, therefore, the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, the aptitude and intelligence of the inhabitants are considered, the conviction will remain that by striving to find efficacious means, the result, which by the help of God we hope to attain, can be obtained within a few years. Full of confidence, therefore, in the help of the Most High, and certain of the support of our Prophet, we deem it right to seek by new institutions to give to the provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of a good administration.<sup>59</sup>

The *Islahat* edict was in many ways referring to provincial administration, as in the following paragraph:

Works of public utility shall receive a suitable endowment, part of which shall be raised from private and special taxes levied in the Provinces, which shall have the benefit of the advantages arising from the establishment of ways of communication by land and sea.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Shaw, “The Origins”; and “Local Administrations in the Tanzimat”, *150.Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara:TTK, 1993), pp. 33-49.

<sup>58</sup> One of the distinctive features of the Tanzimat was the participation of non-Muslims in the official councils of government. See W Hardy Wickwar, *The Modernization of Administration in the Near East* (Beirut/London : Khayats, 1963), p.22; Roderic H. Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century", *American Historical Review*, 1954, 59(4): 844-864 and "The Advent of the Principle of Representation in the Government of the Ottoman Empire" in Polk and Chambers, pp. 93-108. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (ed.) *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 Volumes (New York, 1982). İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)* (Ankara: TTK, 2000), pp. 74-78.

<sup>59</sup> The quotation in English is from J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* (Princeton: D.Van Nostrand Company, 1956) vol.II, p.113-116. Turkish text and French translation is in Yavuz Abadan, *Tanzimat Fermanının Tahlili, Tanzimat I* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), pp.31-58.

<sup>60</sup> English quotation from <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya/documents1.html>. For the originals of both the *Gülhane* and the *Islahat* rescripts, see “*Gülhane’de Kıraat Olunan Hatt-ı Hümayun’un Suretidir*” and “*Islahata Dair Taraf-ı Vekalet-i Mutlaka’ya Hitaben Bâîsî Hatt-ı Hümayun ile*

The state was beginning to get involved in many aspects of human life by using new means of transportation and communication.<sup>61</sup> The phenomenal technological advances of the nineteenth century brought profound changes, many of which were made possible by the introduction of mechanically generated electricity in 1832. This revolutionary discovery allowed people to communicate instantly over distances that had required days or weeks for horse or train-carried messages.<sup>62</sup> Telegraph stations were set up along railroads first because the right-of-way had already been cleared and it was easy to set up poles to carry the telegraph wires. Railroad dispatchers sent messages via telegraph to control the movement of trains and these wires also began to carry messages with news of events and business transactions. It has been said that the "electric telegraph" was the most significant invention of the nineteenth century. Governments used new technologies to control more aspects of society than had ever been possible. The imperial bureaucracy enlarged with regard to these the new fields of state intervention. Ortaylı noted that the telegraph technology came to the help of the nineteenth century centralization policies.<sup>63</sup>

Subordinate officials sought central approval from those ministries in İstanbul to which they were directly responsible, and this sometimes impeded efficient administration by the governors. Realizing the governors need for a greater authority

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Müveşşih Şerefsadır Olan Ferman-ı âlînin Suretidir", *Düstur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. I, pp.4-7 and 7-14.

<sup>61</sup> For an explanation of how technological change was associated with European expansion in the late nineteenth century, see Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the 19th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

<sup>62</sup> "Turkey was the first country to introduce telegraphic lines into places where roads and railways were as yet unknown," Emile Lacoine, "Elektiriğin Memleketimizdeki Tafsilatı", *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *Servet-i Fünun*, in 1895, quoted in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), p.257. See also Yakup Bektaş, "The Sultan's Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847-1880", *Technology and Culture*, 2000, 41(4): 669-696

<sup>63</sup> Ortaylı, *ibid.*, p.104.

to avoid tedious reference of problems to İstanbul, a *ferman* in the year 1852 (promulgated under the influence of Mehmed Ali Pasha, the strong governor of Egypt), gave the *vali* more power over his subordinate officials and concentrated considerable responsibility in his hands.<sup>64</sup> The governor received the right to appoint his chief administrative officers in the next two echelons below him. This trend toward decentralization of the administrative authority continued after the promulgation of the 1856 Islahat Edict and in the regulation of 1858. These latter made the *vali* the local representative of all competent offices of the central government, with everyone below him responsible to the government through him.<sup>65</sup> It was the first time that the governor was mentioned as the sole representative of the government and main actor in the province in nineteen articles.<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, in 1859 some *vilayets* were changed to *mutasarrıflık*.<sup>67</sup> The decrease in the number of provinces meant an increase in the importance of the *valis*. But the importance and

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<sup>64</sup> Wickwar, p.21. Vecihi Tönük, *Türkiye’de İdari Teşkilatın Tarihi Gelişimi ve bugünkü Durumu*, (Ankara: İçişleri Bakanlığı, 1945), p.112-115; Ed[ouard Philippe] Engelhardt, *Türkiye ve Tanzimat. Devlet-i Osmaniyye-nin tarih-i ıslâhâtı, 1826-1882*, tr. by Ali Reşad (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328 [1912]), pp.98-101.

<sup>65</sup> “*Vulat-ı İzam ve Mutasarrıfın-i Kiram ile Kaymakamların ve Müdürlerin Vezâifine Şamil Talimat*”, *Düstur, Tertib-i Sani* (İstanbul 1282/1865), p.559-572; Sıddık Sami Onar, *İdare Hukuku* (İstanbul, 1942), vol. I, p.657; Tönük, p.116-128; Davison, *Reform*, p.137 and 165. Shaw, *The Origins*, p.208.

<sup>66</sup> Articles 7 to 26 of the 1858 Regulation concern the duties of the governors. The first two articles are enough to see the extent of governor’s new responsibilities: “Bir eyalette vuku’ bulacak her türlü mesalihin mercii ve nazırı ve taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye’nin vekil-i mahsusı ve muhatabı vali olup, eyaletin nfk u bed ve kâffe-i hususâtından vali mesuldür” (Art.7); “Her eyalette alelumum hükümet-i icraiyye vali bulunan zata mufavvaz olarak, kâffe-i kavânin ve nizâmât ve evâmır ve tenbihâtın icrası bizzat vülât-ı izâmın vazifeleridir” (Art.8).

<sup>67</sup> *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütüfi Efendi Tarihi*, vol.IX, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984), p.155. The historian illustrated his objection to this measure by writing “Bu tasarrufdan husule gelen menfaat ayn-ı mazarrat olduğu rehîn-i rütbe-i bedahetdir. Çünkü vilayâtı küçültmek maddi manevî mazarrarı müeddîdir.”

size of some places made it impossible to be ruled as *mutasarrıflık*. Edirne was reassigned as *vilayet*, one year later.<sup>68</sup>

### **The Provincial Laws of 1864 and 1871**

The crucial developments in the provincial regulation process occurred in the 1860's. After a local rebellion, a commission with the Grand Vizier at the head was sent by the Sultan to the province of Nish in 1860. During this investigation, Midhat Pasha became governor of this *vilayet* in the Balkans. His success in the governorship made the *Meclis-i Vâlâ* begin to negotiate on a general regulation for the provinces.<sup>69</sup>

Another incident resulting in legal procedure was the problem of ethnic conflict in Mount Lebanon. Ottoman centralization attempts over Mount Lebanon, where rule had been previously left to local Druze landlords and the equally independent-minded Maronite Catholic peasants, caused clashes between communities there. When, in 1860, the massacres spread to Damascus causing France to intervene, Emperor Napoleon III sent an army to occupy Beirut. A conference of the five major European powers (France, Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia) proposed a new way to govern Lebanon and which the Porte was forced to accept. Mount Lebanon became a special autonomous *sancak* detached from the nearest province, the *vilayet* of Damascus. According to the Protocol of 1861 (*Cebel-i Lübnan Nizamnâmesi*), Mount Lebanon was placed under the rule of a Christian *mutasarrıf* who was appointed by the Ottoman Porte. Administratively, Lebanon was divided into seven *kazas*, each administered by a *kaymakam* appointed by the *mutasarrıf* and accountable to him.

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<sup>68</sup> "Edirne eyaletinin ehemmiyet ve cesametine nazaran mutasarrıflık ile idaresi mütenasib olmadığından," *İbid*, p.164.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılab, Kırım Muharebesinden Culus-i Hümayuna Kadar* (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1294 /1878), vol.I, p.103. On the Meclis-i Vâlâ, see Seyitdanlıoğlu.



Each *kaza*, in turn, was divided into *müdiriyyets*, each administered by a *müdür* appointed by the *kaimakam* and accountable to him. The smallest administrative unit was the village headed by a *shaykh* or *mukhtar* elected by the community and responsible to the *müdür*.<sup>70</sup>

The Mount Lebanon case was the first major deviation from the classical *eyalet* organization of the Ottoman Empire. This event was an important factor leading the state to the most important change in provincial administration: the proclamation of a law enabling administrative reorganization of the provinces and the duties of the governors. Sultan Abdülaziz visited the *Bâbüâlî* personally in August 1864, and ordered the dispatch of special commands to provincial governors, for the “completion of prosperity and civilization of the dominions and people, and maintenance of present security and repose”.<sup>71</sup>

The initial step in the legislation series reorganizing the administration of the provinces was the promulgation of the *Tuna Vilayeti Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of the Danube Province) in 1864. This regulation was to be applied first in the province of Danube,<sup>72</sup> the combination of three sancaks (Niş, Silistria and Vidin), stretching out

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<sup>70</sup> Shaw, *The Origins*, pp. 172-173. On the Mount Lebanon case, see Tayyib Gökbilgin, “1840’dan 1861’e Kadar Cebel-i Lübnan Meselesi Ve Dürziler”, *Belleten* X, (Ankara, 1946), pp.641-703; Moshe Ma’oz *Ottoman reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: The impact of the Tanzimat on the politics and society* (Oxford, London: Clarendon, 1968); A.J. Abraham, *Lebanon at Mid-century: Maronite-Druze Relations in Lebanon 1840-1860: A Prelude to Arab Nationalism* (Lanham, MD University Press of America, 1981); Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus, 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Ussama Maqdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Caesar Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon 1830-1861* (Oxford & London: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2000); Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: the Birth of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>71</sup> “[M]amuriyyet ve medeniyet-i mülk ü milletin ikmalı ve asayiş ü istirahat-ı hazıranın istikmalı hakkında bilcümle vülât-ı ızam mutasarrıfın-ı kirama evâmîr-i mahsusa irsaline emr u ferman”, *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütî Efendi Tarihi X*, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (Ankara: TTK, 1988), 119.

<sup>72</sup> “Tuna Vilayeti Namıyla Bu Kerre Teşkil Olunan Dairenin İdare-i Umumiye ve Hususiyesine ve Tayin Olunacak Memurlarının Suver-i İntihabiyeleriyle Vazâif-i Daimesine Dair Nizamnamedir”,

from the Danube river to the Balkan Mountains and under the government of Midhat Pasha. The term *vilayet*, in its ultimate meaning, seems to have made a place for itself in the formal administrative vocabulary on this date.<sup>73</sup> This was the first move to abolish the former *eyalet* system.

The first five paragraphs of the regulation defined the borders and the administrative authorities of the province, stating that *vilayets* were divided into *livas*, *livas* into *kazas*, and *kazas* into *kura*. They were governed respectively by *liva kaymakamı*, *kaza müdürü*, and the *muhtar*. Interestingly, the borders were defined in accordance with the borders of the II. Imperial Army, with only the exclusion of the *eyalet* of Edirne. The remaining seventy-six paragraphs of the regulation were divided into five main parts: The first four concerned the conduct of the provincial stages, the last covered the system of election in all four units. It defined all actors of all levels in separate paragraphs.

A hierarchy of officials and an administrative council composed of senior officials and local notables, each defined in the *nizâmnâme*, assisted the governor. The local councils existed also in the sub-districts. Four representatives from each *sancak*, two Muslims and two non-Muslims, were also to meet annually under the presidency of the *vali* for a maximum period of forty days to discuss internal affairs of the province.

Local elites were assured of a position in the local power structure by their participation in the increased number of councils at all levels. A certain check on the domination of the councils by a few usurpers was provided by a complex electoral system. After indirect elections, the final selection of council members from among

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dated 7 Cemaziyelevvel 1281 (8 October 1864), in *Düstur, Def'a-i Sâniye* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1282), pp. 517-536.

<sup>73</sup> "Memleketin kıtaat-ı müteaddidesi livaların münasebetine göre devâir-i müte'addideye taksim ile her daire 'vilayet' ismiyle yad olunacağı", *ibid*, p.517.



the candidates was left to the administrative head at the next highest level.

Responsibilities were carefully defined to avoid conflict between governor and council. Additionally, the administrative councils were checked by a general provincial council that convened once a year for not more than forty days, and was composed of entirely elected members.

Police forces (*zabtiye*) were placed under the command of the civilian provincial administration, although the number of troops and their discipline remained under the ultimate control of the Directorate of Police. A Director of Foreigners' Affairs was appointed to the provinces by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deal with the foreigners in the province. Appointed officials worked on land registration and census and property records were defined within the provincial administrative hierarchy. Judicial councils were created at each level to handle cases appealed from religious courts and cases which fell outside their jurisdiction. A provincial legal inspector was nominated by the *şeyhülislam*.<sup>74</sup>

In delegating greater authority to the governors, the law represented a decentralization of the empire as a whole, but an increase in central authority at the provincial level. The law of 1864 was aimed "at combining central control with local authority, at expediting the conduct of public business in the provincial capital, and at improving the representative quality of the local councils."<sup>75</sup> Although the *sancak* governors, the *vali*'s immediate subordinates, were appointed by the Sultan, the *vilayet* governor enjoyed extensive power.<sup>76</sup> However, the creation of large provinces

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<sup>74</sup> "Müfettiş-i hükkâm-ı şer'iyeye", *ibid*, p.520.

<sup>75</sup> Davison, *Reform*, p.142; Richard L. Chambers, "Civil Bureaucracy", in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankward A. Rustow (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press 1966), p. 314.

<sup>76</sup> Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Establishment and Dismantling of the Province of Syria, 1865-1888", *Problems of the Modern Middle East in the Historical Perspective: Essays in Honour of Albert Hourani*, ed. John Spagnolo (Beirut: Ithaca Press, 1992), pp.7-26.

under governors with greatly expanded powers can actually be seen as an extension of the *Bâbîâlî*'s control.

The law was applied after Danube to other model provinces, namely in Bosnia, Damascus, and Erzurum. After successful application, the law was published with some modifications in 1867 in order to extend it to the other *vilayets*,<sup>77</sup> with the exceptions of Serbia, Rumania, Tunisia, Egypt, Montenegro, Samos and the Lebanon, which were provinces under special status. Thirteen new *vilayets* were formed and added to the provincial system.<sup>78</sup>

A manual book of instructions with 274 pages was published and sent to the *vilayets* in 25 July 1867 (23 Rebiulevvel 1284) containing twenty-one bundles, beginning with "General Instructions on the Special Conduct of the Provinces and the Execution of the Provincial Regulations" (*Vilayetlerin İdare-i Mahsusası ve Nizâmâtının Suver-i İcraiyyesi Hakkında Talimat-ı Umumiyye*, pp.2-18). This was followed by the *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (in its 1867 version, pp.19-43), the Special Regulation on Financial Affairs (*Umur-ı Maliyeye dair Nizamname-i Mahsusdur*, pp.44-70), and a description of duties, rules and transactions of provincial officials, councils, and bureaus (*Vilayetlerin havi olduğu mutasarrıflıklar maiyyetinde bulunan memurin ve mecalis ve aklam vesaireden başka olarak merkez-i idare olan daire-i*

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<sup>77</sup> "Vilayet Nizamnamesi", *Düstur*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. I, pp.608-624.

<sup>78</sup> Shaw, *Local Administration*, p.281-282. The reorganization of the *vilayets* never ceased until the end of the Ottoman state. For example, northern Iraq was conquered by the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century and a separate *eyalet* of Mosul was probably erected at the end of the same century. In 1855 the *eyalet* was abolished and the region became part of the *eyalet* of Van (Hakkari until 1864). It was transferred to Baghdad in 1865. Central Iraq was conquered by the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century and an *eyalet* of Baghdad covering this region was created in 1534. In 1867 Baghdad became a *vilayet*. At some time the *eyalet/vilayet* of Baghdad however also included northern Iraq from the end of the eighteenth century to 1855 and again from 1865 to 1879 when the *vilayet* of Mosul was founded. It included southern Iraq (and the Ottoman territories in east and central Arabia) from the end of the eighteenth century to 1875, and again from 1880 to 1884 when the *vilayet* of Basra was created.

*vilayetde mecalis ve aklam vesair memurin-i mahalleriyle her birinin vazائف ve kavaid ve muamelatını icmalen beyan eder tarifnamedir*, pp.71-121).<sup>79</sup>

In the aftermath of insurgencies in Crete, the Ottoman state decided to generalize the application of the regulation to the whole empire, with some restorations to it. The new law, the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*,<sup>80</sup> was declared to the provinces and the foreign embassies by sending *ferman-ı adalets* (edicts of justice) with special officials in the first month of 1871. An executive council, the *meclis-i icraat*, was founded to control the whole restoration process.<sup>81</sup> The new law consisted of 130 paragraphs following an introduction. Here, the new *vilayets* were divided into *livas*, *kazas*, *nahiyes*, and *karyes*. A new official post, that of *mutasarrıf*, was created to administrate a *sancak*, used alternatively for *liva*. The title of *kaymakam* was given to the chief official of the *kaza* level. This represented an extension of the authority of the central government down to the *kaza* level, since the *kaymakams* were professional bureaucrats appointed from İstanbul. A new unit in between *kaza* and *karye*, the *nahiye* headed by a *müdir*, was created. The use of local notables in *nahiye* administration was considered important. The creation of assistant governorships was another new feature of the law. Some officials' names in the former law were changed in the new one. The accountant's name changed from *vilayet muhasebecisi* to *defterdar*; the *umur-ı hariciye memuru* became *umur-ı ecnebiye müdiri*, expressing the duty of the official dealing with the foreigners in the

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<sup>79</sup> The remaining items of this book, which is available in the ISAM Library (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi of the Diyanet Vakfı) of İstanbul (353 VİL.İ, 038700), are on financial, legal and municipal affairs. The only academic reference to it is found in Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europaischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung (1864) bis zum Berliner Kongress (1878) nach amtlichen osmanischen Veröffentlichungen* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976), p.24.

<sup>80</sup>“İdare-i Umumiyye-i Vilayet Nizâmnamesidir”, *Düstur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. I, pp.625-651, declared on 29 Şevval 1287 (9 Kanunısâni 1286).

<sup>81</sup>İsmail Hakkı Görelî, *İl İdaresi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1952), p.8.

province much clearer. Road construction gained such an importance that the more general name of *umur-i nafia memuru* changed to *tarik emini*, the superintendant of roads. The directors of education (*maarif müdiri*), imperial treasures (*defter-i hâkânî müdiri*), and pious foundations (*evkaf müdiri*)<sup>82</sup> were added to the provincial nomenclature.

Table 1: Officials and offices mentioned in the *Vilayet-Laws*

1864	1871
-	<i>Vali Muavini</i> (Assistant Governor)
<i>Vilayet Muhasebecisi</i> (Accountant)	<i>Defterdar</i> (Treasurer)
<i>Muhasebe Kalemi</i> (Accounting Office)	-
<i>Vilayet Mektubcusu</i> (Chief Secretary)	<i>Mektubcu</i> (Chief Secretary)
<i>Umur-ı Hariciye Memuru</i> (Foreign Affairs Officer)	<i>Umur-ı Ecnebiye Müdürü</i> (Director of For. Affairs)
<i>Umur-ı Nafia Memuru</i> (Public Works Officer)	<i>Tarik Emni</i> (Superintendent of Roads)
<i>Ziraat ve Ticaret Memuru</i> (Agricul.&Trade Officer)	<i>Ziraat ve Ticaret Müdürü</i> (Director of Agr. & Trade)
-	<i>Maarif Müdürü</i> (Director of Education)
<i>İdare Meclisi</i> (Administrative Council)	<i>İdare Meclisi</i> (Administrative Council)
-	<i>Defter-i Hakânî Müdürü</i> (Director of Imp. Treasures)
<i>Alaybeyi</i> (Chief of Gendarmerie)	<i>Alaybeyi</i> (Chief of Gendarmerie)
<i>Müfettiş-i Hükkâm-ı Şer'iyye</i> (Inspector of Religious Courts' Judges)	-
-	<i>Emlak ve Nüfus Memuru</i> (Property & Population Officer)
-	<i>Evkaf Müdürü</i> (Director of Pious Foundations)

As explained above, the twin laws were born under a number of influences. One was the provincial inspection tours by Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha and by imperial commissioners from 1860.<sup>83</sup> The revision of the statute of Mount Lebanon, which had given greatly enlarged powers to the governor, was another major contributor to the laws.<sup>84</sup> Grand Vezir Fuad Pasha, who was impressed by the activities of Midhat

<sup>82</sup>"Evkaf Müdürlerine Dair Talimat" was declared much earlier, on 1 December 1863, as to be find in *Düstur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. II, pp.146-169.

<sup>83</sup> Davison, *Reform*, pp.105-108, 142.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p.143.

Pasha, governor of Nish, put forth great effort to enforce the law.<sup>85</sup> France under Napoleon III was taken as the model for the reorganization of local administration with notable changes in adaptation. The five-tier system of *département (préfet)*, *arrondissement (sous-préfet)*, *canton (juge de paix)*, *commune (maire)*, and *section de commune* was translated as *vilayet (vali)*, *liva/sancak (mutasarrıf)*, *kaza (kaymakam)*, *nahiye (müdürrü)*, and *karye (muhtar)*. But the two divisions did not really correspond in area and population. The Ottoman sub-divisions were more extensive but reached less effectively to the lowest levels.<sup>86</sup>

The influence of the French prefectural system on the laws of 1864 and 1871 is a point which Carter V. Findley suggests be examined with care. The four-level system of administrative jurisdictions has precedents as far back as the “classical” Ottoman *timar* system. Findley also points out the paradox in attributing the Ottoman over-centralization project to the French:

The French actually revised their system of local administration under the Second Empire, at a time when their influence on Ottoman policy makers was indeed strong, along lines of what was announced as decentralization. To the extent that Ottoman reformers borrowed from the French and obtained an opposite result, the reason probably lies partly in the intentions of the Ottoman statesmen, partly also in differences in the Ottoman environment. The idea of a local administrative infrastructure staffed from the central civil bureaucracy was still a novelty to the Ottomans, as it no longer was to the French.<sup>87</sup>

Although increased centralization was the desired result of the provincial reform laws, the governor was only supposed to refer the most important questions to İstanbul.<sup>88</sup> The law was criticized some time after the death of Ali Pasha in 1871, as

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p.144.

<sup>86</sup> Wickwar, p.20.

<sup>87</sup> Carter V. Findley, “The Evolution of the System of Provincial Administration as viewed from the Center”, Kushner, *Palestine*, pp.8-9.

<sup>88</sup> Ahmed Cevdet, *Maruzat*, ed.Yusuf Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı, 1980), p.110.

setting up 'little absolute states'.<sup>89</sup> The Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha even abolished the *vilayet*-regime in 1872 for a short time until the reformist Midhat Pasha came to power.<sup>90</sup> As noted by Boutros Abu-Manneh, the law was intended to lay the basis for the integration of the various districts of a province into one unit by bringing direct government down to the village level.<sup>91</sup>

To limit the governor's role in the judicial process was a major result of the administrative reforms of the Tanzimat. The separation of judicial and executive functions in 1868 was a great attempt.<sup>92</sup> Four years later, he was restricted to general supervision of the courts by a ministerial circular. In 1876, the governor was forbidden to interfere in any way with the discussions in the courts or to influence their decisions. Any possible influence of the *vali* was completely eliminated with the appointment of an inspector of justice (*adliye müfettişi*) to each *vilayet*. The inspector reported judicial problems directly to the Ministry of Justice without consulting the governor. It has also to be noted that the duality in the responsibility of provincial officials both to the governor and the ministry was overseen by the twin laws of 1864 and 1871.

A further manual of instruction, the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat Hakkında Talimat*, containing fourty articles, was provided in 21 February 1876 (25 Muharram

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<sup>89</sup> Davison, *Reform*, p.168.

<sup>90</sup> "Sadr-ı sabık Mahmud Paşa'nın icraat-ı âcilesinden biri de vilayât usulünün lağviydi", *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütî Efendi Tarihi XIV*, ed. M.Münir Aktepe (Ankara: TTK, 1991), pp.28-29. Kornrumpf (p.26) criticised Davison (p.168) in vain for having assumed by referring to Abdolnyme Ubcini (-P. de Courteille, *Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris: Librairie Militaire, 1876, p.90) that Mahmud Nedim Pasha suspended the vilayet system for a time and Midhat Pasha restored it on becoming Grand Vizier.

<sup>91</sup> Abu-Manneh, p.8.

<sup>92</sup> Stanford Shaw, "The Central Legislative Councils in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reform Movement before 1876", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1 (1970), pp.73ff.



1293) and sent to the provinces.<sup>93</sup> The Instruction began with defining the main task (*vazife-i asliyye*) of the governor as assuring the rights of all subjects.<sup>94</sup> Then the duties of the governor were divided into two main sorts. The *vazâif-i islahiyye* contained duties connected just to the restoration process, whereas the *vazâif-i dâime* counted, in thirty-five articles, the duties of the governor concerned with service for the well-being of the inhabitants and protection of the province.<sup>95</sup> It was published almost to define the borders of the power of the governors. Thirty-two paragraphs were about the *vilayet* governors, whereas the remaining seven were on the *mutasarrıfs*, *kaymakams*, courts and local councils.

### **Provincial Administration During the Reign of Abdülhamid II**

On 23 December 1876, four months after the deposition of his brother Sultan Murad V and his own enthronement, Abdülhamid II promulgated the first Ottoman constitution. A war with Russia which ended in disaster for the Ottoman state began some months later. Abdülhamid II dismissed the parliament and, in February 1878, suspended the constitution. Article 108 of the Constitution of 1876 stated that provincial administration was based upon the principle of extension of authority to the governors (*tevsî'-i mezuniyet*) and the separation of duties (*tefrîk-i vazâif*).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lûtfi Efendi Tarihi XV*, ed.Münir Aktepe (Ankara:TTK, 1993), p.74.

<sup>94</sup> “Valilerin en mühim vazifeleri ale'l-umum ve ale'l-infirâd sunûf-ı teb'anın hukukunu temin ve himaye ve herkesi zulm u ta'addiden vikâye etmektir”, *Düstur*, vol.III, p.24.

<sup>95</sup> *Düstur*, vol. III, pp.24-37.

<sup>96</sup> “İdare-i vilayatca hukuk-ı merkeziyeyi muhafaza ile beraber, tevsî-i mezuniyet usulünün ittihazına müteallık bulunduğu,” and “vilayatin usul-ı idaresi tevsî-i mezuniyet ve tefrîk-i vezâif kaidesi üzerine müesses olup derecatı nizam-ı mahsus ile tayin kılınacaktır (§108)”. The next two articles (109 and 110) were on the local councils. For the English version of the Kanun-ı Esasi see <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya/documents1.html>. See also R.Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963), p.77.

One of the earlier steps of the first constitutional parliament, founded in 1876, was to establish a new provincial administration law.<sup>97</sup> According to the speech made in the name of the Sultan, such a law was on the list of laws intended to be completed in that year. The law passed during the first session of the chamber. But the Sultan returned it for reconsideration during the second session. The government sent the proposed law of 101 articles named “*Teşkil-i Vilâyât Kanunu*” to the parliament, but the closure of parliament left no end to the legislation process.<sup>98</sup>

In accord with article twenty-three of the Berlin Congress held in 1878, a mixed commission of Ottoman and foreign officials drafted a new provincial administration law in 1880, valid only in the European provinces of the empire. The law, promulgated on 23 August 1880, consisted of 449 articles but was not published in the *Düstur*, the Book of Statutes, and only was applied in Edirne.<sup>99</sup>

The political aspects of the 1890’s had a great influence on the provincial administration of the Ottoman state. Most importantly, it was the beginning of the endless Armenian revolts. The first revolt was in Erzurum in 1890. The Kumkapi demonstration happened after this revolt, followed by the events in Kayseri, Yozgat, Çorum and Merzifon between 1892-93. In 1894, the Sasun revolt, and in 1895 the *Bâbîâlî* demonstration and Zeytun revolt were organised, beside many others in Anatolia. In 1896 the Ottoman Bank was occupied and Van was raided. In 1903 the

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<sup>97</sup> This was stated in the constitution as well. §108 noted that the details of the provincial organization shall be fixed by a law. §109 stated that “[a] special law will settle on wider bases the election of the administrative councils of provinces (vilayet), districts (sancak), and cantons (kaza), as also of the Council General, which meets annually in the chief town of each province.” According to the following article, “[t]he functions of the Provincial Council-General shall be fixed by the same special law.”

<sup>98</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, VIII, Birinci Meşrutiyet ve İstibdat Devirleri (1876-1907)* (Ankara: TTK, 1977), p.323 and Görelî, p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> Görelî, p.9; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 252.



second Sasun revolt occurred. In 1905 an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Sultan Abdülhamid II was made, followed by the Adana revolt in 1909.

After the Sasun and Talori incidents on 5 December 1894, the Grand Vizier Cevad Pasha<sup>100</sup> was asked by the Sultan about his views on the reforms envisaged for the country.<sup>101</sup> One of his points was the problem of the provincial administration. First, he clearly described the official character of the relations between the provincial administrators and the central government. The Interior Ministry was the first competent authority that all the *vilayets* could apply to. All the communications coming from the provinces were first studied there, and then sent to the Grand Vizierate. They were normally submitted to the Imperial Office, after another careful examination there. Then Cevad Pasha openly criticized the *de facto* situation of provincial communications:

Yet, since nobody has any idea of what the other party does, and nobody knows its own higher body concerned, there exists an administrative confusion. As a matter of fact, since the governors know that they will not be reprimanded for due to whatever faults they may have, they tend to ignore their authorities and the Grand Vizierate.<sup>102</sup>

He did not hesitate to add, that the reason why he raised this point was not due to the undesirability of applications to the Imperial Office. The question was the shortage of time of the Sultan:

Therefore, what is needed is the utilization of the normal channels for the screening and investigation of the cases presented by the governors or other officials.”<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Mehmet Ercan, *Sadrazam Ahmed Cevad Paşa* (PhD. Thesis, Marmara University, 1998)

<sup>101</sup> A Yıldız document in *Osmanlı Arşivi Yıldız Tasnifi: Ermeni Meselesi*, vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1989), p.137

<sup>102</sup> “[K]imse kimsenin yaptığından haberdar olmadığından ve kimse merciini tanımadığından bir tezebzüb-i idare mevcut olduğu, ve valiler ne kadar kusurlu olsa muaheze olunamayacaklarını bildiklerinden mercilerini ve makam-ı sadareti hiç dinlemediklerini...” *ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> “Valiler ve sairler tarafından doğrudan doğruya arz olunan hususâtın tedkikine şevketmeab efendimiz hazretlerinin elbet vakitleri olamayacağından, hususât-ı mezkurenin mecra-yı tabiisinden tedkik olunarak geçmesi lazım...” *ibid.*

On 11 May 1895, a Reformation Bill to be put in force in the Eastern Provinces was conveyed to the Sultan.<sup>104</sup> This communique of the British, French and Russian ambassadors concerned reforms at the provincial level after the Armenian incidents. The ambassadors stated that the propositions would involve laws and regulations already registered in the *Düstur*, but not currently in force and not pertaining the central administration.<sup>105</sup> Münir Bey, the Translator of the Chancery of the State, conveyed to the Sultan certain statements concerning the expansion of the administrative spheres of all Anatolian provinces, not just the six as referred to, and the establishment of a civilian administration under the governorship of a top military or civilian official at the newly set up civilian spheres before the three ambassadors submitted their communique.<sup>106</sup>

The Ottoman government had to deal with the interventionist policies of European powers amid the continuing Armenian crisis. The British government prepared a plan for a naval demonstration in June of 1895. The French planned similar actions in October. The foreign minister of Austria Hungary, Graf Goluchowski, was promoting an initiative for intervention. Even the German Kaiser, as mentioned by Hanioglu, pointed to the great likelihood of a palace revolution and encouraged the British prime minister to intervene directly in Ottoman politics,<sup>107</sup> On

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, p.143.

<sup>105</sup> “[E]decekleri teklif Düstur’da münderic olub da icrasız kalan ve idare-i merkeziyyeye aid olmayan kavanin ve nizamatin temin-i icraatına münhasır olacağı...”, *ibid*.

<sup>106</sup> “Süfera-yı selasenin tebliğatından evvel, onların şimdi mevzu-ı bahis ettikleri vilayat-ı sitte değil, Anadolu’da vaki umum vilayatin şimdiki daireleri tevsi’ edilerek ve teşekkül edecek devâir-i cedide-i mülkiye sınıf-ı askerî veya mülkîden birer zî-rütbe büyük memurun taht-ı nezaretlerine verilerek, ol suretle bir tarz-ı idare-i mülkiye tesisi yolunda da atebe-i seniyyeye bazı maruzat vuku bulduğunu...”; a statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Said Pasha, who was asked about his views on the ambassadors’ communique on 30 May, 1895, *ibid*, p.157.

<sup>107</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) , p.62.

11 July, 1895, the Resolution of the Commission on the Memorandum and the proposals submitted by the British, French and Russian ambassadors were brought to the Sultan.<sup>108</sup> The first chapter of the reform project dealt with the governors: They were to be selected from high dignitaries of the state, irrespective of their religion and possessing the highest qualifications of intelligence, capacity, and probity. Persons whose selection would notoriously be open to objections on public or political grounds should not be appointed to discharge the functions of a *vali*. The resolution of the Ottoman commission stated that the already existing regulations contained the selection, appointment, dismissal, substitution, and trial procedures for *valis*. It was further concluded that,

“Now, every individual called to fill the most important posts as that of *vali*, must have gained experience in all stages of the administrative hierarchy. Taking into consideration especially the diversity of caste and habits among the populations of the provinces in question, and the fact that, according to the returns of the census registers, the Muslim element forms the majority in every case and under any regime, it is quite evident that any modification of the system now in force for the appointment of *valis*, far from improving the administration would entail complications likely to disturb public tranquility. In those circumstances, it is advisable to appoint, according to local requirements, Assistants to the *vali*, selected from among the non-Muslim functionaries belonging to the most numerous of the various non-Muslim populations.”

The second article of the scheme demanded dismissal after legal trial and appointment for five years. The Ottoman commission called attention to the fact that there were *valis* and other functionaries who had held their posts eight or ten years: “Admitting this rule, that no one can be dismissed without legal cause, there seems no necessity for a restriction the object of which is to limit to a term of five years the duration of appointments of *valis*.”<sup>109</sup> The Sultan declared his views about the

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<sup>108</sup> *Osmanlı Arşivi Yıldız Tasnifi: Ermeni Meselesi*, pp.201-263.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p.241.

amendments made by the commission on the project by the aforementioned ambassadors on 29 July 1895:

The personages to be appointed to the post of *vali* and *mutasarrıf*, should not be chosen from among men who consider all religions and sects of equal importance, and who are extremely liberal minded, and who would sacrifice anything to be popular in the eyes of Europeans. Extreme care should be taken for the appointment of honest and loyal civil servants.<sup>110</sup>

In March of 1896, Şakir Pasha, the general inspector of the Anatolian provinces,<sup>111</sup> remarked in one of his reports from Erzurum of the need to empower the hands of provincial governors. The only way to stop the raids and attacks of Kurdish tribes was to “embroad the rights of the governors in accordance with their responsibilities.”<sup>112</sup> They had to have the right to use military forces by informing the military commander in urgent conditions, instead of waiting for a permission from İstanbul.<sup>113</sup>

The Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*)<sup>114</sup> ceased to have more than fragmentary authority over provincial administrative cadres because of increased palace domination over internal administration.<sup>115</sup> Abdülhamid II moved to centralize

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<sup>110</sup> “Valilik ve mutasarrıflıklara tayin olunacak zevâtın edyan ve mezahibin cümlesini siyyan ve müsavi addeden ve ifrat derecede serbest fikirde bulunan ve Avrupalılarca popülarite kazanmak için herşeyi feda edebilecek olan adamlardan intihab olunmamasına fevkalade dikkat olunarak, hidemat-ı devlete ehl-i namus ve devlet-i metbuasına sadık memurlar tayin olunmasına pek ziyade dikkat edilmesi”, *ibid*, p.279.

<sup>111</sup> On the extraordinary mission of Şakir Pasha, see Karaca. Şakir Pasha died during his inspection in Sinop, on 20 October 1899 (*Ibid.*, p.210).

<sup>112</sup> “Kuvve-i icraiyye ve kanuniyyede eser-i faaliyet gösterebilmek için şu aralık ber-muceb-i arz vulat-ı izamin mesuliyetleriyle mütenasib olmak üzere mezuniyetlerinin tevsi’i hususuna müsaade buyrulması lüzumu layih-i hatır-ı kasır-ı ubeydanem olmağla arzına müsareat kılındı”, BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 676/18, 1313 L 9.

<sup>113</sup> “Vilayet tarafından vukubulacak ihtar üzerine Merkez-i Ordu-yı Humayun’a malumat verilmekle beraber heman bilatereddüd hareket-ı askeriyye icrası lüzumunun kumandanlarına kati suretde tebliği ve vilayete dahi bu makule tahrir-i iş’ârdan dolayı vakanın neticesinde terettüb edecek mesuliyeti deruhde etmiş olacakları cihetle bu mezuniyeti suiistimal etmemeleri ... suret-i mahsusada tavsiyesi feraiz-i umurdan görünüyor,” *ibid*.

<sup>114</sup> On the foundation of the ministry, see Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi*, pp.67-70.

<sup>115</sup> Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p.251.

control over the governors throughout the empire after European powers increased intervention in Ottoman administrative affairs. The Sultan needed to know about every issue that could involve foreign powers. He established direct lines of communication between the governors and the palace in addition to their official ties with the Ministry of the Interior. The latter, in turn, developed a highly centralized system that allowed no deviations from central regulations. Provincial officials had to await the orders of the center in important matters. Even small actions required prior authorization from İstanbul.<sup>116</sup> “[T]he Sultan should grant full authority to the civil authorities to requisition the nearest troops in aid of the civil power whenever required, as is done in every civilized country”, wrote Colonel Ponsonby in end 1896, when he submitted proposals to suppress lawlessness in like the depredations committed by the Kurds in Van.<sup>117</sup> Palace secretaries bypassed the ministerial organs and dealt directly with provincial authorities.<sup>118</sup>

Historians of modernization wish constantly to suggest, as Isa Blumi put it out in the Yemeni case, that Islamic societies experienced modernity by force of European penetration. Idealizations of Islamic societies ignore the complexities inherent in human communities.<sup>119</sup> Wickwar pointed out that administrative modernization was not to any great extent forced by outside intervention, but was for

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<sup>116</sup> Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II, Reform, Revolution and Republic, 1808-1975*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.243. Anscombe, p.5 and pp.170-171.

<sup>117</sup> Colonel Ponsonby to Sir P. Currie, 29 November 1896, FO, 424/189, No 229, pp.278-279, quoted from Muammer Demirel, *Ermeniler Hakkında İngiliz Belgeleri (1896-1918)* (Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002) p.266, hereafter *EHİB*.

<sup>118</sup> This was a major issue of quarrel between the Palace and the *Bâbüâlî*, the Sultan and the Grand Viziers, as shown by Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdülhamid II (1876-1909): Origins and Solutions* (PhD. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1976), p. 104-142. The issue will be discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>119</sup> Isa Blumi, “All was not quiet on the Southern Front: Yemen’s Social Hierarchies and the Role of the Ottoman State, 1911-1918”, *Rethinking the Late Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Social and Political History of Albania and Yemen, 1878-1918* (İstanbul: ISIS Press), p.66.

the most part chosen by rulers as an obvious response to the challenges of the day, and as an aspect of their participation in worldwide developments.<sup>120</sup>

Jens Hanssen, after having surveyed the range of administrative practices that made up the processes of reform in the nineteenth century, concluded that Ottoman modernizing reforms were the results of "processes of negotiation between imperial local interest groups and their representations", and not impositions of a modernizing elite. These reforms marked a pragmatic approach incorporating solutions emerging in the process of negotiation. Instead of a return to older Ottoman practices or a wholesale adoption of Western models. the imperial project of Ottomanization on the one hand, and the maintenance of provincial interests on the other, were simultaneous, and not mutually exclusive.<sup>121</sup>

In order to see the success or failure of the mentioned codifications in provincial administration, the next chapter will provide and analyse data on the appointment and dismissal of governors, their social origins, education and career lines.

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<sup>120</sup> Wickwar, p.1

<sup>121</sup> *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, eds. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2002), p.74.

## CHAPTER II

### THE APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF GOVERNORS

#### The Procedure of Changing a Governor

The appointment procedure of the provincial governors is one of the most criticized points of Sultan Abdülhamid II's authoritarian reign. Enver Ziya Karal claimed, for example, that the Sultan "did bring centralism to such a point that, although there was a Ministry of the Interior, he directly appointed the *valis* himself or according to the recommendations of his secretaries."<sup>122</sup> According to these critics, the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs over the selection of a governor was minimal. It only drew up the lists of potential governors for the Sultan's approval. The decisions by the ministry on these appointments were not guided by any legal stipulations. An informal system of favoritism and patronage determined the appointments.<sup>123</sup> But here one should ask the question of whether the Ottoman

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<sup>122</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Third edition (Ankara: TTK, 1988), vol.VIII, p.248.

<sup>123</sup> İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar* (İstanbul: Maarif, 1965) vol.VII, p. 949. The first time that a *vali* was directly dismissed by the Minister of the Interior happened after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. The governor of Trabzon was changed after masses of petitions sent from the local people arrived at the *Bâbüâlî*. Hacı Akif Pasha, who was minister for just three days, took full responsibility for the dismissal, the first time ever in modern Turkish history. See, Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp İştittiklerim* (Ankara: TTK, 1949), p.6



government did ever formally define the requirements for holding a governorship? What did say the laws and regulations on the appointment and dismissal of governors?

The missing point in these critical considerations is that all regulations of the Tanzimat-era gave the right to appoint provincial governors to the Sultan. The *Tuna Vilayeti Nizamnamesi* (1864) openly stated this in the top paragraph after the first five introductory articles.<sup>124</sup> The *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (1871) declared in its first sentence that all constitutional principles were mentioned in the 1864 Regulation, and the new regulation concerned only the duties of the provincial officials and councils.<sup>125</sup>

In the middle of the century, there was an unsteady type of career path with regard to the officials. In an arena of personal relationships and intervention to promote men, “the Porte and the Palace seemed to have been engaged in a continual game of musical chairs in which the number of posts did not change but the officials rotated in an apparently aimless fashion.”<sup>126</sup> Davison notes that during the Tanzimat era much of the inefficiency and corruption in provincial administration was due to the manner in which governors were appointed and shifted about, “[a]ppointment was frequently the result of intrigue, influence, and bribery rather than merit; sometimes it was simply a means to remove a politically influential man to a post of honorable

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<sup>124</sup> “Vilayetin umur-i mülkiye ve maliye ve zabtiye ve politikyesinin nezareti ve ahkam-ı hukukiyenin icraatı taraf-ı eşref-i padişahiden mansub bir valiye muhavvel olup...”, §6 of the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*.

<sup>125</sup> “Vilayatın teşkilat-ı esasiyesi bin iki yüz seksen bir senesi şehr-i Cemadelahiresinin yedisi tarihiyle müverrahen ilan kılınan nizamname ile tayin kılınmış...”, in the introduction of the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*.

<sup>126</sup> R. Marvin DeVore, *British Military Consul in Asia Minor 1878-1882* (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1973), p. 109.



exile far from the Porte. The governor was sent to a province about which he often knew nothing, where he would stay only briefly.”<sup>127</sup>

Later on, a concern for the training and expertise of candidates for governorship appears to have become an important element in appointment decisions. Education went hand in hand with good personal connections as criteria for selection. A sharp rise in the educational levels of governors, especially graduates of the *mekteb-i mülkiye*, is evident during the era. The *mekteb-i mülkiye* was the separate school for civil administration in İstanbul.<sup>128</sup> It opened in 1859 with a one-year course and reorganized under Abdülhamid II in 1877 by lengthening the program from two to four years, depending on the background of the student. The *mülkiye* produced many of the leaders of the late Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic; it was the regular gateway to high-level bureaucratic posts. By the time of the 1908 revolution the *mülkiye* had produced 1236 graduates.

The new schools soon produced a flood of modern career bureaucrats taking over the administration from the bureaucratic relics of the old style that had survived from the Tanzimat. A general consciousness, including even the old style educated bureaucrats, was aware of the importance of education in modern schools in order to survive in the bureaucracy. Ferid Pasha, the *vali* of Konya and later Grand Vizier, although belonging to the non-schooled governors, was conscious of the changing times when he once gathered the *medrese* teachers in Konya: “You are not able to fit yourself to the age. As soon as we have the opportunity, let us reform these *medreses*.

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<sup>127</sup> Davison, 1963, p.138.

<sup>128</sup> See Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969) and Joseph S. Szyliowicz, “Elite Recruitment in Turkey: The Role of the Mülkiye”, *World Politics*, XIII (1971), pp.371-98.

I will help you. Otherwise you will be penitent. One day your *medreses* will be demolished and you will crush under them, too.”<sup>129</sup>

But, of course, a modern education was not the only principle in appointments. Informal procedures were of considerable importance in appointment decisions. Experience was another pillar. Governors and vice-governors were chosen from among candidates experienced in local affairs and the problems of the *taşra*. Political convictions and family backgrounds of candidates were also important. The identification of the main motives of appointments requires an explanation using various factual examples.

In cases where the Sultan wished to change a governor, the *mâbeyn-i humayun*, the office of the Sultan’s clerks, sent a letter to the Grand Vizier mentioning that it is the order of the Sultan that he submit a suitable person for a certain province (*müşarünileyhin yerine bir münasibin arzı mukteza-yı emr u ferman-ı hümayun-ı hazretleri hilafetpenahilerinden bulunduğunu*). The reason for the change could be expressed in various ways. For example, the dismissal of Kadri Bey was once desired because of the complaints about him and because of his supposed negligence and slackness (*şikayet edilmekde ve kendisinin orasınca âsâr-ı tekasül ve rehavet görülmekde olmasına mebnî*).<sup>130</sup> The Chamber of Ministers talked over the issue. The written decision, containing the candidates for the particular governorship, was submitted to the *mâbeyn* by the Grand Vizier. The case of Kadri Bey shows the general manner in which such a resolution could be written:

The private letter [*tezkire-i hususiye*], informing the imperial rescript of the owner of the caliphate on the submission of a suitable [candidate] instead of the governor of the Trabzon province, Kadri Bey, because of complaints about him and observations of his negligence and slackness there, and the

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<sup>129</sup> M.Zekai Konrapa, *Bolu Tarihi* (Bolu: Vilayet Matbaası, 1960), p.576.

<sup>130</sup> BOA, YA.RES 85/35, 1314.9.29

importance of the place, is read between us servants. The aforementioned must be changed, because of his observed signs of slackness. On reflection of a proper [candidate] the ex-Minister of Police Nazım Pasha, the ex-governor of Hijaz, Hacı Hasan Pasha, the ex-governor of Diyarbekir, Aziz Pasha, and the member of the civil service section of the Council of State, Enis Pasha, are those possessing the needed qualities and are suitable, coming to minds for the aforementioned governorship. In the designation of the person who will be approved from the aforementioned men by the highest vicinity, and in all circumstances the order and command belongs to the owner of the order.

The paper is signed by all members of the *meclis-i vükela*, the chamber of ministers, which consists of the Grand Vizier, the SheikhuIslam, Ministers of Justice, War, Marine, Foreign, Interior, Police, Finance, Endowments, Education, Trade, the Secretary of State and the Head of the Council of State.<sup>131</sup>

The Sultan mostly chose the governors from among the nominees suggested by the Grand Vizier.<sup>132</sup> A strong accordance with the essentials of law in appointments can be seen from the documents. When a change of the governor of Ankara, Tevfik Pasha, was being considered because of his old age,<sup>133</sup> the Sultan expressed his wish for a qualified, capable and loyal (*ehil ve muktedir ve sadık*) governor to be chosen for Ankara.<sup>134</sup> The chamber of ministers has discussed the matter and sent its decision via the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, as usual. The affairs of the province were not in order for some time due to the governor's old age and illness. He was no longer able to

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> "Manastır valiliğine arz ve istizan buyrulduğu üzere Kosova Kumandanı Ferik Ali Rıza Paşa hazretlerinin tayini münasib olacağından", BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 68/6, 1320 Za 10, Palace to Grand Vizier.

<sup>133</sup> "[T]erakkî-i sinn maniasıyla umûr-ı vilayete bakamamakda olmasına mebnî, yerine münasib bir zatın intihab ve arzı hakkında şerefsudur buyurulub tezkire-i hususiye-i atûfleriyle tebliğ olunan irade-i seniyye", BOA, Y.PRK.A 12/74, 1319 N 14.

<sup>134</sup> "Vilayet-i mezkure valiliğine ehil ve muktedir ve sadık bir zatın intihabı zımında keyfiyetin müzakeresiyle kararının arzı şerefsünuh ve sudur buyrulan irade-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhîleri iktiza-yı âlisinden bulunduğunu mübelliğ tezkire-i hususiye", BOA, Y.PRK.A 12/73, 1319 N 14.

deal with the conduct of provincial matters.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, the council decided to submit names from among dismissed governors in case the imperial will was to change the governor. Two names were recommended. One was Hazim Efendi, who was earlier dismissed from Mosul, but not for a critical matter (*infisali esbab-ı mühimmeye mebni olmayan*). The other was one whose ability was known (*dirayet ve revîyyeti görülen*), Ahmed Nazım Pasha, dismissed from Van. An interesting phrase was used to legitimate the representation of the two names. They seemed to have privileged in this selection (*intihablarında vech-i rüchan görüldüğü*). Other possible appointees were excluded due to age and infirmity and others were ineligible due to the importance of the province (*mazulîn-i vulatdan bir kısmı sinn u alîl ve bir takımının ahvali vilayet-i mezkurenin ehemmiyet-i asliye ve haliyesiyle gayr-i mütenasib*).<sup>136</sup> The phrases were designed to manipulate the decision of the Sultan.

An interesting case was the discussion on Kamil Pasha's governorship of Aydın. Because of matters concerning peace and security of the *vilayet*, the Sultan ordered the ministerial board to discuss the dismissal of the old *vali* of Aydın, Kamil Pasha, and his future residence on Midilli island. The Grand Vizier, after praising the imperial decision, wrote the Sultan of the dangers of Kamil Pasha's cohabiting with others exiled in Midilli. He submitted the alternative proposal of exchanging him with the governor of the *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid*, the Mediterranean Islands. The Grand Vizier did not forget to offer a name for the governorship of Aydın, in case of the Sultan's insistence in ordering Kamil Pasha to reside in Midilli.<sup>137</sup> It should be

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<sup>135</sup> "Umur-ı vilayetin bir müddetden beri mecra-yı matlubede cereyan etmemekde olması, vali-i müşarünileyhin şeyhuhati ve maluliyeti cihetiyle, muamelat-ı cariyeyi bizzarure tamamiyle ruyet edememekde olmasından neşet eylediğine", *ibid*.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>137</sup> "Kamil Paşa'nın Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid vilayeti valisi Nazım Paşa hazretleriyle becayış sureti tezekkür olunmuş ise de, karîn-i tasvîb-i isabet-nasîb-i âli olmayub Kamil Paşa'nın Midillî'de ikameti

noted that four months earlier, the Sultan asked the Grand Vizier to send an investigation commission to İzmir and submit its opinion on Kamil Pasha's future. It was stated that any tolerance granted toward his failure to establish public security could cause the involvement of the Western states in the area. Therefore, the best solution would be the assignment of a new governor to Aydın, and the forced residence of Kamil Pasha in one of the Mediterranean islands.<sup>138</sup> The commission charged the governor with being too old to govern and with shutting his eyes to the improper interference in governmental matters by his relatives, especially his son Said Pasha<sup>139</sup> and son-in-law Faik Pasha, both of whom materially benefited from his passiveness. The official communication to end these misbehaviours was in vain as the interference of his sons increased. Furthermore, the rise of brigandage was another consequence of Kamil Pasha's maladministration.<sup>140</sup> In the end, the Grand Vizier offered the same as above - an exchange with the governor of the Mediterranean Islands, or the appointment of one of two other candidates, in the case

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emr u ferman buyrulduğu halde, Aydın vilayeti valiliğine Techizat-ı Askeriye Nazırı sabık Râif Paşa hazretlerinin icra-yı memuriyeti muvafık görüldüğü," BOA, YA.HUS 508/93, 1324.11.24.

<sup>138</sup> "[B]unun neticesi maazallahu teala müdahalat-ı ecnebiyeyi ve devletce müşkilatı dai olabileceğinden, ve o takdirce valiliğe münasib birinin tayiniyle müşarünileyh Kamil Paşa hazretlerinin adaların birinde istirahat etmesi lazım geleceğinden", BOA, YEE 86/15, 1324 B 28.

<sup>139</sup> Just two years ago did Kamil Pasha demand the Sultan's amnesty for his son and allow him to return to İzmir to help him, because both the assistant governor and the chief secretary were ill, and he was tired to be engaged alone in all state affairs: "Muavin-i vilayet evvelce arz olunduğu vechile arıza-i vücudiyesinden dolayı bi-mecal olduğu gibi, bu esnada mektubi-i vilayet dahi hastalanub taht-ı tedavide bulunduğu cihetle, bu cesim vilayetin muamele ve muhaberece bizzat ifa etmek mecburiyetiyle kesret-i iştiğalden acizleri pek yorgun düştüğümünden, muavenetine muhtac olduğum mahdum-ı acizlerinin avdeti için istihsal-ı müsaade", and, "şu şeyhuhatda Said bendelerinin bir senelik daha refakat ve muavenetinden mahrumiyet-i acizaneme lutf u inayet", BOA, Y.PRK. UM. 69/11, 1322 M 4.

<sup>140</sup> "[Ş]imdiye kadar kendisine icra olunan tebliğat-ı resmiye ve vasaya-yı mahsusanın hiçbir tesiri görülemeyerek müdahalat-ı maruza bilakis gittikçe artmakda olmasına, ve bir vakitten beri tevali ve tezayüd etmekde olan eşkıya vukuatının vilayet müsamahasından ileri geldiği," BOA, YEE 86/15, 1324 B 28. On the rise of brigandage during Kamil Pasha's governorship, see Halil Dural, *Bize Derler Çakırca: 19.ve 20.Yüzyılda Ege'de Efeler* (İstanbul 1999).

that Kamil Pasha would be exiled to Midilli.<sup>141</sup> Raif Pasha, the ex-director for the supply of military equipment, is the person offered in both letters of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan. But the suggestions of the Grand Vizier were not realized.

When the governor of Salonica was permitted in May of 1901 to leave his office and come to İstanbul due to his illness and old age, Tahsin Pasha, the Chief Secretary of the Sultan, sent a letter to the Grand Vizier containing possible candidates for the post with comments about all.<sup>142</sup> According to the letter, Hasan Fehmi Pasha did not want to go to Salonica and Raif Pasha's current political situation made him incapable for the post.<sup>143</sup> The exchange of the governors of Bursa or Erzurum with Salonica were other possibilities. But Halil Bey's separation from Bursa was unacceptable; and Rauf Pasha was writing from Erzurum that he was ill.<sup>144</sup> The Chief Secretary implied in his letter, as the opinion of the Sultan himself, that the only possible candidate

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<sup>141</sup> "Aydın valiliğine ber-mantuk-i emr u ferman-ı hümayun-ı şahane münasib birinin tayini icab-ı halden ve oraya erbab-ı dirayet ve haysiyet bir zatın nasbı lazımeden olub, Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid valisi Nazım Paşa hazretleri faal ve umur-i vilayeti ber-vefk-i dilhâh-ı âlî mecra-yı intizama ifrağ edecek evsaf ve iktidar haiz olacağı gibi, müşarünileyhin Aydın valiliğine tayini halinde Kamil Paşa hazretlerinin de Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid vilayetine nakli mümkün; ve bu suret rehin-i tasvib buyrulmadığı takdirde, Yemen Heyet-i Teftişîye reis-i sabıkı Şakir ve Techizat Nazır-ı sabıkı Raif Paşalar hazaratından birinin tayini", *ibid*.

<sup>142</sup> "Hasan Paşa hazretleri hastalığı cihetiyle Selanik valiliğinden afvını mükerreren arz u istid'â etmiş ve şâyân buyrulan müsaade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahî üzerine Dersaadet'e gelmiş olub, fakat Selanik vilayetinin ehemmiyetine binaen validen huluvvî caiz olamayacağından...", BOA, Y.PRK. BŞK 64/79, 1319 M 18.

<sup>143</sup> "Raif Paşa hazretlerinin dahi meslek-i politikası şu aralık orada bulunmasına elverişli görülmemekte bulunduğ", *ibid*.

<sup>144</sup> "Taşrada elyevm valiliklerde bulunanlardan Hüdavendigâr valisi Halil Bey'in Bursa'dan infikakı caiz olamayacağı gibi, Erzurum valisi Rauf Paşa hazretleri dahi hastalığından bahsetmekde bulunduğu sebebiyle", *ibid*.



could be the *mutasarrıf* of Jerusalem, Tevfik Bey.<sup>145</sup> The Grand Vizier was asked his opinion of Tevfik Bey's first appointment as *vali*.<sup>146</sup>

The manner of interpreting candidates, as in the last document, is interesting in various ways. Former remarks on previously mentioned ineligible [sic] candidates are of no real importance when considering new cases. As will be seen a year later, after the unsuccessful governorship of Tevfik Bey in Salonica, Hasan Fehmi Pasha, who was mentioned in the former case by Tahsin Pasha as not likely to go to Salonica, did indeed go to this province. The illness mentioned by Rauf Pasha derived from conditions at Erzurum, therefore he wanted for a long time to be transferred.<sup>147</sup> More interesting is that he was appointed after Hasan Fehmi as *vali* of Salonica, where he served between September of 1904 and August of 1908. More difficult to understand is why would it be impossible to separate Halil from Bursa. Why was he sent in September of 1903 to Beirut where he spent five years as governor? As seen, all comments trying to explain the impossibility of appointments of certain persons are too fligthy, if not nonsense. The purpose was from the beginning to raise the *mutasarrıf* of Jerusalem, who was a former *mâbeyn* secretary, to the governorship of Salonica.

A hierarchy of candidates emerges when the possibility of an appointment arises. Former *vilayet* governors who were currently free or at other posts in İstanbul were taken into consideration first. The Sultan, on occasion, personally called the

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<sup>145</sup> "Mutasarrıflar içinde münasibi arandıkda Kudûs Mutasarrıfı Tevfik Bey Efendi hazretleri bidayet-i memuriyetinden beri gayet hakîmane ve sükunperverane idare-i umur eylemiş olması ve iffet ve istikameti münasebetiyle müşarûnileyh tahattur buyurulmasıyla", *ibid*.

<sup>146</sup> "Bu babda olan mütalaa-i samiye-i sadaretpenâhîlerinin arz u iş'ârı, şerefsudur buyurulan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenâhîleri iktiza-yı âlîsinden olmakla", *ibid*.

<sup>147</sup> "[M]evâsim-i şitâiyyede Erzurum'un şedaid-i hevâiyyesinden dūçâr-ı ızdırab olduğum maruzat-ı sabika ile malum-ı âlî-i hazret-i velinimet-i a'zamî buyrulmuş olduğundan, vilâyât-ı mezkurenin mevaki'-i mu'tedilesinde ve yazları dahi bu cihetlerinde icra-yı vazife eylemek üzere lutfen ve merhameten", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 48/66, 1317 C 26.

discharged governors to the attention of the Porte.<sup>148</sup> The *valis* in the provinces were then taken into account. When there was no appointment possible from among these two sources, the sub-governors of the *sancaks*, the *mutasarrıfs*, were considered as candidates for governor.

The governors could themselves demand their change, citing their old age or illness. Ahmed Rasim Pasha was seventy years old when he did this, as written in his personnel file on 17 June 1896:

As the mentioned [Ahmed Rasim Pasha] declared that he has no power to conduct the provincial affairs because of the aggravation of his illness, and demanded his excuse from duty, and as the important matters of the province need to be organized and improved because its geographic importance require delicacy, the local administration has to be entrusted to a powerful man.<sup>149</sup>

When governor of Mosul, Arif Pasha, died, the Minister of the Interior wrote to the Grand Vizier on the urgent need for a replacement. The Grand Vizier forwarded the request to the *mâbeyn* (“*validen hâlî bulunan Musul vilayetine münasib bir zatın tayini lüzumunu havi nezaret-i müşarünileyhanın tezkiresi*”).<sup>150</sup>

In the case of a replacement of governorship after a sudden death of the *vali*, the Grand Vizier would write a private letter (*tezkire-i hususiye*) to the Sultan, beginning with a benediction for the Majesty, and then present names for the new appointment. After the death of the *vali* of Bitlis, he states that the name chosen by the Sultan will be submitted in official procedure.<sup>151</sup> The list contains the names of Fehmi Efendi,

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<sup>148</sup> As in BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 66/68, 1320 M 14: “Selanik Vali-i sabıkı Tevfik Beyefendi hazretlerinin açıkda bırakılmayarak açılacak münasib bir memuriyete intihab ve arzı şerefsudur buyurulan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenâhî iktiza-yı âlisinden olmakla, ol bâbda emr u ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir, li 14 M 1320 li 10 Nisan 1318 Serkatib-i hazret-i şehriyârî Tahsin”.

<sup>149</sup> BOA, SA 3/597.

<sup>150</sup> BOA, YA.HUS 392/71, Şaban 1316.

<sup>151</sup> “Bitlis valisi Hüsni Bey’in vuku-ı vefatına mebni yerine tayini için tahattur olunan zevâtın esamîsini mübeyyin pusula arz u takdim olunmuş olmakla, zevât-ı müşarünileyhimden kangısını tensib ve ferman buyrulur ise arz u istizan olunacağı derkar bulunmuşdur efendim”, BOA, Y.PRK.A 13/74, 1321 L 24.



the accountant of the Foreign Ministry, Hamdi Efendi, the *mutasarrıf* of Canik, and Refet Pasha, the former *mutasarrıf* of Prizren. Some relevant notes on the nominees were written on the top of the names: “*Müşarünileyh faal ve gayyur ve usul-i idareye vakıfıdır*”, “*Müşarünileyh sekiz-on senedir Samsun’da bulunub bazı yerlerde Ermeni iğtişası zuhur etdiği halde Samsun’da bir hadise zuhur etmemiş*”, and “*Müşarünileyh şimdiye kadar bulunduğu mutasarrıflıklarda kat’an leke almamış ve birçok zaman umur-i adliyede bulunarak isbat-ı liyakat eylemiştir*.”<sup>152</sup> This is an inconsistency in the matter of appointments during the reign of Abdülhamid II. All appointments to official posts look in accordance with rules and official procedures. But the reality lies in the drafts of these appointments which mostly were not like to be seen.

*Becayış* was a term used for the exchange of two governors. This could be in the case of complaints about a governor, as in the case of Fehmi Efendi in Mamuretülaziz from January of 1905. In August of 1906, he was exchanged with the governor of Diyarbekir “because of continuous complaints about him”.<sup>153</sup>

The Grand Vizier’s opinion on changing a governor was sometimes opposed to the Sultan’s. Once the Grand Vizier was ordered to change, within the lines of procedure, the governor of Yannina who was seen as incapable by the Sultan. The Sultan wanted to replace him with the former governor of Yannina, Osman Pasha.<sup>154</sup> Before beginning to raise his objection, the Grand Vizier tried to make it clearly

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Such exchanges were expressed in the personnel files as follows: “*Müşarünileyhin bir müddetden beri hakkında devam etmekde olan şikayat sebebiyle tebdil-i memuriyeti lazım gelmesine mebni Diyarbekir vilayeti valisi ile becayiş-i memuriyeti, Dahiliye Nazırı ile bilmüzakere tensib kılınarak bilistizan şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhî mucebince binüçyüzirmi dört senesi Receb-i şerifi gürresinde (8 Ağustos 1322) maaş-ı hâlfisi ve becayiş suretiyle vilayet-i müşarünileyha valiliğine nakil buyrulmuştur*,” BOA, SA 2/804.

<sup>154</sup> “*Yanya Valisi Seyfullah Paşa’nın idaresizliği anlaşıldığı cihetle devam-ı memuriyeti caiz olamayacağından azliyle yerine Vali-i sabık Ferik Osman Paşa’nın iadeten tayini hususının taraf-ı acizanemden alelusul batezkire-i resmiye arz u istizan edilmesi emr u ferman buyrulmuştur*,” BOA, YA.HUS 51487, 1325.7.19.

known that he did not personally know Seyfullah Pasha, and that he did not have any relation with him. Then he notes that there are no known complaints about him at the Porte.<sup>155</sup> Afterwards, he raised his objections on the ex-governor and new candidate Osman Pasha, about whom he complains of having administrated Yannina in the interest of Greek political intentions and despised the orders of the Porte. The Grand Vizier submits it as a matter of his honor<sup>156</sup> and demands someone else be appointed, in the case that the Sultan insisted on changing Seyfullah Pasha.<sup>157</sup>

The Grand Vizier could somehow make grounds for new appointments by reporting bad governing in a certain province. Once he made it known that the *vali* of Edirne was unable to conduct his province due to illness. The provincial work was in hands of the judge (*naib*) and some other officials. This would adversely affect general affairs (*mesalih-i umumiye*).<sup>158</sup>

The Sultan could reject the government's demand for changing a governor. The Palace once wrote to the Grand Vizier that the *valis* of Trabzon and Bursa, who were nominated for the governorship of Kosovo, could not be transferred from their places because they were administrating well (*hüsn-i idare etmekde olmasıyla oradan kaldırılması caiz olamayacağı*). It was further stated that it would be sufficient to

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<sup>155</sup> "Seyfullah Paşa ile bir güne muarefe ve münasebetim olmadığından bu babdaki maruzatımın şaibe-i tarafgîrî ve sahabetden azade olduğunu arz-ı temine cûret eylerim. ... Şimdiye kadar tayin-i madde edilmek suretiyle hakkında haklı ve şâyân-ı nazar bir şikayet vuku bulduğuna dair Bâbîâlîce malumat yokdur", *ibid*.

<sup>156</sup> "Evvel ve ahir pek çok tezyifat ve tahkiratına uğramış olan Bâbîâlî'nin hiçbir ehemmiyeti ve bu abd-i acizin de şahsen bir kadr u meziyyeti olmasa bile, elyevm velinimet-i a'zam efendimizin şerefgeran-beha-yı vekaletini haiz bulunduğum cihetle, semere-i lütf u ihsan-ı humayun-ı hilafetpenâhî olan mevki ve haysiyet-i bendeganemin muhafazası yine lutf u inayet-i mülukâneye aid bir keyfiyet", *ibid*.

<sup>157</sup> "Seyfullah Paşa'nın Yanya'da mutlaka kalkması icab ettiği takdirde, Osman Paşa'dan başka münasib bir diğerinin tayini, menut-ı rey-i âlî olduğunun arzına cûret", *ibid*.

<sup>158</sup> "Rahatsızlığı cihetiyle Edirne Valisi Reşad Beyefendi hazretleri hakkıyla işe bakamayarak umur-ı vilayetin naib efendi ile sair bazı memurînin elinde kaldığı mevsuken haber alınmış ve ehemmiyet-i mevkiiyyeden dolayı bu halin mesalih-i umumiyyeye tesirden gayr-i hâlf olması tabii...", BOA, YA.HUS 510/52, 1325 2.10.

warn the present governor<sup>159</sup> who had gained great knowledge and experience concerning special matters of the province (*ahval-i mahalliye hakkında vukuf ve tecrübe hasıl eylemiş olmasına nazaran*) during his years.

The palace could ask for the promotion of a name for a governorship. This was the case when the Grand Vizier's opinion (*mütalaa-i sâmiye-i fehimâneleri*) on Mecid Efendi's appointment to Aleppo was asked after complaints about the government of the current *vali*, Enis Pasha. Mecid Efendi's previous experience in the province is presented as advantageous such an appointment.<sup>160</sup>

In the later years of Abdülhamid II's reign, the direct recommendation by the Grand Vizier of a certain name to be appointed to a governorship is demanded.<sup>161</sup> In cases where the recommendation of the cabinet is not asked, it seems a matter of confidence in the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha. Writing his answer to the request for a governor recommended for Basra, Ferid Pasha gives the names of the former *mutasarrıf* of Muş, Hüsni Bey, and a member of the Council of State, the ex-*vali* of

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<sup>159</sup> “[T]araf-ı sâmi-i sadaretpenâhîlerinden icabı vechile tenbihat ve talimat-ı lazime ifa ve ihtar kılındığı takdirde, ber-vefk-i dilhâh-ı âlî hüsn-i ifa-yı vazifeye muvaffak olarak şikâyet hudusüne sebeb bırakmayacağı melhuz bulunduğundan”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 67/14, 1320 C 7.

<sup>160</sup> “Havran ıslahatı müfettiş-i sabıkı Mecid Efendi hazretlerinin gerek evvelce Bitlis valiliğinde bulunduğu sırada gerek tahkik memuriyetiyle Sason’da bulunduğu esnada hidemât-ı hasene ve sadıkânesi görülmüş olmasıyla müşarûnileyhin Haleb valiliğine memuriyeti münasib olup olmayacağı hakkındaki mütalaa-i sâmiye-i fehimânelerinin arz ve inbâsı şerefvârid buyrulan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenâhî icab-ı âlisinden olmağla ol bâbda emr u ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 67/14, 1320 C 7.

<sup>161</sup> “Basra vilayetinin derkar olan ehemmiyeti cihetiyle oraya muktedir ve faal bir valinin sur’at-ı tayini muktezâ bulunmasına mebni vilayet-i mezkure valiliğine tayini münasib görünenler hakkındaki mütalaa-i senâverinin arzı şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhî iktiza-yı âlisinden bulunduğunu mübelleğ tezkire-i hususi-i devletleri alındı”, BOA, YA.HUS 506/53, 1324.7.17.

Mamuretülaziz, Hasan Bey.<sup>162</sup> He adds, of course, that it is the Sultan who will make the final choice from one of these two or someone else.<sup>163</sup>

In a case, the opinion of a military commander was asked. The Grand Vizier asked the opinion of the Commandant of the V. Army, after the recall of the governor of Syria, Hasan Refik Pasha, because he gave countenance to Young Turks. The Commandant was consulted on the eligibility of transferring the governor of Beirut, Nazım Pasha, to Damascus or rather to unite the two *vilayets* of Beirut and Syria under the strong hands of Nazım Pasha.<sup>164</sup>

The new assigned governor would give thanks for his assignment in writing if he was outside of İstanbul. Hacı Reşid Pasha learned that he was appointed to Mosul when he was in charge of settling the Bosnian emigrants in villages of Ankara.<sup>165</sup> He immediately send a telegram to the Sultan, where he presented his thanks for this great favour of His Majesty, in a manner of servitude and fidelity, as he was “a pure apprentice and a servant gloried with full devotion to the greatest benefactor”.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>162</sup> “Muş Mutasarrıf-ı sabıkı Hüsni Bey’in faaliyeti cihetiyle mezkur valiliğe tayini münasib olduğu gibi Şura-yı Devlet Mülkiye Dairesi azasından Mamuretülaziz Vali-i sabıkı Hasan Beyefendi hazretleri dahi sıfat-ı matlubeyi haiz olarak oraya azimete muvafakat edeceği derkar bulunmuş olmağa”, *ibid*.

<sup>163</sup> “[B]unlardan birinin ve yahud nezd-i ilhamvefd-i hazret-i mulukanede tensib buyrulacak zatın icra-yı memuriyeti menut-ı re’y-i âlî idüğünün sūdde-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenâhîye arzı mütemennadır efendim”, *ibid*.

<sup>164</sup> “Beyrut Valisi Nazım Paşa hazretlerinin Suriye’ye tahvil-i memuriyeti veya iki vilayetin tevhiidiyle müşarünileyh Nazım Paşa hazretlerinin tayini münasib ve husul-ı maksadı kâfil olub olamayacağını atebe-i ulyaya arzı şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahî iktiza-yı âlisindendir”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 53/1, 1315 S 14.

<sup>165</sup> “Memuriyet-i cedide-i çâgerânemi mübelliğ olan Dahiliye Nezaret-i celilesinin telgrafnamesi telgraf hattı bulunmayan Çubukabad kazası dahilinde bir köyde gece alınarak Ankara’ya şimdi muvasalat eylediğimden esbab-ı azimetimi tehiye ile mütevağğil bulunduğumu arz eylerim”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 56/57, 1319 C 19. For migration from the Balkans, see Nedim İpek, *Rumeli’den Anadolu’ya Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994) and the same author’s “Balkanlar, Girit ve Kafkaslar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler ve Göçmen İskan Birimlerinin Kuruluşu (1879-1912)”, *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 1 (Isparta, 1995), pp.197-221.

<sup>166</sup> “Velinimet-i a’zam efendimiz hazretlerinin چراغ-ı hassı ve kemal-i sadakatla mübahî bir kulu olduğum cihetle, neyr-i teveccühât-ı celile-i hilafetpenâhîlerine mazhariyetle haiz-i nisab-ı feyz-i at[u]fi olduğumdan dolayı atebe-i sipehr-i tîla-yı şevketpenâhîleriyle cîbînsay-ı memlukiyye olarak takdim-i

Did governors prefer some provinces appointments to others? The more distant provinces were more disliked by the nominees for governor. Yemen was the most disfavored place, not just due to the distance, but also because of the domestic rebellions led by Imam Yahya, the incursions of British and then Italian forces in the south and Red Sea, and the smuggling of weapons into the highlands via powerful and defiant tribes.<sup>167</sup> The former governor of Salonica, Tevfik Bey, protested when informed of the Sultan's will to send him to Yemen in June 1904. He was not able to refuse it again in March of 1906. He even asked to be sent to Tripolitania, but in vain. Tevfik Bey opted not to take his family to the dangerous Yemen.<sup>168</sup>

Tripolitania was another far and disliked province to be appointed to. The central government was sometimes unable to send a governor for a long period. For example, there was no governor in Tripolitania after the death of Hüseyin Hüsni Efendi in 13 May 1904 until the arrival of Receb Pasha at the end of 1904. In the meantime, the *defterdar* acted as deputy governor.<sup>169</sup> Although Ahmed Nazım Pasha was appointed to the governorship, he did not go to the province. In his personnel file is written that "his appointment is delayed", but he never did go to Tripolitania.<sup>170</sup> Neither did Ismail Kemal Bey, who was appointed as governor yet preferred to take

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teşekkürat-ı ubudiyetkârâne ve sadakat-şî'arâneye müşâberet eylediğim maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM, 56/53, 1319 C 19.

<sup>167</sup> For late Ottoman Yemen, see Caesar E. Farah, *The Sultan's Yemen: Nineteenth-Century Challenges to Ottoman Rule* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002); Thomas Kühn, "Ordering the Past of Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," *Turcica*, 34 (2002), pp.189-220.

<sup>168</sup> *Mehmet Tevfik Bey'in II. Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, ed. F. Rezan Hürmen, vol.1 (İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 1993), vol.I, pp.215-216, 265-266.

<sup>169</sup> Nejdet Bilgi, "Trablusgarb'a Dair Bir Layiha", *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Sayı III, İzmir 1999, p.88.

<sup>170</sup> "[M]emuriyeti tehir edildiği", BOA, SA 47/270.

flight to Europe instead.<sup>171</sup> One is reminded of the Turkish proverb, “who is far from the eye, falls far from the heart” (*gözden ırak olan gönülden ırak olur* ).

If a person achieved to have his excuse accepted, his assignment was changed with the phrase “*mazeretine mebni kabl’el-azime tahvil*”, as was the case of Hasan Fehmi Pasha’s governorship to Aleppo. He acquired a post in İstanbul as Minister of Customs.<sup>172</sup>

The governors of Bitlis<sup>173</sup>, Erzurum<sup>174</sup> and Sivas<sup>175</sup> generally complained that the cold weather conditions in their provinces made them ill and demanded a change.

It was not only geographical or climate issues that made governors like or dislike their areas of supervision. Internal affairs of the province could prompt them

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<sup>171</sup> *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, ed. Sommerville Story (London: Constable, 1920); Cahit Telci, “İsmail Kemal Bey Hakkında Avusturya Devlet Arşivi’nde Bulunan Bir Mektup”, *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Sayı 1, İzmir 1996, ss.185-191.

<sup>172</sup> BOA, SA 4 /177 .

<sup>173</sup> All governors of Bitlis complained of cold weather conditions. “Bitlis’e muvasalatımdan beri mevkiin rutubet ve havanın burudetinden romatizma ve basur gibi ilel-i kadime nüks ederek...bir aydan beri umur-i vilayeti hane derununda rüyet mecbur olduğum halde bir haftadır etibba tarafından bilcümle umur ve iştigalden men olunmakla ... Dersaadetce münasib bir memuriyete ve şimdilik mümkün değil ise Dar-ı şevket-ârâya ya da civar ve havası mutedil vilayatdan birine tahvil-i memuriyeti ... şiddetle vakf-ı intizar-ı rakiyyet eylediğim”, *vali* of Bitlis, Mecid Bey, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 45/6 1316 L 14. The second governor was Hüsnü Bey: “Bitlis Valiliğinde cansiperane uğraşmak neticesi olarak uğranılan avarız-ı vucudiyenin tesitat-ı elimesiyle geçende afvimi istida ettiğim halde şerefyağ-ı telhis olduğum irade-i seniyye-i şehinşah-ı a’zamî ve hastalığın dahi gösterdiği müsaade üzerine ta’kibsiz bırakılmışdı. Halbuki hastalık o zamandan beri zail olmayarak, elyevm bazı günlerim halet-i nez’ derecesinde vahim murur etmekde olduğundan, ve mevsim hali nezd-i âlfide malum idüğünden“, *vali* of Bitlis, Hüsnü Bey, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 67/19, 1321 Ş 1. Another governor of Bitlis complained many years later about the weather conditions and demanded an exchange: “Bir aya kadar şıtası başlayacak olan bu vilayetden rahm ve re’fet-i şehinşahileriyle biraz daha havası mutedil bir tarafla becayış-i ubeydaneme ve yahud münhal olan Diyarbekir’e tahvil-i memlukanem”, *vali* of Bitlis, Ferid Bey. BOA, Y.PRK UM 77/3, 1323 B 10.

<sup>174</sup> “Şiddet-i burudetden büsbütün bi-mecal kalacağım kaviyyen istidlal olunuyor. Bu halde umur-i hükümete bittabi’ hiç bakamayacağım cihetle temadi-i ikamet u memuriyet- i çağırânem şu suretle faidesiz ve mazarratı mebni...”, *vali* of Erzurum, Raif Pasha. BOA, Y.PRK.UM 51/99, 1318 C 17.

<sup>175</sup> “Bu zaaf-ı tene inzımm eden bazı ahvalden dolayı bu vilayetde durmak hergün ölümle musavi bir acıyı hissetmek demek olub, ...en sadık bir köpekleri de ben olduğumu bir kat daha isbat eylemek üzere vilayetden afvımla celbime müsaade buyrulmasını resmen istirham”, *vali* of Sivas, Reşid Akif Pasha. BOA, YEE 14/203, 1325 Z 9.



to request a change. Kamil Pasha, governor of Aydın, begged the Sultan to pardon him from İzmir.<sup>176</sup>

Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) was the most sought after appointment. The Mediterranean Islands were not an appealing place to live for the governor Abidin Pasha. He wanted either to be transferred to Bursa, or the State Council, or to be retired and live with his family in İstanbul.<sup>177</sup> He repeated his demand for retirement in a kindly manner again after five years.<sup>178</sup>

### **Decoding the Motives of Abdülhamid II in** **Choosing Governors**

What kind of officials are thought able to govern an Ottoman province? Beside formal conditions, what were the moral criteria for the Sultan to appoint a certain person to a certain *vilayet*? Sometimes the Sultan made appointments because of particular acts of loyalty he saw from an official. Ömer Sabri Bey was sent to Bitlis because of his works as the Director of the *Emniyet Sandığı*, a treasure of the social security system. Some palace members, Sultanas and *şehzades*, had desired a special treatment for their pawned jewellery (*rehin mücevherat*) and other belongings. He refused this request by mentioning that he could not treat Sultanas different than the

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<sup>176</sup> “Bu acizlerinin dahi bu bar-ı giran-ı vilayetden halasım hususuna merhamet,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 69/11, 1322 M 4.

<sup>177</sup> “Ya Hüdavendigâr valiliğine ya Şura-yı Devlet azalığına tayin-i acizanemin veya evlad u ahfadımla beraber Deraliyye’de bulunub deavat-ı hayriyyet-ayat-ı hazret-i padişahî ile meşgul olmak üzere tekaüdlüğümün icrası zımında, bugün Mâbeyn-i Hümayun Başkitabet-i celilesiyle Bâbîâlî’ye takdim eylediğim telgrafname-i acizanemin is’afını merhamet-i bî-nihayet-i hilafetpenâhîden hassaten tazarru eylerim”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/50, 1317 N 13.

<sup>178</sup> “Tekaüdlüğüm icra buyrulduğu halde, mütebaki ömrümü müftehîran de’avât-ı hayriyyet-ayât-ı cenab-ı hilafetpenâhî ile ikmal etmiş olurum”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 71/97, 1322 Ş 8.



normal people (“*ben Sultanlara halktan ayrı muamele yapamam*”). Soon he was appointed as governor of Bitlis as a reward for his lawful conduct.<sup>179</sup>

The palace was concerned above all with the efficient execution of administrative tasks and the governor was expected to take responsibility. The *vali* of Mosul was dismissed, together with the *mutasarrıf* of Kerkük in April of 1896, because of their inability to catch a group of *eşkıya* who troubled Kerkük. When the governor wrote about the incidents in a disavowing manner (*vali-i vilayetin mesuliyetden teberri eder suretde keşide eylediği telgrafname*), the palace ordered Ferik Abdullah Pasha, commander of Diyarbekir, to immediately to take control of Mosul (*suret-i fevkalade ile Musul’a azimetle idare-i umur-i vilayeti deruhde etmesi*). The Sultan ordered the Grand Vizier to consider a more capable governor for Mosul (“*Musul vilayeti valiliğine dahi muktedir ve müstakim bir zat düşünülmek üzere arz ve istizan olunması*”).<sup>180</sup>

Possessing knowledge and experience in certain local affairs<sup>181</sup> and having provided good service<sup>182</sup> were other motives. The importance of the place of the province could be a factor in choosing a certain governor.<sup>183</sup> In turn, complaints about the current governor, his negligence and slackness, could be cause for dismissal.<sup>184</sup> Mismanagement<sup>185</sup> was of course, a key reason.

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<sup>179</sup> Çankaya, vol.III, p.25.

<sup>180</sup> BOA, İrade Hus. 69/ 28 L.1313 publ. in *Musul- Kerkük İle İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri, 1525-1919* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993), p.231-32.

<sup>181</sup> “Kosova Valisi Beyefendi hazretleri hayli müddetden beri Kosova’da bulunarak ahval-i mahalliye hakkında vukuf u tecrübe hasıl eylemiş olmasına nazaran”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 67/14, 1320 C 7.

<sup>182</sup> “Hıdemat-ı hasene ve sadıkanesi görülmüş olmasıyla müşarünileyhin Haleb valiliğine memuriyeti”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 67/14, 1320 C 7.

<sup>183</sup> “Ehemmiyet-i mevkiaya nazaran”, BOA, YA.RES. 85/35, 1314.9.29.

<sup>184</sup> “Trabzon vilayeti Valisi Kadri Beyefendi hazretlerinden şikayet edilmekde ve kendisinin orasınca âsâr-ı tekasül ve rehavet görülmekde olmasına binaen”, BOA, YA.Res. 85/35, 1314.9.29.

To be near the Sultan was important too. A source of recruitment for governorships was the *mâbeyn*. But it was not usually the Sultan who sent the *mâbeyn* official directly to a governorship. On the contrary, it was the official who submitted his request for the governorship, the vacancy of which they were informed of first.<sup>186</sup>

Abdülkerim Pasha related the disfavor of the Sultan to his previous position in the entourage of the “cursed” (*mel'un*) Hüseyin Avni Pasha, head of the clique that is thought to have caused the death of Sultan Abdülaziz. He wished the Sultan would ask Seccadecibaşı İzzet Bey about him, whom he calls on his loyalty to witness, as one of the truly loyal servants from birth.<sup>187</sup>

The Grand Vizier presented the nominees for the governorship of Bitlis by introducing one of them to the Sultan as active, zealous and possessing knowledge of administrative essentials (*faal ve gayyur ve usul-i idareye vakıf*). Another he described as untaunted in his former offices and proven to be capable in judicial affairs.<sup>188</sup>

An examination of a letter to the court, written by Seyfullah Pasha, the governor of Yannina, reveals us more of the motives of the Sultan in favoring for a post. In his letter, the governor responded to the claims against him by speaking ill of the local usurpers, the *müteğallibe*, who accused him of behaving in a partisan fashion in local politics. He pointed out that he was the son of an immigrant from the Caucasus (*muhacir evladı*) and stressed his impartial situation in local politics, “It is obvious that I would not need the patronage and protection of anyone else than the royal dignity,

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<sup>185</sup> “Umur-ı vilayeti hüsn-i idare ve tahşiyet edememekde olduğu”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 67/14, 1320 C 7

<sup>186</sup> Tevfik, p.62 and 73.

<sup>187</sup> “Mücerred makam-ı hilafet-i kübrânın nân u nimeti ile perverde olarak kundakdan yetişmiş sahil sadık kullarından olduğum...”, BOA, YEE 14/76, 1316.

<sup>188</sup> “Şimdiye kadar bulunduğu mutasarrıflıklarda kat'an leke almamış ve birçok zaman umur-ı adliyyede bulunarak isbat-ı liyakat eylemiştir”, BOA, Y.PRK.A 13/74, 1321 L 24.

and favor any other side.”<sup>189</sup> Seyfullah Pasha noted as his second point his good management of the consuls (*konsoloslari hüsn-i idare*). He further recalled his success in the collection of taxes that had accumulated in the hands of the usurpers, and the deliverance of many fugitives who were associated with the mischievous people bringing harmful papers and books. Without heeding their threats, he had arrested and sentenced many of them. Lastly, he mentioned that he had handled the Rums who served the interest of Greece (*Yunanistan menfaatine hizmet eden Rum erbab-ı fesadı*).<sup>190</sup> Although Seyfullah Pasha’s crafty letter, directing the Sultan’s attention to essential points of his interests, did not help him to remain in his office in Yannina, he was soon appointed to the neighboring province of Shkoder. This was supported by the Grand Vizier, who reminded the Sultan that the complaints about the governor were made by the Greek Ambassador, which was enough to show the straightness of Seyfullah Pasha.<sup>191</sup>

The importance of the person to be appointed was once pointed out by an exile in Tripolitania, who wrote a memorandum to the Sultan with the following argument:

According to our conditions valid from the past on, the following of a method of procedure depends on the governor’s personality, intelligence, and capability. Therefore, after the changing of every *vali*, all affairs of the *vilayet* change, too; that is why no work is able to be done. This is a consequence of the competition of the successor with the predecessor, destructive guiding of other interest groups, the governor’s lack of conducting the affairs and being detached to their duties. So changes the affairs of the *vilayet* according to every *vali*. If the line of conduct of four or five governors following each other [in a province] is investigated, the appropriateness of my argument would become clear.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> “Hazret-i şehryariden ğayri kimsenin himayet ve siyanetine ihtiyacım olmayacağı ve hiçbir tarafı iltizam etmeyeceğim aşikardır,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 79/75, 1325 S 2.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> “Şikayet-i vakıa hükümet-i seniye nazarında ve nefsü’l-emirde vali-i müşarünileyh içün mucib-i muaheze olmak şöyle dursun, bilakis dolayısıyla şâyân-ı takdir bir hüsn-i şehadet suretinde telakki edilmek lazım”, BOA, YA.HUS 51487, 1325.7.19.

<sup>192</sup> Bilgi, p.90.

## Court Intrigues

Intrigues of court members, who had relations with diverse parties of patronage, were an important claim in self-presentations of Ottoman bureaucrats. Even the consuls were aware of the palace intrigues that drove the governors to difficulties when considering shortcomings. The English vice-consul in Van wrote that he feared the governor may fail in dealing with the Armenian and Kurdish questions, “The difficult position of any provincial Governor in face of Palace intrigues must, however, be borne in mind.”<sup>193</sup> Tahir Pasha was not hesitant to forward his thoughts on such intrigues. According to the *vali*, his sub-governor, the *mutasarrıf* of Hakkari was appointed to this post by the Porte to cause annoyance to him.<sup>194</sup>

However, the common *cliché* that the dismissal of an official was not just a case of his inefficiency, but of court intrigues or the Sultan’s arbitrary will must be reexamined. If one takes a look at other archival or memoir sources of contemporaries, it is easy to doubt and see the political character of this widely-used *cliché*. I want to call attention on to the case of Mehmed Tevfik Bey, the governor of Salonica who was of *mâbeyn*-origin. His use of the *cliché* is seen at many points in his memoirs.<sup>195</sup> But one of his sub-officials, Fazlı Necib Bey, after mentioning that Tevfik Bey was the first governor appointed who was not a Pasha, noted that he worked inefficiently, could not get results, was excessively hesitant and undecided in

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<sup>193</sup> FO, 424/197, No 82, p.80-83, Vice-Consul Elliot from Constantinople, Nov. 30, 1898 (*EHİB*, p.359-360).

<sup>194</sup> “Hakkari Mutasarrıflığı’na tayin buyurulan Ziya Bey, Erciş’den keşide eylediği telgrafnamesine nazaran, iki güne kadar Van’a gelecektir. Kendisinin Dersaadetden gönderdiği haberlere göre, kulunuzla uğraşmak için intihab edilmiş imiş,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 56/39, 1319 C 15.

<sup>195</sup> Tevfik, p.71.

nature, and feared the Sultan very much. He only had theoretical approaches and did not act in practice. His governing did not work because he tried tie everything in red tape.<sup>196</sup> Tahsin Uzer, a kaymakam in his province, noted the same about Tevfik Bey,

“He could not understand my informative talks on the Bulgarians and Greeks, because he could not penetrate the issues. I did not find him in a belief and ability for fixing the relations of nation and state, although he was young. He was not able to hear and understand the Macedonian problem because he was tired and plunged in thought. Anyhow, he never got in touch with others and his work did not surpass theory.”<sup>197</sup>

After taking the complaints on Tevfik Bey serious, the government sent a member of the Council of State to his province of Bursa and asked him to come to İstanbul to defend himself.<sup>198</sup> In another case, he was even accused by two trustees of the Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli foundation of demanding a bribe. He was said to have hindered and even falsified the correspondence of the subgovernor of Kırşehir.<sup>199</sup> There is also evidence in his demands related to salary that display patronage toward his relatives in lower state posts.<sup>200</sup>

Having a connection to the court could affect someone’s appointment to a prestigious province. In *Ottoman Rule in the Province of Damascus 1860-1909*,<sup>201</sup> Max L. Gross links the appointments of Hüseyin Nazım Pasha as vali of Syria (July

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<sup>196</sup> Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Maliye Teşkilatı Tarihi (1442-1930)* (Ankara: Maliye Bakanlığı Tetkik Kurumu Yayını, 1977), IV/ 401-402.

<sup>197</sup> Tahsin Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi* (Ankara: TTK, 1979), s.62-68.

<sup>198</sup> “BOA, MV 121/2, 1326 N 4

<sup>199</sup> “Vali-i müşarünileyhin rüşvet taleb etdiğine dair delâili mevcud olub, bu bâbda mukaddema tahkikat dahi icra kılınarak Kırşehir Mutasarrıflığı’ndan vilayete gönderilen evrak-ı tahkikiyyeyi müddet-i medîdeden beri tevkif ve tahrif eylemiş olduğu”, BOA, DH.MUI 12-2/6, 1327 N 5, from Minister of the Interior to the governor of Ankara.

<sup>200</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 68/120, (1321)

<sup>201</sup> (PhD. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1979) p. 471.

1897-March 1906)<sup>202</sup> and the two *valis* appointed to Beirut during this period, Reşid Mümtaz Pasha (Beirut, July 1897-late 1903) and İbrahim Halil Pasha (Beirut, until 1908), to the influence of İzzet Pasha, the second clerk of the *mâbeyn*. Gross verifies the argument by recalling that Mustafa Nuri Bey, the brother of İzzet Pasha, after serving for a term on the local council of Damascus, was made *mutasarrıf* of Karak and later *vali* of Mosul.

### **Political Convictions and Appointments to Exile**

Sultan Abdülhamid II's greatest punishment was exile. Statesmen feared to be suspected of disloyalty. Even former Grand Viziers or ministers could be appointed as governors to far provinces in order to be distanced from İstanbul.

This could cause real inconvenience for officials. The governor of Bursa, Münir Pasha, for example, who was a former Minister of Education, complained that he could not get used to his post out of İstanbul in the "*taşra*".<sup>203</sup>

When, in August of 1896, word reached the Sultan that a group of conspirators led by *Müşir* Kazım Pasha, the commander of the I. Imperial Army corps in İstanbul, was planning a *coup d'état* aimed at deposing him, all were immediately exiled to remote parts of the empire. Kazım Pasha, the designated leader of the coup, for

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<sup>202</sup> For his governorship in Syria, see Najib Elias Saliba, *Wilayat Suriyya, 1876-1909* (PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971), pp.140-143 and Muhammed Adīb al-Husnī, *Kitab muntakhabat al-tawarikh li-Dimashq*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Al-Matbuat al-Haditha, 1346/1927), pp.276-278.

<sup>203</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 29/53, 1311 N.3

example, was merely relieved of his command as *müşir* of the I.Army and was appointed as governor of Scutari in Albania, not a serious demotion.<sup>204</sup>

Even the people around the relatives of these Hamidian bureaucrats had to act cautiously in their public life. A young officer who became engaged to the daughter of Abdurrahman Hasan Bey notes that he had to cut his political activities just because of this engagement. He did not just fear for himself, but also for the future of his father-in-law. He resumed correspondence with Europe only after having broken off the engagement with the daughter of this statesman.<sup>205</sup>

Tevfik Bey, whose ship stopped at İzmir on his way to Jerusalem as the appointed *mutasarrıf*, feared to get off and see İzmir just to avoid gossip that he was in touch with the unfavored and exiled governor Kamil Pasha, the ex-Grand Vizier.<sup>206</sup>

The governor of Beirut reported several times to İstanbul, that he had confiscated prohibited publications sent from Europe via the English post to the governors of Syria and Adana.<sup>207</sup> The governorship of Ankara was selected by the Sultan from a list of nominees presented by the *Bâbîâlî* containing the names of Ebubekir Hazım Bey and Nazım Pasha. Reşid Akif Pasha, who wanted to be appointed to Ankara wrote a *jurnal* to the Sultan against these two other nominees. Reşid Akif Pasha claimed that Hazım Bey was a servant of Abdurrahman Pasha who

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<sup>204</sup> Ernest E. Ramsaur, Jr., *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908* (Beirut: Khayats, 1965), pp. 30-34.

<sup>205</sup> Mevlüt Çelebi, "Selim Sırrı Tarcan'ın Jön Türklüğü", *Tarih ve Toplum*, August 2003, No.236, pp.13-21, referring to Tarcan's memoirs in *Resimli Ay*, 1927, c. 4, No 3-39 ve 6-42.

<sup>206</sup> Tevfik, p.74.

<sup>207</sup> "Bugün dahi Suriye Valisi Nazım ve Adana Valisi Bahri Paşalar ve Cebel-i Lübnan dahilinde Şuf kaymakamı Mustafa namlarına Hilafet ve Gökden Sada evrak-ı matbua ve muzırından İngiliz postahanesiyle vurud eden nüshalar hemen derdest edildiği maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 48/75, 1317 B 4; "Suriye Valisi Nazım Paşa namına mazrufen vurud eden Hilafet namı altındaki evrak-ı muzırının derdest olduğu maruzdur", BOA, Y. PRK.UM 49/43, 1317 N 2.



was trained by Midhat Pasha. He called Nazım Pasha a dotard and spy of the former Grand Vizier and the deserter to the English embassy, Said Pasha.<sup>208</sup>

Ismail Kemal Bey, when appointed as governor of Tripolitania in April of 1900, tried to discover the secret motive for his appointment:

The essential point for me to know was whether the Sultan's object was simply to get rid of me by exiling me to this distant part of the Empire, where I should suffer all sorts of annoyances and humiliations, if not worse, or whether he really intended that my services were to be employed for the good of the State. If this latter supposition turned out to be the true one, though the Sultan would have the satisfaction of no longer having to support my presence in Constantinople, I should not be dissatisfied at having accepted the post. But as time went on I had more than one indication that the object of my appointment was neither to give me any real satisfaction nor was it any sincere desire for the reorganisation of the country."<sup>209</sup>

Ismail Kemal Bey never went to Tripoli. He wrote a confidential letter to the English ambassador, requesting to be given hospitality in case he fled. He indeed had taken refuge on board of an English vessel and left abroad some days later.<sup>210</sup> This brings us to another point: How far could a foreign state get involved in appointment affairs?

### **Foreign Influence in Appointments**

The nineteenth century witnessed a rapid infiltration of consulates into the provinces to protect European businessmen interests as Western commodities invaded Ottoman lands. Ali Pasha, one of the leading Tanzimat men, in complaining about the interference of the British ambassador Canning in state affairs, stated his deference to

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<sup>208</sup> Asaf Tugay, *İbret: Abdülhamid'e Verilen Jurnaller ve Jurnalciler* (İstanbul: Okat, 1962), vol.I, pp.101-102.

<sup>209</sup> *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, ed. by Sommerville Story (London: Constable 1920), p. 292

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 292-295.

consuls as guardians in the immediate vicinity of *valis*.<sup>211</sup> “Those unfortunate provincial governors who do not please them in fulfilling their duties can be counted as ruined.” Akarlı pointed out, that consuls’ involvement in provincial matters was a significant process undermining the authority of governors. Consuls related local disputes to the ambassadors in İstanbul, who in turn laid the incidents before the central government and demanded regulation of the governors’ authority. The governors also turned to İstanbul for assistance against consulates pressure, “Assistance came in the form of laws and regulations which made the governors share their authority with finance officials, police chiefs, army commanders and formal councils of local notables.”<sup>212</sup>

Foreign intervention in appointments and dismissals of governors was a consequence of the weakness of the Ottoman state in the diplomatic arena. Even newspapers in Europe could write about the incapacities and incapacities of Ottoman governors. An article from the *Correspondance Politique* was sent to the Palace from the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna in July 1896. The article accused some governors of exciting Muslim minds and causing harm not just to Armenians, but to all Christians, by giving their sub-officials vague orders. The correspondent recommended the Ottoman government remove such *valis* from office. Noting that his dismissal was requested diplomatically at various times, the article suggests the *Bâbîâlî* remove Governor Enis Pasha from Diyarbekir.<sup>213</sup> Simultaneous with the newspaper, the French Ambassador demanded to change the governor of Diyarbekir,

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<sup>211</sup> “[V]ilayetlerde valiler nezdinde vasiler kaim etmiştir”, Karal, VI, p.21, referring to Hayreddin, *Vesâik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye* (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şurekası, 1326) II, p.5.

<sup>212</sup> Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdülhamid II (1876-1909): Origins and Solutions* (Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton University, 1976), p.44.

<sup>213</sup> BOA, HR.SYS 192/6, 1896.7.9.

because of his misconduct during the Armenian incidents.<sup>214</sup> The British Vice-Consul did the same four months earlier,<sup>215</sup> but the governor remained in charge until October. Next year, in July of 1897, the British ambassador, stated that a change of governors in Sivas, Harput and Diyarbakir was made mainly through his pressure on the Sublime Porte, which improved the administration there. He adds that the new governors therefore showed a greater readiness to cooperate with consular officers.<sup>216</sup>

Consuls in Anatolia forwarded their opinions on provincial administration in their memoranda to superiors. On 16 June 1880, Lieutenant Colonel Wilson suggested reforms of the provincial law, the appointment of good men to governorships, the increase of power for governors and decentralization.<sup>217</sup>

Ismail Kemal, the previously mentioned prominent partisan of England who openly raised his voice against the Sultan, was once appointed governor of Tripolitania, as noted above. The British Ambassador Sir Philip Currie, commented that the “Sultan has come to this decision in view of the English proclivities of Ismail Kemal.” But the strong opposition of the French to the appointment halted the Sultan from sending the newly appointed governor to the post.<sup>218</sup> The Sultan inevitably regarded the thoughts of foreign ambassadors and councils in appointing governors, as seen in other examples.<sup>219</sup> Ismail Kemal Bey, considered the attempt to appoint

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<sup>214</sup> A. MKT. MHM. 637/30, 18.VII.1896.

<sup>215</sup> Musa Şaşmaz, *British Policy and the Application of Reforms for the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, 1877-1897* (Ankara: TTK, 2000), p.127-129: “The removal of the Vali is also a most necessary measure,” FO, 424/187, no 26, p.23-25. Vice-Consul Hallward to Consul Cumberbatch, Diarbekir, March 17, 1896.

<sup>216</sup> Şaşmaz, p. 214.

<sup>217</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Majestelerinin Konsolosları: İngiliz Belgelerinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki İngiliz Konosoloslukları, 1580- 1900* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p.213-214, from *F.O. Confidential Prints*, No.4307.

<sup>218</sup> Hanioglu, 1995, p.64.

<sup>219</sup> Said Paşa, vol.I, pp.399-401 and vol.II, p.282.

him as governor of Tripolitania to be a spectacular *mise-en-scène* on the part of the Sultan, “he hoped, thereby, to offer a pledge of his good intentions as regarded Great Britain, of whose Eastern politics I was supposed to be a fervent partisan.”<sup>220</sup>

Hafiz Pasha, the authoritarian governor of Kosovo had been sent to Tripoli because of the constant pressure of the Russian ambassador.<sup>221</sup> Every appointment in the Rumelian provinces was handled seriously by ambassadors.<sup>222</sup>

### **Letters of Recommendation and Support**

Sometimes, recommendations came from the local establishment or other members of the local government. The müftü of Prishtina, Mehmed Mustafa, expressed his opinion to the center that the *mutasarrıf* Bahri Pasha should be appointed as the *vali* of Kosovo because of his successful policies during three months in the region. The number of schools had increased, teachers were provided, clothes for students were renewed, the use of gas lamps has increased the income of the *belediye*, a *Gureba* Hospital has been opened, the construction of a *kışla* has begun and some distance was added to the iron line.<sup>223</sup>

Provincial councils wrote letters supporting their governors.<sup>224</sup> One private servant of the Sultan, on his return from pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Basra, praised the *vali* Hamdi Pasha by describing him as loyal, chaste, and religious. All his

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<sup>220</sup> Ismail Kemal Bey, p.250.

<sup>221</sup> Uzer, p.152

<sup>222</sup> Y.PRK.TKM 45/52, 1320 RA 16.

<sup>223</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 23/99, 1309 B 10.

<sup>224</sup> For earlier examples: The local council did thank the central government in İstanbul for rejecting the transfer request of the governor of Sivas, Ahmed İzzet Paşa (BOA, A.MKT.MHM 431/79, 1285 N 29). The local council of Trabzon is praising Yenişehirli Arif Paşa who was appointed to Aleppo after two years in Trabzon (BOA, Y.PRK.UM 16/28, 1307 B24).

actions were aimed at implementing the wishes of the Sultan.<sup>225</sup> The Christian priests of Diyarbekir thanked the Sultan in a telegraph because of the appointment of Enes Pasha to the governorship.<sup>226</sup>

The Sultan often dropped the cases of prospective appointees who were seeking an office. This kind of self-promotion was not well received. For example, the mutasarrıf of Manisa wanted to be appointed as governor to Kastamonu (“*Kastamonu Valiliği’nin uhde-i çâgerâneme teveccüh ve ihsanını istirham eylediğim...*”), and promised that he would increase the income of Kastamonu from the actual 300.000 Liras to 1.000.000 Liras (“*Vilayetin elyevm üç yüz kûsür bin lira dan ibaret olan varidâtını bir milyona istikâya müteahhid bulunduğumun ... arzını istid’â eylerim*”).<sup>227</sup> Another office-seeker, Reşid Akif, wanted to the governorship of Ankara and, as noted above, did not hesitate to speak against his rivals.<sup>228</sup>

### **Soldiers As Governors**

A change of governor during a crisis in a *vilayet* would necessitate a more competent *vali* who would be capable of leading military forces and knew the province.<sup>229</sup> Such a temporary need was expressed by the Commander of the IV.

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<sup>225</sup> “Müşarünileyh hakikaten sadık, afif, mütedeyyin olub kâffe-i teşebbûsat ve icraatı efkar-ı mekârim-âsâr-ı hazret-i mülukanelerine tatbik-i hareketle vilayetin tezyid-i ümranına, ahalinin istihsal-i refahatine, asayişin devam-ı muhafazasına bezl-i vücud etmekde ve elsine-i umumiyeden velinimet-i a’zamıye bir kat daha deavat-ı hayriyye isticlabına muvaffak olduğundan bilhassa arz-ı teşekkürata ictisar eylerim fi Temmuz 1311, ed-da’i Serhademe es-Seyyid Salih”, BOA, Y.PRK.SGE 6/92, 1313 S 1.

<sup>226</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.PT 10/20, 19 R 1313.

<sup>227</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 78/32, 1323 Z 14.

<sup>228</sup> “Ben padişaha hizmet ve sadakat sebebi selamet ve saadettir i’tikadında bulunduğum için hakkı sarihimdir diye bu Ankara valiliğini niyaz etmiştim,...bu valiliği bu defa da efendimizden istirham ederim,” Tugay, vol.I, p.102.

<sup>229</sup> Ahmed Rasim Pasha lost his governorship of Shkoder because the provincial administration was turned over to military authorities, in June of 1872: “vilayet-i mezkure idaresinin umur-i idaresi cihet-i askeriyye tahvil olunması hasebiyle infisali”, BOA, SA 3/596.

Army during the Dersim incidents in Mamuretülaziz.<sup>230</sup> The Grand Vizier relayed the request of the commander along with two candidates for the governorship of the *vilayet*. The *mutasarrıf* of Drama (Ziya Pasha) and the judge of Salonica (Nesib Efendi), who was recommended by the governor of Salonica and the general *müfettiş* of Rumelia.<sup>231</sup>

The problem of military origin of the governors now arises. When and where were high ranking soldiers appointed as governors? Before the Tanzimat, there were no governors in *eyalets* which were centers for armies. After 1843, it was officially no longer allowed for military officers to undertake any function in the civil service.<sup>232</sup> Even the offices of civil and military administrations were built far from each other in cities.<sup>233</sup> Nevertheless, many soldiers were appointed as governors of civil provincial administrations because of wars or rebellions in the provinces. Out of ninety-five governors of this period, twenty-eight were of military origin, that is nearly thirty percent (see the *mekteb-i harbiye* graduates in Table 2).

In the case of Ferik Edib Pasha, the Sultan resisted sending him to Diyarbekir, because he thought a civil service appointee was more appropriate for this province

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<sup>230</sup> “Mamuretülaziz valisinin vuku-ı infisaline mebni Dersim galesinin bimennihi teala saye-i şahanede hüsni suretle indifâ’ına kadar temin-i idare-i askeriye ile beraber umur ve tedabir-i mülkiyede ibraz-ı faaliyet edebilecek iktidarı haiz ve ahval-i mahalliyeye vakıf bir valinin su’rat-ı tayini ehemmiyet-i maslahat nokta-i nazardan pek mühim idüğü Dördüncü Ordu-yı Humayun müşiriyet-i celilesinden iş’âr olunmuş”, BOA, YA.HUS 522/102, 18 CA 1326.

<sup>231</sup> “Mamuretülaziz valiliğine ehliyet ve kifayeti haber verilen Drama mutasarrıfı Ziya Paşa hazretleri ile elyevm Selanik Merkez Naibi olub iktidar ve ehliyetine Selanik valisi Rauf ve Rumeli müfettişi Hüseyin Hilmi Paşalar hazeratıyla zat-ı âlf-i Meşihatpenâhî taraflarından şehadet olunan ve şimdiki kadar vilayat-ı şahanede bulunduğu cihetle idare-i umur-i mülkiyece de kesb-i vukuf ve malumat etmiş olan Nesib Efendi hazretlerinden birinin tayini”, *ibid*.

<sup>232</sup> “Ba’dezn zabitan-ı askeriyenin uhdelere mülkî memuriyet ictima edemeyeceği”, from a law on conscription, promulgated on 6 September 1843 published in Ed(ouard Philippe) Engelhardt, *Türkiye ve Tanzimat. Devlet-i Osmaniyyenin Tarih-i Islâhâtı, 1826-1882*, tr. by Ali Reşad (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328/1912), p.69.

<sup>233</sup> Yasemin Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs (1890-1914)* (Ankara: Phoenix, 2004), p.244.

(*Diyarbakir valiliğinde memurin-i mülkiyeden bir zatın bulunması münasib olacağından*). His stress on this point, twice in one imperial order, shows his intention to demilitarize the provincial administration in peaceful provinces.<sup>234</sup>

Problems with military commanders could cause the governors to demand a transfer. The governors were sometimes willing to be dismissed exclusively due to such conflicts. The governor of Basra desired either the commander be sent away, or himself moved to Adana.<sup>235</sup> The long lasting rebellion of Erzurum, from March of 1906 to November of 1907, caused a chain of appointments and dismissals concerning four governors. Nazım Pasha was dismissed from his post of Erzurum after the first phase of the rebellion in 1906. Ata Bey, who had been the governor of Diyarbakir, was appointed in his place. But Ata Bey became a victim of the second phase of the Erzurum rebellion and was dismissed after having been beaten and imprisoned by a mob six months later. A crisis of appointment occurred when the Commander of the IV. Army refused to take over the post of the governor. Some days later Nuri Bey, the *vali* of Mamuretülaziz, was transferred to Erzurum. Nuri Bey held out for one year when he was replaced by Abdülvahhab Pasha, the *vali* of Baghdad, after ongoing rebellious incidents.<sup>236</sup>

To go further, an examination of the social origins, education, and career patterns of the governors of the Ottoman Empire in the years between 1895 and 1908 will provide us with a clearer picture of the kind of men that they were.

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<sup>234</sup> “[B]ervech-i muharrer memurin-i mülkiyeden en ziyade muvafık görünen bir zatın memuriyetinin ale’l-usul arz ve istizanı şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı padişahî iktiza-yı alîsinden olmağla”, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 68/6, 1320 ZA 10.

<sup>235</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 40/108, 1315 Ş 22

<sup>236</sup> Mehmed Nusret, *Tarihçe-i Erzurum Yahud Hemşehrilerime Armağan* (İstanbul: Ali Şükri Matbaası, 1922), pp.55-71; H.Zafer Kars, *Belgelerle 1908 Devrimi Öncesinde Anadolu* (Ankara: Kaynak, 1984), pp.24-38, and Demirel, p.26.



## Social Origins of the Governors

Did the governors come from the affluent families? The social composition of the governors was varied. Some were sons of ministers, like Abdurrahman Hasan Pasha (Abdurrahman Sami Pasha), Hıfzı Pasha (Egribozi Ömer Pasha), Kadri Bey (Hacı Edhem Pasha) and Reşid Akif Pasha (Kalkandelenli Akif Pasha). Kazım Pasha was the nephew of the Grand Vizier Esad Pasha. Mustafa Bey was the elder brother of İzzet Holo Pasha, the influential man of the court. Mustafa Ziver Bey was the son of another man close to court circles, the head of palace doorkeepers, Süleyman Aga.

A considerable number of governors were sons of ranked soldiers: Kölemen Abdullah Pasha (Rüstem Bey, Colonel of the cavalry regiment of Egypt), Ahmed Fevzi Pasha (Marshal Arif Pasha, Commander of Tripolitania), Ali Rıza Pasha (Gendarmerie Major Tahir Bey), Ahmed Münir Pasha (Hacı Ahmed Ağa, Janissary officer), Hasan Refik Bey (Cavalry Major General İsmail İsmet Pasha), İbrahim Şükrü Pasha (Major General Süleyman Pasha), Kamil Pasha (Captain of Artillery Salih Bey), Osman Nuri Pasha (Colonel Ahmed Şükrü Bey).

Many governors were sons of local notables: Abdülvahhab Pasha (Çamlık/Dino from Yannina), Ali Kemali Pasha (Söylemezzâde, Erzurum), İbrahim Halil Pasha (Nakipzade, Trabzon), Mehmed Cevad Bey (Ahmet Necati Bey from Servi in Edirne), Mehmed Ferid Pasha (descendant of Tepedelenli Ali of Vlore), Mustafa Nazım Bey (*Yenişehir-i fenar eşrafından*), Seyfullah Pasha (*Dağıstan beylerinden* Mehmed Hasib Han), Süleyman Bahri Pasha (descendant of Alaaddin Pasha of Muş).

Ahmed Rasim Pasha, Hafız Mehmed Pasha, Hüseyin Hilmi Efendi, Mehmed Enis Pasha and Mehmed Raif Pasha were sons of merchants.

There were also sons of the *ulema* among the governors. Abdurrahman Fehmi Efendi's father was a *medrese* professor (*müderris*), Mehmet Ata Bey's was judge of

Beirut (*mahrec mevalisinden Beyrut naib-i esbaki*), Mehmet Ataullah Pasha's was *sudurdan* Kevâkibizâde al-Hâc Mehmed Said Efendi and Mehmed Faik Pasha's was the religious authority in Şirvan/ Caucasia. Finally, Mustafa Haşım Bey and Necmeddin Bey Molla were the sons of the *şeyhülislam* Ahmed Muhtar Beyefendi.

Sons of governors were Halil Halid Bey, the son of the former governor of Adana, Ahmed Pasha, who was also a descendant of the famous Baban family of Baghdad, and Hüseyin Rıza Pasha, the son of Ramazanoğlu Necibbeyzâde İsmet Pasha. Mehmed Şerif Rauf Pasha's father Topal Osman Şerif Pasha was governor of Bosnia from 1861 to 1869, but his grandfather was a peasant from İzmir. Sons of provincial subofficials were also not a minority. They include sons of the *mutasarrıfs* whose last *sancaks* were Kengiri (Ahmed Reşid Bey), Burdur (İsmail Fuad Bey), Muntefik (Mahmut Şevket Pasha) and Mosul (Mehmed Reşad Bey); the *defterdar* of Konya (Ahmed Reşid Pasha), the secretary general (*tahrirat müdürü*) of the *sancak* of Nigde (Ebubekir Hazım Bey); a *kaymakam* (Mehmed Nazım Pasha), a tax collector (Mustafa Zihni Pasha), and a judge (Tahir Pasha).

Some governors were sons of petty officials in the center including the head clerk of the *bez fabrika-yı humayunu*, the imperial cloth factory (Ali Refik Bey), a clerk in the Ministry of War (Hüseyin Nazım Pasha), the Director of Inspections of the Marine Ministry (İbrahim Faik Bey), head clerk of a military hospital (Mehmed Ferid Pasha). Abdülhalik Nasuhi Bey's father was Hayrullah Efendi, who was ambassador to Teheran and Ahmed Ratib Pasha's father was the treasurer of the Foreign Ministry, Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi. Mustafa Nuri Bey, governor of Mosul (1902-1905), was the son-in-law of Abidin Pasha, governor of the Mediterranean Islands (1893-1906).

## Education of Governors

The older generation of governors, to whom a modern education was not available, received traditional training by serving as an unpaid apprentice in an official post<sup>237</sup>, assisting senior clerks. The Ottoman government had to make do with makeshift personnel until a new school system could produce modern educated officials.<sup>238</sup> Such an education became increasingly desirable for anyone seeking high positions in the bureaucracy.

The first attempt to tie education with appointments was introduced by Abdülhamid I in 1781, when he appointed a *muallim-i küttab* to the Hamidiye Sıbyan Mektebi to teach Arabic and Persian. This was the first nuveau of the *rüşdiyyes*,<sup>239</sup> the first modern schools for civilian elementary education, which began to operate in 1847. The foundation of the *mekteb-i maarif-i adliye* and *mekteb-i ulum-i edebiyye*, both in 1838, were solely to raise up clerks,<sup>240</sup> as was the *mahrec-i aklâm*, opened in 1862.<sup>241</sup> Graduates of these schools entered the bureaucracy after examinations taken first in the school and then by ministers in the state departments.<sup>242</sup> The Imperial Ottoman Lycée, the *Galatasaray mekteb-i sultanîsi*, opened in 1868 and provided modern education at the secondary level in a western language. A modernized public system of education was introduced at a more organized level after the enactment of

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<sup>237</sup> As defined for “mülazemet” by Redhouse, p.818. For this apprenticeship process, see Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi*, p.52-53.

<sup>238</sup> See Ergin; Andreas M. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966).

<sup>239</sup> Ergin, vol.I, p.73.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, vol.II, pp.324 and 331.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, vol. II, pp.397-400. Hüseyin Nazım Pasha wrote in his memoirs on this school, Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, p.60-61.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, vol.II, pp.336.

the Ottoman Educational Law of 1869. The *idadi* schools, which provided primary education, opened first in 1875. The primary and secondary network gradually filled out thereafter.<sup>243</sup> The educational network was systematized with a four-year primary (*sıbyan / ibtidaiye*)<sup>244</sup> school, a four-year upper primary (*rüşdiye*) school, a three-year lower secondary or roughly senior high school (*idadiye*), and a three-year higher secondary (*sultaniye*) school, and then the high schools (*aliyye*). There were also military primary and preparatory schools. The younger generation of officials was able to study in the modern secondary schools and had the opportunity after the high school to attend the *mekteb-i mülkiye*, which, as noted above, was the school for civil servants.

Ahmed Reşid, Mehmed Cevad, Mehmed Reşad and Ömer Sabri Beys, Mahmud Arif, Mehmed Salih, Mehmed Şakir, Mehmed Şerif Rauf and Osman Nuri Pashas were governors who were graduates of the *mekteb-i mülkiye*. Ahmed Reşid and Mustafa Nazım Pashas and Necmeddin Bey had a legal education at the *mekteb-i hukuk*. Interestingly, Abdurrahman Fehmi Pasha was a graduate of the medical school, the *mekteb-i tıbbiye*.

Ahmed Rasim Pasha, the son of a merchant, governed Tripolitania for fifteen years (1881- 1896) and had studied twelve years mathematics and physics in Greece. Abdülhalik Nasuhi and Mehmed Shemseddin Beys were the rare governors who studied abroad, namely in Paris. Nevertheless, there were governors who had their elementary or secondary educations abroad because of immigration movements in the

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<sup>243</sup> On education during the Hamidian reign, see Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Dönemi Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1990); Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001).

<sup>244</sup> *Mekteb-i sıbyan* was the elementary school which later turned into the reformed system of *mekteb-i ibtidaiye*.

nineteenth century. Mehmed Enis and Seyfullah Pashas had their elementary and secondary schooling at Russian institutions, whereas Mehmed Şakir Pasha went only to an elementary school in Caucasia.

Many governors were actually schooled in the provinces. Abdurrahman Fehmi went even to the high school in Manastır, whereas Mehmed Faik attended the Rum high school in Yannina. Ahmed Fevzi (Şemez), Ahmed Reşid (Edirne), Ebubekir Hazım (Isparta, Antalya, Nigde), Hıfzı (Salonica), İbrahim Halil (Trabzon), Mahmud Şevket (Baghdad), Mehmed Ata (Tekfurdağı and Beirut after İstanbul), Ataullah (Servi/Edirne), Ferid (Cyprus), and Mustafa Nuri (Candia) are among those whose provincial education is known of.



Table 2: Education of Governors

Vali	Sıbyan	İbtidai	Rüşdiye	İdadi	Harbiye	Private	Univ.	Other
Abdülhalik Nasuhi	x		x		x	x	x Paris	
Abdülkerim Paşa					x			
Abdullah (Kölemen) P					x			
Abdullah Reşid P					x			
Abdülvahhab P	x					x		
Abdurrahman Fehmi E				x		x	Tıbbiye	
Abdurrahman Hasan P			x			x		
Abidin P						x		Medrese
Ahmed Fevzi P	x		x	x	x			
Ahmed Hıfzı P								
Ahmed Münir P								
Ahmed Nazım P		x				x		
Ahmed Rasim P						x	Greece	
Ahmed Ratib P					x			
Ahmed Reşid B		x	x				Mülkiye	
Ahmed Reşid P	x		x			x	Hukuk	Medrese
Ahmed Tevfik P					x	x		
Âli B								
Ali Kemali P	x					x		Medrese
Ali Refik B			x DM					Mahrec
Ali Rıza B								
Ali Rıza P				x	x			
Ebubekir Hazım B	x		x			x		
Enis P								
Ferid P								
Hafız Mehmed P					x			
Halid B								
Halil Halid B			x		x			
Hasan Edib P					x			
Hasan Fehmi P	x					x		
Hasan Hilmi P								
Hasan Refik B	x							Medrese
Haydar P					x			
Hıfzı P			x					
Hilmi P					x			
Hüseyin E								
Hüseyin Hilmi E	x					x		Medrese
Hüseyin Nazım P			x					Mahrec
Hüseyin Rıza P			x			x		
Hüsnü B								
İbrahim Faik B			x			x		
İbrahim Halil P		x	x			x		
İbrahim Şükrü P		x	x			x		
İsmail Fuad B		x	x			x		
Kazım P					x			
Mahmud Arif P	x		x				Mülkiye	Medrese
Mahmud Hamdi P					x			
Mahmud Şevket P	x				x			
Mecid E								

Vali	Sıbyan	İbtidai	Rüşdiye	İdadi	Harbiye	Private	Univ.	Other
Mehmed Arif P					x			
Mehmed Arif P					x			
Mehmed Ata B	x	x						
Mehmed Ataullah P		x	x					
Mehmed Cevad B	x					x	Mülkiye	
Mehmed Enis P		x	x	x	x			
Mehmed Faik P	x		x	x		x		
Mehmed Ferid P	x					x		
Mehmed Halid B						x		
Mehmed Kadri B	x					x		
Mehmed Kamil P		x	x			x		
Mehmed Nazım P			x				Muzika-i Humayun	Cami
Mehmed Raif P	x		x			x		
Mehmed Reşad B						x	Mülkiye	
Mehmed Salih P							Mülkiye	
Mehmed Şakir P	x		x	xGS			Mülkiye	Mahrec
Mehmed Şemseddin P	x		x			x	Paris	Mahrec
Mehmed Sherif Rauf				xGS		x	Mülkiye	
Mehmed Tevfik B								
Muhlis P					x			
Muhsin P					x			
Mustafa Faik P		x				x		Cami
Mustafa Hashim B		x	x				Hukuk	
Mustafa Nazım B								
Mustafa Nuri B			x			x		
Mustafa Nuri P			x MMA					Cami
Mustafa Yünni B								
Mustafa Zihni			x			x		
Mustafa Ziver B								
Necmeddin B Molla			x Darülm				Hukuk	
Osman Fevzi P					x			
Osman Kazım B	x			x				
Osman Nuri P			x		x		Mülkiye	Mahrec
Ömer Sabri B							Mülkiye	Mahrec
Rauf B								
Receb P					x			
Reşid Akif P				xGS		x		
Reşid Mümtaz P								
Salih Hamdi P					x			
Salih Zeki P					x			
Seyfullah P					x		Tbilisi Gymnasium	
Süleyman Bahri P					x			
Süleyman Namık P								
Şakir P					x			
Tahir P								
Zühdü B								

Sources: Sicill-i Ahval Registers (BOA, SA), Öztuna, Gövsa, İnal.  
Abbreviations: P=Pasha, E=Efendi, B=Bey, Mahrec=Mahrec-i Aklam,  
GS=Galatasaray Sultanisi, Gym=Gymnasium, MMA=Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye,  
DM=Darülmaarif



Knowledge of a foreign language did not depend on a modern education. Some knew languages because of their ethnic and geographic origins and some from private tutelage. İbrahim Faik learned Arabic and Persian literature from the famous poet Nevres, and knew French as well.<sup>245</sup> Governors who knew six languages were Abidin Pasha, Abdülvahhab Pasha, Ahmed Rasim Pasha (who all knew Albanian, Arabic, Persian, French, Italian, Greek), and Halil Halid Bey (Arabic, Persian, French, Kurdish, English and German). Another Albanian, Mehmed Ferid Pasha knew five languages (Albanian, Arabic, French, Italian, Greek), as well as the Caucasian Mehmed Şemseddin Bey (Arabic, Persian, French, German, and Circassian). Others who spoke four languages were Abdülhalik Nasuhi Bey (Arabic, French, Italian, German), Ahmed Fevzi Pasha (Arabic, Persian, French, Russian, Serbian), Mehmed Ata Bey, son of a molla (Arabic, Persian, French, Italian), and İsmail Fuad Bey (Arabic, Persian, English and French). Most governors knew three languages: Abdurrahman Hasan, Abdurrahman Fehmi, Mustafa Nazım, Ebubekir Hazım Bey (Arabic, Persian and French), Ömer Sabri Bey (Albanian, French and Greek), Süleyman Bahri Pasha, originally a Kurd from the Armenian-populated Muş (Kurdish, Armenian and Persian), Kamil Pasha, born in Cyprus (French, English and Greek); Mahmud Şevket Pasha (Arabic, French and German), Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha (Arabic, French and Greek).

Home education (from a *muallim-i mahsus*) was a popular way of learning before an integrated modern education system was created in the Ottoman empire. Some examples will illustrate the contrasts between the two systems of education. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, the prominent biographer of Ottoman writers, described

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<sup>245</sup> İhsan Güneş, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi, I. ve II. Meşrutiyet* (Ankara: TBMM Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), vol.II, pp.138-39.

Hüseyin Rıza Pasha as a wise and literary man, specialized in Arabic and Persian literature and who owned one of the best libraries in İstanbul. He wrote fifteen books in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, which are still in manuscript and unpublished.<sup>246</sup>

Some governors had a good religious education and even wrote theological works. Ali Kemali went to *medreses* in Erzurum, Trabzon and İstanbul. Hacı Reşid Pasha wrote his full name in one book as “Elhâc Şerif Ahmed Reşid Pasha bin Seyyid Numan Fikri Efendi bin Seyyid İsmail Ağa bin Molla Seyyid Ahmed, Zağferanbolulu”.<sup>247</sup> He published many religious and legal books, like *Ruh al-Mecelle* (8 vols., İstanbul, 1326-28), *Hukuk-ı Ticaret* (4 vols., İstanbul 1311 (1893), *İmam-ı Azam’ın Siyasi Tercüme-i Hali* (İstanbul 1328), *Din-i Mübin-i İslam* (5 vols., İstanbul, 1328). *Usul al-Hikem fi Nizam al-Alem* (Makkah: Hijaz Vilayet Matbaası, 1331) is his translation of a famous political and moral treatise on the establishment of state and society by Hasan Kâfi al-Akhisarî al-Bosnevî (died in 1616). He had some unpublished works, mostly on history (*Tarih-i Umumi-i İslam*, 8 vols., *Terceme-i Tarih-i Bermek*, *Feth-i Mübin-i Kudüs*, *Riyaz-ı Adalet*), one translation on philosophy (*Risalet al-Hayvan v’al-İnsan Tercemesi* from the writings of the İhvan al-Safa<sup>248</sup>), and his own poetry (*Divan*). Mehmed Tahir praised him for having a thorough knowledge of law and history.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> *Şezerat al-Beyan fi Tercemeti Müfredat al-Kuran, Şerh-i Kaside-i Tantarâniyye, Lübab al-İntihab, Uyun al-Asâr fi Müntehabât al-Eş’âr, Desâtîc al-Fevâid, Defterçe-i Güftar, Tahdik-i Hâtır der Tefrik-i Elfâz, Metâlib al-Metâlib, Hemyân-ı Beyan, Cerâb al-Edeb* (5 vols), *Mecmua-i Edebiye, Zübde al-Efkar fi Mehasin al-Asâr, Destçe-i Fevaid, Ravza al-Elhan fi Tebyin-i Kûtaat-i Cinan*, *Mecmua-i Muhadarat*; Bursalı, vol.II, p.332.

<sup>247</sup> *Tasavvuf: Tarikatler Silsilesi ve İslam Ahlakı* (İstanbul: Salah Bilici Kitabevi, 1965), p.6.

<sup>248</sup> Yves Marquet, “İkhwan al-Safa”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III (Leiden 1986), pp.1071-1076.

<sup>249</sup> Bursalı, vol.III, pp.138-39.

Abdurrahman Hasan Efendi's father was a *medrese* teacher in Manastır, who gave him a religious education before he attended the imperial medical school, the *tıbbiye*, in İstanbul. He wrote a commentary (*şerh*) on a religious text (*Ta'rîfât-ı Seyyidî*), published also a book on Islam (*Din-i Ahmedî*), and another on literature (*Muhtasar Edebiyat*). In addition to his main jobs at the central bureaucracy and before his governorships, he taught logics in military high schools, and Turkish literature and rhetoric lessons at the imperial law school, the *mekteb-i hukuk*.<sup>250</sup>

Ahmed Reşid (Rey), governor of Manastır and Ankara in 1906 and 1907, wrote on literature, like in his *Nazariyyât-ı Edebiyye* (2 vols.),<sup>251</sup> translated Jean Racine (5 vols.),<sup>252</sup> and Virgil's *Eneide* (2 vols.).<sup>253</sup> His was also a poet,<sup>254</sup> a teacher of literature at the *mekteb-i sultanî* and a journalist under the pseudonym Hüseyin Nazım in the *Servet-i Fünun*.<sup>255</sup>

Abidin Pasha is famous for his translation of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi's world renowned *Mesnevi*. The Albanian governor knew not only Persian, but also Arabic, French and Greek. His poems in Greek were published in Nevagolos, published in İstanbul like his *Rumca Manzumeler*. He translated a famous poem of praise from Arabic (*Kaside-i Bürde Tercüme ve Şerhi*), wrote an Arabic grammar book for Turks

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<sup>250</sup>BOA, SA 2/804.

<sup>251</sup> Meyyade Ay, *Ahmet Resit Bey, Nazariyat-i Edebiyye*, B.A.Thesis (Adana: Çukurova University, 1992).

<sup>252</sup> Jan Rasin, *Tiyatro Külliyyatından*, Tr. by Ahmet (H. Nazım) Reşit (İstanbul: Vakıf Gazete-Matbaa-Kütüphane, Dün ve Yarın Tercüme Külliyyatı, 1934).

<sup>253</sup> Virgile, *L'eneide*, tr. by Maurice Rat, Ahmed Reşit (İstanbul: Vakıf Gazete-Matbaa-Kütüphane, Dün ve Yarın Tercüme Külliyyatı, 1935).

<sup>254</sup> Ahmet Reşit Rey, *Şiirler*, ed.by Mehmet Törenek (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayını, 2000). For his views on language and literature, see Ülkü Gürsoy, "Ahmet Reşit Rey'in Dil Ve Edebiyat Hakkındaki Görüşleri", *Türk Yurdu, Türkçe'ye Saygı Özel Sayısı*, Vol.21, No.177-180, February-March 2001, pp.162-163.

<sup>255</sup> Yılmaz Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hanedanlar* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1969), vol.II, p.639.

(*Nahv-i Arabî*) and a defence against an Egyptian priest who had written against Islam (*Müdafaâ-yı Alem-i İslamiyet [Mısırlı Papaza Reddiye]*, published in İstanbul, 1915).<sup>256</sup>

Mehmed Şemseddin Bey, is described as a philosopher and theologian, who aimed his efforts at Iran for the unification of the *sunni* and *shia* confessions. As far as is known, he has two published books: one on military geography (*Çerkes Hattı Yahud Hatt-ı Umumi*, İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1326/1910) and the other on mathematics (*Hesab-ı Nazari*, İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1328/1912).<sup>257</sup>

Mehmed Ata Bey was a journalist who wrote for *Sabah*, *Musavver Mirat-ı Alem*, *Diyojen*, *Saadet*, *Tarik*, *Mekteb*, *Pul*, *Servet-i Fünun*, *Haftalık Gazete*, sometimes under the name “*Mefharî*”.<sup>258</sup> He published many interesting books like the *Musavver Elmenah* (a pictured almanac), *Güftuşinad* (a story), *İktitaf* (müntehabat mecmuası, mekteplerin yegane müretteb kıraat kitabı), *Hammer Tercümesi* (the translation of the history of Joseph von Hammer; nine volumes of which he could publish), *Usul-i İntihab tercümesi* and four novels translated from French.

Mehmed Tevfik Bey,<sup>259</sup> after his governorships in Salonica, Konya, Yemen, and Bursa, became the head of the Finance section of the Council of State and then of the Audit Court (*Divan-ı Muhasebat Reisi*), both for four years. After becoming Finance Minister in the governments of Damad Ferid Pasha and Ahmed Tevfik Pasha (1920-

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<sup>256</sup> His other books are on Islamic ethics (*Saadet-i Dünya* and *Meali-i İslamiye*). On his portrait as a muslim scholar, see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 2/47; Abidin Paşa, “Şarih ve Mütercim-i Kitab Abidin Paşa’nın Muhtasar Tercüme-i Hali”, *Tercüme ve Şerh-i Mesnevi-i Şerif* (İstanbul: 1324), vol.I, pp.4-6; Gövsa, p.14; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana’dan Sonra Mevlevilik* (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1983), 143-145; Kemal Yavuz, “Mesnevi-i Şerif ile Alakalı Olarak Cevdet Paşa’nın Abidin Paşa’ya Yazdığı Mektup”, *TDED*, XXIV-XXV, 441-454; İskender Pala, “Abidin Paşa”, *DİA*, vol I, p. 310.

<sup>257</sup> Öztuna, vol.II, p.641.

<sup>258</sup> Pakalın, vol.IV, p.360.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid*, IV/pp.399-405; BOA, SA 32/241; Çankaya, vol.III, pp.192-93.

21), he retired as head of the Council of State. But his academic life did not end for the next twenty years. As a lecturer in economics, he became ordinarius professor and wrote a three-volume book on the “Principles of Economics”, *İktisad Prensipleri I-III* (İstanbul:Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi Matbaası, 1930-1940). He was a member of an international association on historical studies (*Milletlerarası Akademik Tarih Araştırmaları Derneği*) and knew French, English, German and Arabic.

The Kerkükian Mehmed Salih Pasha, governor of Mosul, translated Kadı Beyzavi’s “Nizam’üt-Tevarih”.<sup>260</sup>

Mehmed Nazım Pasha, governor of Diyarbekir and Aleppo (1903- 08), wrote many books, mainly on Sufism.<sup>261</sup> His book entitled *Ahd-ı Şehriyârî* (1887) is concerned with the improvement of education during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Nazım Pasha was a member of the mevlevi order, and wrote sufi poetry.<sup>262</sup> On his gravestone is written that he is a well-known poet.<sup>263</sup> Reşid Akif, governor of Sivas from 1902 to 1908, was a famous poet of his time.<sup>264</sup> Memduh Pasha, the Minister of the Interior and a former governor, was also known for his poetry.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> SA 1/280.

<sup>261</sup> Muhataba (1887), Kerbela (1911), Yek-avaz (1917), Nizam’ül-Has fî Ehli’l-İhtisâs (1910), İbn Fariz Tercümesi (1914), Esrar-ı Tebhîd Tercümesi (1915).

<sup>262</sup> Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, “Bir Mevlevî Nasir ve Şairi Mehmed Nazım Paşa”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XIV (1966), pp.155-174.

<sup>263</sup> “Esbak Selanik Valisi, şûara-yı benamdan Nazım Paşa sene 1345 fi 11 C”, Behcetî İsmail Hakkı el-Üsküdarî, *Merakid-i Mu’tebere-i Üsküdar: Ünlülerin Mezarları*, (İstanbul 1976), p.69.

<sup>264</sup> Bursalı, vol.II, p.338; Gövsa, p.320; Haluk Çağdaş, “Şair ve Nüktedan Vali Raşit Akif Paşa”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 159, pp.163-64 and Dursun Gürlek, “Sivas Valisi Reşid Akif Paşa”, *Türk Edebiyatı*, 342 (April 2002), pp.34-35.

<sup>265</sup> Necib Asım, “Veled Çelebi Hazretleri”, *Türk Yurdu*, VII, no.15, pp.2471-2476; Metin Akar, *Veled Çelebi İzbudak* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), p.23 and 65; Hüseyin Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya* (İstanbul: Seha, 1999), vol.II, pp.386-7.

## Career Patterns of the Governors

### Duration of Governorships

According to one scholar on the administrative divisions of the eighteenth century, governors were appointed for a one year term to the *eyalets* after the mid-seventeenth century. Although a longer duration (*ibka*) was possible it was rare that any governor spent three years in a province.<sup>266</sup> The disadvantages of this system appeared during the time of Selim III, who ordered in his *Vüzerâ Kanunnamesi* that governors should not be dismissed before three years of appointment. He also limited the governorship to five years.<sup>267</sup>

Until the early 1880's, "the Porte and the Palace seemed to have been engaged in a continual game of musical chairs in which the number of posts did not change but the officials rotated in a seamlessly aimless fashion."<sup>268</sup> No clear distinction existed between high officials who were centered in the capital and those who served primarily in the provinces, like the governors.<sup>269</sup> Bureaucratic reforms under Abdülhamid (1876-1909) resulted in the revision of the civil service in 1880 to institute grades and ranks. The establishment of the Civil Service Commission (*Memurin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*) to appoint, promote, supervise, transfer, and retire

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<sup>266</sup> Orhan Kılıç, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Taşra Teşkilatı: Beylerbeyilikler/Eyaletler, Kaptanlıklar, Voyvodahıklar, Meliklikler (1362-1799)", *Türkler* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002) IX/ 890.

<sup>267</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Humayunları: Nizam-ı Cedit 1789-1807* (Ankara: TTK, 1988), p.118

<sup>268</sup> R. Marvin DeVore, *British Military Consuls in Asia Minor 1878-1882* (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1973), p. 109.

<sup>269</sup> Unlike the Russian example; see John A. Armstrong, "Tsarist and Soviet Elite Administrators," *Slavic Review* 31 (March 1972), p.26.

all bureaucrats was a major effort to develop the human resources of administrative system.<sup>270</sup>

Abdülhamid II did not change his officials as frequently: Said, Kamil, Cevad, Halil Rifat and Ferid Pashas as Grand Viziers; Cemaleddin as Şeyhulislam, Ali Saib and Rıza Pashas as General Commanders of the Army; Hüseyin Hüsnü Pasha as Maritime Minister; Kürd Said and Tevfik as Foreign Ministers; Münir and Memduh Pashas as Interior Ministers; Cevdet, Rıza and Abdurrahman Pashas as Ministers of Justice; Mustafa, Münif and Zühdü Pashas as Ministers of Education; Selim Melhame as Minister of Agriculture; and Zeki Pasha as Commander of the *Tophane*. All served long years, some until their deaths.<sup>271</sup> Before Abdülhamid II, there was a rapid sequence of position changes that hardly gave the officials a chance to unpack their bags. The frequent change of governors was detrimental to the advancement of any reforms. For example, the province of Kastamonu had three governors in 1879: Said, Arif, and Galib Pashas. This caused considerable instability in the provincial government.

Success depended to a certain extent on cultivating personal networks that extend in wayward rhizomatic fashion through the formal geometric subdivisions of branches and ministries. Networks of personal connections do not exist *in vacuo*, they must be made and maintained. Counter networks blocking the extension of links between persons had to be manoeuvred around.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Shaw & Shaw, vol.II, p.215.

<sup>271</sup> Süleyman Kani İrtəm, *Bilinmeyen Abdülhamid* (İstanbul: Temel, 2003), p.236-237. For a comparison with the pre-Hamidian high bureaucracy, see Sinan Kunalp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkan ve Ricali (1839-1922): Prosopografik Rehber* (İstanbul: ISIS, 1999).

<sup>272</sup> Catherine Alexander, *Personal States: Making Connections between People and Bureaucracy in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.93.



Rotation with high frequency prevented governors from developing identification and strong ties with local elites and pressure groups, along with offering wide variety of experience to them. But there were some ill effects caused by such a policy. A governor needed to have enough time to understand and penetrate local problems and conditions. Otherwise, he would not be able to commit himself to long term projects. Rapid promotions were a result of the chronic shortage of capable administrators, a problem stemming from two causes. First, the state apparatus was growing as rapidly as centralization. The *vilayet*-laws were regularizing the staff requirements in all corners of the empire. This process increased the pressure, which could not be met alone by the new educational institutions. Secondly, the recent war with Russia and the riots in the provinces had a swallowing effect, which could not be satiated by the gradual influx of the new generation of highly educated men.

During the period of this study, the average duration of governorships is around five years. There were 132 appointments to the twenty-nine *vilayets*, or an average of four-and-half appointments each. The Hijaz was governed during the entire period by Ahmed Ratib Pasha, and Aydın (Kamil Pasha and İbrahim Faik Bey) and the Mediterranean Islands (Abidin Pasha and Hüseyin Nazım Pasha) had only two governors.

Table 3: Provinces and the Number of Governor Appointments, 1895-1908

Provinces	Governor Appointments
Hijaz	1
Aydın, the Mediterranean Islands	2
Beirut, Adana, Sivas, Edirne, Kosovo, Yannina	3
Yemen, Syria, Ankara, Kastamonu, Trabzon	4
Basra, Tripolitania, Hüdavendigâr, Konya, Bitlis, Erzurum, Salonica	5
Aleppo, Mamuretülaziz, Van, Manastır	6
Baghdad	7
Shkoder	8
Diyarbakir	9
Mosul	10

### Governors of *Dahiliye* Origin

The two Grand Viziers appointed during this era (1895-1908) for the first time to this post in their careers, Halil Rifat Pasha and Mehmed Ferid Pasha, were of *vali*-origin. Mehmed Said Pasha, who was Grand Vizier for the sixth time between November, 1901 and January, 1903, had been *vali* of Hudavendigâr in 1878.

Furthermore, the last Grand Vizier before, was a former governor, the famous Kıbrıslı Kamil Pasha, who was sent after his Grand Viziership to Aydın and served there for over ten years as governor between November, 1895 and January, 1907.

Many governors served in lower echelons of the provincial administration before they became a *vali*. Mehmed Nazım Pasha, who became *vali* of Diyarbakir and Aleppo (1905-1908) (and Konya, Sivas and Salonica after the Revolution), did serve over thirteen years as chief secretary (*mektubcu*) in the provinces of Adana, Konya, Bitlis and Aleppo (1878-1892) and *mutasarrıf* of Mersin and Kayseri for nearly eight

years (1895-1903).<sup>273</sup> Memduh Pasha was governor when Nazım was *mektubcu* of Konya.<sup>274</sup>

Mehmed Raif Pasha began his career with Midhat Pasha in the province of Danube as director of correspondence (*evrak müdürü*), head clerk of the provincial council (*meclis-i idare-i vilayet başkatibi*), and assistant governor (*vali muavini*), between 1864 and 1867. After some years in the central bureaucracy, he was sent as *mutasarrıf* to Beirut, Rhodes, Cyprus and again to Beirut (1875-79). He was then called to İstanbul as Minister of Commerce and Social Works and became a Pasha. After four years of ministerial duties he was appointed as governor to Adana, Mosul and Beirut (1885-89), and came back first as Minister of Customs. He soon became Minister of Social Works for the second time. He was appointed as *vali* to Aleppo in January 1896, where he served until July 1900. He returned again to İstanbul to become first Director of Military Equipments (*Techizat-ı Askeriye Nazırı*), and afterwards head of a section of the Council of State, and than Minister of Customs again.<sup>275</sup>

Mustafa Nuri Pasha was another pupil of Midhat Pasha. He began work in the *vilayets* of Aydın, Prizren and Danube in various clerk positions before he became director *mektubcu* in Baghdad, Crete and Adana. As *mutasarrıf*, he served in Gallipoli, Sakiz, Canik, and Siroz (June 1882-July 1897). After a short period as assistant governor of Ankara, he became *mutasarrıf* again, this time in Dedeoğlu (May 1898-April 1900). After his return from Europe where he went to undergo

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<sup>273</sup> BOA, SA 42/409 and 180/235.

<sup>274</sup> *Nazım Hikmet'in Büyük Babası Nazım Paşa'nın Anıları* (İstanbul: Arba, 1992), pp.85-86; Metin Akar, *Veled Çelebi İzbudak* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), pp.23-25. According to the latter, Nazım Pasha was sent from Konya after a quarrel with the governor.

<sup>275</sup> BOA, SA, 3/88 and Öztuna, vol.II, p.606-607 and 611; İhsan Güneş, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi, I. ve II. Meşrutiyet* (Ankara: TBMM Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), vol. II, p.122.

therapy, he was sent as governors of Mosul and then to Diyarbekir, Mamuretülaziz, Erzurum, Ankara and Shkoder. After the Revolution, he served in Sivas.<sup>276</sup>

Salih Pasha's first position was in his hometown of Kerkük where he was an assistant clerk before attending the *mekteb-i mülkiye* in İstanbul. He served as director at the *kaza* level in Kavala and Andırın, as kaymakam in Zeytun, Haçin, Karaisalı, and Lazkiye, and as *mutasarrıf* in Havran. He changed temporarily to an *adliye*-career in 1881 and served as Inspector of Justice in Baghdad, Van and Diyarbekir until September 1886, when he became *mutasarrıf* of Necid for five months. He was later appointed as *mutasarrıf* to Marash, Hulle, Novibazar, and Zor until his governorship of Mosul in July 1895. He was *vali* there for ten months.<sup>277</sup>

Ahmed Rasim Pasha, began work in provincial affairs when he was twenty and continued for over twenty years in many Rumelian provinces before becoming *vali* of Yannina (two times), Danube, Trabzon (two times), Shkoder, Konya, Aydın, Hudavendigâr. He governed Tripolitania for thirteen years (1883- 1896) until he requested a discharge at seventy.<sup>278</sup>

Another career governor was Hıfzı Pasha, born and educated in Salonica, where he later worked as head clerk of the councils and as director of archives for the province. His first job was an apprenticeship at the *Meclis-i Vala* in İstanbul for three years. Never working at the center of the empire again, his entire career consisted of offices in the western provinces. He served as *mutasarrıf* for over twenty years (1886-1907) in Biga, Drama, Goritza, Ergiri, Midilli, Sakiz, and Kala-i Sultaniye before becoming *vali* of Manastir (January 1907- December 1908).<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> BOA, SA 2/334-335 and 150/57; Öztuna, II, p.676.

<sup>277</sup> BOA, SA 1/280.

<sup>278</sup> BOA, SA 3/596-597; Mehmed Süreyya, IV, pp.856-57.

The former *ilmiye* and *askeriye* member Abdülhalik Nasuhi Bey changed his career path twice before he served as *mutasarrıf* in the *sancaks* of İçel, Lazistan, Beirut and Canik (October 1879-February 1890). He was promoted to the governorship of Aleppo, and later Mamuretülaziz, Adana and Beirut, where he served until April 1897.<sup>280</sup>

A large majority of governors had considerable experience in the provincial service, but there were those outside the provincial service who were eventually appointed to provincial governorship.

### **Governors of non-*Dahiliye* Origin**

Not all those who governed the provinces during the years of inquiry were governors by profession. Most did not have any job related to the Ministry of the Interior in their past, and many even had no experience in any provincial office before their governorships. For example, Abdurrahman Fehmi Efendi, governor of Mamuretülaziz (January 1905-August 1906) began employment in state office rather late at thirty following his graduation from the *tıbbiye*. He never worked as a doctor but became chief clerk of the administrative council of the Estates in the Mortmain (*Evkaf*) Ministry. He directed departments of the Trade Ministry and the Administration of Forests and Mines before gaining the office of head clerk of the Council of Accounts (*Divan-ı Muhasebat Başkatibi*, September 1888-April 1896). After having served as Accountant of the Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*

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<sup>279</sup> BOA, SA 1/70.

<sup>280</sup> BOA, SA 26/49-50.

*Muhasebecisi*) and member of the Board of Selecting Officials, he was appointed as governor to Mamuretülaziz in January of 1905 as his first and last provincial job.<sup>281</sup>

Some governors began their careers in provincial administration after a clerkship in the *mâbeyn*. Mehmed Cevad Bey began to work there after his graduation from the *mekteb-i mülkiye* in the Translation Office of the Porte. After four years he was summoned to the *mâbeyn*, where he served for eleven years before he was appointed as *mutasarrıf* of Jerusalem. He later was assigned to the governorships of Ankara, Konya and Adana.<sup>282</sup> Another *mâbeyn* clerk who became governor was Mehmed Tevfik Bey, who was also sent for his first provincial administrative job to Jerusalem. Afterwards, he was appointed as governor to Salonica, Konya, Yemen, and Bursa. Although his career in provincial administration did end, he was a central figure in financial affairs of the state until the Republican era, as pointed out earlier.<sup>283</sup> Tevfik Bey was the first governor of Salonica, who was not a Pasha.<sup>284</sup> Ahmed Reşid Bey<sup>285</sup> also went to Jerusalem after twelve years in the *mâbeyn*. He then became governor of Manastir and Ankara under Abdülhamid II, and of Aleppo and Aydın after the 1908 Revolution. All *valis* of *mâbeyn* origin, were appointed first to the *sancak* of Jerusalem, which was independent and directly linked to the Ministry of the Interior due to its importance to the three major monotheistic

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<sup>281</sup> BOA, SA 2/804.

<sup>282</sup> BOA, SA 112/143; Çankaya, vol.III, p.189.

<sup>283</sup> BOA, SA 32/241; Pakalın, vol.IV, pp.399-405; Çankaya, vol.III, pp.192-93.

<sup>284</sup> Pakalın, p.401.

<sup>285</sup> See his memoirs, *Gördüklerim Yaptıklarım* (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye Basımevi, 1945-47); BOA, SA 104/456; Çankaya, vol.III, pp.328-34; Öztuna, vol.II, p.639.

religions. The Sultan regarded this *sancak* with special importance,<sup>286</sup> and he tried to transform it from a religious to an administrative center.<sup>287</sup>

Table 4: Governorships of ex-*Mâbeyn* Officials

Governor	Born	MM	Before <i>Mâbeyn</i>	<i>Mâbeyn</i>	Jerusalem	Provinces
M.Tevfik	1867 İstanbul	1885	Translation Office, 2 m's	12 years	1897-1901	Salonica, Konya, Yemen, Bursa
M.Cevad	1865 İstanbul	1885	Translation Office, 4 y's	12 years	1901-1903	Ankara, Konya, Adana
A.Reşid	1880 Edirne	1888	Assistant Teacher, 5 y's	11 years	1904-1906	Manastir, Ankara, Aleppo

Ahmed Nazım Pasha was a *hariciye*-official who transferred earlier in his career to the *dahiliye*. He began to work in the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry (*mektubi-i hariciye*, 1857- 1866) and became first a clerk and later the chargé d'affaires of the Tehran embassy (1866-1877). In September 1878, after twenty years in the Foreign Ministry offices, he was appointed as *mutasarrıf* of Mosul. Here he experienced an interesting fluctuation. The *mutasarrıf* had to leave office when Mosul became a *vilayet* in March of 1879, and returned in June when Mosul was again a *mutasarrıflık*. His final departure from this office was in February of 1883, the date when Mosul became a *vilayet* again. After a short *mutasarrıflık* in Shehrizor, he experienced a similar pattern in Baghdad where he was appointed as subgovernor in the center of the province, *merkez mutasarrıfı*. This rare praxis of establishing central subgovernment in *vilayet*-centers did not last long. In July of 1886, Nazım had to leave his office because of the abolition of this application. His following jobs were assistant-governor of Syria, *mutasarrıf* of Hama, Marash, Amasya, Tokat and Prizren before becoming *vali* of Van from July, 1895 to June, 1896. He was

<sup>286</sup>See Mim Kemal Öke, *II.Abdülhamid, Siyonistler ve Filistin Meselesi* (İstanbul: Kervan, 1981).

<sup>287</sup> For this argument, see Yasemin Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs (1890-1914)* (Ankara: Phoenix, 2004).



dismissed after the Armenian incidents there and not appointed to any other place until May of 1904 to Tripolitania which he refused himself.<sup>288</sup>

Mehmed Şemseddin Bey<sup>289</sup>, who was a Caucasian Ubih in origin and knew Arabic, Persian, French, German, and Tcherkesian, was not a career governor. He transferred for just one year from the Foreign Ministry. He graduated with the highest notes from the *mekteb-i sultani* and *mülkiye*, and began to work in the *mâbeyn*, where he remained for four years (1880-84) before being sent to the embassy of Athens as head clerk. After three years he was summoned to the center to hold the post of Director of Consulate Affairs (*Umur-i Şehbenderi Müdürü*) for five and a half years (1887-1892). He became ambassador of Bucarest (1892), Assistant Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry (September 1895) and ambassador to Tehran (February 1896) before he was appointed to the governorship of Van (June 1896).<sup>290</sup> He was sent to Tehran a second time, one year later. And after eleven years, in February 1908, he was dismissed due to his role in the proclamation of the constitutional regime in Iran. After the constitutional revolution in his own state, he was charged as Minister of Foundations. He married the daughter of another governor of this era, Mehmed Şerif Rauf Pasha.

Abidin Pasha's career progressed in a reverse fashion to that of Şemseddin Bey. Abidin Pasha<sup>291</sup> was a provincial administrator who became Foreign Minister for three months. At age twenty-three in 1866, he became first assistant *mutasarrıf*, then *kaymakam* of the center and at last acting *mutasarrıf* of Preveze, his hometown. He

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<sup>288</sup> BOA, SA 47/269-270.

<sup>289</sup> BOA, SA 10/959; Çankaya, vol.II, pp.83-85.

<sup>290</sup> "Van'a sabıka Tahran Sefiri Şemseddin Bey, Nazım Paşa'nın infisaline mebnî", 21 M 14, *Tevcihat Defteri II*, p.112.

<sup>291</sup> BOA, SA 1/252.

served many years as *mutasarrıf* in many places. His first important appointment was during the Hamidian era in 1879 when he became the head of the Imperial Reform Commission of Diyarbekir, Mamuretülaziz and Sivas.<sup>292</sup> Afterwards, he was appointed as governor to Sivas and Salonica. His governorships were interrupted by an appointment to the Foreign Ministry (9.6.-12.9.1880). He served in Adana, Sivas (second term), Ankara, and the Mediterranean Islands as governor before his death at a meeting of the Imperial Reform Commission of Yemen in the Yıldız palace.

During the nineteenth century the *ilmiye* merged with the *adliye*, and *kadis* became employed in the Ministry of Justice. High officials belonging to the *adliye* could be transferred to the *mülkiye*. Such changes are expressed in the official language as “*tebdil-i tarik*”,<sup>293</sup> or “*tebdil-i meslek*”.<sup>294</sup> Mustafa Haşim, born in 1852 to a SheikhuIslam and grandson of a Grand Vizier, was a religious scholar of *ilmiye* origin. After he reached the rank of İstanbul *kadıılığı* in 1878, he became a high official of the Ministry of Justice on his appointment as a member of the Court of Appeal.<sup>295</sup> He became under-secretary of the ministry in August 1891. In May of 1897, he was appointed to the Council of State. He served as governor of Tripolitania between February, 1899 and April, 1900. After two months of unemployment, he was again appointed to the Council of State in July. Three years later he was Minister of

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<sup>292</sup> Ali Emiri, *Osmanlı Vilayat-ı Şarkıyyesi* (Kayseri, 1992), pp.23-26; Andrew Gordon Gould, *Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885* (PhD. Dissertation, University of California, L.A., 1973), pp.164-169 and 275dn.

<sup>293</sup> BOA, SA 26/49, on Abdülhalik Nasuhi, who changed from the *ilmiye* to the *askeriye*: “tebdil-i tarik ve fahri binbaşılık rütbesiyle silk-i celil-i askerîye”.

<sup>294</sup> BOA, SA 2/988, on Halil Halid’s change from *askeriye* to *hariciye*, and later to *mülkiye*.

<sup>295</sup> This transfer was described in his personnel file as “Mahkeme-i Temyiz Azasına iltihak ile Hukuk dairesine memur olmuş”. The Minister of Justice, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha wrote his opinion on him that he was “ulemadan ve ashab-ı dirayet ve reviiyyet ve istikametden”, BOA, SA 4/212-13 ve 150/127.

Education and raised to the rank of vizier. Mustafa Hashim Pasha was the last Minister of Education before the Young Turk Revolution (July 1903-July 1908).<sup>296</sup>

Ataullah Pasha began his *ilmiye* career at twelve as an apprentice at the İstanbul *kadıılığı*. He was sent among the entourages of the judges (*naibs*) to Gümülçine, Kayseri, İslimye, Tırnova, and Sivas for ten years. He became *naib* himself in Çekmece-i Kebir, Zagferanbolu, Trabzon, Aleppo, and Baghdad between December 1865 and 1874. After heading the court of appeal in Baghdad for four years, he changed his career to the *mülkiye* by his appointment to the assistantship of the province, which had changed to a *merkez mutasarrıflık*. After a short *mutasarrıflık* in Şehrizar, he governed Lazistan for seven years (September 1885-February 1892). He was governor of Baghdad from July, 1896 to May, 1899.<sup>297</sup> He therefore served in Baghdad for over eight years in total, first as *naib*, second as head of the court of appeal, next as assistant governor and *merkez mutasarrıfı*, and finally as *vali*.<sup>298</sup>

Mustafa Nazım Pasha is a good example of a governor of *adliye*-origin. After his education in law in the *mekteb-i hukuk*, Mustafa Nazım began with an apprenticeship in the *mektubi-i hariciye* office in 1880. One year later he began to give lessons on administrative systems (*usul-i idare*) at the *mekteb-i mülkiye*. He became assistant attorney in 1889 and then attorney in 1893. He served on many investigation commissions in both İstanbul and the provinces. Additionally, he taught International Law (*hukuk-ı düvel*) at the *mekteb-i hukuk*. In August, 1900 he was sent to Bruxelles to attend a conference on prisons. Nazım Bey was appointed in June, 1901 to the governorship of Mosul, and was moved three months later to Erzurum. He was promoted to the rank of vizier in January 1905. In April 1906, he was

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<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> BOA, SA 10/545.

<sup>298</sup> Neccar, p.184-85, 191, and 472.

exchanged with the governor of Diyarbekir, and then two weeks later with that of Kastamonu. The last information in his personnel register refers to his suitability to the *murassa mecrediye* order in April, 1907.<sup>299</sup> In September of the same year he was sent as Hıttı-i Irakiye Inspector to Baghdad, where he served between May and July, 1908 as both governor and head of the inspection commission.<sup>300</sup>

Kadri Bey, the governor of Trabzon between 1892 and 1903, began with a *maliye* career. In 1856, at thirteen, he was apprenticed to the *mektubi-i maliye*. Nine years later he became clerk to the *Tahsilat-ı Maliye Komisyonu*. In the summer of 1867 he was raised to the directorship of correspondence at the *Esham-ı Umumiye Emaneti*, where he was promoted to the assistantship (*emanet muavini*). In 1878 he was appointed as Assistant Minister of Finance and in 1879 as a member of the Council of Accounts. His first provincial position was as *defterdar* of the province of Aydın (May, 1883) from which he was dismissed in January 1889. He was left unemployed until February, 1891 when he was appointed as inspector of finance in İstanbul (*Dersaadet Maliye Müfettişliği*). After three weeks he became undersecretary to the Minister of Finance. One year later, on 21 April 1892, he was appointed to the governorship of Trabzon where he served until his death on 23 January 1903.<sup>301</sup>

Mustafa Ziver Bey became governor of Trabzon and Edirne (February 1907-July 1908) after serving for thirty-seven years as Director for the affairs of the religious sects (*mezahib müdiri*) in the Ministry of Justice. His entire career before the

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<sup>299</sup> BOA, SA 25/141.

<sup>300</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, "The Politics of Reform in Iraq under Abdülhamid II, 1878-1908", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1999), pp.69-70; Mustafa Eski, *Kastamonu Valileri 1838-2000* (Ankara: Önder Matbaası, 2000), pp. 65, referring to *Kastamonu*, No.1704, 11 September 1907.

<sup>301</sup> BOA, SA 1/822; Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Hatıralarım*, ed.İsmail Kara (İstanbul: İletişim, 1991), pp.42-53; Mahmut Goloğlu, *Trabzon Tarihi: Fetih'ten Kurtuluşa Kadar* (Ankara, 1975), pp.213-14

governorships was spent in the same office as he worked there six years before becoming director. In total, he was in the *mezahib* office for over forty-three years (September 1863- February 1907).<sup>302</sup>

Ottoman provincial governors during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had various career paths. Although mostly stemming from a provincial career or one in the central offices of the Ministry of the Interior, a remarkable number of governors came from the bureaucracies of finance and justice. Most had a provincial appointment in their past. The provincial offices of other such ministries gave them an opportunity to experience local affairs. Even if one did not have provincial experience, his earlier affiliation somehow had a relation to it. The appointment of Ziver Bey, the director of non-muslim sects department at the Ministry of Justice, who had seen no other department even in his own ministry for forty-three years, is an example of this argument. Rebellious activities of nationalist Armenians and Greeks was one of the most troublesome issues of the provinces which made him qualified for such a governorship.

Early careers of the governors were marked by frequent transfers from ministry to ministry and between the provinces and İstanbul. It was not rare for one who attained a secure place in one central organ to return to a provincial post. Aside from a small number who began service in the central ministry organs, officials began their careers in such diverse places as the chanceries of provincial governors, the central and provincial organs of other ministries, the imperial chancellery (*mâbeyn*) etc.

The assignment of some *mâbeyn* officials to governorships by the Sultan should be seen as a matter of personal trust. Abdülhamid II was known for his complaints

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<sup>302</sup> BOA, SA 4/268.

about a shortage of trustworthy statemen. The *mâbeyn* clerks around him spent the whole day and sometimes even night at the court, and so he was familiar with each of them. Otherwise he had to rely on the suggestions of his ministers, or on the “nobility” of his family, nobility, not in a European meaning, but as in the past affiliations and successes of the fathers of the governors.



Table 5: Governor appointments from 1895 to July 1908

Province	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908/I
Hijaz	Ahm Ratib							Abd Resid		M Tevfik	Ahm Fevzi			
Yemen														
Basra		M Arif			Salih Hamdi	Muhlis						Abd Hasan		
Baghdad	Has Refik	Ataulah			Sül Namik			Ahm Feyzi		A'vahhab	Mecid	Eb Hazım		
Mosul	Meh Salih	Abdullah/ Zühdi	Abd'vahhab	Arif	Eb Hazım		Nazım/Reşid	Must Nuri			Must Yümnî			
Haleb	Must Zihni	M Raif				Enis		Mecid		Osm Kazım	M Nazım			
Syria		Has Refik	Hüs Nazım/ Reş Mümtaz									İbr Şükri		
Beirut		Hüs Nazım	Reşid						İbr Halil					
Tripolitania		Sül Namik			M Haşım	Hafız M				Hüseyin/Receb				
H'gar/Bursa		Must Zihni	A Münir/ I Halil						Reş Mümtaz			M Tevfik		
Konya				M Ferid			Tevfik	M Tevfik	İbr Faik				M Cevad	
Ankara	Ahm Tevfik							M Cevad					Ahm Reş/ M Nuri	
Aydın	Kamil												İbr Faik	
Adana		Hüs Rıza	Hüs Hilmi	Sül Bahrî										
Kastamonu		Ali Refik	M Enis											
Sivas			Hasan Hilmi			Reşid Akif		Res Akif				Osm Kazım		İsm Fuad
Diyarbakır	Enis	Halid						M Faik	M Nazım		Osm Kazım	M Atar/ Must Nuri/ Abd Fehmi	Mah Arif	
Bitlis	Ömer Sabri					Hüsni				Ferid			Tahir	
Erzurum	M Ş Rauf						M Nazım			Nuri	Nuri	M Atar/ Must Nuri	A'vahab	
M'elaziz	M Ş Rauf/ Rauf								Abd Hasan		Abd Fehmi	Must Nuri/ Halid		
Van	Ahm Nazım	Şemseddin	Şemsi	Tahir								Ali Rıza		
Trabzon									M Reşad			Arif	Ziver/ Ferid	
Med.Islands	Abidin											Hüs Nazım		
Edirne	Arif												M Reşad/ Ziver	
Saloniki		Hüs Rıza	Hasan Refik				M Tevfik	Has Fehmi		M Ş Rauf				
Kosova									Hafız M/ Şakir		Mah Şevket			
Yanya			Osm Fevzi									Seyfullah	Hilmi	
İşkodra		Has Edib		Kazım			Şakir		Haydar Ali Rıza/ Eb Hazım			Salih Zeki	Hilmi/ Seyfullah	Must Nuri
Manastir	Abdülkerim						Has Edib					Ahm Reşid	Hıfzı	

Sources: BOA, SA Registers, Salmnames and BOA, Tercihât II, and Yıldız Archies. Abbr.: M = Mehmed



## CHAPTER III

### THE GOVERNOR'S RELATIONS WITH THE CENTER

#### The Yıldız Palace As Center of All Correspondence

Daily problems to deal with, which were not counted among the administrative tasks of the governor, could be divided mainly in two types. One sort were ordinary matters (“*hususat-ı adiyeden madud bulunanlar*”), where the governor could act directly without asking (“*doğrudan doğruya icra eder*”); the second category were more irregular problems on which he had to ask to the center how to act, (“*icrası Bâbîâlî’nin inzıam-ı emrine muhtac olanlar*”), with all related information and considerations.<sup>303</sup> This was the case when a struggle between the Beni Sahr Arabs and the Druzes troubled the governor of Syria. Both sides of the quarrel had no desire to go to their rival’s area, therefore the governor asked where he should meet the two sides for arbitration.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Article 6 of the *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi, Düstur*, vol.I, p.636.

<sup>304</sup> “Her ne tarafa azimet-i çâgerânem buyrulursa hemen hareket edilmek üzere istizan”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 78/43, 1324 M 1.

Before Abdülhamid II's reign, the provincial officials were allowed to correspond directly with the *Bâbîâlî* only if they had concrete evidence that the governor was acting against the law or in violation of the Sultan's orders.<sup>305</sup>

Nonetheless, it was not only the *Bâbîâlî* who wanted to be informed about important happenings in the provinces. The Sultan's desire to be aware of all information caused problems within the high bureaucracy of the *Bâbîâlî*, which was apparently missing its more respected days. Outstanding characters among the Sultan's Grand Viziers were trying to shift the equilibrium of power back to the Sublime Porte as it was used before Abdülhamid II.

Although the provincial law decentralized the administration by centralizing the power in the province, Abdülhamid II's policy collected all puppets strings in his hands. Tahsin Pasha, the last head clerk of the *mâbeyn*, referred to this as "*Yıldız Merkeziyet Siyaseti*" to Said Pasha, the first head clerk of Abdülhamid II's *mâbeyn* who later became Grand Vizier of the Sultan several times.<sup>306</sup> Nevertheless, Said Pasha himself was irritated when the Sultan appointed the mutasarrıf of Jerusalem to the governorship of Ankara, and a *mâbeyn*-clerk to Jerusalem, without informing him and just after his assignment to his sixth Grand Vizierate in November 1901.<sup>307</sup> All *valis* could corresponded with the court directly, without giving any information to the Ministry of the Interior or the Grand Vizierate. Any delay in informing the Sultan

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<sup>305</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, "The Origins of Representative Government in the Ottoman Empire: An Introduction to the Provincial Councils, 1839-1876", *Near Eastern Round Table*, 1967-68, ed. R. Bayly Winder (New York: New York University, 1968), p.208.

<sup>306</sup> Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit: Yıldız Hatıratı* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), p.25-31. Said Pasha's Grand Vizierate was between October, 1879- September, 1885, with four short interruptions, June- October 1895 and November 1901- January 1903. He was one of the most important men of the era who had great influence on the Sultan, even in times when he was not in charge. See Zekeriya Kurşun, *Küçük Said Paşa* (PhD. Dissertation, İstanbul: Marmara University, 1991).

<sup>307</sup> *Said Paşa'nın Hatıratı* (Dersaadet: Sabah Matbaası, 1328/ 1910), vol. II, p.103.

on a matter concerning the provinces could cause great problems. The Minister of the Interior was visited once by a clerk of the *mâbeyn* asking about a statement sent by the governor of Ankara who had informed the Sultan that he had send it to the Minister. The Minister answered the clerk, “the *valis* submit their petitions to the Sultan’s court without respecting the authorities and not informing the Ministry; such a writing did not come, it would have been presented when it came and considered important.” After having forwarded this answer to the Sultan, the latter said, “if the petition has arrived and been hidden, I will make the Minister suffer pains of separation from his wife and children.”<sup>308</sup>

Ottoman intellectuals were having debates on this issue. Ahmed Midhat Efendi wrote in the *New York Herald* that the interference of the court in government issues was right, and that in earlier times, “the ancestors of the Young Turks were shouting against Sultan Abdulaziz because of his indifference to state affairs”. Mizancı Murad Bey answered in his *Müdafaa Niyetine Bir Tecavüz*, published in 1896 in Paris, that the interference of the court was not in line with Ottoman administrative traditions: The Grand Vizier had, as the *vekil-i mutlak*, the responsibility of the conduct of state affairs, and the critics to Sultan Abdulaziz were because of Mahmud Nedim Pasha’s maladministration and intrigues.<sup>309</sup>

In the words of a British consul in 1904, “the centralization of power seemed complete. Both rulers and ruled resorted to the Palace for relief or advantage so readily and freely that the pivot of the provincial administration appeared to be Yıldız.”<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Mehmed Memduh, *Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete II*, Haz. A.N. Galıtekin (İstanbul: Nehir, 1995), p.42.

<sup>309</sup> Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey, Hayatı ve Eserleri* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1979), p.425-431.

<sup>310</sup> FO, 424/206, No.10, p.12-24, Consul Longworth to Sir N.O’Connor, Trabzon, 18 January 1904 (*EHIB*, pp. 432-434).

Governors in difficult positions, in an attempt to save themselves from criticism, put the blame on the Sultan, especially when convincing foreigners. Writing on Persian frontier policy, the British consul in Van reported to his superior, that

[O]fficials here only execute the orders they receive from Constantinople. It seemed at one time that Tahir Pasha and his fellow commissioners were carrying on an independent campaign of intrigue and aggression, but Tahir Pasha informed me of late that he had done 'many things' against his own judgement, and in obedience to orders from Constantinople, though all the blame and the responsibility fell on him.<sup>311</sup>

Kamil Pasha was sent from İstanbul to the governorship of Aydın, because he expressed views on this matter in a fashion that irritated the Sultan. According to the Grand Vizier, the ambassadors felt that the transport of every matter of administration to the court was among the causes of dissatisfaction in society. Therefore, Kamil Pasha thought, the Sultan was dealing with matters of detail in vain, and the circles close to the court were taking advantage of this course of affairs. By proffering their own advice, the members of the lofty court office were able to influence state policies. The Sultan, after having learned by private investigation that no ambassador declared such views, and that Kamil Pasha had presented his own opinions in such a way because lacked courage, dismissed the Grand Vizier and sent him to Aydın as governor.<sup>312</sup> This was, as mentioned in the Introduction, a critical moment beginning an irreversible court-centered policy.

The court circles were doing everything to prevent the Sultan from being influenced by pervasive views of the *Bâbîâlî*. Concerning the Grand Vizier's demand that all dealings ought to be addressed to the Sublime Porte, which should be the sole

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<sup>311</sup> FO, 424/217, No.38, p.72-77, Dickson to Sir G.Lowther, Van, Sept 30, 1908 (*EHIB*, p.492).

<sup>312</sup> *Hatrat-ı Sadr-ı Esbak Kamil Paşa*, Cild-i Evvel (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1329), pp.190-97; *İnal*, vol.VI, p.1044.

consultant in all cases, one of the Sultan's staff wrote that it would be unacceptable that the Porte be the sole source of information for His Imperial Majesty:

In other words, even if there is no stone left upturned in the country, His Imperial Majesty would have no other source of information but the Prime Minister. ... How could they possibly seem ready to personally assume the responsibility of the important dealings of such a state with centuries long history behind it? This could only be termed nothing but dictatorship.<sup>313</sup>

The Sultan wanted to know everything first hand. He gave the governors special ciphers for direct correspondence with the palace.<sup>314</sup> Therefore a governor had either to write first directly to the Sultan, or inform him of every correspondence he made with the *Bâbîâlî*. The mistake of Mehmed Tevfik Bey when he was dismissed from the governorship of Salonica, was his delay in informing the Office of His Imperial Court (*Mâbeyn-i Humayun*) about his correspondence with the *Bâbîâlî* on the matter of Mutul.<sup>315</sup> The Governor of Syria, Ahmed Hamdi, was right to be cautious and write again, insisting on an answer to a matter asked about earlier.<sup>316</sup> An ex-clerk of the mâbeyn wrote in his memoirs that the “success of Sultan Abdulhamid II's centralization policy, and his ability of surrounding the vast realm from the Albanian mountains to the borders in Erzurum, the shores of the Black Sea to the Arab deserts

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<sup>313</sup> “Kâffe-i umûrun mercî’i Bâbîâlî olmasını yani şevketmeâb efendimiz hazretlerine takdim olunacak maruzatın kamilden sadaret vasıtasıyla arz olunub başka hiçbir taraftan takdim olunmamasını ve bir madde hakkında birkaç tarafa telgraf çekilmeyüb yalnız Bâbîâlî’ye çekilmesini arz ediyorlar. Bu halde şevketmeab efendimiz hazretlerinin alacakları malumat makam-ı sadaretin arzından ibaret kalub memleketde taş taş üzerinde kalmasa başka taraftan arz-ı malumat olunamayacak. Bir de yine zikrolunan tezkerelerinde ıslahata memur olacak komisyonun iş’âratını yalnız Bâbîâlî’ye bildirmesi lazım geldiği arz olunuyor. Bu kadar asırlık bir devletin umur-ı mülhimesi mesuliyetini yalnız kendi uhdelere almakdan nasıl ihtiraz etmiyorlar? Bunlar diktatörlük değil de nedir?” An anonym Yıldız document, published with an old reference (5/11/120-2005) in *Osmanlı Arşivi Yıldız Tasnifi: Ermeni Meselesi*, (İstanbul: Tarihi Araştırmalar ve Dokümantasyon Merkezleri Kurma ve Geliştirme Vakfı, 1989), vol.II, pp.319-327. Although the document has no date, the mention of the dismissal of the Vali of Bitlis, Hasan Tahsin Pasha, shows that it could be written in January, 1895 on which date the Grand Vizier was Cevad Pasha.

<sup>314</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, VIII, Birinci Meşrutiyet ve İstibdat Devirleri (1876-1907)*, (Ankara: TTK, 1977), p.327.

<sup>315</sup> Mehmet Tevfik, vol.I, 197.

<sup>316</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 6/105, 12 Haziran 1300.

in one glance”, was the achievement of the unceasingly working Yıldız machine, the *mâbeyn* office.<sup>317</sup>

It was difficult restore relations again after having problems with the Sultan. Once disfavored, arbitrary people tried to help friends get amnesty from the Sultan by noting their great regret, and weeping for the mercy of the Sultan.<sup>318</sup>

This fear of being disfavored made the governors hesitant and reserved in state affairs.

The famous English traveller Gertrude Bell (1868-1926)<sup>319</sup>, described her “friend”

Faik Pasha, governor of Konya, as "not a remarkable person. He spends most of his time in avoiding the taking of any action so as not to get into trouble”.<sup>320</sup> Ali Refik

Bey, governor of Kastamonu, was described in the same manner,

The administration of the province was caused to begin weakening, because of the governor’s lack of moral courage and his will not do business out of the law. Using this opportunity of weak government, notables directed the *vali* wherever they wanted; even caused him to feel small by letting him take his written order back.<sup>321</sup>

The governors used every occasion to write to the Sultan so that they would not be harmed. On each holiday, they forwarded their best wishes by sending telegrams to the *mâbeyn*. Besides the Sultan, they sent greetings to the chief-secretary of the

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<sup>317</sup> İsmail Müştak Mayakon, *Yıldızda Neler Gördüm?* (İstanbul: Sertel Matbaası, 1940), p.142. He illustrates the capacity and extention of the Yıldız centralization in provincial administration, pp.174-78. İlber Ortaylı illustrated how foreign policy was ruled from the Yıldız court, and not by the Sublime Porte, in his *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983).

<sup>318</sup> “Bugün Hamdi Paşa kulları kullarını hanesine çağırttı ve hakikaten mumaiyleh kulları oraya vardığımda ağlayarak sıyam ve ihtiyarlık haliyle dünkü gün kendisinden südür eden hâlâtdan dolayı arz-ı nedamet ve peşimanî ile zat-ı merahimsıfat-ı cenab-ı cihanbânîlerinden görmüş olduğu envâ’ lütf u âtîfetden bahisle gözlerinden ve sakalından aşağı yaş saçarak ağlamakda ve cemal-i bâkemal-i hümayunu görmekden dîr olduğundan bütün gece hâb u rahat haram oldukdan başka heran çocuklar gibi sızlayarak afv u merhamet-i hümayunu istirham etmekde bulunduğunu kulunuza ifade ve beyan eylemiş”, BOA, Y.EE 147/94, no date.

<sup>319</sup> On her, see Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen : the Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell* (New York, Anchor Books, 1996).

<sup>320</sup> Gertrude Bell’s letter to her mother, 4 April 1907, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters/1768.htm>.

<sup>321</sup> Ziya Demircioğlu, *Kastamonu Valileri* (Kastamonu: Doğrusöz Matbaası, 1973), p.58.



*mâbeyn*, too. A governor was once informed by his friend in the *mâbeyn*, that the chief-secretary of the court office was angry with him because he did not write him telegraphs on the *bayrams*.<sup>322</sup> Imperial birthdays and enthronement days were other opportunities used to correspond with the Sultan. A governor of Baghdad congratulated the Sultan on recovery from an illness with exaggerated prayers for him.<sup>323</sup> The same was done in Aydın and Tripolitania. The Sultan sent his thanks and greetings not only to the governor, but to all civil and military officials and soldiers through him.<sup>324</sup>

Governors also tried to attract the favor of the Sultan by informing him about a completed monument and asking for permission to name it in the Sultan's name. Hüsnü Bey of Bitlis, who constructed a huge boulevard in the city, asked the Grand Vizier for his intermediation in getting permission to use the Sultan's name.<sup>325</sup> Some were not even asking for permission, but just mentioning that they had already given the Sultan's name to the new institution as a show of their loyalty, with very exaggerated language of praise.<sup>326</sup> Comparing the official correspondence of the Hamidian era with that of the Tanzimat period, Hanioglu notes the remarkable

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<sup>322</sup> Mehmed Tevfik, VOL.I, P.152.

<sup>323</sup> "Afiyet-i hümayunun berkemal olduğunu istibşar eylediğim cihetle, derhal secde-i şükranı kapanarak ve eşk-i şâdî dökerek canımdan ve hayatımdan aziz olan sıhhat ve afiyet-i velinimet-i a'zamînin hemîşe berkemal olması duasını tekrar alettekrar ref'-i icabetgah-ı cenab-ı perverdigar eylediğim fâhr u surur ile maruzdur," BOA, Y.PRK.UM 79/2679/26, 1324 N 26.

<sup>324</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 76/53, 1324 C 28.

<sup>325</sup> "Tarik-i cedidin nam-ı nami-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhiye teşerrüf-i tevsimi hususuna delalet-i celile-i âsafâneleri müsterhamdır," BOA, Y.PRK.UM 71/44, 1322 B 22. For other examples, see, a large, newly built street and a fountain in Bursa (İ.HUS. 83/ 1318 R 077, 20 R 1318) and a hospital in Aleppo (İ.HUS.87/1318 ZA 29).

<sup>326</sup> "Sivas'da vucuda getirilen *Darussanayi`-i Hamidiye* bina-yı muhteşeminde yine devr-i fuyuzat-uma-yı mülukane mahsusat-ı mübeccelesinden olarak ol bâbdaki emr u ferman-ı keramet-beyan-ı hümayuna tevfikân teşkil olunan *Sivas Hamidiye Sanaat ve Ziraat Sergisi`nin* bu yevm-i mes'ud ve mu'azzezde resm-i küşadını nam-ı akdes-i velini'amiye olarak bilcümle ümera-yı askeriye ve memurîn-i mülkiye ile eşraf ve düvel-i mütehabbe konsolosları hazır oldukları halde lehulhamd velminne bir şa'sa'a-i fevkalade ile icraya ihraz-ı muvaffakiyet eylediğimi arza cesaret eylerim", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 66/75, 1321 C 8.



increase in the use of special phrases for denoting loyalty to the Sultan. The governor of Sivas announced to the court the good news of having opened the Hamidiye school for art crafts (*Darussanayi`-i Hamidiye*) and an exhibition of arts and agriculture in the province (*Sivas Hamidiye Sanaat ve Ziraat Sergisi*) on the day of enthronement celebration.<sup>327</sup> The governor of Aleppo, Mehmed Raif Pasha, opened the Hamidiye Hospital for the Poor.<sup>328</sup>

Governors used their patrimonial ties with the palace for personal interest by seeking work for relatives or begging for royal decorations for their family members. Tahir Pasha of Van wanted his son Cevdet Pasha to be employed in a foreign office, and his nephew Mustafa Nuri in one of the central offices.<sup>329</sup> Baghdad's governor Abdülvahhab Pasha, wanted his son to be employed at the office of incoming correspondence (*âmedî*), his son-in-law as assistant councilor of law (*hukuk müşavir muavini*) in the Interior Ministry, first grade *şefkat* decorations for his wife and all four daughters, and a second grade one for his daughter-in-law.<sup>330</sup> Another governor thanked him for a decoration granted to his wife, who was also a former concubine of the Sultan. He added that they were constantly repeating blessings for the Sultan nights and days as a whole family.<sup>331</sup> Tevfik Pasha of Konya wished his relative Zekai

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<sup>327</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.24. During the Tanzimat period, the term *bende*, which had its equalents in other modern bureaucracies, was used in front of the title of the officer. Hanioglu, to show the change in use of terms describing personal loyalty, gives examples from the memoranda of Memduh Pasha.

<sup>328</sup> The hospital, Mûsteşfa'l-Guraba-i'l-Hamîdî in Arabic, was opened in 1897. See Mehmed Fuad Ayntabî and Necvî Osman, *Haleb fi miete 'âm, 1850-1950, el-cüz'ül-evvel, 1850-1900*, Haleb 1993, p.195.

<sup>329</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 57/104, 1319 Z 19.

<sup>330</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 73/20, 1322 ZA 2.

<sup>331</sup> "Me'a-aile leyl u nehar vird-i zişan-ı sadakat-ı bendeganem olan de'avât-ı hayriyye-i cenab-ı zıllullahînin şu vesile-i fahire ile dahi tekrar kılındığının arzıyla atebe-i felekmertebe-i hazret-i şehinşahiye min-gayr-i haddin teşekkürât-ı bî-gâyât-ı ubeydânemi takdime cüret eyledim", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 41/110, 1315 Z 12, Hasan Hilmi Pasha from Sivas to the palace.

Bey, a novice in the personnel office of the Ministry of Imperial Registers, to receive a tenure and salary.<sup>332</sup>

It was a tradition to send gifts from the provinces to court. The most generous governor seems, according to archival material, Ahmed Ratib Pasha, the governor of the Hijaz. He presented ivory candlesticks to the Sultan made by an English jeweler.<sup>333</sup> He even once sent his son to the court to describe how to use the toilet he presented the Sultan.<sup>334</sup> Ratib Pasha governed the Hijaz for over fifteen years (1893-1908), and occasionally offered pearls, corals, ambergris etc. to the court.<sup>335</sup>

Younger governors were more aware of balancing their relations with the court and the central bureaucracy. This was probably the case in less important matters, too. The request for *adem-i merkeziyet-i idarî* and *tevsi'-i mezuniyet* was one of the major issues of political debates after 1908, led by Prens Sabahaddin.<sup>336</sup>

### **Misinforming the Sultan**

Although a suspicious character, who was always concerned about not being misled,<sup>337</sup> the Sultan could be misinformed. Everything he knew about his realm was through the lips, eyes or pens of his officials. The dependence of the Sultan on the declarations of his officials was described perfectly by a foreign journalist. After

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<sup>332</sup> “Defter-i Hakanî Sicil Kalemî mülazımlarından ve akraba-yı kemteranemden Zekai Bey kullarına karşılığı bulunarak 300 kuruş maaş tahsisi”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 68/120, (1321).

<sup>333</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 70/105, 1322 C 15.

<sup>334</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 75/38, 1323 S 24.

<sup>335</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 61/97, 1320 L 15.

<sup>336</sup> *Prens Sabahaddin: Hayatı ve İlmi Müdafaları*, ed. Nezahat Nurettin Ege (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1977).

<sup>337</sup> His Minister of the Interior wrote in his memoirs on the nature of the Sultan: “[B]ir tabiatı da, sözlü ve yazılı maruzatta kandırılma şaibesi muhtemeldir endişesinden kurtulamamasıdır,” Mehmed Memduh, p.37.

a tour to Trabzon, Erzurum, Bitlis, and Van, the special representative of the *New York Herald*, Dr. Hepworth, accused the Sultan of culpable ignorance of what happens in the provinces of his empire:

He lives a life of perfect seclusion, never visits his provinces, never goes further than his own garden, and every atom of news is filtered through a palace clique, who have various personal interests at stake. He cannot believing what he hears, or what certain people choose to tell him, and it is impossible for him to verify any statement, for official documents are very frequently full of fables.<sup>338</sup>

Leading members of the imperial court office played important roles in controlling access to the Sultan by receiving and selecting the correspondence to give the Sultan, along with sending his wishes to the outside. The court officials had tremendous power which they used to influence the Sultan who rarely left the palace.<sup>339</sup> The *mâbeyn* officials were not able to forward letters of informants, the *jurnals*, to the Sultan. An ex-official of the *mâbeyn*, Ali Ekrem, son of the famous intellectual Namık Kemal, wrote in his memoirs that the clerks of the court office have used their influence on incoming and outgoing documents for the sake of the public good. For example, the scribes wrote imperial letters which could damage the authority of the *Bâbîâlî* with lifeless and meaningless style and words, and vice versa.<sup>340</sup> Another *mâbeyn* ex-clerk, İsmail Müştak Mayakon, wrote in his memoirs that he realized a wrong letter in the order written by the Sultan, and informed Tahsin Pasha, the head of the court office. The latter just threw the imperial order to the

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<sup>338</sup> Consul Graves to Sir P. Currie, March 9, 1898. FO, 424/195, No 75, p.68-69 (*EHIB*, p.342).

<sup>339</sup> Shaw, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, p.340.

<sup>340</sup> “Bâbîâlî’nin kesr-i nüfuzuna bâdî olacak irâdât-ı seniyyeyi yazarken mümkün olabildiği kadar hükümsüz, hemen hemen cansız ve manasız bir üslup, devair-i devletin idame-i mevcudiyetine bâdî olabilecek tezkerelerde ise gayet belîğ ve müşaşa bir lisan ihtiyarı...”, *Ali Ekrem Bolayır’ın Hatıraları*, ed. Metin Kayahan Özgül (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), pp.329-331 and 341-342.

ground, instead of presenting it to the Sultan and requesting to correct it or directly sending it to the Grand Vizierate.<sup>341</sup>

The governors used same ways to misinform the palace. One way was to gain credit on behalf of the Sultan by sending information on the personal security of the Majesty, which certainly caused fear in the palace. The governor of Sivas wrote, for example, that the Sultan would be assassinated according to the interrogation of an exile in the province. According to the governor, the ministers should be kept together even the highest of them should be under suspicion, and there should be no boatman's caique on the way to the Sultan. Even the most private rooms of the palace were not secure for the Sultan, the recently established terrorist organization was not like earlier ones.<sup>342</sup>

A petty official from the provinces could also create misunderstandings for the superior officials. Once a provincial clerk caused a problem between the governor of Sivas and Arab İzzet Pasha, the powerful man in the imperial court. The *muhassebe mümeyyizi*, who represented the dismissed *defterdar*, sent a telegram on a financial matter, but used the word "exiled" (*sürülmüş*) for the finance officials in Sivas. Using such a word in official correspondence was a scandal. The governor assured the second clerk of the *mâbeyn* that he did not send any telegraph at that time, and that İzzet Pasha would "estimate at first sight that such a vulgar term would not come forth from his pen."<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>341</sup>Mayakon, p.80.

<sup>342</sup>"Hatta daire-i dahile-i hırka-i saadet bile tehlike içindedir. Cemiyet-i müteşekkile evvelce söylenenlere benzemez," BOA, Y.EE 14/166, 1320 Ş 24.

<sup>343</sup>"Fakat o amiyane tabirin kalem-i çâgerânemden çıkmayacağını lutfen irfan-ı devletleri yek lahzada takdir buyurmak iktiza eder", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 70/23, 1322 Ca 4.

The same Arab İzzet Pasha promised governors that he knew to help in any delay of answers from the *mâbeyn* to their letters from the provinces. The realization of a request from the Sultan could be achieved by applying to someone of his entourage. This led to the formation of cliques around the effective people in the *mâbeyn*.<sup>344</sup> Mehmed Tevfik was told by his friends at the *mâbeyn*, that the Grand Vizier once prevented the Sultan from appointing him to the governorship of Edirne.<sup>345</sup> Other examples of the Grand Vizier's manipulations were given in chapters on the appointment and dismissal of governors.

Eyub Sabri, the chief secretary of the governor of Mamuretülaziz, informed the court of some words from his superior. According to him, Rauf Pasha, the governor, did not give information about a certain incident in Dersim ("Ohi *vukuati*"), which was well known to the neighboring governors of Diyarbekir and Erzurum. Supposedly, Rauf Bey said slackly that "if anybody reports me to the palace, I have an endless supply of lies inside me. I can cope successfully with it until the Sultan sends an official for inspection. Then, I would falsify some of the complaints, modify some and explain away some part of them."<sup>346</sup>

Sururi Bey, the assistant-governor of the Mediterranean Islands, confessed to a colleague that he misinformed the *mâbeyn* by giving the impression that the translator of the French embassy wanted his dismissal. If he would really be dismissed, this would make the people uncomfortable and harm state policy, because the motive

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<sup>344</sup> Mehmed Tevfik, p.153-154.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid*, p.261.

<sup>346</sup> "Dersim Sancağı'nın asayışı muhtell bir haldedir. Sırf zabt u rabtının gevşekliğinden dolayı vukua gelmekte olan kesret-i şekavetden hadis olan "Ohi" vukukatından Diyarbekir ve Erzurum Valileri'nin de malumatı vardır. Vali Bey bir mahremine bizzat demiş ki, 'beni istedikleri kadar jurnal etsünler, aleyhimde yazsunlar, elimde yalan gibi tükenmez sermaye var. Zat-ı hazret-i padişahî bir memur-ı mahsus gönderinceye kadar sermaye ile idare-i maslahat edebilürüm. İhbar olunan muğayir-i rıza-yı âlî ahval ve vukuatın kimini tekzib kimini tağyir ve tevil ederim' dediği berâ-yı malumat maruzdur," BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 56/37, 1319 C 15.

would seem the demand of the French. When he was told that the claim of French pressure to dismiss him was not true, he answered, "I did not write the truth, but what would effect the *mâbeyn*".<sup>347</sup> This point is very important in understanding and analyzing the relationship of the court and the governors. Officials manipulated correspondence by giving an impression to the court that even affected the imperial interior and foreign policy. Therefore, any polemic on the Sultan's initiatives in his policies should consider the potential of interference by his influential entourage and by the provincial officials who presented their own picture of the realm. In particular, the correspondence of the provincial governors on security matters should be treated with caution. The Grand Vizier complained to the Sultan that the governors were hiding vital information on security matters in their provinces. A Kurdish brigand group of thousand armed men attacked and plundered ten villages in Çemişgezek. The government was learning this events from the British consul in Bitlis and petitions sent to the *şeyhülislam*, instead from the governors. This example illustrated the degree of truth of the security reports arriving from the provinces (*vilayetlerin iş'ârâtı hakikatden ne derece ba'îd olduğunu müeyyed delâildendir*).<sup>348</sup> Governors were keen to present their field of responsibility as clear of problems. This last point was expressed to the Sultan by an exile in Tripolitania who complained about the deputy governor. The latter was not informing İstanbul on any incidents occurring in the *vilayet*. According to this way of conducting affairs, "if the [local] government does not write, no occurrence can be heard by the center of the Sultanate; and no cause to complain would be given," or "the cries and complaints of the population can only

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<sup>347</sup> "Ben hakikati değil, Mâbeyn-i Hümayun'a tesir edecek şeyleri yazdım", demiş olduğu bera-yı malumat arz olunur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 36/50, 1314 B 7.

<sup>348</sup> BOA, YA.HUS 515/118, 1325 Ş 24.

reach as far as the office of governorship” and “and if doomsday breaks out, it is not important if the cries and complaints do not reach the center of Sultanate”.<sup>349</sup>

### **Provincial Reports**

The governors apparently put no regular reports forward to İstanbul before and even in the early Tanzimat-era. The Grand Vizier proposed this matter in his review of the provincial inspection tours of 1863.<sup>350</sup> Reports were sent after the *devir*, the inspection tour of the governor, which had to be made regularly according to central orders. This reporting was also the way the governor presented developmental programs for the province.

The government sometimes ordered the governors to send reports on special issues. Such reports were mostly demanded about security affairs. One asked, for example, for the number, method and times of murders in the provinces and about the English consuls’ acts and relations with the local people.<sup>351</sup>

Armenian incidents, were the most reported topic during the late Hamidian era. If security (*asayiş*) matters were mentioned in official documents, they probably were concerned with Armenian atrocities.<sup>352</sup> The Foreign Ministry demanded such reports

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<sup>349</sup> Bilgi, p.93.

<sup>350</sup> Davison, *Reform*, p.138.

<sup>351</sup> For example, “Telgrafın geldiği tarihe değin ne miktar katl ve cinayet zuhura gelmiş ise seneleri, cins ve nevileri açıklanarak yirmi gün içinde bildirilmesi; vali, mutasarrıf ve kaymakamların devre çıkarak halkın ihtiyaçlarını ve İngiliz konsoloslarıyla diğerlerinin ahali arasında tahrik ve ifsadatta bulunup bulunmadıklarının tesbiti,” a telegraph from the *Mâbeyn* to the provinces, BOA, YEE 40/88, 1297 Ş 21.

<sup>352</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 109/61, 1313 Ş 1, for example, is on the number of Muslim and Armenian deaths after the incidents in the eastern Anatolian provinces. In BOA, Y.EE 81/54, 1316 Ş 9, the affairs of administrative, security, military and trade affairs of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum are demanded to be reported.



to be sent as soon as they arrived İstanbul, showing the international liaison of provincial problems.<sup>353</sup>

Some provinces had to send weekly or biweekly reports on public order and security (*asayiş*). The Ottoman bureaucracy had developed special correspondence documents for *asayiş* matters. The period of such reports changed according to urgent developments and could even be prepared daily. But normally, statistical reports on local security were sent monthly<sup>354</sup> or biweekly from the provinces. One prepared by the Diyarbekir governor was entitled “*Diyarbekir Vilayeti’nce 21 Kamunisani 1316 tarihinden 14 Şubat 1316 tarihine değin onbeş gün zarfında ittihaz edilen tedabir ile ahval-i mahalliyeyi havi cedveldir*”. The left half of the document was headed with “*Ahval-i Mahalliye*”. This part listed the happenings, which were in this case a problem between the Muslims and Armenians in Midyat, a *kaza* of the *sancak* Mardin, and a prohibited pamphlet named “İrkaran”, found in an Armenian school of Çüngüş in Çermik, a *kaza* of Maden. The right side of the document had to mention the “*Tedabir-i Vakaa*”, the measures taken for these problems.<sup>355</sup>

A report from the governor of Sivas was on the 3.077 people who emigrated to Sivas in the last three years. These 547 hane were in need of food and housing, which depended on the help of the center for a total sum of 899.500 kuruş. The governor

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<sup>353</sup> BOA, Y.MTV 236/77, 1320 Ş 14.

<sup>354</sup> BOA, Y.MTV 238/106, 1320 L 15 .

<sup>355</sup> The document contains no special measure, but general statements and praises to the Sultan: “Hamd olsun avn u inayet-i cenab-ı ilahi ve yaveri-i tevfiyat-ı cenab-ı şehyari ile vilayetce asayiş ve emniyet berkemal olub teba’a-i sadika-i cenab-ı zillullahî, nail olmakda bulundukları emn u istirahatden dolayı deavat-i hayriye-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhî ile iştiğal etmekde bulunmuşlardır. Her halde emr u ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir, li 14 Şubat 1316 Abd-i memluk-i hazret-i şehinşahi, Diyarbekir Valisi Mehmed Halid,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/34, 1318 Za 8.

pointed out that most emigrants had their identity cards (*tezkire-i Osmaniye*) in their hands and the *tahrir* of the remaining residents was taking place.<sup>356</sup>

Reports on the *Protestan* schools were ordered by the *mâbeyn* to the *vilayets* of Trabzon, Beirut, Aleppo, İzmir, Mamuretülaziz, Bitlis and Erzurum and the *mutasarrıflık* of İzmid on the first days of 1904.<sup>357</sup> Another imperial order to the governors in September, 1905 asked about the American schools, whether there were any in the province and if Muslim children were attending them.<sup>358</sup> An earlier demand was for reports on missionary schools in general (March 1899).<sup>359</sup>

Sometimes governors wrote on general political or international problems not specifically related with their own provinces. Especially governors who were former ex-ministers corresponded on various matters sometimes on request of the imperial court. Abidin Pasha who had occupied earlier in 1880 the post of Foreign Minister for three months and was now governor of the Mediterranean Islands, submitted requested reports on the Rumelian question and the politics of the great powers on the European regions of the Ottoman state.<sup>360</sup>

With the creation of the Statistical Council in the central government, attached to the Council of State, the governors were to submit information in their annual reports

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<sup>356</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 56/110, 1319 B 11.

<sup>357</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 67/30, 1321 Ş 12.

<sup>358</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 77/29, 30, 34, 36, all between Receb and Şaban 1323.

<sup>359</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 44/96, 27 Ş 1316.

<sup>360</sup> A six-page report of Abidin Pasha, beginning “13 Kanunevvel 1319 tarihli telgrafnameye cevabdır... Rumili işi hakkında mütalaat-ı çâğērânemin arz u iş‘ârı emr u ferman buyrulmuşdur,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 67/97, 1321 Z 12. Another report on the same question was sent by Abidin Pasha some days later, noting another cause to report: “Velinimet-i a‘zam efendimiz hazretlerine ve Devlet-i Aliyye’lerine olan ubudiyet ve sadakat ve irtibatım ol derece azımdır ki, buraları mahremane arz-ı çâğērlerini mecbur eyledi,” Y.PRK.UM 68/102, 1321 Z 21. Another report of the governor was on Albania, in BOA, Y.PRK.UM 78/45, 1324 M 8.

on everything happening in the provinces. In cases of transfer, a special report of the same type was to be submitted.<sup>361</sup>

Reports were also to be sent if political problems were experienced in a certain province. The governor of Mosul was ordered to send such a report in line with a decision of the cabinet that stated that the governor had to send his suggestions on precautions to keep security after having personally inspected the places in disorder.<sup>362</sup> Governors of borderlands sent reports on the activities of their informants (*hafiyes*).<sup>363</sup>

Almanacs were used by the governors to express themselves and show off their performances in the provinces. The Sivas Almanac of 1321 is of note because it begins with almost an advertisement that no almanac was published in Sivas for twelve years until Reşid Akif Pasha ordered that one to be published.<sup>364</sup> This almanac contains a unique chapter, not to find in any other Ottoman provincial almanac, on the accomplishments of the governor, who came to the province just year earlier.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p.286.

<sup>362</sup> “Vali-i vilayet tarafından lazım gelen mahaller bizzat geşt ü gûzar ve tahkikat-ı mükemmele ve fiiliyye icra olunarak men-i suriş ve takrir-i asayiş için ne gibi tedabir-i esasiyye ve inzibatiyye ittihaz ve icrası icab edeceğinin iş‘ârı hususunun vilayet-i mezkureye tebliğinin Dahiliye Nezareti’ne havalesi”, a cabinet decision forwarded by the Ministry of Interior to the governor of Musul; BOA, YA.RES 87/1, publ. in *Musul-Kerkük İle İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri (1525-1919)* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993), p.240.

<sup>363</sup> See Abidin Pasha’s report on the Mediterranean Islands (Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid), BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/73, 1318 Z 5.

<sup>364</sup> “Vali-i kesir’ül-meâlî atufetlu Reşid Akif Beyefendi hazretlerinin himemat-ı âliye-i cenab-ı vilayetpenâhîleriyle oniki seneden beri ilk defa olarak işte bu salname meydan-ı intiş‘ârda isbat-ı vucud ediyor”, *Sivas Vilayeti Salnamesi 1321, 16.defa*, p. 3.

<sup>365</sup> “Saye-i ma‘muriyetvâye-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhîde vali-i vilayet, bende-i hâss-ı şehryari, atufetlu Reşid Akif Bey Efendi hazretlerinin henüz bir seneyi bulan zaman-ı vilayetpenâhîlerinde ifasına muvaffak oldukları teşebbüsât ve icraat-ı ‘imraniye”, *ibid.*, pp.221-231.

## Sultan's Eye over the Province: *Jurnals* on Governors

The increasing pressure of surveillance and intimidation made the governors uneasy in their provinces. They could not afford to make mistakes, and when they did, they could not afford to let the informants know, as they forwarded any such information to the court. Any movement of the governors was immediately informed to the palace, even by the pettiest officials.<sup>366</sup> Those governors who were ex-ministers and sent to governorships in order to be removed from İstanbul, were especially observed and denounced to the palace through *jurnals*<sup>367</sup>, the written reports of informants.

Kamil Pasha of İzmir, the ex-Grand Vizier, was the most informed upon governor. His entire entourage reported against him. That the informers were not reporting in vain became obvious when the governor had took refuge at the British Consulate, after being accused of taking bribes from bands of brigands in the area. His assistant Hasan sent many *jurnals* to the court on him.<sup>368</sup> Bell claimed that even the

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<sup>366</sup>“Elyevm hareket eden Nemçe’nin Apollo vapuruyla zat-ı vilayetpenâhının Lazistan’a azimet ettiği maruzdur, ferman 25 Mayıs 1321 Trabzon İskele memuru Kolağası Necib”, BOA, Y.PRK. ASK 230/2, 1323 R 1.

<sup>367</sup>On *jurnals*, see Faiz Demiroğlu, *Abdülhamid’e Verilen Jurnaller* (İstanbul: Tarih Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 1955); Tugay; Süleyman Kani İrem, *Abdülhamid Devrinde Hafiyelik ve Sansür*, ed. by Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1999), İlknur Haydaroğlu, “II.Abdülhamit’in Hafiyeye Teşkilatı Hakkında Bir Risale”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XVII, no 28 (Ankara, 1996), Mehmet Ali Beyhan, “II.Abdülhamid Döneminde Hafiyeye Teşkilatı ve Jurnaller”, in *Türkler* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002) vol.XII, pp. 939-950.

<sup>368</sup>According to the memoirs of the son of Midhat Pasha, the reason for Hasan’s appointment to İzmir as assistant governor was solely to surveil Kamil Pasha. See Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım 1872-1946* (İstanbul: Güler Basımevi, 1946), p.143. For letter sent by Hasan to the palace on Kamil Pasha, see BOA,Y.PRK.UM 45/77, 46/58, 46/60, 49/5, all for the years 1316-17. Kamil Pasha was aware of him from the very beginning, (*Hatırat*, p.196): “Bu Hasan Bey Samipaşazade Hasan Bey olup, Şeyh Ebulhuda’nın mensubîninden olmakla daima beraberimde bulunub hal ve hareket-i acizaneme dair Mâbeyn-i Hümayun’a posta ve telgrafla malumat arz etmek ve kendisine dahi iş’âr eylemek üzere Şeyh tarafından tertib olunub, Mâbeyn’den kendüsüne bir de şifre miftahı verilmiş idi.”

governor's son Said Pasha was used by the palace clique as a spy against his father.<sup>369</sup> The *mutasarrıf* of Manisa, worked both sides by sending fresh yoghurt from his sub-province to the governor, and then informing on Kamil Pasha.<sup>370</sup> His *aide de-camps* (*yâverân*) were also passing information on the governor to the palace.<sup>371</sup> The military commander of İzmir, Mirliva Şakir Pasha, was also among the informers of the court.<sup>372</sup>

The second most informed upon governor was Abidin Pasha of the Mediterranean Islands, a former Foreign Minister. Here we see again an assistant to the governor, Sururi Bey, as the informant.<sup>373</sup> The harbour master of İstanbul once reported that Rasih Bey, the son of the governor of the Mediterranean Islands was buying the steamer "Sakız" for six thousand liras. If the steamer was in fact bought by his father it was a mystery to be solved and reported later.<sup>374</sup>

### Contacts with the ministries

Until the modern organization of the *vilayet*-laws the provincial governors corresponded and handled their issues with the center through a mediating *kapukethüda* residing in İstanbul. The *kapukethuda* of a province was simultaneously assigned to the governor and was, therefore, most likely a relative of or selected by

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<sup>369</sup> According to a note at the 2nd April 1907 in the diaries of Gertrude Bell.  
<http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/diaries/d1459.htm>.

<sup>370</sup> Demiroğlu, p.20; BOA,Y.PRK.UM 71/65, 74/48, 74/127, 75/71, and 78/32, all from the years of 1322-23.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.65-70.

<sup>372</sup> Some examples are in BOA,Y.PRK.ASK. 181/49, 1320 M 21; BOA,Y.PRK.ASK 182/467, 1320 RA 9; BOA,Y.PRK.ASK. 194/61, 1321 M 20.

<sup>373</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 36/41, 1314 C 23; 36/50, 1314 B 7; 36/55, 1314 B 13; 42/105, 1316 RA 4.

<sup>374</sup> "Reji İdaresi'nin elyevm Çeşme'de bulunan Sakız vapurunun Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid valisi Abidin Paşa'nın mahdumu Cemiyet-i Rusumiye Azasından Rasih Bey tarafından 6000 liraya satın alınmak üzere bulunduğu", BOA, Y.PRK.ASK. 169/88, 1319 S 3.

the governor. At the end of 1863, the *kapıkethüda*-system was reformed, and the *kapıkethüda* became salaried and connected with the province itself, instead to the governor in person. An office was established for them in the *Bâbîâlî* where every incoming and outgoing correspondence was to be registered.<sup>375</sup> As the new organization of provincial laws spread, the *kapıkethüda* lost his importance and disappeared over time. This disappearance must be attributed to the reach of telegraph lines, too.

The governors corresponded with other ministries through the Cipher Office at the *Bâbîâlî*. But this was also not addressing to contemporary needs anymore. The ministries demanded direct correspondence with *vilayets*. The Foreign Minister wrote to the Grand Vizier that his ministry needed the special cipher keys of the provinces in order to correspond with the governors directly in urgent cases on foreign officials and subjects, especially during holidays when the *Bâbîâlî* Cipher Office was closed.<sup>376</sup> This indicates also that the Ministry of the Interior, whom the governors were officially tied to was not informed about every correspondence of the governors. However, central organs like the Council of State or the Chamber of Ministers sent their decisions on provincial matters to this ministry with the phrase “to be referred to the Ministry of the Interior in order to notify the provinces” (*vilayetine iş’ârının Dahiliye Nezareti’ne havalesi*).<sup>377</sup>

Problems concerning borderlands were cases where the governors needed to deal with the other ministries. The governor of Erzurum, Rauf Pasha, wrote to the Grand Vizier that four-hundred brand new rifles were found and taken by Iranian officials in

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<sup>375</sup> Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütifi, X, pp.100-101.

<sup>376</sup> BOA. A.MKT.MHM 734/11, 1328 C 14.

<sup>377</sup> For example, BOA, YA.RES 89/47, 1315 M 7.

an Armenian residence of the Iranian town Salmas. Referring to correspondence from the sub-governor of Bayezid, Rauf Pasha notes further that Russian pressure on Armenians was also increasing. The Grand Vizier forwarded Rauf's message to the Sultan underlining that these were the consequences of the Foreign Ministry's correspondence with Iran and Russia.<sup>378</sup>

The governor of Basra, Mustafa Nuri Pasha, wrote to the Minister of War that correspondence concerning the military within the province should be transmitted through him. He was soon answered positively that such orders were given to the Commandant of the Sixth Army.<sup>379</sup> This meant that the governor of Basra became the *de facto* commandant of the province.

Ironically, even former Grand Viziers who complained earlier about the Sultan's intervention in state affairs chose to by-pass the Sublime Porte. The ineffectiveness of the high bureaucracy legitimated the Sultan's will of taking the halter into his own hands. The governor of Aydın and ex-Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha complained of the *Bâbîâlî*'s indifference to his letters at a critical time when Armenian uprisings, outlaws and financial difficulties were plaguing his province.<sup>380</sup> He called on the Sultan's intervention for his problems, and ended by adding that his only place of refuge was the mercy of his majesty (*yegane ilticagah-ı ubeydânem uluvv-i merhamet-i seniyye-i velinimet-i azamîleri olmağla*).

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<sup>378</sup> BOA, YA.HUS 344/65, publ. in *Osmanlı Devleti ile Azerbaycan Türk Hanlıkları Arasındaki Münasebetlere Dair Arşiv Belgeleri II*, Ankara 1993, pp.119- 120.

<sup>379</sup> "Dahil-i daire-i vilayetdeki asakir-i şahaneye aid kaffe-i hidemata müteallik muhaberat için ba'dema mevaki' kumandanlarıyla vasıta-i acizaneyle icra-yı muhabere olunması lüzumunun 6.Ordu-yı Hümayun Müşirliği'ne tebliğ edildiği", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 69/27, 1322 M 13.

<sup>380</sup> "Şu vakt-i tenakusî ve telaşda, bir taraftan berdevam olan Ermeni hareket-ı fesadiyesi diğer taraftan eşkıya meselesi ve bâhusus vilayetin müzâyaka-i maliyeden mütevellid müşkilât-ı haliyesi esnasında iş'ârat-ı kemteranemin Bâbîâlîce nazar-ı itibare alınmaması", BOA. Y.EE 86/33, 1324 R 14.



The governors not only resisted sometimes to ministerial directives, but also requested and implemented the Sultan's Interference. The governor of Kosovo disagreed with the *Bâbîâlî* at the start of the Rumelian reforms in his province. According to him, the reforms should be put into practice first in a relatively problem-free (*suhuletli*) province, like Salonica, rather than a *vilayet* like Kosovo with the most difficult financial and administrative issues. The *Bâbîâlî* made reform of the province seem impossible because it lacked funds. If this was not a case of inattention by the *Bâbîâlî*, then it was a plan to make him fall from the favor of the Sultan and be dismissed.<sup>381</sup>

The Minister of Health complained that the governor of Aleppo was adversely affecting the work of the doctors in his area dealing with cholera. The governor ordered Dr. Caneto to go to a place which was out of his area of responsibility. Probably after the asking of the doctor, the minister ordered him not to go. The governor of Aleppo, having treated the doctor badly, drove him away, and further intended to misuse the health commission (*heyet-i sıhhiye*), which had been sent to the province from the ministry. Pointing out that the same occurred in Syria, the minister demanded that the Grand Vizier order the provincial administrations to help the health commissions sent to them to fight major health issues. The Grand Vizier immediately wrote to the Minister of the Interior to issue orders to the governors of Aleppo and Syria.<sup>382</sup>

Ferid Pasha, the governor of Konya who became later Grand Vizier, blamed the Ministry of Education for not decreasing the price of school books for village schools,

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<sup>381</sup> "...Bâbîâlîce bir eser-i gaflet değil ise, mukarreratın mevki'-i fi'le isâlini tehire sebebiyet isnadıyla kulunuzu nazar-ı merhamet-i hazret-i velinimet-i a'zamîden düşürüb azl ettirmek için takdim edilmiş bir plan olacağı[nı] hiss ü teferrüs etmekdeyim", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 61/60, 1320 N 15.

<sup>382</sup> "Haleb ve Suriye Vilayetlerine telgrafla serî'an tebliğat-ı müessire ifasına himmet", BOA, A.MKT.MHM 586/1, 1321 CA 23.

preparing unrealistic schedules that changed too often, and taking unsealed books from hands of the poor children on behalf of some bookhandlers. The local agents of the Ministry of Education caused difficulties for the governorship. Against the Ministry of the Interior's strict order to not collect any subscriptions from the people, the Ministry of Education transmitted an official communiqué demanding the implementation of such a policy in order to build or repair schools. The provincial officials were mystified at the implementation of this order.<sup>383</sup>

Osman Pasha of Yannina openly wrote to the Mâbeyn that he did not agree with the replacement of the *mutasarrıf*, the sub-governor of Berat, of which he was informed by telegram from the Minister of the Interior, in November 1903.<sup>384</sup> He is much satisfied with the *mutasarrıf*'s work. Furthermore, according to the Rumelian Reform Edicts, his approval had to be asked before the displacement. The displacement of this loyal man grew up from local people siding with the Grand Vizier: "The passing over in silence of my humble petitions on the in-secure acts and behaviours of officials connected to the Grand Vizier, who tolerate his whims, is confirming this condition. This treatment, which seems to be attracting attention, dared to be submitted as information" to the Sultan.<sup>385</sup> Some weeks later, governor Osman Pasha goes on to complaining about the Grand Vizier's other acts:

As submitted before, the Grand Vizier changed the *mutasarrıf* of Berat, Celal Bey, to the *mutasarrıflık* of Tokad, in order to appoint there one of his relatives. After having reported to the Porte that although three months are gone, this mentioned [relative] Ziya Bey did not come to his workplace and demanded his urgent arrival, it was answered that he was sick. But as submitted before, this *mutasarrıf* is a relative and dependent of the Grand

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<sup>383</sup> "Nezaret-i mîşarünileyhâdan vukubulan tebliğâtın nasıl ve ne suretle mevki'-i icraya vaz'olunacağında memurın mütehayyirdir", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 56/21, 1319 C 11.

<sup>384</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 67/34, 1321 § 19.

<sup>385</sup> "Calib-i nazar u dikkat görünen işbu muameleden hâkpây-ı mualla-ihîtiva-yı şahanece husul-i malumat zımnında arz-ı keyfiyete cûret eyledim," *ibid*.

Vizier, whose partisan acts inbetween the people of Berat and Vlore should be restricted.

The governor demanded the interference of the Sultan to appoint a servant of his imperial majesty, “who is independent and whose good conduct and behaviours are proven”, to Berat.<sup>386</sup>

In April, 1904 the governor of Kastamonu wanted clarity on the rumour that the *sancak* of Bolu would be separated from the *vilayet* to become an independent *mutasarrıflık*, after a report of an investigating commission to the Grand Vizier. He stated that he would be in total disagreement if this was the real intention of the Porte because Bolu was the largest and richest part of the province.<sup>387</sup> Some months later, the same governor again urged the Sultan to interfere in ministerial affairs. It seems the only fitting place to build a mosque in the new kaza of Zonguldak belonged to the Imperial Mines Administration of Ereğli (*Ereğli Maden-i Hümayun Nezareti*) which was under the control of the Ministry of Marine. The governor requested that the Sultan directly order the ministry on this matter.<sup>388</sup> There was another quarrel about Zonguldak in June, 1908, this time between the governor of Kastamonu and the greatest religious authority of the empire. The *şeyhülislam* complained that the governor of Kastamonu had dismissed the *naib* of Zonguldak without reason (*hodbahod işden el çekdirilmesi*). He accused the governor of not having consulted the proper authorities. Although, according to the Law of Provincial Administration, the governors were in charge of controlling the provincial officials, it is evident that they had to report to the relevant ministry or administration in cases of misconduct of

<sup>386</sup> “Berat Mutasarrıflığı’nın bendegan-ı hazret-i padişahîden ahlak ve ahvali mücerreb bitaraf bir zata tevdi’i herhalde müstelzim-i muhassenat olacağının arz-ı hakpay-ı âlf buyrulmasını rica ederim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 68/28, 1321 ZA 8.

<sup>387</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 69/55, 1322 M 24.

<sup>388</sup> “Bahriye Nezareti’ne tebliğ ve iş’âr ve taraf-ı acizane de emr u izbarı hususuna müsaade...,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 71/60, 1322 B 28.

any official who was not directly in their suite. The dismissal of judges was beyond the limits of the governor's authority and an act of defiance.<sup>389</sup>

The governor and commander of Yemen, Abdullah Pasha, wanted to dismiss the *mutasarrıf* of Taiz and appoint in his place his *mektubcu*. The Sublime Porte changed the *mutasarrıf* according to the governor's will, but the new appointed one was the *mektubcu* of Kastamonu, not of Yemen. The governor of Yemen refused to accept this new appointment. The Minister of the Interior sent the matter to the Grand Vizier who brought the case to the cabinet. Although the ministers decided to insist on the appointment, the governor went further by informing İstanbul that he would resign from both of his offices if the new subgovernor came to Taiz. Mehmed Ali, the newly appointed *mutasarrıf*, visited the Grand Vizier when he arrived in İstanbul on the advice of the Interior Minister. The *sadrızam* insisted that he go to Yemen, adding that he would recommend him to the governor, Abdullah Pasha. But Mehmed Ali took further measures by taking and sending other letters of recommendation from İlyas Bey, the keeper of the imperial wardrobe (*esvabcıbaşı*) and Ragıp Pasha, a friend of the governor, Giridli Ahmed Muhtar Efendi, the *Serasker müsteşarı*, and Süleyman Tevfik Bey, a Circassian notable like the governor was himself.<sup>390</sup> The governor in the end did not resign from his offices.

Governors took preventive measures against the potentially negative effects of complaints and *jurnals*. Kamil Pasha, conscious of suspicions about him, wrote to the Sultan that he was sure that the tricks of his rivals would have no influence on the

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<sup>389</sup> "Doğrudan doğruya kendi maiyyetinde bulunmayan memurının su-i ahvalı görüldükde mensub oldukları nezaret veya idareye tebliğ ve iş'âr ile alacakları mezuniyet dairesinde harekete mecburiyetleri derkar ve sıfat-ı hakimiyeti haiz sair bir memurun ber-minval-i muharrer memuriyetden teb'îdi haric ez-salahiyet bir hareket-i hodserane idüğü," BOA, YA.HUS 522/164, 1326.5.26.

<sup>390</sup> Ali Kemali Aksüt, *Profesör Mehmed Ali Ayni Hayatı ve Eserleri* (İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1944), pp.101-103.

Sultan's opinion about him. The problems in the *vilayet* arose because the *Bâbîâlî* gave no importance to his notices and because his enemies continually plotted against him. He added that his only place of refuge was the mercy of the Sultan.<sup>391</sup>

It was common to complain to the court, even about the Grand Vizier. The governor of Bitlis wrote that the Grand Vizier was putting pressure on him because Armenians were abandoning Ottoman nationality.<sup>392</sup> The governors gladly

corresponded with the court rather than the central officials of the *Bâbîâlî*.

Considering that governors could be ex-ministers, their hesitation to consult with the ministries was understandable. Viewing the court as the sole center of decision making was also simpler. They knew that the central bureaucracy would ask for an opinion or approval of the court in any case. Why waste time?

The governors' relations in the provinces were more important than those with the center. The probability of failure in a governorship due to a problem deriving from local affairs was much greater than with any center-related problem. If the governors put their local affairs in line, there was no cause for problems with İstanbul. The governor and the province were two interdependent partners whose destinies were bound to each other.

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<sup>391</sup> "Rakiblerin bu kullarını nazar-ı mülûkânelerinden düşürmek kasdıyla istimal eyledikleri hiyel ve [de]sâyisin gerçi nezd-i hükümetvefd-i cenab-ı tâcdârîlerinde bir gûna tesiri olmadığı derkar ise de...", BOA, YEE 86/33, 1324 R 14.

<sup>392</sup> "Sadr-ı müşarûnileyhin abd-i memluklerini mesul ve bu sureti Bâbîâlî'ye iş'âra mecbur edercesine vaki olan tebliğat ve tazyikatdan dolayı hakikat-i hali hakpay-i âlî-i merhamet-sâzî-i hilafetpenâhîlerine arza mütecasir olduğum ve Ermeniler'in müracaat-ı vakıası tesvilat-ı fesadiye ve ilkaat-ı bedhahaneden münba'is olduğu cihetle tekraren ve cevaben Sadr-ı müşarûnileyhe iş'âr eylediğim maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 79/97, 1325 RA 22.

## CHAPTER IV

### GOVERNING THE PROVINCE

#### Arrival of the Governor to the Province

The newly appointed governor had to make a last visit to the Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior before he made his way to the province.<sup>393</sup> In May of 1901, after having informed Tevfik Bey that he was appointed governor of Salonica, Arab İzzet, a powerful man in the Sultan's entourage proposed that Tevfik Bey read Debidour's *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*, which could orient him in Macedonian politics.<sup>394</sup>

A governor's salary began to be counted only after his arrival to the new work place and not from the date of appointment.<sup>395</sup> This was a measure to ensure his quick arrival to the province. A further instruction limited the arrival date to twenty to thirty days after the official appointment date.<sup>396</sup> The arrival of the governor could

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<sup>393</sup> Mehmet Tevfik, p.267-68.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid*, p.155. Antonin Debidour (1847-1878)'s book on the history of European diplomacy (1814-1878) was published in 1891.

<sup>395</sup>“Dersaadetten vilayetlere ve vilayetlerce dahil-i vilayet olan mahallere tayin olunan bilcümle memurinin maaşları tarih-i nasblarından muteber olmayub, merkez-i memuriyetlerine vusullerinden itibaren tam olarak işleyecektir”, Harcırâh Hakkında [Kararname], *Düstur*, v.3, p.10, (9 CA 1290).

<sup>396</sup> “[T]arih-i nasbından itibaren yirmi gün ve mahalline göre nihayet otuz günden ziyade tevakkuf etmeyerek mahall-i memuriyetlerine azimete mecbur olacaktır”, *ibid*, p.11.

take longer for the distant provinces. In an exceptional case, Abdülvahhab Pasha came sixty five days later than his appointment to Baghdad.<sup>397</sup> To be late in arrival, could cost one the post. When the newly appointed governor of Konya delayed his departure from İstanbul, the governor of neighboring Ankara applied immediately for his appointment to Konya in order to get more money.<sup>398</sup>

A half percent (0,5 %) of the total monthly salary was paid per hour as journey money, and a quarter percent (0,25 %) when a steamer was arranged extra for travel by the state.<sup>399</sup> Steamships were used to get to oversea *vilayets*.<sup>400</sup> When arriving by railway, the governor was welcomed at the train station.<sup>401</sup> All civil and military officials had to be present in official dress when the *valilik fermanı*, the imperial order granting the conduct of the province to the governor, was read to a public gathering at the front of the government office. Artillery fire was part of this ceremony.<sup>402</sup>

The imperial edict began with the titlature of praise for the governor, and continued with the importance of that province. It ended with the orders of the Sultan wishing the well-being of the inhabitants of the province. These orders could carry special emphasis on different matters at different times. The Iraqi historian Neccar, in his book on late Ottoman administration in Baghdad, points to several orders from the

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<sup>397</sup> Cemil Musa Neccar, *El-İdaratu'l-Osmaniyya fi vilayet-i Bağdad: min ahdi'l-vâli Midhat Başa ilâ nihayeti'l-hükûm'il-Osmanî, 1879-1917* (Kahire 1991), p.472.

<sup>398</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 79/46, 1324 Z 10.

<sup>399</sup> “[S]aatde maaşının yüzde yarımı hesabıyla harcırah verilecektir”, and “...taraf-ı devletden vapur-ı mahsusa ırkaben bilenval gönderilen memurların mesafe-i bahriye için tayin kılınan harcırahının nısfı ita olunacaktır.” An hour was settled as four miles (“dört mil bir saat hesabıyla”), *Harcırah*, p.14. A table was prepared to illustrate the distances and journey hours of the destinations, *ibid*, p.19-22.

<sup>400</sup> For the poor conditions of Ottoman sea transport, see Mübahat Küttükoğlu, “Osmanlı Buhar Gemi İşletmeleri ve İzmir Körfezi Hamidiye Şirketi”, in *Çağını Yakalayan Osmanlı : Osmanlı Devleti'nde Modern Haberleşme ve Ulaştırma Teknikleri*, eds. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Mustafa Kaçar (İstanbul : IRCICA,1995), pp.159

<sup>401</sup> For the example of Konya, see Mehmed Tevfik, p.220.

<sup>402</sup> Mehmet Tevfik, p.158



appointment *fermans* of six governors which concerned reforming the courts, taking inspection tours to subdistricts when required, reorganization of the VI. Army, the gendarmerie and the civil service, honouring the notables with military and security occupation, the improvement of roads and the cleaning of rivers.<sup>403</sup> After his *ferman* was read, the newly appointed governor made a speech praising the Sultan and his orders mentioned in the appointment edict. Then one of the high religious officials, the *müfti* or *kadı* of the town, conducted a collective prayer blessing the state and the Sultan.<sup>404</sup>

Officials did care about whom they succeeded, some had even superstitions. When the governor of Bursa, Reşid Pasha, became *şehremini* of İstanbul, he said to his son, "I did not like this. I once succeeded Rıdvan Pasha at the post of undersecretary of the Interior Minister and met misfortune."<sup>405</sup> The successor mostly did not meet his predecessor, who had probably left the province already. If the previous governor was back in İstanbul before the newly appointed one had departed, he could use the opportunity to meet and talk about the problems of the province.<sup>406</sup>

One of the leading high officials of the province was appointed as deputy governor (*vali vekili*) until the new governor arrived at the capital of the province. Vice-governorships could be last quite long. Ahmed Feyzi Pasha, the commander of the VI. Army, was deputy governor of Baghdad for twenty-six months.<sup>407</sup> The acting governor gained an extra payment of one fifth of his own salary during his

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<sup>403</sup> Neccar, p.164-166.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid*, 166-167.

<sup>405</sup> Semih Mümtaz, *Evvel Zaman İçinde: Tarihimize Hayal Olmuş Hakikatler* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1948), p.34.

<sup>406</sup> Mehmed Tevfik, p.217.

<sup>407</sup> Neccar, p.184.

deputyship.<sup>408</sup> It occasionally happened that a deputy governor was ordered into retirement and asked to recommend another deputy. The retirement of the deputy governor of Diyarbekir, the Divisional General Bahri Pasha, was announced without stating a successor. When the matter was called to attention, he was ordered to recommend someone. He gave the name of the *mutasarrıf* of Mardin.<sup>409</sup>

The governors were allowed to chose their substitutes by themselves.<sup>410</sup> The deputy governor could be a provincial civil servant, generally the *defterdar*<sup>411</sup> or the military commander.<sup>412</sup> Although non-muslims were not appointed as *valis*,<sup>413</sup> they could serve as deputy governors in provinces where they were already assistant governors.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> “[V]ekaletle idaresi lazım gelen memuriyeti, behemehal memurın-i muvazzafanın ehil ve müstehak olanları marifetiyle idare etdirilerek, bu misillülerde müddet-i vekaletlerinde memuriyet-i kadimeleri maaşından maada, vekalet ettikleri memuriyete eskiden mahsus olan maaşın humusu dahi ita kılınacaktır”, Harcırah Hakkında [Kararname], *Düstur*, v.3, p.12, (9 CA 1290).

<sup>409</sup> “[V]ilayet vekaletinin kıdem ve ehliyeti ve ruyet ve istikameti derkar olan Mardin Mutasarrıfı Arifi Paşa’ya veyahud tensib buyrulacak diğer zata tevdi edilmesi zımında emr u irade-i cenab-ı sadaretpenâhîlerine intizar eylediğim maruzdur”, from acting governor of Diyarbekir to the Grand Vizier, BOA, YA.HUS 502/59,

<sup>410</sup> BOA, DH.TMIK.S.14/71, 19 Ca 1315.

<sup>411</sup> Emiri Efendi, the *defterdar* of Mamuretülaziz and *vali vekili*, was not allowed to go to his new office in Erzurum, where he was appointed as *defterdar* until the new governor of Mamuretülaziz arrived, BOA, A.MKT.MHM 657/5, 13 Ca 1313. Defterdar İbrahim was acting governor of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid according to BOA, DH.TMIK.S. 18/78, 20 Z 1315. Deputy governor of Van, Ali Bey, wanted the permission to leave Van by appointing the defterdar to his office, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 80/35, 03 Ş 1325. The governor of Mamuretülaziz Fehmi left the judge as acting governor and went to Malatya, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 76/80, 27 Ca 1323.

<sup>412</sup> Hasan Hilmi, governor of Sivas, appointed Sivas Fırka Kumandanı Hulusi Pasha as acting governor when he went on an inspection tour to the district of Tenos, BOA, DH.TMIK.S.12/84, 06 Ra 1315. Van Redif Kumandanı Ferik Münir Paşa was appointed as acting governor of Van, BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 57/23 21 RA 1316. The acting governor of Bitlis was once Mirliva Ali Paşa, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 43/104 19 CA 1316. The governor of Aleppo appointed the provincial commander as acting *vali*, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 502/38, 1324 Ra 07. In the summer of 1896 the acting governor of Van was Ferik Sadeddin Pasha, BOA, İ.HUS, 48/ 1314/S-62.

<sup>413</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Pasha drew an example on this matter from the British empire, noting that they did not employ non-Christian governors: “Şu kadar seneden beri Hindistan’ın fethi; vali ve kaymakam Hindistan’da müslümandan var mıdır?” From a memorandum of Cevdet Paşa on Sason and other Armenian incidents, published in *Osmanlı Arşivi Yıldız Tasnifi: Ermeni Meselesi*, vol.III, p.237-269.

<sup>414</sup> Aydın Aşar Müfettişi Rober Efendi was to be appointed as acting governor of Beyrut, BOA, Y.PRK. AZN 17/23 25 L 1314. Stefanaki Bey was once acting governor of Manastır, BOA,

## **Staff and Governmental Agencies of the Governor**

The primary function of the provincial governor was to oversee officials because many duties were performed through them, and were not attended by him personally. As the representative of the Sultan in the province, the governor dealt with the heads of local communities, tribal chiefs, foreign consuls, and, of course, other provincial officials. The general and non-departmental administration was in his hands. He directed the municipalities, settled difficult tribal disputes, and heard multifarious grievances. Though the *defterdar*, he influenced or controlled the land revenue. At every province and subordinate headquarters there was an administrative council, the *meclis-i idare*, composed partly of officials, partly of elected members including Christian and Jewish representatives. The maintenance of law and order depended upon the ill-paid and half-equipped police forces, the *zabtiye* and the gendarmerie, which were organized and commanded along military lines. They were administrated by the War Office but placed at the disposal of the local government.

The governor had only general power of coordination and discipline over the many departments operating in his area. These departments, directed from İstanbul, included the administration of justice, department of land registry, the field of medicine and quarantine, educational services etc. Other offices, like the Public Debt Administration which handled certain revenues on behalf of the European creditors of the Porte, the local offices of the Régie Co-intéressée which held a monopoly on the

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Y.PRK.AZJ 47/92, 15 S 1321. On non-muslims in the Hamidian provincial bureaucracy, see İlber Ortaylı, "II.Abdülhamid Devrinde Taşra Bürokrasisinde Gayrimüslimler", *Sultan II.Abdülhamid ve Devri Semineri*, 27-29 Mayıs 1992 (İstanbul: İÜEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1994), pp.163-171; Abdulhamit Kırmızı, *Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Administration, 1876-1908* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis; University of Hacettepe, 1997); "Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Gayrimüslim İstihdamı", *Divan*, 2002/2, No.13, pp.295-306; "Son Dönem Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Akraba Ermeniler", *Ermeni Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No.6, Summer 2003.

manufacture and sale of tobacco products and the Customs Department were of no direct concern to the Governor. The same applies to the public works entrusted to the *vilayet* engineer, and to the Department of Mortmains (*Evkaf*).

The 1864 Regulation included the accountant and his office (*muhasebeci* and *muhasebe kalemi*), the chief secretary (*mektubcu*), the official for foreign affairs (*umur-ı hariciye memuru*), public works (*umur-ı nafia memuru*), agriculture and trade (*ziraat ve ticaret memuru*) and the gendarmerie commander (*alaybeyi*) as the staff of the governor. However, the General Regulation of 1871 expanded these to the duties of assistant governors (*vali muavinleri*), director of finance (*defterdar*), chief secretary (*mektubcu*), director of affairs of foreigners (*umur-ı ecnebiye müdürü*), director of agriculture and trade (*ziraat ve ticaret müdürü*), director of education (*maarif müdürü*), superintendent of roads (*tarık emîni*), director of imperial registers of revenues (*defter-i hâkânî müdürü*), property and census officials (*emlak ve nüfus idareleri memurları*), director of estates in mortmain (*evkaf müdürü*), and the gendarmerie commander (*alaybeyi*). An increase in definitions of offices after seven years should be taken as an indication of growth in provincial bureaucracy.

But not all the noted officials were present in the provinces. Some posts were changing from province to province, according to the geographical or political state of the area. There were no uniform bureaucratic offices in all provinces as indicated in the laws. The main permanent officials staffing the operational divisions of the province were the *defterdar*, who was responsible for directing the financial affairs of the province, and the *mektubcu* who, as the chief secretary to the governor, conducted all correspondence matters and published the official yearbooks (*salname-i vilayets*). The yearbooks of the provinces are among the most informative sources illustrating the dynamic character in the agencies of the provinces. These important sources

counted mostly the *naib*, *vali muavini*, *defterdar*, *mektubcu* as *erkân-ı vilayet*, the high officials of the province. Some added the *müfti* and the gendarmerie commander to the list. The number of provincial staff changed in accordance with social and geographic conditions of the provinces. Not every province had a trade court or a Foreigners Affairs division, which included a translator (*tercüman*). The Anatolian provinces had no officials for censorship, duty, lighthouse or harbor. The staff of the religious court and municipality in the western Anatolian province of Hudavendigâr (Bursa) outnumbered other provinces. This probably meant that municipal services were more advanced and that there were coming more legal problems.

When compared over the years 1903- 1907, the provincial organization of agencies and the staff in Sivas displays a certain equilibrium and stability. The number of overall staff in Sivas even decreased from number of 316 to 309. The most dramatic decrease in Sivas was in the municipality staff which lost one third.

The number of staff in the Arabian provinces was far more than that in Anatolia. The absence of a *fatwa* office, agriculture inspectors, the offices of endowned money, and department of mines in the Arabian provinces is not particularly significant. But the existence of a large number of gendarmerie forces indicates problems with the non-settled Arabic tribal population. The huge number of municipality workers illustrates the situation of public services in Baghdad, which began to be introduced very early in Midhat Pasha's governorship between 1869 and 1872. Gendarmerie or police forces changed from province to province. Baghdad had 2.649 men, whereas Beirut had just 991, and the number was much smaller (under forty men) in the Anatolian *vilayets*.

Table 6a: Staff of Some Provinces in Comparison (Sivas, Kastamonu, Ankara, Bursa)

DEPARTMENT	Sivas 1321	Kastamonu 1321	Sivas 1325	Ankara 1325	Bursa 1324
Office of Administrative Council ( <i>Meclis-i İdare Kalemî</i> )	2	7	3	2	5
Chief Secretariat ( <i>Mektubî Kalemî</i> )	22	13	18	10	14
Correspondence Office ( <i>Evrak Kalemî</i> )	9	6	10	6	10
Foreigners Affairs Office ( <i>Umur-ı Ecnebiye Kalemî</i> )	-	-	-	-	2
Governor's Suite ( <i>Vilayet Maiyyetine Memur</i> )	3	1	4	2	6
Accounts Office ( <i>Muhasebe Kalemî</i> )	21	22	27	27	32
Census Office ( <i>Nüfus Nezaretî</i> )	2	6	3	6	10
Printhouse ( <i>Matbaa-i Vilayet</i> )	15	20	14	13	5
Registry & Taxation Office ( <i>Mea Tahrir Vergi Kalemî or vergi idaresi</i> )	13	10	13	8	10
Imperial Registry Department ( <i>Defter-i Hakani Dairesi</i> )	6	6	6	4	7
Advocates of the Public Treasury ( <i>Hazine Dava Vekilleri</i> )	1	-	1	-	-
Fatwa Office ( <i>Merkez-i Vilayet Fetvahanesi</i> )	2	-	2	-	-
Mortmains Department ( <i>Evkaf Dairesi</i> )	3	9	5	3	12
Forest Management ( <i>Orman İdaresi</i> )	6	16	6	6	9
Public Works Department ( <i>Nafia Dairesi</i> )	9	6	8	16	16
Inspectoriate of Agriculture ( <i>Ziraat Müfettişliği</i> )	5	-	3	4	-
Education Department ( <i>Maarif Dairesi</i> )	6	5	6	8	9
Police Department ( <i>Polis Dairesi</i> )	24	17	25	35	27
Inspectors of Justice ( <i>Devair-i adliye</i> )	1	1	2	2	1
Endowned Moneys Management ( <i>Nukud-ı mevkufe id.</i> )	-	-	-	-	3
Religious Court ( <i>Mahkeme-i Şeriyye</i> )	5	8	5	5	22
Court of Appeal ( <i>Mahkeme-i İstinaf</i> )	20	27	17	19	20
Court of First Instance ( <i>Bidayet Mahkemesi</i> )	18	30	18	21	21
Trade Court ( <i>Mahkeme-i Ticaret</i> )	-	-	-	11	8
Post Office ( <i>Telgraf ve Posta Dairesi</i> )	23	24	23	29	24
Health ( <i>Memurin-i Sıhhiye or umur-ı sıhhiye</i> )	5	-	4	7	1
Veterinary ( <i>Umur-ı Baytariye İd. or memurîn-i baytariye</i> )	1		1	2	3
Prisons ( <i>Hapishane memurları or gardiyanlar</i> )	8	11	12	7	-
Mines ( <i>Maden idaresi</i> )	-	-	-	-	1
Gendarmerie ( <i>Jandarma or Zabtiye Alayı</i> )	40	26	40	35	22
Municipality ( <i>Meclis-i Beledî &amp; Memurîn-i Belediye</i> )	27	20	19	4	38
SUM	257	265	255	257	316

Sources: Sivas 16/1321: 50-67; Sivas 17/1325: 52-72; Hüdavendgar 33/1324: 246-263, Kastamonu 21/1321: 142-161. Memurîn-i sıhhiye is mentioned in Sivas under the Belediye. Repeated staff (for example, is the *mektubi-i vilayet* is also the *matbaa-i vilayet nazırı*) and staff of gendarmerie, banks, schools and hospitals and the Public Depts Administration, Regie officials and a temporary registry staff (25 persons) which was active in 1321 are not mentioned in the table.



Table 6b: Staff of Some Provinces in Comparison (Baghdad &amp; Beirut)

DEPARTMENT	Baghdad 1325	Beirut 1324
Office of the Administrative Council ( <i>Meclis-i İdare Kalemî</i> )	5	6
Chief Secretariat ( <i>Mektubî Kalemî</i> )	26	13
Correspondence ( <i>Evrak Kalemî</i> )	9	7
Foreigners Affairs ( <i>Umur-ı Ecnebiye Kalemî</i> )	2	2
Governor's Suite ( <i>Vilayet Maiyyetine Memur</i> )	-	9
Accounts ( <i>Muhasebe Kalemî</i> )	41	14
Censorship ( <i>Sansür memuriyeti or muayene odası</i> )	3	2
Census ( <i>Nüfus Nezareti</i> )	3	7
Print ( <i>Matbaa-i vilayet</i> )	13	15
Registry & Taxation ( <i>Mea Tahrir Vergi Kalemî or vergi idaresi</i> )	-	12
Imperial Registry ( <i>Defter-i Hakani Dairesi</i> )	13	4
Advocates of the Public Treasury ( <i>Hazine Dava Vekilleri</i> )	2	1
Mortmains ( <i>Evkaf Dairesi</i> )	24	4
Forests ( <i>Orman İdaresi</i> )	1	7
Public Works ( <i>Nafia Dairesi</i> )	1	5
Education ( <i>Maarif Dairesi</i> )	10	7
Police ( <i>Polis Dairesi</i> )	49	55
Inspectors of Justice ( <i>Devair-i adliye</i> )	2	2
Religious Court ( <i>Mahkeme-i Şer'iyye</i> )	16	4
Court of Appeal ( <i>Mahkeme-i İstinaf</i> )	29	24
Court of First Instance ( <i>Bidayet Mahkemesi</i> )	46	30
Trade Court ( <i>Mahkeme-i Ticaret</i> )	5	14
Post Office ( <i>Telgraf ve Posta Dairesi</i> )	43	53
Duty Office ( <i>Rusumat Nezareti</i> )	41	32
Health ( <i>Memurin-i Sıhhiye or umur-ı sıhhiye</i> )	4	2
Veterinary ( <i>Umur-ı Baytariye İdaresi or memurin-i baytariye</i> )	3	2
Prisons ( <i>Hapishane memurları or gardiyanlar</i> )	4	6
Lighthouse ( <i>Fener idaresi</i> )	-	6
Dockyard Office ( <i>Liman İdaresi</i> )	1	3
SUM	396	348
Municipality ( <i>Meclis-i Beledî and Memurîn-i Belediye</i> ) PLUS	179	44
SUM	575	392

Sources: Bağdat 21/1325: 78-105, Beyrut 6/1324: 80-137.

It can be observed in yearbooks that the name line of some posts were empty or just the word “*münhal*” (vacant)<sup>415</sup> was written. Inadequate staffing was a major problem for the governors, causing them to complain to the center.

<sup>415</sup> For example, in Sivas 16/1321, p.63



Exiled officers were mentioned as guests, “*müsafirân*”<sup>416</sup>, “*müsafir ümerâ ve zabitân*”,<sup>417</sup> or “*bâ-irade-i seniyye müsafir bulunan ümerâ ve zabitân*”.<sup>418</sup>

Some officials had duties that overlapped the boundaries of two or three provinces. The “*Bağdad ve Basra ve Musul Vilayetleri Telgraf ve Posta Başmüdiri*”, Mehmed Şakir Efendi, resided in Baghdad. So did the “*Bağdad ve Basra ve Musul Vilayetleri Adliye Müfettişi*”, Hafız Ahmed Ziya Efendi.<sup>419</sup> The “*Ankara ve Konya vilayetleri Adliye Müfettişi*”, Hamdi Bey, resided in Ankara.<sup>420</sup> And the “*Trabzon ve Kastamonu Vilayetleri Adliye Müfettişi*”, Feyzullah Efendi, lived in Kastamonu.<sup>421</sup>

Differentiation in the organizations of the agencies in the provinces caused problems of categorization. The *heyet-i sıhhiye*, for example, consisting of inspectors (*sıhhiye müfettişi*) and their assistants, is mentioned under the *belediye kalemi* in Sivas and Beirut, but considered under an independent header in Baghdad. There was no *Liman Dairesi*, *Rusumat Dairesi*, *Umur-i Ecnebiye Kalemi*, or *Ticaret Mahkemesi* under the *Bidayet Mahkemesi* in Sivas. Whereas Baghdad did not have officials in the governors suite (*maiyyet memuru*), *nafia dairesi* (except one *nafia mühendisi* mentioned under the *Nafia Komisyonu*), *vergi kalemi*, *fetvahane*, or *ziraat müfettişliği*. The guardians were mentioned under the *heyet-i sıhhiye* in Baghdad. No *vali muavini* was charged in Beirut during 1324 or in Ankara in 1325. The *vilayet tercümanı* was either among the *maiyyet memurları* or *umur-ı ecnebiye müdüriyeti*, or

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<sup>416</sup> Hudavendigâr 33/1324, p.263.

<sup>417</sup> Sivas 16/1321, p.60, 17/1325, p.63. “Anadolu ve Rumeli vilayetlerindeki jandarma alaylarında misafir kaydedilen zabitan” is used in BOA, Y.MTV 238/97 1320 L 15.

<sup>418</sup> Ankara, 15/1325.

<sup>419</sup> Bağdad 21/1325, p. 83 and 98.

<sup>420</sup> Ankara 15/1325, p.57

<sup>421</sup> Kastamonu 21/1321, p.147.

under “*bazı memurîn-i vilayet*”. The *müfti*’s office was only mentioned in Sivas as *merkez-i vilayet fetvahanesi*, although all provinces had a *müfti*, mentioned mostly when head of commissions.

This organization grew in size after 1880. In the *salnames* before 1297, there was a *Divan-ı Temyiz* headed by the *naib*, and a *Meclis-i Temyiz* headed by another member of the *ilmiye* mentioned just after the *meclis-i idare-i vilayet*. These two institutions had also their own offices. The *evrak odası*, the *meclis-i idare-i vilayet kalemi*, the *tercüme kalemi* are stated as a branch of the general secretary (*mektubî kalemi şu‘ûbâtından*). Many of the other bureaus are absent. In the first yearbooks with the new organization (1297), the *Mahkeme-i İstinaf Heyeti* is mentioned just after the *meclis-i idare* as was the custom in earlier *salnames* which mention the *Divan-ı Temyiz* and *Meclis-i Temyiz* in the same place.

### **The Problem of Inadequate Staffing in the Province**

Although the general situation was changing through educational reforms accomplished during the Tanzimat-era, provincial correspondence shows that the lack of trained staff was a permanent problem for the late Ottoman bureaucracy. The aim to provide educated servitors for a rapidly growing centralized state apparatus was already bearing fruits. But the need to educated officials seemed bigger than the production of the new educational institutions.

The importance of working with capable men became sometimes meaningless in the province because of this shortage. Reşad Bey, Governor of Kosovo, in trouble with

financial problems, complained to the Sultan that there was no *defterdar* in the province since five months. He is awaiting anyone who will be appointed.<sup>422</sup>

The Governor of Beirut, could not get an answer for his request for the appointment of a new sub-governor to Akka. Cemil Pasha, the *mutasarrıf*, was not on his post and lived in Hayfa, and the judge (*naib*), who was acting this post, was incompetent. The people were complaining to the consuls about this (*bazı konsoloslara kadar müracaatları*).<sup>423</sup> Rauf Pasha of Erzurum, complained about the police forces of the eastern provinces.<sup>424</sup> The governor of Beirut forwarded the complaint of the *mutasarrıf* of Lazkiye on secretary-general Talat Efendi's bad manners. He mentioned a certain Hüsni Efendi who resigned from the post of head clerk of the First Instance Courts of Akka and Damascus.<sup>425</sup>

All these needed officials were appointed by the central government in İstanbul. Although the governor had no power to dismiss the officials, he was responsible to report their misbehaviour to their ministries.<sup>426</sup> But this was not always the shortest way to get a more competent employee and reliable subofficial. Osman Fevzi,

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<sup>422</sup> "Paraca ve idare-i umur-i maliyece her yüzden ru-nüma olan müşkilatı hasbe's-sadakat arz ile Defterdarlık için nezd-i âlîde her kim tensib u ferman buyurulacaksa bir an evvel icra-yı icabıyla i'zamı kemal-i ehemmiyetle arz", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 52/69, 1318 Ş 11.

<sup>423</sup> Notice that the governor used the consul to fear the court. "Şu hale ve mükerreren vaki olan iş'ârâta nazaran menafi'-i rıza-yı âlî bir hal vukuuna mahal kalmamak için bu kerre de istizan-ı harekete mûsaraat olunmuşdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 53/41, 1318 ZA 10.

<sup>424</sup> "Kürdistan'da vaki vilayat-ı şahanece Zabtiye zabitanının ekseriyetle mesavi-i ahval ile meluf ve müştehir ... olmaları," BOA, A.MKT.MHM 676/18, 1313 N 10.

<sup>425</sup> "Lazkiye Tahrirat Müdürü Talat Efendi'nin refakatinde bulunan efendilerle adem-i imtizacıyla beraber haklı haksız bazı memurîne tevbih ve tekdiramiz muamelesinden dolayı Lazkiye'de devam-ı memuriyeti caiz olamayacağından bahisle oradan tebdiliyle yerine iktidar ve dirayeti musaddak olan Şam Bidayet Mahkemesi Başkitabeti'nden müsta'fi ve elyevm Dersaadetde bulunan Hüsni Efendi'nin tayini," BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/14, 1318 L 26.

<sup>426</sup> The Provincial Law of 1871 stated that "[B]ilcümle idare şubeleri memurlarının derece-i hareket ve muamelelerini teftiş ederek, hataat veya nakâise muttâlî olduğu ve bu misillû ahval-i gailelerinin memuriyetlerinden tebâ'udunu müstelzim bulunduğu halde, memur-ı muhtfinin azli tedabirini ittihaz"; whereas the Provincial Regulation of 1876 was ordering "mesalih-i vilayetin her nev ve kısmında müstahdem memurların vazife-i mahsusalarını icra edip etmediklerine mütemadiyen nezaret" and "mucib-i azl olacak ahvalini Bâbîâlî'ye bildirmege memurdurlar".

Governor of Yannina, wrote in November of 1900 that he was requesting since March from the Ministry of the Interior the replacement of a chief clerk (*mektubi mümeyyizi*) named Safvet Efendi. He felt upset of being treated like an outsider since he could not get a proper response and complained about the *Bâbîâlî* to the Sultan. He worried about his inability to assert his authority because of the favoritism shown by the Porte for Safvet Efendi.<sup>427</sup>

Reşid Akif of Sivas wrote to the Sultan that he heard that a certain Mithat Efendi was to be appointed as *defterdar* from İstanbul. He expressed his request for the appointment of the *Tahrir Vergi İdaresi Başkatibi* Mehmed Rauf, instead of Midhat Efendi, “whose badness is even to be felt by his name”.<sup>428</sup>

Governors tried to refuse some unwanted appointments before these subofficials arrived at their new posts. The governor of Diyarbekir, Halid Bey, heard that Diyarbekirli Maruf Efendi, who was exiled just three years ago from İstanbul by an imperial rescript and escaped to Paris, was now appointed kaymakam to Lice. He wished that such an appointment of a harmful man was not true, otherwise the conduct of the kaza would be dreadful and indulged in depravity.<sup>429</sup> In another case,

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<sup>427</sup> “[B]unca müracaat ve maruzatının nazar-ı itimad ve itinaya alınmayub da, böyle ehemmiyetsiz ve küçük bir memur için vak’ u nüfuz-i acizanemin kesri ve mumaileyhin Bâbîâlîce sahabet u iltimasa mazhariyeti burada vazife-i hareket u icraat-ı acizanemi hüküm ü tesirden iskat etmekde olduğundan, bilküllüye muzır ve rıza-yı mualla-ihativa-yı mülukaneye muhalif olduğuna nazaran bu halin lütfen ve serî’an arz-ı atebe-i ulya buyurularak,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 52/74, 1318 Ş 18.

<sup>428</sup> “Midhat Efendi’nin, kerahet ve şeameti isminden dahi malum ve dakaik-melzum-ı âlf buyrulacağı vechile, pek de efkar-ı selime erbabından olmadığı Kosova ve Adana Defterdarlıklarındaki hareket ve evzandan istidlal edilmekte”, 21 Za 1319, 17 Şubat 1317, Tugay, p.99.

<sup>429</sup> “Efkar-ı muzırır ahashabından olmasına mebni üç sene mukaddem bâ-irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahî Dersaadet’den Diyarbekir’e teb’id idilüb müddet-i ikametini leyl u nehar sefahet ve işretle imrar ve devirde bulunduğum sırada Paris’e firar etmiş olan Diyarbekirli Maruf Efendi...”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 53/13, 1318 L 25.

Tahir Pasha of Van did not want Ziya Bey as *mutasarrıf* of Hakkari since he was in the opinion that Ziya Bey was appointed by the *Bâbıâli* to trouble him.<sup>430</sup>

Şakir Pasha, the General Inspector of Anatolia, reported, according to his talks and correspondence with the governors of Erzurum, Sivas and Bitlis, that the qualifications and behaviors of the gendarmerie officers were not in accordance with their positions. He proposed schooled officers from the military to be appointed in place of them.<sup>431</sup>

The General Inspector of Rumelia, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, trusted and relied on the information related to personnel affairs forwarded by the governors. The governor of Kosovo did not want the mayor of Draç to be appointed as member of the First Instance Court in the Kivaya district because he knew his honesty and capacity for a long time and wanted him to stay in Draç. The General Inspector stood behind the argument of the governor while further submitting the governor's wish to the Ministry of Justice.<sup>432</sup>

As some governors' demands of staff were handled with indifference, others were asked even whether they wished to take any staff with them to the province. In his first weeks in Konya, Ferid Pasha was asked for his requests for staff that he would need. He replied that Konya's provincial gendarmerie commander (*vilayet alaybeyi*), Hüseyin Daim, should be changed with, if possible, that of Adana, Hayri Pasha. Ferid

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<sup>430</sup> "Hakkari Mutasarrıflığı'na tayin buyurulan Ziya Bey, Erciş'den keşide eylediği telgrafnamesine nazaran, iki güne kadar Van'a gelecektir. Kendisinin Dersaadetden gönderdiği haberlere göre, kulunuzla uğraşmak için intihab edilmiş imiş. ... [Ş]imdi buraya başka fikir ile de gelmekde olduğu için bahusus Van'a nakliyle buraya garazsız ve muktedir bir zatın tayini maslahaten elzem", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 56/39, 1319 C15.

<sup>431</sup> "Sivas ve Bitlis vilayetlerinden alına telgrafnamelerde ve Erzurum Valisi ile edilen müzakerede Jandarma zabitan ve ümerasının evsaf ve hareketi memuriyetleriyle mütenasib olmadığından pek çoklarını vücudlarından istifade olunamadığı", BOA, A.MKT.MHM 676/18, 1 Mart 1312.

<sup>432</sup> "Vali-i müşarünileyhin memurın hakkında vukubulacak şehadeti ez-her cihet şâyân-ı itimad bulunmuş olmakla, is'afı menut-ı müsaade-i celile-i cenab-ı Nezaretpenâhileridir", BOA, TFR.1.MKM 51, 1320.11.23.

Pasha also asked about the possibility of lengthening the tenure of the *naib* Abdurrahman for one to two years in Konya. He wanted to use him as *muavin* and eventually as *vekil*, a cheaper solution than establishing an assistantship. The last wish of the governor was the appointment of Ali Raşid as *mektubcu* of Konya. He had been serving as *mektubcu mümeyyizi* in Trabzon for twenty years.<sup>433</sup> Depending on the person, governors could present the Sultan a list of the staff of their choice. Once he was appointed, if he had enough authority, the governor could begin to gather new staff to accompany him for the civil and military service of the province.<sup>434</sup> Tevfik Pasha, governor of Konya asked for a certain Kemal Bey, who worked at the correspondence office of the Ministry of the Interior, to come with him to Konya with an increase in his salary. The Sultan did not allow this appointment although Tevfik Pasha was a former official of the court.<sup>435</sup>

In brief, governors wanted trustworthy subofficials known to them from earlier offices. This tendency is also an indication of their reliance on their personal relationships and personal loyalties and ties, as well as of the earlier mentioned lack of well-trained personnel.

Being a relative of someone at the palace or the *Bâbîâlî* was the most powerful means to exceptional treatment. The *kaymakam* Abaza Nuri was appointed thanks to his ties to the chamberlain of the Sultan, Arif Bey, who was married to his sister. The

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<sup>433</sup> Ferid Pasha wrote his requests in an answer to the question of the palace one day before, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 50/19, 1317 Z. 25.

<sup>434</sup> *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, ed. by Sommerville Story (London: Constable, 1920), p. 250 and 292.

<sup>435</sup> I draw the conclusion of rejection from the fact that the paragraph on this matter was the only one scratched over with a pencil from among two others containing further requests of the governor. "Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemi hulefasından Kemal Bey'in kalem-i mezkurdan ve Matbuat İdaresinden almakda olduğu bindoksan kuruş maaşın binbeşyüze iblağıyla buraca emsali misillü memuriyet-i haliyesi uhdesinde kalmak ve vilayetce umur-i mühimme-i tahririyede istihdam olunmak üzere abd-i memlûklarıyla beraber azimetî", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 68/120, (1321).



governor of Sivas, Reşid Akif, succeeded in sending him off from Alucra, but soon he was appointed as *kaymakam* to a district in another province, Kastamonu.<sup>436</sup> The disgruntled Reşid Akif used the same method for his associates, by requesting rank promotion of his loyal officials in the province, the chief secretary Esad Bey and the director of education Tahir Bey.<sup>437</sup> The governor of the Mediterranean Islands asked for captain Zekeriyya Efendi from the Syrian gendarmerie regiment.<sup>438</sup>

### **Governors' Relations with Sub-officials**

The province's subdivisions were organized in the same pattern as that of the province itself. The *mutasarrıf* was the chief executive in the *sancak*, and the *kaymakam* was the chief administrator in the *kaza*. The *nahiya*, which was composed of villages whose elected chiefs were the *muhtars*, was administered by a *müdür*.

The relations of the governors with their subsidiary officials is another issue in provincial administration. The administration of the province was often complicated by relations between the governor and the sub-governors. The case of Kamil Pasha, governor of Aydın, and his assistant (*muavin*) Hasan Bey is a well-documented example to be examined. The Sultan had sent Samipaşazade Hasan Bey as assistant-governor to Aydın just after Kamil Pasha was appointed as governor. It is asserted that the Sultan wanted to make use of Hasan Bey's personal hostility to Kamil Pasha.<sup>439</sup> Hasan Bey was the son of the well-known ex-governor Abdurrahman Sami Pasha (1795-1881), and brother of Abdülatif Subhi Pasha (1818-1886), another ex-

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<sup>436</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 75/30, 1323 S 18.

<sup>437</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 70/40, 1322 Ca 14.

<sup>438</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 78/112, 1324 24 Ra.

<sup>439</sup> Ali Haydar Mithat, p.143.



governor and Minister of Mortmains, Finance, Trade, and Education at different times. Other brothers were Samipaşazade Sezai, a famous poet, and Damad Ahmed Necib Pasha, who was married to the sister of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Additionally, the son of Necib Pasha was the *aide-de-camp* of the Sultan until the 1908 Revolution.<sup>440</sup> Hasan Bey, who himself became governor of Mamuretülaziz in 1903, and Basra in 1906, used every chance to complain about the governor to the palace. He wrote that the governor was a traitor, swearing on his life.<sup>441</sup> Kamil Pasha, in turn, wrote several letters of complaint requesting the dismissal or exchange of Hasan Bey, whom he accused of being incapable and skilled.<sup>442</sup> He expressed his urgent demand for an “assistant who knows the administrative procedure” (*usul-aşına muavin*),<sup>443</sup> and incensed the Sultan by stating that the retention of such a publicly disgusting man was not suitable for his majesty’s honour.<sup>444</sup> Kamil Pasha even tried to threaten the Sultan with the possibility that this discord in the province would be made known to the European public via the press.<sup>445</sup> Kamil Pasha’s struggle was in vain. Ironically,

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<sup>440</sup> Öztuna, vol.II, p.821.

<sup>441</sup> “Başımı ortaya koyub valinin hain olduğunu iddia edebilürüm; başım uğrunuzda feda olsun”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 45/77, 1316 Z 4.

<sup>442</sup> “Vali muavini ise adem-i ehliyeti cihetiyle hiçbir işe yaramamakda idüğünden, merhameten acizlerine muavenet için usul-i idareye vakıf ve muktedir birinin muavin tayiniyle müsaade-i seniyye-i hazret-i velinimetin şâyân buyurulmasının istirham kılındığı maruzdur,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 48/21, 1317 Ca 30.

<sup>443</sup> “(E)hemmiyet-i maslahata mebni emniyyet-i şahaneyi haiz bendegandan acizlerine usul-aşına bir muavin ihsan buyurulmasını yine niyaz eylediğimin hakpay-ı hūmayun-i hazret-i şehinşahiye arzı mütemennadır efendim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 48/45, 1317 C 14.

<sup>444</sup> “Nefret-i umumiyye mazhar olan öyle bir Muavin’in burada bekası, namus-ı mücessem olan velinimet-i bîminnet efendimiz hazretlerinin şan-ı âlf-yi cenab-ı hilafetpenâhîlerine layık olmayacağının hasb’el-ubudiyye arzına mücaseret eylediğimin sūdde-i seniyye-i mülukaneye arzı mütemennadır efendim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/124, 1317 ZA 27.

<sup>445</sup> “(B)u halin giderek Avrupa’ya da aks ederek hilaf-ı merzı-i âlf birtakım neşriyata sebep olmamak için müşarünileyhin seyyiât-ı vakı’asına mebni becayış suretiyle yahud her ne vechile irade ve ferman buyurulur ise ol vechile buradan ref’iyle idare-i vilayetin halelden vikayesi vâbeste-i emr u ferman-ı hūmayun-ı hazret-i hilafetpenâhî olmağın atebe-i ulya-yı mülukaneye arzı mütemennadır efendim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 50/3, 1317 Z 2.

when Hasan Pasha became governor of Mamuretülaziz in August 1901,<sup>446</sup> he suddenly got in quarrel with the *müfti*, whom he informed on and forced to resign. But the ex-*mufti* provoked incidents. Shops closed for five days, the people gathered in front of the post-office sending telegrams to İstanbul protesting the governor. Indeed, he was dismissed, too, after these complaints about him.

Another assistant governor who was informing on his governor was Sururi Bey in Aleppo. He begged for the Sultan's interference so the governor would not send him to Urfa to collect the tithe. He stated that the governor was sending him to prevent his direct correspondence with the palace.<sup>447</sup> His absence from the *vilayet*-center would make the Sultan unable to get information from him about the province.<sup>448</sup> The governor once wrote to the court that his assistant Sururi Bey, in connection with exiled officials, prepared a letter of complaint with fake seals, describing this act as "one of his endless tricks."<sup>449</sup> Sururi Bey, as supposed by the governor, wrote to the court that the French dragoman wanted his dismissal and it would be seen as a failure to act on the wishes of a foreigner. A friend of his who heard this told to him that there was no such intention. Sururi answered, "I did not write the truth, but things to cause an impression on the imperial *mâbeyn*".<sup>450</sup> Some days later, the governor submitted other intrigues ("*desais*") about his *muavin*. Sururi claimed that the

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<sup>446</sup> İshak Sunguroğlu, *Harpüt Yollarında* (İstanbul: 1958), vol.I, p.218. The *müfti*, Beyzade Mehmed Nuri Efendi became after the revolution two times member of parliament, *ibid.*, p.220.

<sup>447</sup> "Ber-mukteza-yı sadakat ve ubudiyet buranın ahvalinden arz-ı malumat etmekde olduğumdan huylanıldığı cihetle a'şar için Urfa'ya gönderilmekliğim tasavvur edilüb, makam-ı vilayetden resmen tebliğ olunmuştur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 58/77, 1320 S 21.

<sup>448</sup> "(Ş)uradan infikakım şâyân-ı arz-ı ahval u vukuatı ve hususiyle usul-i merkeziye tediyâtının tatbikatı, infi'âlâtıyla cihet-i askeriyece fevkalade calib-i dikkat görünen akval netâyic ve zuhuratını peyderpey arz u ihbar edememekliğimi ba'is olacağından", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 58/77, 1320 S 21.

<sup>449</sup> "Muavin Sururi Bey'in nihayetsiz olan manevralarından biri", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 36/41, 1314 C 23.

<sup>450</sup> "Ben hakikati değil, Mâbeyn-i Hümayun'a tesir edecek şeyleri yazdım demiş olduğu bera-yı malumat arz olunur, li 20 Teşrinisani 1312, Abidin", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 36/50, 1314 B 7.

governor gave a certain Firari Ahmed Bey, an exile in Rhodes, a book as present, with a dedication “*Vali Pasha’nın yadigaridir*”. But the inspector determined that the dedication was written by the *mektubi mümeyyizi* Tahir Bey. The governor also denied other claims written by his assistant to the court that he bought all his necessities from Paris or that he had a conversation with the exiled Redif Pasha. He made a counter attack, claiming Sururi’s correspondence with and help in the escape of the exiles.<sup>451</sup> Abidin did not stop sending reports on his his assistant governor. He once wrote that after the findings of further investigations of the inspector, Sururi Bey was now close to be sentenced. He supposedly told some foreign consul that he personally killed two Armenians during former incidents in İstanbul. Abidin Pasha, added that Sururi fabricated more slanders to His Imperial Majesty, convinced the French consul that his assistant was ill, and was sometimes not able to control his speech. On his request, the consul gave his word that he would not talk or write to anyone on this matter.<sup>452</sup> After all his efforts at dismissing the assistant governor did not come to a result, the governor changed his tactics. Eight months after his last *jurnal*, he wrote that the English and Greek consuls were trying to manipulate the local Greeks to demand a Christian assistant governor. Abidin Pasha advised İstanbul either to abolish the assistantship of this province, or to appoint a Christian assistant-governor and change the present assistant’s office to another *vilayet*.<sup>453</sup> Abidin

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<sup>451</sup> “[F]irarilerin firarı keyfiyetinde Surûrî Beyin desayis ve ledünniyatı meydana çıkacağı şübhesiz olduğu maruzdur,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 36/50-2, 1314 B 7.

<sup>452</sup> “Hilmi Bey’in muavin Surûrî Bey’e bu defa vaki olan sualleri üzerine tezahür eden seyyiatı hasebiyle Surûrî Bey tecessün edecek bir raddeye gelmiştir. Firariler işinde olan seyyiat-ı elfmesinden fazla olarak Hilmi Bey’e vaki olan bir ihbara binaen hafiyen icra-yı tahkikat olundukda...”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 36/55, 1314 B 13.

<sup>453</sup> “Re’y-i acizaneme kalur ise, ilerude mucib-i tasaddî’ât olmamak ve saye-i asayışvâye-i cenab-ı cihanbanide cari olan itaate hâlel gelmemek ve ahaliyi şikâyâta alışdırmamak içün işlerin zaten sıhhati hasebiyle ya vali muavinliğinin bu vilayetde lağvi veya kıl’ûş-şikaye bu vilayete bir hristiyan muavinin ve burada bulunan muavinin dahi başka mahalle tayini mukteza-yı hikmet ve maslahatdan olduğu,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 35/108, 1314 R 25 (3.10.96).

Pasha's trouble with Sururi Bey did not come to an end even after he achieved the dismissal of him. His ex-assistant provoked a certain Salih Efendi, who was dismissed by Abidin from the Post Office in Rhodes, to bribe the governor. Salih Efendi now published an oppositional newspaper in Egypt, the *Kanun-i Esasi*, and wrote to the governor that he would publish a pamphlet against him if he would not send him fifty *Liras* within two weeks.<sup>454</sup> Similarly, the problems of the governor of Edirne with his assistant Rükneddin Bey and the *defterdar*, made the center worry about the impact this situation would have to state affairs. An inspection commission was sent to investigate the matter.<sup>455</sup>

The non-muslim assistant-governors appointed to the six eastern provinces in line with the provisions of the reform schemes of 1895 had better relations with their governors than the above mentioned ones. The British consul in Van reported that the muavin Stephan Melik's relations with the governor was excellent. Similar reports were given regarding İbrahim Selim Susa's relationship with the governor of Erzurum.<sup>456</sup> An exceptional case is the relation of Reşid Akif Pasha with his Greek *muavin* Aristidi. Reşid Akif of Sivas had trouble with his muavin Aristidi and the *mutasarrıf* of Tokad, Bekir Pasha, who had recently acted as governor in Sivas. Both were cooperating in a plot against Reşid with the coalition of the consuls of France, Britain and the United States. They organized a petition, sent to the palace by some of the important people of the province, accusing the governor of not allowing anyone to enter his presence, neither in his private nor official rooms, so that petitions could not be submitted. Reşid Akif Pasha wrote that Aristidi's son was studying at the well-

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<sup>454</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 42/105, 1316 Ra 4.

<sup>455</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 73/114, 23 ZA 1322.

<sup>456</sup> Şaşmaz, p.205.

known Jesuit School in Merzifon, and that Bekir Pasha coveted his governorship, in a request to send both impostors to other provinces. He even wrote that it would be better to send Bekir Pasha as governor to Diyarbekir or Mamuretülaziz, where he could be far more useable in the service of the state.<sup>457</sup> Reşid Akif thanked on another occasion, the Sultan and the minister for the change of position of the malevolent and treacherous (*bedhah ve hain*) Kemal Bey, *mutasarrıf* of Amasya.<sup>458</sup> When he was governor of Sivas, he complained in eight points about his *mutasarrıf* of Tokad, and the case became a matter of *Şura-yı Devlet*. Relying on the report of the general-inspector of the Anatolian provinces, they did not think that the governor was right in six of the points<sup>459</sup>. The remaining two points were partially accepted. Therefore, the *mutasarrıf* was not changed, but admonition (*tenbih ve ihtar*) was seen as sufficient.<sup>460</sup>

Necib Azuri, a Christian Arab who studied at the School of Political Science in Paris and afterwards entered the *mekteb-i mülkiye* in İstanbul, was appointed assistant to the governor of the *sancak* of Jerusalem in 1898. Later he quarreled with the governor, Osman Kazım Bey, and began to plot against him. The governor became angry and Azuri fled to Cairo in May 1904. Within the next month, he initiated a series of savage propaganda attacks in the Arab newspaper *al-Ihlas* against the

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<sup>457</sup> “Bekir Paşa hazretlerinin hasb’el-beşerîyye valiliğe göz dikmiş ve konsoloslarla muavin-i vilayeti ve daha bazı münasebetsiz Çerkesleri tavsit ederek mercimeği fırına vermesi hasebiyle hem mağdur olmamak ve hem de Diyarbekir ve Mamuretülaziz gibi bir valilikde bulunur ise buradan ziyade iş görebilmek üzere Tokad’dan kaldırılmasını suret-i münasibede arza cüret”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 58/2, 1320 M 1.

<sup>458</sup> “Kemal gibi bedhâh ve hainin Amasya mutasarrıflığından azli[y]le bu sırada bir livanın öyle bir beladan tahlisi Dahiliye Nazırı’na karşı sadakatı kemteranemin bu sur[e]tle bir kat daha tezahürü keramet ve hikmet-i şahaneye en büyük bir delil olduğundan,” 26 September 1319. Tugay, p.100.

<sup>459</sup> “Vekayı’ın şekli u tarzı şikâyet-i vakıaya tamamıyla muvafık olmayub her biri mahallin ve hal u zamanın muktezeyat-ı zaruriyesiyle muzır olmasıyla esasen Paşa-yı mumaileyh hakkında mucib-i mesuliyet ciheti görülemeyişi...”, BOA, A.MKT.MHM.662/3, 1314 L 20.

<sup>460</sup> “Yalnız ba’demâ bu misillu hilaf-u usul u kanun muamelat ve hareketdan tevakkî olunması lüzumunun meâ’t-tevbih mutasarrıf-ı mumaileyhe tenbih ve ihtarıyla iktifa olunması”, *ibid*.

*mutasarrif* of Jerusalem, accusing him of corruption and taking bribes. Azuri further accused him of ignoring the quarantine requirements on travellers from Egypt during the great cholera epidemic in August and September, 1902. The break-out of a cholera epidemic later in Jaffa killed 20,000 people. The governor asked the French consul-general in Jerusalem to bar distribution of this newspaper through the French postal system. The consul-general complied with the request.<sup>461</sup>

The governor of Yemen, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, who requested strict obedience to his orders, was once wounded by a dismissed *kaymakam*, and succeeded to live thanks to his attendants.<sup>462</sup>

The nearest position to the governor was that of the chief secretary (*mektubcu*). Therefore, the discordant relationship between these two provincial administrators could cause inconvenience. The governor of Baghdad, Abdülvahhab Pasha, accused his chief secretary, Bedirhanzade Halil, with seditious acts and the preparation of a riot with a gang of men armed. Halil even visited the Russian Consulate to receive help for the riot and convince them to provide him refuge if the riot did not succeed. It was unacceptable to employ such a man as *mektubcu* who was in control of the flow of confidential information. All this information was contained in a police report.<sup>463</sup> That Halil was exiled one year later, is mentioned in a report to the court asking about

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<sup>461</sup> Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), pp.33-34. Najib Azuri is known in Arab historiography as the first to advocate publicly the secession of Arabs from the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of a secular pan-Arab empire.

<sup>462</sup> Farah, p.180.

<sup>463</sup> "Mektubî-i Vilayet Bedirhanzade Halil Efendi efkar-ı mel'anetkarane ashabından olduğu...", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 69/92, 1322 Ra 7.



him. Obviously, Halil complained about the governor to some high officials, and maybe even the Sultan.<sup>464</sup>

There are many other chief secretaries who were complaining subofficials about their superiors. The chief secretary of Bursa, Süleyman Nazif, accuses governor Halil Bey with various crimes. He requests either to come to İstanbul to proof the crimes, or to be heard by a court.<sup>465</sup> Eyub Sabri, chief secretary of Mamuretülaziz, blamed his governor Rauf Bey of being “*gevşek*”, slack. The *sancak* of Dersim was therefore not secure anymore. The neighboring governors of Diyarbekir and Erzurum were also informed about incidents there which are not relayed to the center. According to his own words, the governor wanted to hide the rebellious happenings, and if he did not succeed, he would explain it away.<sup>466</sup> Enis Pasha accused his chief secretary İlyas and the judge (*naib*) Esad Efendi of being engaged in malicious misrepresentations about the *defterdar* of the province.<sup>467</sup> The Sultan ordered the *şeyhülislam* to dismiss the *naib*, who had previously caused other problems, “Since he is incorrigible, withdraw him from the job and let him reside there with some salary”.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> “Mektubî-i Vilayet Halil Bey hakkında edilen muamelat mücerred Bağdad’dan mahfuzen çıkarılmasından ibaret olup, bu da tafsilatı evvelce arz olunduğu üzere, hilaf-ı merzı-yı âlî harekata tasaddisinden ve Rusya Konsoloshanesi’ne girüb hareket-ı mefsedetkârâneye teşebbüsü tahakkuk ile burada bekasınca ma’nen ve maddeten mazarrat ve mülâhazat-ı fevkalade görölmesindendir. Hanesine riayetden başka hiçbir muamelat vaki’ olmayub bu babdaki müracaat, seyyiat-ı vakıasını setr için tertib olunmuş kizb-i mahzdan ibaret bulunduđu maruzdur”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 75/95, 1323 Ra 20.

<sup>465</sup> “Halil Bey’in hıyanet ve mesavisini delaili ve evrakı sübutiyesiyle nazar-yı âlfiye arz etmek ve yirmi dört saat zarfında yine Bursa’ya avdet eylemek üzere ya Dersaadet’e gelmekliğime müsaade veya maruzat ve izahatımı istima için bir mahkeme irae buyrulmasını istirham ederim”, 21 Temmuz 1317. Tugay, p.137.

<sup>466</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 56/37, 1319 C 15.

<sup>467</sup> “Naib Esad Efendi ve Mektubcu Trabzonlu İlyas Efendi ahaliden birkaçını dahi daire-i tevizirlerine alarak haberim olmaksızın sarf-ı saika-i arzla defterdar-ı vilayet hakkında atebe-i ulyaya ve devair-i aliyyeye telgraflar keşide eyledikleri”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 43/11, 1316 Ra 22.

<sup>468</sup> “Şeyhülislam Efendi’ye: Madem ki ıslahı mümkün olmuyor, işden el çekdirilerek bir miktar maaş tahsisıyla orada ikamesi”, *ibid*.



The Gendarme commandants were mostly local usurpers, “*mütegallibe*”. Yakovalı Rıza was employed as gendarme commandant of Shkoder, and later in Aleppo. Esad Toptani was gendarme commandant in Yannina. Governors were used to having trouble with these uneasy men.<sup>469</sup> The independence of the provinces was not clearly defined in military matters, because the empire was divided into military districts which could combine troops from several provinces.

### **The Provincial Council**

The importance of local elites in provincial administration hardly needs to be stressed. Their co-operation was critical for such local services as tax collection, waterworks, and charitable institutions. In the last analysis, one of the governor's greatest challenges was to secure active local support for his policies. In earlier times, local elites abused their vast privileges which they acquired by providing these services and to an extent leading to the crisis of the *ayan*, explained in the beginning of Chapter I. It was crucial for officials to win the co-operation of the notables and, at the same time, contain their excesses. After the Tanzimat, the notables were encouraged to take part in local administration through regulated formal structures of participation.

Many local commissions, some of which provided participation for local notables, were established in the provinces. Although changing from province to province, most common were commissions of Public Works (*Nafia Komisyonu*), Tax-Collection (*Tahsilat Komisyonu*), Investigation and Liquidation of the Unpaid Dues (*Tedkik ve Tasfiye-i Bakaya Komisyonu*), Personnel Registers (*Sicill-i Ahval Komisyonu*),

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<sup>469</sup> Aksüt, p.78 and 80.

*Hususisi*), Charge of Civil Officials (*Mülkiye Heyet-i İthamiyesi*), Placement of Emigrants (*İskan-ı Muhacirin Komisyonu*), Investigation of Title-Deeds (*Tedkik-i Senedat Komisyonu*), Mortmains (*Evkaf Komisyonu*), Cession (*Ferağ ve İntikal Komisyonu*), Imperial Properties (*Arazi-yi Seniyye Komisyonu*), Health (*Sıhhiye Komisyonu* or *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye*),<sup>470</sup> Statistics (*İstatistik Komisyonu* or *İstatistik Heyet-i Tahririyesi*), Primary Schools (*Mekatib-i İbtidaiye*), Endowned Moneys (*Nukud-ı Mevkufe Komisyonu*), Docks (*İskele Komisyonu*), Police (*Polis Meclisi*), Selection of Policemen (*Polis Heyet-İntihabiyesi*), Selection of Financial Officials (*İntihab-ı Memurin-i Maliye*), and Investigation of the Title-Deeds of Woods (*Orman Tedkik-i Senedat*). A number of councils like that of the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası Meclisi*), Education (*Maarif Meclisi*), and Justice (*Encümen-i Adliye*), were present in the provinces; some included elected members, as did the Municipal Council (*Meclis-i Beledi*) and the Chamber of Trade and Industry (*Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası*).<sup>471</sup>

A petition from the religious scholars of Konya, to build a commission for student affairs under the name of *Meclis-i Mesalih-i Talebe*, was forwarded to the Sultan by the governor. The educational conditions of the three thousand students of sixty *medreses* had to be reformed according to the needs of the time.<sup>472</sup> The commission had to be made up of local religious scholars, as was the case in İstanbul and other cities.<sup>473</sup> Another request for building a commission was made by the provincial council of Konya, again, aiming to increase the quality of the *medrese* students by

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<sup>470</sup> Only in the *Kastamonu Vilayeti Salnamesi* 21/1321, p.154.

<sup>472</sup> “Zamanın terakkiyat-ı hazırası nisbetinde medaris tahsilinin mümkün mertebe ıslahı ve fenn-i inşa ve ulum-ı riyaziye gibi bazı mukaddematın tullaba iraei tedabirinin ittihazı”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 47/74, 1317 R 4.

<sup>473</sup> “[U]lema-yı mahalliyeden mürekkebe ve müntahab Dersaadetde ve sair bilad-ı meşhurede olduğu gibi, Meclis-i Mesalih-i Talebe namıyla bir komisyon kurulması”, *ibid*.

preparing new classes for educating in the positive sciences, like mathematics and geography.<sup>474</sup>

The provincial administrative council (*meclis-i idare-i vilayet*) was the most important institution of the province, where the local notables concentrated on controlling the only major area of government open to them.<sup>475</sup> The council was made up of at least six elected members, proportioned among the various religious communities, with the major administrative officials being *ex officio* members, organized at all *vilayet*, *sancak* and *kaza* levels.<sup>476</sup> The *meclis-i idare* became an important check on the governor's power. By referral of certain types of matters to the Supreme Council (*meclis-i vala*) in İstanbul, the provincial council could be very effective in gaining the removal of an administrator who was troublesome.

These councils provided an official place for the struggles between the governor and the local notables to be played out.<sup>477</sup> The Grand Vizier was once angry with the governor of Ankara who changed two members of the *meclis-i idare*. According to the Foreign Ministry, the French Embassy wanted Hacı Süleyman and the Armenian Catholic *Marhasa Vekili* Ohannesyan, who were changed with Hacı Koç Mehmed and

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<sup>474</sup> “[H]esab, coğrafya ve kitabet tedrisi ve hüsn-i hatt talimi, medrese talebesinin, müderrislerin maişetlerinin düzeltilmesi, talebelerin temin-i terakkiyatı, muntazam ders cedvellerinin tertibi maksadıyla Aladağlı Hoca Ahmed Efendi riyasetinde bir komisyon kurulması”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 47/74, 1317 R 4.

<sup>475</sup> After problems of precedence in the councils, the government had to promulgate a regulation on this: “Taşra Meclisleri Azalarının Yekdiğere Takaddümleri Hakkında Nizam”, *Düstur*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289/1872), vol. I, pp.719-20 (19 Ramazan 1286/ 23 December 1869).

<sup>476</sup> Stanford Shaw, “The Origins of Representative Government in the Ottoman Empire: An Introduction to the Provincial Councils, 1839-1876,” in *Near Eastern Round Table*, ed. R. Bayly Winder (New York: New York University Press, 1969); Carter V. Findley, “The Evolution of the System of Provincial Administration as Viewed from the Center”, *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation*, ed. David Kushner (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986), pp.3-29. For the beginnings of this institution in a specific province, see Thompson, Elizabeth. “Ottoman Political Reform in the Provinces: The Damascus Advisory Council in 1844-45”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1993, 25(3): 457-475.

<sup>477</sup> Shields, p.35.

the Catholic Vagdari, back to the council. The Grand Vizier wanted the Interior Minister to immediately recall the changes.<sup>478</sup> The governor of Konya strongly forbade the determination of the heads of local education councils without the approval of the governor. He was angered at being not informed of such changes.<sup>479</sup>

If the governor forwarded a decision of the local council to the Minister of the Interior, he closed his correspondence with the phrase “*meclis-i idare-i vilayet kararıyla maruzdur*.”<sup>480</sup> The implementation of government policies was usually channelled indirectly through local notables. As Beshara Doumani has shown in the case of Palestinian Nablus, “council members engaged the Ottoman authorities in a discourse which actively sought to contest, filter, and direct the impact of Ottoman reforms in ways best suited their interests.”<sup>481</sup> That an irresistible tide of structural changes was decreasing the power of the local notables should not be forgotten. Improved transportation and communication links to İstanbul and the growth of the central bureaucracy tended to undercut the power of the notables. The growing trade with Europe and the Europeans’ reliance on local non-Muslim agents also by-passed the notables. Direct contact with the Sultan through their ambassadors in İstanbul gave European and American consuls more influence in local affairs. The balance in the provinces was swinging against local notables in favor of İstanbul by the time of

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<sup>478</sup> BOA.A.MKT.MHM 618/45, 1314 L 28. The Foreign Ministry letter was dated 26 Shevval, the Grand Vizier’s 27 Shevval.

<sup>479</sup> “Mülhakat-ı vilayetin bazı mahallerinde Encümen-i Maarif Reisi ve azalarının mahallerince intihab ve tayin kılınarak vilayetin kat’an malumatı olmadığı ve bu da mevzu usul ve kaideye muhalif bulunduğu ve halbuki intihab ve tayin olunacak reis ve azaların mahalleri mecalis-i idaresince intihabıyla vilayet maarif idaresi tarafından tasdik kılındıktan sonra makam-ı vilayetden tayini ol bâbda mer’i talimat icabatından olmakla”, BOA,Y.PRK.UM 47/74, 1317 R 4.

<sup>480</sup> BOA. İrade Dahiliye No 20, Ca.1316, publ. in Musul-Kerkük, p.250.

<sup>481</sup> Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p.232.

Abdülhamid II. Prescient notables preserved their families' standing only by sending their sons to the higher schools of İstanbul and then into government service.<sup>482</sup>

### **The Provincial Law Courts**

A specialized secular court system (*nizamiye*) gradually emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century. After the provincial law of 1864, three levels of courts functioned in the provinces (*vilayet*, *sancak*, and *kaza*), which had above them the court of cassation in İstanbul. Those in the sub-provinces were called "*Meclis-i De'âvî*", whereas those at the provinces functioned as a cassation court under the name of "*Meclis-i Temyiz-i Hukuk ve Cinayet*", and later "*Dîvan-ı Temyiz*".<sup>483</sup> The governor's powers regarding the courts had been greatly restricted beginning with the Provincial Reform Law of 1867. The condition which emerged was a separation between the governor's administrative power and the judicial process.

Except the consular ones, all non-religious courts came under the control of the Ministry of Justice in 1879. The first-instance court in the *kaza* had a presiding judge and two assistants, who were usually local notables without professional education. The *sancak* courts had two regular judges and two local assessors for each of the criminal and civil chambers. The province courts had one regular judge, two professional assessors, and two laymen. A few towns also had special commercial

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<sup>482</sup> See Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables", *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, eds. William L. Polk and Richard Chambers (Chicago, 1968), pp.41-68.

<sup>483</sup> Ahmed Lütfi, *Mir'at-ı Adalet Yahut Tarihçe-i Adliye-i Devlet-i Aliyye* (İstanbul: Nişan Berberyan Matbaası, 1306), p.178.

courts.<sup>484</sup> Advisory councils performed some judicial functions in the provinces. Specialized commercial and criminal councils began to appear in mid-century. The network of the *nizamiye* courts took root throughout the empire under Abdülhamid II.<sup>485</sup> On the practical level, the *ulema* helped the *nizamiye* courts because of the shortage of law graduates. For example, in less important kazas in Iraq, the *nizamiye* court simply consisted of the local *kadi* and two local assistants.<sup>486</sup> As noted above from the provincial *salnames*, the annual almanacs, not every province had for example, a court of appeals, although this was ordered in the Law of Judicial Organization, the *Teşkilat-ı Mehakim Kanunu*. The Ministry of Justice answered the requests of opening a court in Mamuretülaziz, whose residents had to apply to that of the neighboring province of Diyarbekir, that they lacked the necessary money for it and that the judicial organization was not bound to administrative borders.<sup>487</sup>

It was not just the law courts which tried to solve local legal problems in the province. To make peace between fighting tribes, the governor of Mosul Arif Pasha sent a commission to provide some agreement between the two sides (“*icra-yı musalahaya memur edilen heyet*”). The commission consisted of an impartial tribe leader, a *kaymakam* of Gülamber, the nakib of Süleymaniye, the Müfti of Kerkuk, a member of the *meclis-i idare-i liva* of Kerkük, and the gendarmerie commander of Kerkuk. The agreement (*musalaha senedi*), the *heyet-i sulhiyye* report and the

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<sup>484</sup> Donald M. Reid, *Lawyers and Politics in the Arab World, 1880-1960* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1981), p.81.

<sup>485</sup> Moshe Maoz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.154-56; Reid, p.81.

<sup>486</sup> Reid, pp.81-82.

<sup>487</sup> “[T]eşkilat-ı adliyenin taksimat-ı mülkiyeye tabi olmadığı”, Fatmagül Demirel, *Adliye Nezareti’nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri (1876-1914)* (PhD. Dissertation, İstanbul University, 2003), p. 130.

*mütalaaname* of Kerkukian officials were sent with a letter to the Minister of the Interior. The minister sent the documents to the Grand Vizier.<sup>488</sup>

### **The Duties of Governors**

The Law of 1864 stated that the direction of administrative, financial, disciplinary and political affairs and the operations of judicial acts of a province were assigned to the governor appointed by the Sultan.<sup>489</sup> But were the governors really masters of their provinces? Before attempting an answer, an examination of their power and responsibilities is needed.

The 1871 Regulation examined the duties of the governor in five groups: *umur-ı mülkiye, umur-ı maliye, umur-ı maarif ve mevadd-ı nafia, umur-ı zabıta, umur-ı cezaiye ve hukukiye icraatı*. The first included the supervision of the execution of the laws, the operation of the state-center's instructions, the inspection of behaviors and transactions of all provincial officials, the instruction on judging accused officials, the correction of officials' errors or defects, the appointment of officials allowed to be chosen by him, deciding the meeting times of the nahiye councils, asking the *Bâbîâlî* for instructions in matters occurring outside his lines of duties, and touring the province once or twice a year for inspection. The second group attributed to him the supervision of tax-collection, the conduct of these taxes, the controversies born from tax issues, and the transactions of tax-officials. The third group was on the duties concerning the advance of education, trade, agriculture, and industry within the province; the construction and restoration of roads, harbours, and quays; the opening

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<sup>488</sup> BOA. İrade Dahiliye No 20, Ca.1316, publ. in Musul-Kerkük, p.250.

<sup>489</sup> “Vilayetin umur-ı mülkiye ve maliye ve zabtiye ve politikiyesinin nezareti ve ahkam-ı hukukiyenin icraatı taraf-ı eşref-i padişahiden mansub bir valiye muhavvel olup, vali-i vilayet kaffe-i evamir-i devletin tenfizine memur olduğu gibi tayin olunan mezuniyet hududu dahilinde ahkam-ı dahiliye-i vilayeti icraya memurdur” (Art. 6).



of irrigation canals; the cleansing of lakes and rivers; the protection of public health; the improvement of vacant land; the collection and transmission of statistics about the state of the province; the establishment of public credit and saving funds; the establishment of hospitals, factories, and corporations; and the utilization and conservation of forests and mineral resources. The fourth group was on the supervision of the police forces; the securization of roads; the preservation of the public order; the extermination of unlawful actors; inspection of all local and general security matters; the urgent submission to the *Bâbîâlî* of any interior or foreign agitation against the rights, security and interests of the state and the people; and taking the responsibility of using military power in case of the insufficiency of police forces against disturbances in urgent matters. The fifth group delimited the governor's duties concerning the judicial and penal acts.<sup>490</sup>

In the manual of instruction for the administration of the provinces (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat Hakkında Talimat*) dated 1876, the main task (*vazife-i asliye*) of the governor was defined as assuring the rights of all subjects.<sup>491</sup> Then, the duties of the governor were divided into two main types. The *vazaif-i islahiye* contained duties connected just to the restoration process, whereas the *vazaif-i daime* counted in thirty-five articles the duties of the governor concerned with the service of the well-being of the inhabitants, and the protection of the province.<sup>492</sup> The *vazaif-i islahiye* are defined as the new organization and elections of courts and councils in a just way; the selection of the policemen, the tax-collectors, the petty officials of courts and councils and the guardians; the regulation and administration of jails; reform of the preparation and

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<sup>490</sup> *Düstur I*, pp. 626-629.

<sup>491</sup> “Valilerin en mühim vazifeleri ale'l-umum ve ale'l-infirad sunuf-ı tebanın hukukunu temin ve himaye ve herkesi zulm u ta'addiden vikaye etmektir”, *Düstur*, v.3, p.24.

<sup>492</sup> *Düstur*, v.3, p.24-37.

granting procedure of title-deeds of properties; reform of the exemption tax from military service; the adaptation to correct procedure for people's employment in road construction; the increase of agriculture and use of the capital of the *menafi sandıkları* in a proper way; and the regulation and assurance of the essentials and details of the interior taxes. The *vazaif-i daime* were assigned mainly to ensure the consistency of the *vazaif-i ıslahiye* mentioned above; the supervision of all provincial officials; treating all measures for public order and security; preventing the policemen's mistreatment of people's properties; the inspection of jails; preparation of quarterly statistical reports for the Ministry of Justice on prisoners and those freed; the supervision of the collection, protection, dispatch and spending of taxes; the conduct of public works; and the conduct of all administrative, financial and security matters in their subordinate places by ordering the sub-governors, the *mutasarrıfs* and *kaymakams*, without delay, to inspect the well-conduct personally within provincial borders. The instruction of 1876 did not contain only orders, but it also set the limits of the governor's authority with prohibitional sentences. Governors had to ask for the opinion of the *Bâbiâli* to determine degree of measures in cases of great security problems. The policemen were not to be used in private service of the governor. The intervention in the elections and discussions of the courts was strictly forbidden.

The governor's role in the financial matters was set with hesitant sentences. After stating his definite authority on the collection, protection, dispatch and spending of taxes, the instruction noticed that the joint responsibility with the *defterdar* was fixed with other special instructions, which were to be obeyed with attention.<sup>493</sup> The following paragraph, where the importance of tax collection was confirmed, charged

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<sup>493</sup> "Alelumum vilayetlerde emval-i devletin tahsilinin ve hıfz ve irsal ve sarfının nezareti valilere muhavvel ve bu babda defterdarlarla müşterek olan mezuniyet ve mesuliyetlerinin derecatı nizamât ve talimat-ı mahsusa ile muayyen olduğundan, onların ahkâmına tevfik-i harekete dikkat edeceklerdir", *Düstur*, v.3, p.30.

the governor with the obligation of controlling the *defterdar*'s conformity to the special instructions.<sup>494</sup> Some twenty five-years later, the government came to the decision that the governors should not intervene to financial matters which were duties of *defterdars* in provinces, *muhasebecis* in *livas* and *mal müdurs* in *kazas*. Confirmation was taken when the Sultan asked the ministers for a final clear decision on the financial responsibility problem. Referring to imperial edicts, the government clearly charged the responsibility to the financial officials, but stated that these officials were obligated to give daily reports on receipt and disbursement to the governors.<sup>495</sup>

Governors of some provinces were charged with unusual duties. For example, the governors of Aydın and Bursa were charged with finding eligible horses for the cavalrymen of the imperial soldiers.

The governor was also charged with obligations in many councils and commissions. He was not only the head of the local council (*meclis-i idare-i vilayet reisi*) but also of a number of local commissions, like the commission for public works (*nafia komisyonu*), or that for the collection of taxes (*tahsilat komisyonu*).<sup>496</sup>

Tax collection, public order and security, encouraging morality, educating for public service, administering justice without interfering in the judicial process, and maintaining communications were the governor's inescapable core responsibilities at the base level. Beyond these, a broad range of social services useful to an orderly society were recognized, including public elementary education, medical services,

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<sup>494</sup> "[V]e defterdarların talimatında muharrer ahkama tevfiq-i hareket edib etmediklerini dahi daima tahkik ve taharriye memurdurlar", *ibid*, v.3, p.30.

<sup>495</sup> "Memurîn-i maliye tarafından yevmi vukubulan makbuzât ve medfu'âtı mübeyyin mülkiye memurlarına yevmiye pusulası i'tasına itina olunmak lazım geleceği", BOA.MV.100/44, 07 Ra 1318.

<sup>496</sup> *Sivas Salnamesi* 16/1321, pp.51-52. In 17/1325, the governor is no more the head of the *tahsilat komisyonu*, it is the *defterdar* instead, p.54.

care of orphans and the indigent aged, and many others. Furthermore, more capital investment was required than the government could afford. Roads, bridges, and canals had to be maintained. Public buildings and city walls had to be repaired and replaced, and the like.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, a structure of planning thought and practice gradually came to dominate the city-planning landscape of the empire. A new concept of “public works” was articulated, giving physical expression to the changing social vocabulary of the emerging urban culture. Urban planning sought to incorporate local difference and impose uniformity a part of a process of “internal colonization”. Civilization as defined by a central, enlightened élite, was to be brought to the rural areas.<sup>497</sup> When in need of a public building, the governor had to send the decision of request of the *meclis-i idare* to İstanbul.<sup>498</sup>

### **Inspection Tours: Going Round the Province**

Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861), like Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), made trips of inspection to his provinces.<sup>499</sup> Abdülhamid II did not follow the way of his father and grandfather. He preferred to send out photographers to make pictorial records of new roads, buildings and railroads, and even provincial statesmen.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> Alexander, p.127.

<sup>498</sup> For a request for building a school of arts and a hospital in Mosul, see “Musul’da nam-ı nami-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhiye olarak bir mekteb-i sanayi ile hastahane inşası için Musul vilayetine mezuniyyet i’tası”, *İrade Hususi*, 104/ Ş.1319, publ. in *Musul-Kerkük*, p.275.

<sup>499</sup> Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, 2nd edition (İstanbul:Eren, 1992), p.81; Davison, 1963, p.48; Abdülkadir Özcan, “II. Mahmud’un Memleket Gezileri,” *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu’na Armağan*, pp. 361-79 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1991). The tour of Sultan Abdülmecid to the Mediterranean islands is described by Ahmed Lütfi, vol.IX, p. 30-32.

<sup>500</sup> The Sultan’s photographic collection is preserved in the İstanbul University Library. On this collection, see Stanford Shaw, “Sultan Abdülhamid II: Last Man of the Tanzimat”, *Tanzimat’ın 150.Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler* (Ankara: TTK 1991), pp.179-97; C.E.S. Gavin and Harvard Semitic Museum, “Imperial Self Portrait. The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in Sultan

When Ebubekir Hazım was *kaymakam* (sub-governor) in Dedeagaç, he sent the Sultan his own photos of the town.<sup>501</sup> Galib Bey, the *mutasarrıf* of Manisa, dispatched to the Sultan photos of a horse race in his *sancak*.<sup>502</sup>

*Devre Çıkma*, literally meaning to go around the province, was a tour of inspection taken to the subordinate places once a year, not exceeding three months. In praxis, it seems that these tours were not taken regularly. Ferid Pasha, when he was governor of Konya, criticised other governors for not taking the inspection tours regularly. Some governors were spending their inspection time in one or two districts merely to comply with the rule.<sup>503</sup> We learn from one of his reports that one tour of his lasted nineteen days,<sup>504</sup> and another was twelve days.<sup>505</sup>

Whereas, in earlier centuries, the governor directly appointed a deputy until he reached his post or to collect the revenues because he was required to remain on the war front,<sup>506</sup> in the nineteenth century he was expected to perform all duties

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Abdul Hamid's Photographic Albums" (Harvard University: Office of University Publications, 1989) ; Gilbert Beaugé and Engin Çizgen, "Images de l'Empire et Empire des images: 1876-1909", *Images d'Empire, aux origines de la photographie en Turquie* (İstanbul: Institut d'Etudes Françaises d'Istanbul, 1992).

<sup>501</sup> Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran, *Hatıralar* (İstanbul: Pera Turizm, 1998) p. XII.

<sup>502</sup> "Saye-i mehasinvâye-i hazret-i padişahîde Mağnisa'da tertib kılınan at koşusu yedinci defa olmak üzere dün kemal-i inzibat ile icra ve bu vesile ile deavat-ı hayriyye-i cenab-ı şehryarı eda kılınmış ve o sırada alınan fotoğraflarla tafsilatı câmi' bir kıta arıza Başkitabet-i celile vasıtasıyla derdest-i takdim bulunmuştur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 75/71, 1323 Ra 10.

<sup>503</sup> "İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi'nin yedinci maddesinde valilerin daire-i vilayeti her defası üç ayı tecavüz etmemek üzere senede bir kere devr u teftiş eylemesi lazım geleceği muharrer olup halbuki bazı vulâtın bu müddeti bir-iki kazada geçirmekle iktifa ettiği ve bundan ise mülhakatın cihât-ı sâiresi müstefid olamamakta olduğu cihetle şu mecburiyetin vâzih bir surette tayini elzemdir", BOA. YEE 80/19, 1316 N 25.

<sup>504</sup> "Bu sene dahi mülhakat-ı vilayetin bazılarını teftiş etmek üzere Konya'dan Mayıs'ın altıncı pençsenbe günü hareket ve yirmibeşinci günü avdet olunarak", BOA.DH. TMIK.S 28/1, 1317 B 3. This report contains 20 pages in A3 format.

<sup>505</sup> "Bu defa oniki gün içinde Beyşehir, Seydişehir, Bozkır, Karaman kazalarını ve Belviran ile kasaba nahiyelerini dolaşarak", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/37, 1318 Za 9, Konya to Mâbeyn. For the same report, sent to the Minister of the Interior, see BOA.DH.TMIK.S 33/75, 1318 ZA 13. Both are written in 9 ZA 1318 / 15 Şubat 1316.

<sup>506</sup> İnalcık, *Centralization*, pp.30.

personally. That the inspection tour had to be done personally was also emphasized in the instruction of 1876.<sup>507</sup> Another confirmation of this rule is to be seen in special case. The governor of Mosul asked for employing a travelling assistant governor (*seyyar vali muavini*) in order to inspect the far places of the province, where plundering and usurpation between the bedouins was widespread. His demand was rejected in a strict manner, warning that inspection tours are referred to governors.<sup>508</sup>

The governors were not eager to leave the *vilayet* center, fearing to loose control over the daily conduct of state matters. Although they could cost them a lot, governors did not receive any extra payment for their inspection journeys because it was a part of their main duties.<sup>509</sup> While the governor had to rely on the reports of other officials, he could gain direct information by a tour of the province. But there was too much to look over in a small amount of time. The aims of the inspections were to observe local needs directly, deal quickly with abuses, meet and get to know local officials, whom they also had to correct and motivate at work. Indeed, the control of local officials was the main aim of the inspections. Subgovernors and other provincial officials criticized for acting corruptly or in tyranny were charged and transferred as a result of such tours. Governors took interviews with local officials, visited the main public institutions of the area and organized meetings with local

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<sup>507</sup> “Valiler daire-i vilayet dahilinde bizzat dahi icra-yı teftişat ederek...”, §32.

<sup>508</sup> “Daire-i vilayetin devr u teftiş vazifesi valiye muhavvel olup, seyyar vali muavini tayinine ve bu yolda bir masraf ihdasına mahal görülemediğinden”, BOA, MV 91/18, 1314 Ş 17.

<sup>509</sup> “Vulat-ı ızam ile, daire-i memuriyetlerini hasbelicab dolaşmak vazaif-i asliyesinden madud olan mutasarrıf ve kaymakam ve müdirler misillu memurlara, hudud-ı memuriyetleri dahilinde dolaşdıkları müddetce yevmiye ve harcırah ve nam-ı âherle bir şey verilmeyecek”, “Harcırah Hakkında [Kararname]”, *Düstur*, v.3, p.16, (9 CA 1290).



people. Ferid Pasha wrote in a report that his tour was aimed at examining local needs in order to spread justice once more and the improvement of public works.<sup>510</sup>

What could be the result of such tours? The British Consul Graves reported the result of a tour of inspection by the governor in the northern *kazas* of the province, on 12 August 1898, as follows:

I have returned to Erzeroum after spending a fortnight with the Vali, Raouf Pasha, who is engaged on a tour of the northern cazas of this vilayet. His Excellency has now left the Tortoum district, on his way to Baiburt, Tendjan, and Keghi, and a brief summary of such results of his visit to the first-named caza as came under my own observation may not be without interest. Raouf Pasha's first care was to inquire into any complaints against the officials of the caza. The former census official ("Noufous Memourou") of the caza, who was lately transferred to the Passin Caza, having accused of corrupt practices, his Excellency ordered him to be brought to Tortoum under escort, and after a personal investigation into the charges, directed that he should be sent to Erzeroum for trial.<sup>511</sup>

An interesting example is that of the governor of Konya who went himself to Isparta in September of 1901, as he meanwhile sent his technical sub-officials to other districts. The tours resulted with his requests of the central government to exchanging the *kaymakams* of three districts and transfer of an auditor. He also started an

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<sup>510</sup> "Şiddet-i şitâ arasında ihtiyacât-ı mahalliye'nin tedkikine matuf olan seyahat ve mesai-i acizanemin levazım-ı ma'deletin bir kat daha neşri ve umur-i nafiyanın temin-i terakkiyatı gibi neticeler istihsali ve binaenaleyh zat-ı akdes-i hazret-i şehriyârî hakkında de'avât-ı hayriyye isticlabı maksad-ı sadakat-kârânesine mübtenî olduğundan", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/37, 1318 Za 9, Konya to Mâbeyn. For the same report sent to the Minister of the Interior, see BOA, DH.TMIK.S 33/75, 1318 ZA 13. Both are written in 9 ZA 1318/ 28 February 1901.

<sup>511</sup> FO, 424/197, No 34, p.23-24, Erzeroum, July 20, 1898. Consul Graves to Mr. de Bunsen (EHIB, p.352-353).



investigation for another *kaymakam*.<sup>512</sup> His simultaneous sending of sub-officials to the districts appears as an exceptional act.<sup>513</sup>

Inspections underlined the direct, personal, and patriarchal character of governor's rule. The presence of the governor in the town or village was a sign of the Sultan's concern for his people. Accepting the petitions of the local people was a part of this. Peasants would gather on the roads from where the governor would pass over to give their formal requests.<sup>514</sup>

Under the auspices of the tours, the public needs of the towns and villages were observed directly. After describing the poor conditions of transport in the area, the British consul Graves reported of the tour of inspection by the governor of Erzurum in the northern districts of the province, mentioned above, that the Governor had undertaken the construction of a cart-road connecting Keskim, through the Tortum Valley, with Erzurum. He was glad to see peasants coming without compulsion to participate with seven-hundred laborers on the road-building. The governor further engaged skilled gardeners from Trabzon to instruct the peasants, who were backward in fruit and vegetable cultivation. He issued a circular to the *muhtars* and *imams* of the district, calling on them to use their influence with the people to prevent the destruction of the remaining forests.

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<sup>512</sup> "Aksaray ve Egirdir ve Akşehir kaymakamlarının becayişi ve Isparta muhasebecisinin tebdili hakkında gösterdiğim lüzum te'kid etmekle, bu kaymakamların tahvil-i memuriyetlerine müsaade buyrulacağı me'mul-i çâgerânemdir. Uluborlu kaymakamı Vasfi Efendi'nin bazı mesavî-i ahvali görülmekle tahkikat icrası sureti Hamidabad Mutasarrıflığı'na yazılmıştır", BOA. DH.TMIK.S 23/57, 1316.L 12, Governor of Konya to the Ministry of the Interior on 17 C 1317/ 23 October 1899.

<sup>513</sup> "Vilayet Defterdarı saadetlu Necib Beyefendi hazretlerinin bu maksadla Niğde Sancağı'na ve Maliye Müfettişi saa Baha Beyefendi'nin Ilgın ve Akşehir tarikiyle Burdur'a ve Vilayet Vergi Müdürü'nin Aksaray'a izamı tensib olunmuş," *ibid*.

<sup>514</sup> "Vali Paşa'nın Vilayet dahilinde teftişe çıkması bir mesele olurdu. Duyan köylüler yollara çıkar, selamlarlar, hazırladıkları dilekçeleri sunarlardı", Damar Arıkoğlu, *Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Tan Gazetesi Matbaası, 1961), p.40.

Thus a visit of a few days, which Rauf Pasha described to me as mainly a pleasure trip, has been turned to much real account by his Excellency, and an opportunity has been afforded me of appreciating the practical administrative abilities of the Governor, to whose high character for humanity and integrity I have so often had occasion bear testimony.<sup>515</sup>

Weather conditions were a determinant in the time and destination of the tours.

The governor of Bitlis asked once for permission to go to Malazgird before it began snowing, where a new government building and a telegraph office was to be opened, and then to Ahlat and Bulanık, where many Armenians lived.<sup>516</sup> He stated the exact day on which he would leave the city and noted that he would be back in some days.<sup>517</sup> Every departure of the governor was reported to the palace by provincial officials, especially when he was not much trusted, as was Kamil Pasha, the governor of Aydın, located in İzmir. Kamil Pasha is reported to have gone with the *defterdar*, the mayor, a doctor, his son, and his *aidé-de-camps* for inspection (“*devren*”) to Manisa, where he spent three hours. He added the religious judge (*naib*) of Manisa to his inspection team and went further to Akhisar. The governor was reported as having returned to İzmir three days later.<sup>518</sup> All these reports were given by the the commandant of İzmir, the *mutasarrıf* of Manisa, and the Mirliva Şakir Pasha, an *aidé-de-camp* of the Sultan, who was appointed to Izmir at the same time as the governor, in order to pursue anything regarding him.<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> FO, 424/197, No 34, p.23-24, Erzeroum, July 20, 1898; Consul Graves to Mr. de Bunsen (*EHIB*), p.352-353.

<sup>516</sup> “Malazgird’e azimet-i acizaneme arzu gösterilmekden ve şimdiye kadar berf dahi nuzul etmemiş olmakdan naşı, henüz görmediğim bu kazanın ahval ve muamelatını gözden geçirmek ile beraber bu resm-i küşad-ı bihîni şan-ı âlf-i hazret-i hilafetpenâhîye şâyân bir tarzda icra edilmek ve hem de en ziyade Ermeni sakin olan Ahlat ve Bulanık kazalarını dahi devren geşt u güzâr etmek üzere”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 77/72, 1323 L 3.

<sup>517</sup> “Önümüzdeki Pazartesi günü hareket ve çend günde avdet kılınacağı”, *ibid*.

<sup>518</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM, 71/65, 1322 B 29.

<sup>519</sup> Ali Haydar Mithat, p.143.

Although short reports were sent from the district being inspected,<sup>520</sup> the main ones were written and sent to İstanbul just after returning to the center of the *vilayet*. The places and dates of departures are mentioned in the beginnings of the reports sent to the Minister of the Interior, as in the reports of Ferid Pasha: “In order to go the rounds of inspection of the subordinate places of the province, I departed from Konya to Uluborlu on 30 August.”<sup>521</sup> We can understand the main motives of the inspection tours from the beginning sentences of his reports. He begins one report by mentioning that “[t]he edited memorandum on the general conditions, the course of events, witnesses and local needs of the *kazas* and the *sancak* of Niğde which [he] went round and inspected, is submitted in the appendix.”<sup>522</sup> On another case, he writes “[t]he conclusions of [his] witnesses and informations, and humble operations concerning the administrative branches” of the sancaks of Hamidabad, Burdur and Teke.<sup>523</sup> As usual in other writings, these reports were also send to the palace as well as the Grand Vizier, and not just the relevant Ministry of the Interior.

The inspection tours could be arranged around a special occurrence in the area to be inspected. Reşid Akif, the governor of Sivas went to Aziziye in order to be present at a horse-race, but reported that he was going “*devren*”:

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<sup>520</sup> “Dün Nevşehir’e muvasalat olunarak buranın ve Ürgüp ile Arabsun’un ihtiyacat-ı mahalliyesini tedkik ve tahsilat ile umur-ı nafia ve maarif hakkında vasâyâ-yı lazime tebliğ edilmiş ve yarın Aksaray’a azimet-i çâgerânem mukarrer bulunmuşdur”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 59/91, 1320 C 9. The report was signed as “Nevşehir’de Konya Valisi Ferid”.

<sup>521</sup> “Mülhakat-ı vilayetin devr u teftişi zımında şehir-i Ağustosun 30.günü Konya’dan hareketle Uluborlu’ya gelinmiş, ve muamelat-ı kazanın ikmal-i teftişi ve tedkikini müteakib oradan çıkılarak şehir-i eylülün 3.günü Isparta’ya muvasalat olunmuştur”, DH.TMIK.S 23/57 (2), 1316.L 12, Gov. of Konya to the Ministry of the Interior, 17 C 1317 v li 8 Eylül 1315.

<sup>522</sup> “Bu kerre devr u teftiş eylediğim kazalar ile Niğde sancağının ahval-i umumiyesine ve mesalihin suret-i cereyanıyla meşhudat ve ihtiyacat-ı mahalliyye dair tanzim olunan laiha leffen takdim kılınmıştır”, BOA, DH.TMIK.S 23/57 (1), 1316.L 12, Governor of Konya to the Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>523</sup> “Bu kere dahi Hamidabad ve Burdur ve Teke sancakları devr u teftiş olunarak şu’ûbât-ı idare hk netice-i meşhudât ve irtılâ’ât ile icraat-ı çâgerânemi mübeyyin tanzim kılınan layiha leffen takdim kılınmış”, BOA, DH. TMIK.S 27/53, 1317 C 18.

With the glory of God, to solve the problems of the people personally in a way causing prayer of goodness on behalf our Sultan in every village I will reside, and to take care of important matters to be inspected, I departed to Aziziye by leaving the Commander Pasha as acting governor, in order to be present at the horse-race ceremony, which is to be held in Aziziye firstly after Sivas to promote the improvement of the horse breed.<sup>524</sup>

The governors always appointed a deputy when they leaved the center of the province.<sup>525</sup>

### Ceremonial Occasions

Openings outside the center of the *vilayet* were mostly done during the inspection tours. Bahri Pasha of Adana, opened a military building in the town of Haçın, in the presence of all local civil and military officials.<sup>526</sup> Rulers need to legitimate themselves not only in the eyes of ordinary subjects, but also in the eyes of their immediate staff. The second category of legitimation is much more important, because the decisive operative relationship was between rulers and the administrative staff. The loyalty of the staff was essential.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>524</sup> “Bimennihi’l-kerim her yatacağım köyde her tesadüf edeceğim saf gönüllü köylülerden velinimet-i bîminnet-i a’zam padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerine gerçekden dua-yı hayr aldıracak suretde mesalih-i ibade bizzat bakmak ve bu sırada vacibü’t-teftiş olan hususat-ı mühimmeye dikkatle beraber cins-i fîrûsün ıslahı maksadıyla, saye-i muvaffakiyetvâye-i hazret-i velinimet-i bîminnetde Sivas’dan sonra yine birinci defa olarak Aziziye’de dahi icrası mukarrer bulunan at yarışı resminde hazır bulunmak üzere Ferik Pasha’yı bittevkil bugün devren Aziziye’ye müteveccihen hareket eyledim. Hakpay-ı aliyyülâla-yı cenab-ı emirülmüminîne rûmâl-ı sadakat ve memlukiyet olduğumun lütfen ve mürüvveten ilavesiyle arzı müsterhamdır”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 65/45, 1321 R 10.

<sup>525</sup> Another governor of Sivas, Hasan Hilmi Pasha, undertook an inspection tour of the *kazas* by leaving the Commander of Sivas, Hulusi Pasha behind him, BOA, DH.TMIK.S.12/84, 06 RA 1315.

<sup>526</sup> Reported two days later by Serasker Rıza Pasha, BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 174/122, 1319 C 10.

<sup>527</sup> Rodney Barker, *Legitimizing Identities: The Self-Presentations of Rulers and Subjects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.59-60.

On imperial enthronement celebrations,<sup>528</sup> all civil and military officials, all notables, *ulema* and religious leaders of other sects, foreign consuls, pupils of all schools came to the office of the *vali* for celebration. In the case of İzmir in 1898, all official and non-official buildings, including mosques, schools, banks and stores were decorated with laurel branches and various flags. A torchlight procession was organized in the evening. All speeches held on this occasion were published in newspapers one day later. Lemonade and sweet fruit drinks were offered to participants of the celebrations in the garden of the military hospital which was held open till midnight. Rockets (*havai fişek*) were thrown on the coast sides and people amused themselves with music until after midnight.<sup>529</sup>

Lütfi Fikri Bey, as he was residing in Germany, compared the imperial birthday celebrations of both countries:

We celebrate the days coinciding the enthronement (*cülûs-i hümayûn*) of the majesty the Sultan more brighter as they do nothing in Germany for the enthronement of the emperor (*cülûs-i imparatorî*). And on the occasion of the imperial birthday, the *Landrat*, which is the highest provincial official, is not charged with accepting congratulations in the name of the monarch (*nam-ı hükümdârîce olarak kabul-i tebrikata memur değil*). On the contrary, in Germany, the soldiers of the government have a greater role in such special days.<sup>530</sup>

According to Ottoman usage, even when the governor was ill his assistant accepted the congratulations, and not the commander.<sup>531</sup> The governor of Bursa wrote to the palace of the details of an imperial birthday ceremony, where he uses

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<sup>528</sup> For Ottoman imperial ceremonies in the capital, see Hakan T. Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), which provides no information on ceremonies in the provinces.

<sup>529</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 31 Ağustos, 1-2 Eylül 1898.

<sup>530</sup> *Dersim Mebusu Lütfi Fikri Bey'in Günlüğü: "Daima Muhalefet"*, ed. by Yücel Demirel (İstanbul: Arba, 1991, p.32.

<sup>531</sup> Sururi Bey, the assistant governor of Aleppo, once accepted congratulations because of the governor's illness, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 61/76, 1320 L 3.

splendid language in praising the Sultan and notes that the day was the greatest feast for all loyal servants of him. All streets were decorated with candles and the congratulation ceremony was done in the presence of all soldiers and students within the municipality building.<sup>532</sup>

Part of the enthronement or birthday celebrations were opening ceremonies of public buildings or exhibits. The opening of a craft and agriculture exhibition in Sivas was an example of this occasion. At the *Darussanayi-i Hamidiye*, a craft and agriculture exhibition, the *Sivas Hamidiye Sinaat ve Ziraat Sergisi*, was opened with fanfare and the presence of all military commanders, civil officials, notables and foreign consuls. The governor sent telegrams presenting the news of the exhibition from wires extended to the exhibition building.<sup>533</sup>

Max Gross wrote that on the occasion of official ceremonies which were held in towns and cities throughout the empire on 1 September 1900, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the accession of Sultan Abdülhamid, many small ceremonies took place inaugurating the construction on a variety of projects, like clock towers, schools, and fountains, which were to be built in honor of the Sultan's anniversary.<sup>534</sup>

During Kaiser Wilhelm II's visit to Syria in 1898<sup>535</sup> where he was present at the

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<sup>532</sup> "Vücud-ı humayunları hayat-ı cism-i devlet ve memleket olan velinimet-i bîminnetimiz sahib-i makamı hilafet ve saltanat ve padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerinin veladet-i bâhir'üs-saadet-i cenab-ı zıllullahîleri ruz-ı me'âlî-efruzuna şeref-müşadif işbu yevm-i kudsiyet-tev'em, esdika-yı bendegân ve sunuf-ı teba-i sadakat-beyan için bir 'iyd-i ekrem olmakla, şehrin esvak ve etrafı alâim-i kamer ve şaduman-müzeyyen olduğu, ve ihtiyat ve jandarma askeri efradı ve mekatib-i askeriye ve mülkiye ve ibtidaiye vesaire [hazır olduğu] halde daire-i belediye de resm-i bihîn-i tebrik-i ubudiyetkârîye mahsusen," BOA, Y.PRK.UM 77/47, 1323 Ş 15.

<sup>533</sup> "Sivas Hamidiye Sanaat ve Ziraat Sergisi'nin bu yevm-i mes'ud ve mu'azzezde resm-i kûşadını nam-ı akdes-i velini'amiye olarak bilcümle ümera-yı askeriye ve memurîn-i mülkiye ile eşraf ve düvel-i mütehabbe konsolosları hazır oldukları halde lehulhamd velminne bir şa'sa'a-i fevkalade ile icraya ihraz-ı muvaffakiyet eylediğimi arza cesaret eylerim...bu telgrafnameyi heman sergi dairesine temdid ve tesis etdirilen telgraf hattı ile keşide ediyorum", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 66/75, 1321 C 8.

<sup>534</sup> Gross, p.478.

<sup>535</sup> He was in Haifa, on 26 October ; in Jerusalem, 25 October- 4 November; Beirut, 5 November; Damascus, 7-10 November; Baalbek, 10 November; and Beirut, 10-12 November.



formal dedication ceremonies of the recently built German Protestant Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem, “extensive work had been accomplished by the municipality which, under orders from Huseyin Nazım Pasha, had improved all the main streets of the city and also had repaired the exteriors of all houses and shops, and the whole city had been gaily and profusely decorated with German and Ottoman flags.”<sup>536</sup>

Requests of money can be noted as an ironic feature of the enthronement celebrations. For example, the governor of the Mediterranean Islands, pointing out that the officials could not get their salaries for months, asked for the possibility of a payment for the sake of the imperial enthronement celebration.<sup>537</sup>

Governors performed their religious duties in the greatest mosques of their towns. This was the *Ulu Cami* in Adana, where after the *teravih* prayer in the holy month of *Ramazan*, the people gathered around the military musical band which saluted the governor in front of the mosque door. On the holy night of *Kadir*, the 27th night of the holy month of *Ramazan*, governor Bahri Pasha let the people kiss from his own hands the *sakal-ı şerif*, some hairs of the prophet’s beard in a little bottle enveloped in a silk handkerchief.<sup>538</sup>

When Reşid Bey, the governor of Hudavendigâr, was honoured with *vezaret*, Sadık el-Müeyyed Pasha was sent to him to bring the imperial *menşur*. Sadık Pasha wrote a full report on his trip to Bursa (12-16 Şevval 1322 / 20-24 December 1904). On Friday, his ship arrived at the port of Mudanya, where he was welcomed by the son of the governor, Semih Bey, and some other officials of the province. They went on from Mudanya to Bursa in an ornamented railway car (*gayet müzeyyen bir*

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<sup>536</sup>Gross, p.475-476.

<sup>537</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 55/78, 1319 CA 23.

<sup>538</sup> Arıkoğlu, p.40.



*katarla*), which stopped at the Acemler station, 5 km before Bursa where the governor was waiting with civil and military officials, and members of the local and religious establishment of the city. The orchestra of the Bursa Hamidiye Crafts School performed a wonderful march song, while they entered the city on cars. Sadık Pasha was hosted in the house of the governor's son, beside the house of the governor himself. On Saturday morning, early at 05:00 o'clock, the *menşur-i âlî* was read in front of the municipality building to the gathered audience, who all wore their official dress and ornaments (*elbise-i resmîyeleri ve nişan-ı zîşânları*). Although no official invitation letters were sent to the consuls, they were among the audience. Two columns of gendarmes and soldiers with the orchestra were waiting in front of the building as Sadık Pasha came with the *menşur* to the steps, where the governor was waiting to take it. After having taken the *menşur* with full respect (*kemâl-i tazîm*) and kissing it, the governor went with the audience into the building. In the great salon, he gave the *menşur*, after having kissed it again, to the assistant governor Emin Bey, who read it openly to the audience. The *müftî* performed an Arabic prayer, which included the pray for the well-being of the Sultan. The governor gave a well-organized breakfast, where he and Sadık Pasha gave a speech to thank the Sultan. Sunday was the holy night of *Berat*; the only program was a *mevlevî* ritual (*Bursa Mevlevihanesi'nde âyin-i tarikat*). On Monday, the governor hosted a dinner for the consuls. The governor bid farewell to him at the station Tuesday morning, when Sadık Pasha made his way to İstanbul through Mudanya.<sup>539</sup>

Visits of and repaying visits to foreign statesmen were other features of Ottoman provincial ceremonial events. The *valî* of İzmir, Kamil Pasha, returned the visit of the Admiral of the *Habsburg*, the flagship of the Austro-Hungarian navy's Mediterranean

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<sup>539</sup> BOA, YEE 58/21, 1322 Ş 16.

squadron. An Austrian officer described him as a very likeable man, dressed in a gold-embroidered frock coat, in which he looked most imposing.<sup>540</sup> On occasions like the enthronement days and birthdays foreign navies offered their congratulations visits to the governor of İzmir, due to the apprehensions of the Sultan to see a foreign fleet in the Bosphorus. The *vali*, in turn, gave a feast to the foreign commanders and officers at the government house.<sup>541</sup> Once he was visited in the imposing government house by Rudolf von Lindau, a German representative of the *Duyun-ı Umumiye*, the Ottoman Debt Administration, in May, 1898. They had a conversation in English and French without the need of a translator. The aged *governor*, arousing respect in his every act and word, impressed him as well.<sup>542</sup>

A former PM of the Turkish Parliament, Damar Arıkoğlu, wrote in his childhood memoirs about the governor of Adana's passage on the streets, whom he described as

[A] loud-speaking, skimpy literate man, who earned the confidence of the court. While passing through the way in a phaeton embellished with gleaming bronze candles, with a pair of scarlet Hungarian artillery horses, and dazzling harness, on the right of the sulky fat-stomached pompous Bahri Pasha was a captain with a ribbon on his chest. At his left, a sword carrying commissar, whose arms were embroidered with gold thread. Around the carriage were mounted aide-de-camps, followed by four big-bodied mounted policemen trotting behind. Everybody who saw the *vali* crossing the streets in this magnificence, lined up on the two sides of the way; the tradesmen went out of their stores and shops, and saluted the *vali* bowing down to the ground. And he generously reciprocated from time to time.<sup>543</sup>

As it was the *raison d'être* of the central *Divan-ı Humayun* in the classical period to receive petitioners and solve the problems of the local people to realize the ideal of justice (*adl*), it was also a main duty of the governors.

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<sup>540</sup> Admiral Miklos Horthy, *Memoirs*, <http://www.fortunecity.com/victorian/wooton/34/horthy/02.html>.

<sup>541</sup> M.Kamil Dursun, *İzmir Hatıraları*, ed. Ünal Şenel (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994), p.12.

<sup>542</sup> İlhan Pınar, Hacılar, *Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir: Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2001), p.336-337.

<sup>543</sup> Damar Arıkoğlu, *Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Tan Gazetesi Matbaası 1961), p.37.

Governors also had to play the role of host to other visits. Tefvik Bey, governor of Salonica, did not much understand or enjoy the visits of the local elites. These time-consuming visits had to be arranged, so he did. When he began to not accept unarranged visits, people gossiped that the new governor was not accepting any one into his presence. His predecessor used to sit with the visitors the whole day and did his routine paperwork in their presence.<sup>544</sup>

The religious leader of the Armenians in Trabzon visited the governor along with some notables to show their respect to the state and mention their grief due to the disturbances made by some malcontents, whose punishment would please the Armenians of Trabzon. The governor reported that he had answered them conjuncturally, in accordance with the condition and place.<sup>545</sup>

Reception of travellers and scholars visiting the province, was another feature of a *wali*'s life. J.G. Anderson, noted in his memoirs his visit to the governor of Sivas on his way to the Pontus region in 1902.<sup>546</sup> Mark Sykes wrote in his book of travels, in January of 1899, that

Those who wish, as I did, to travel in the wilder districts where an escort is necessary, must obtain permission to do so from the wali or governor of the vilayet or district; who, if he approves either gives you a *buruldi*, a written permit, or telegraphs to the different police posts on your line of route. I was granted an escort by the wali of Damascus but did not receive a *buruldi* till i reached Aleppo; after which I received one in every vilayet I passed through except those of Bitlis and Erzeroum.<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> Biren, p.165.

<sup>545</sup> "Kendilerine hal ve mevki'e münasib cevap verildiği berâ-yı malumat maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 70/65, 1322 CA 24

<sup>546</sup> J.G.Anderson, *A Journey of Exploration in Pontus* (Bruxelles: Studia Pontica, 1903), p.?

<sup>547</sup> Mark Sykes, *Through Five Turkish Provinces* (London: Bickers, 1900), p.11

## CHAPTER V

### The Problems of Provincial Government

#### Rural Unrest and Crisis Management

Large-scale conflicts, from riots and spontaneous disorders to banditry, subversive movements, and rebellious armed uprisings, were great fears of the Hamidian administration, as they would be for any government. The hope was that mutual surveillance and group responsibility would deter such social disorder, and that hard punishment would intimidate would-be malefactors. But the amount of force available to a governor was quite limited. Calling up the local police or guard units or the militia to suppress disorder, would bring to the central government's attention a problem that an able governor should have detected early and solved by other means. And, if local forces were unable to restore order and apprehend and punish the wrongdoers, the governor would suffer punishment for having allowed the problem to get out of hand. Thus, all the weight of circumstances favored covering up the facts, concealing the scope of problems, and hoping they would disappear. To recognize that a social problem existed and to deal with it frankly and forthrightly whether by solving a social inequity or suppressing a defiant force, was seldom the best course for a *vali*. Yet when a problem would not disappear, ruthless suppression was

encouraged, for intimidation was an important component of the Ottoman governing system.

The political order relied on the state's communication network for official purposes, but the government did not require or seek a public informed about its day-to-day activities. The active participation of the governed was not a feature of government, and the state recognized no interest in having a citizenry informed beyond the realms of ethics and duties. The Hamidian government, however, did have a stake in improving communications, for it used a vastly expanded information network to enhance its surveillance capacities. A secret memorial system was established as a check on the performance of officials, particularly on the accuracy of their enlarged reporting on local conditions through the open memorial system. The changes in national communication, especially the development of telegraph network and railroad building had a great impact on government.

The basic structure of politics changed enormously towards the end of the last century. This evolution of politics was closely related to the rise of mass society, the trend towards the formation of nation states, and the coincidence of great transformations in economy and society.<sup>548</sup> Ottoman society changed as well.

Our period is also one which experienced a rising tide of civilian and military unrest in Ottoman regions. Izmir, for example, had been the site of widespread revolts among cultivator conscripts. The city had been in turmoil when some 4,000 soldiers pillaged her in 1902. The soldiers had mutinied for back pay in 1906, in June, 1907, and in March, 1908. The severe winter in early 1907 raised the prices of every commodity. For example, the price of meat and staples were double normal

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<sup>548</sup> Enzo Collotti, "Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, Socialism, and Political Catholicism in the Twentieth Century", in *Fin de Siècle and its Legacy*, M. Teich and R. Porter, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.80-97.

levels in İstanbul in March of 1907. Firewood was up 250 percent over normal and charcoal had tripled in price. Furthermore, a spring drought reduced the grain harvest by half, threatening to bring famine.<sup>549</sup>

A greater discontent arose on a much larger scale when a certain tax, the *ağnam vergisi*, which was just taken from sheep, was transformed in August 1903 into the *hayvanat-ı ehliye rusumu*, to be taken from all cattles. Additionally, the *temettü vergisi* taken from villages was abolished in favour of *vergi-yi şahsi*, which had to be taken from both village and urban residents. These changes caused discontent among people who lived of animal farming in particular.<sup>550</sup> Soon petitions against the *hayvanat-ı ehliye* tax were forwarded from various corners of the empire, like Shkoder, Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, and Erzurum, beginning in March of 1905.<sup>551</sup> The same sort of petitions were given against the *vergi-yi şahsi* in Kastamonu and Necd, after January 1906.<sup>552</sup>

The Erzurum incidents are an interesting example to illustrate the tension in the provinces. Nazım Pasha, governor of Erzurum, after being informed that meetings were held to prepare a report for İstanbul, tried to get the report, in vain. The petitioners decided to enter the presence of the *vali*. If he would not remove the new taxes, they would close up shop and gather in the post-office to telegram the Palace. On 14 March 1906, the uneasy people gathered in front of the *vali*'s residence.

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<sup>549</sup> Donald Quatert, The Economic Climate of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, *Journal of Modern History*, September 1979, p.1151.

<sup>550</sup> Mehmed Nusret, *Tarihçe-i Erzurum Yahud Hemşerilere Armağan* (İstanbul,: Ali Şükri Matbaası, 1338), pp.55-71; Muammer Demirel, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Öncesi Erzurum'da Halk Hareketleri (1906-1907)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), p.10; Nedim Ulusalkul, *İstibdat Aleyhinde Türk Ulusunun İlk Hareketi Erzurum İhtilali* (Ankara, 1937), p.9

<sup>551</sup> Reports from Baghdad, Basra, Mosul and Yakova, concerning problems of collecting the *hayvanat-ı ehliye* taxes, BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 226/57, 21 Z 1322. The inhabitants of Kalkandelen came to the government building with guns so as not to pay the tax, BOA, Y.MTV 281/133, 20 L 1323. The people of Erzurum gathered around the government house and sent two telegrams to the Sultan for the same reason, BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 230/2, 5 S 1324.

<sup>552</sup> BOA, MV 111 and 112, in Demirel, p.11.

Nazım Pasha was insulted after he made an unsuccessful speech to calm the crowd. They went to the post-office as planned. Shopkeepers closed their shops, the schools were not opened, and officials did not come to work. The soldiers who were sent the next day to disperse the crowd, joined them instead. Even the *müfti*, who was sent afterwards for the same purpose joined them. Now, the governor was not able to leave his house. Every day the people gathered in front of the post-office to send a new petition to the Palace. But they could not get a proper answer, because the telegram lines were bound to the governor's residence. All correspondence came through him. He answered the people as if answering from the Palace. The Palace was informed about the events from the governor's point of view. He belittled the rebellion and presented himself as a balancing power. The people learned about the governor's plot after the director of post-office, Subhi Bey, informed them, some fifteen days later. They cut off the wires, confined the governor in his residence, and began to send more critical petitions to the Palace, this time demanding the dismissal of the governor. On the 5th March 1906, the Sultan dismissed Nazım Pasha and appointed Ata Bey, who was the governor of Diyarbekir, as governor of Erzurum. The member of the Council of State's Court of Appeals, Mustafa Bey, and the former *mutasarrıf* of Muş, Hüsnü Bey, were sent as commission of investigation to Erzurum. The members of the heyet reported to the *Bâbıâli* that on the road from Bayburd to Erzurum people gave them several *arzıhals* against the new taxes. Zeki Pasha, the Commander of the IV. Army, was ordered to send a *ferik* to ensure security in the city. Zeki Pasha appointed a certain Şevket Pasha, Artillery Inspector of the IV. Army, as acting governor until Ata Bey arrived from Diyarbekir. Şevket Pasha declared that the new taxes would not be collected. A new petition with six hundred signatures, demanding thirty-two officials be banished, was handed over to the investigating



commission. Another petition was prepared to be presented to the new coming governor Ata Bey, and included more demands than just tax exemptions. They wanted a decrease in the military tax (*bedel-i askeriye*) taken from the Armenians population, the abolishment of the Kurdish Hamidiye Regiments, the payment of title-deeds and coupons given to the purveyors and soldiers, and close control of the local officials and the province budget. The new governor payed the accumulated salaries of the soldiers and ensured peace and security of the city for some five months. Ata Bey asked the Palace to exile the *müfti* and some others who had led the rebellion. With permission, the officials began to take these leaders from their houses at midnight. The people who learned of this after, gathered the next morning and murdered three police officers and looted their houses. The discontent of the crowd spilled over to the governor's residence, who was seized, beaten and imprisoned at the İbrahim Pasha Mosque. They forced him to sign a telegram to be sent to the towns, ordering the return of exiled persons back to Erzurum. The exiled persons were met by the crowd with a ceremony at midnight. The governor was freed, but all control of the city was in hands of the rebels. İstanbul dismissed Ata Bey and appointed Zeki Pasha as governor. But the commander of the IV. Army refused the post. Then, Nuri Bey, the governor of Mamuretülaziz, was transferred to Erzurum. He asked İstanbul to abolish the taxes and pardon the exiled leaders. After the appropriate response, the governor invited the notables of the community to his residence and declared them the exempt from exile. Although these elite members were satisfied, four-hundred people came the next day to the governor and pointed out that there was in fact no offence to be pardoned, and that no one would pay the new taxes. After having taken more petitions from other provinces, İstanbul decided first on 20 March 1907, to revise and diminish the new taxes and then abolish them fully five days later. Governor Nuri

Bey read this announcement in the telegram coming from İstanbul in front of his residence, where he had gathered the soldiers, officers and officials. But these measure did not bring an end for the happenings. The proclamation of the constitutional regime was the true aim of the organizers of the rebellion, the Erzurum branch of the Decentralization Committee (*Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti*). They did not break up, but on the contrary, increased their activities. The final blow came six months later, when drought conditions caused the murder of some grain dealers who increased the grain prices, again organized by the rebellion committee. Governor Nuri invited the leaders to his residence and showed them a telegram ordering the bombing of Erzurum to contain disorder. Nuri Bey expressed his will to be transferred from Erzurum when, after some quiet days, the incidents continued. The governor of Baghdad, the Albanian Abdülvahhab Pasha, was appointed to Erzurum, and Nuri Bey was sent to Shkoder. The people began to be disappointed with the activities of the committee after the killing of the dealers. Therefore the committee planned to organize a military plot. But Abdülvahhab Pasha, after having been informed of the plan, took the IV. Army Commander Zeki Pasha to his side and exiled the leading officers. The new governor had received wide liberties from İstanbul to overwhelm the incidents. He further transferred some soldiers, imprisoned the committee leaders, and brought a brigade of soldiers from another town.<sup>553</sup> Thus, the taxpayers' revolt resulted in the destruction of the government building, the killing of several officials, the wounding of a governor, and the refusal of some officers to suppress the rising.

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<sup>553</sup> Demirel, *İkinci Meşrutiyet*, pp.21-51. Besides documents from the BOA of İstanbul and published documents from the Russian Archive in Moscow, Demirel used in his work first-hand accounts of the rebellions: *1320-1324 Erzurum İsyanı* of Barutçuzade Şevki Bey, who was the bodyguard of the governor Nazım Paşa, and Münip Yıldırğan's *1904 Erzurum İsyanı Hatıraları*, (which both were published by Orhan Türkdoğan, "1906-1907 Erzurum Hürriyet Ayaklanması I, II, II" in *Türk Kültürü*, 255, 256, 257, July, August, September 1984), and Mehmed Nusret's *Tarihçe*.

To stop the rebellion in Yemen, the governor dressed in the local clothes of a turban and robe, in order to appeal to the religious feelings of the people (*Yemen ahalisinin hissiyatını okşamak ve halkın taassub-ı dindaranesi yolunda yürümüş olmak için*).<sup>554</sup>

### **Instruments of Force, Use of local police**

When the power of persuasion and the judicial process failed, governors had military and police forces at their disposal to enforce their demands. In case of lack or insufficiency of constables, the local military functioned as a constabulary at the disposal of the governor. In some provinces, mostly when the governor himself was of military origin, the governor's military responsibility was greater because he also doubled as the commander-in-chief.

The general inspector of the Anatolian provinces, Şakir Pasha, reported from Erzurum in March 1896, that the only way to stop the attacks of Kurdish tribes on the Armenians was to "broaden the rights of the governors in accordance with their responsibilities," by allowing them to use military force by just informing the military commander of urgent conditions, instead of waiting for permission from İstanbul.<sup>555</sup>

A later decision of the central government states that the governors are authorized to take necessary measures in order to interfere to incidents of extraordinary

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<sup>554</sup> Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit: Yıldız Hatıratı* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), p.106; Farah, p.180.

<sup>555</sup> "Vilayet tarafından vukubulacak ihtar üzerine Merkez-i Ordu-yı Hümm'a malumat verilmekle beraber heman bilatereddüd hareket-ı askeriyye icrası lüzumunun kumandanlarına kati suretde tebliği ve vilayete dahi bu makule tahrir-i iş'ârdan dolayı vakanın neticesinde terettüb edecek mesuliyeti deruhde etmiş olacakları cihetle bu mezuniyeti suiistimal etmemeleri ... suret-i mahsusada tavsiyesi feraiz-i umurdan görünüyor," BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 676/18, 1313 L 9.

situations.<sup>556</sup> The governors were also free to spend their “*tahsisat-ı mesture*”, money devoted to special purposes.<sup>557</sup> But the Governor of Basra, did not get permission to send troops to collect taxes from disobedient tribes of Muntefik. The governor wrote to the center that after seeing no forceful action against the disobedients, the obedient tribes tended to act like them as well. Moreover, the six battalions of soldiers were not paid and therefore on the verge of rising up against the administration. The governor notes that he would not accept responsibility for any inconvenience due to what he related.<sup>558</sup>

The provincial military forces were financed and, therefore, partly controlled by the governors, although under a separate provincial commander.<sup>559</sup> The provisioning of these soldiers was one of the bigger problems the governors had to deal with.<sup>560</sup> During the Hamidian times, not only were the forces garrisoned at some provincial capital utterly unfit, but some central armies were also. Zeki Pasha, Commander of the IV. Army located in Erzincan, complained about the ruined state of his soldiers and demanded the Sultan’s interference in getting an appropriation of revenue to be paid by the governors in time.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> “Hadiselere zamanında müdahale edilmesine imkan verecek tedâbir-i lazıme ittihazına valilerin mezun kılınması,” BOA. MV 104/18, 3 S 1320.

<sup>557</sup> “Tahsisat-ı Mesture suret-i sarfının valilerin takdirine bırakıldığı,” BOA.DH.İD. 10/-1/39.

<sup>558</sup> “Defaat ile vukubulan maruzat-ı çâgerânemin cevabsız bırakılmasından dolayı vukua gelmesi melhuz olan bir fenalıklardan katiyen mesuliyeti kabul edemeyeceğimi arz eylerim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 78/2, 1323 ZA 22. On Ottoman government in Kuwait, see Salwa Alghanem, *The Reign of Mubarak al-Sabah: Sheikh of Kuwait 1896-1915* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

<sup>559</sup> Sarah D. Shields, *Mosul Before Iraq: Like Bees Making Five-Sided Cells* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), p.35

<sup>560</sup> Karal, 8: 328.

<sup>561</sup> “Merkez ordu metalib-i maruzasının haftalığa bittaksim muntazaman takdim ve irsali hususunun ve merkez-i vilayetlere emr u ferman buyrularak,” BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 206/7, 28.9.1319.

Food for the detachments of troops in various places of waste provinces had to be assured. According to Hafız Mehmed Pasha, governor of Kosovo, the best way to provision was to award it to local contractors. But the *Seraskerlik* in İstanbul was arranging it by wholesale. The wholesaler awarded this provisioning to sub-contractors, who had a difficult time getting their money from the Treasury. These procedure caused difficulties. The unpaid sub-contractors avoided to give food to the soldiers, which also troubled the governors. Hafız Mehmed wrote his opinion of the local awards many times to the *Serasker* in vain.<sup>562</sup> Another related problem was that the guns used by Ottoman soldiers were old and weak. The governor of Izmir, Kamil Pasha, was unable to deal with the famous brigant named Çakıcı in 1898, because his gunmen possessed Martinis, and the governor's forces had only short-range Schneider rifles.<sup>563</sup>

The Ottoman governor was in no position to innovate on major matters despite the lack of direct guidance in most areas. İstanbul's distrust of local administrative power obliged the governor to act in a conservative fashion. The governor acted under pressure to increase deliveries of resources to the center. Personal networks or connections "serve both to reinforce a sense of self and act as a means of assessing other people. Trust, as a basis for necessary co-operation within a workplace, is largely based on familiarity and recognizable traits that identify persons sharing the same mores and values. Connections therefore may serve either to facilitate or obstruct the formal operations of the bureaucracy."<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> Aksüt, pp.73-74.

<sup>563</sup> Hilmi Bayur, *Kamil Paşa*, p.206.

<sup>564</sup> Alexander, p.93.

## Problems with Neighbouring Governors

Governors themselves were used as a check on the neighboring provinces.

Although not common, governors criticism of each other demonstrates this. Ferid of Konya complained of the governor of Hudavendigâr because his incompetence to prevent the smuggling of tobacco in Izmid and Bursa was effecting the neighbourhoods of Konya.<sup>565</sup>

Problems between neighboring governors occurred mostly in distant Arabic provinces. The governor of Beirut, Reşid Mümtaz, wrote several *journals* on the governor of Syria. He, for instance, forwarded the British general-consul's complaint, who wondered whether the governor of Syria had personally gone forth to meet the vice-consul of Bozcaada at the train-station, contrary to the rules.<sup>566</sup> He wrote several times that he confiscated some prohibited magazines coming to the governor of the neighboring province.<sup>567</sup> In another case, he complained that although the *ağnam* tax incomes of Syria were three times more than that of Beirut, Syria did not send the money which did Beirut to İstanbul, for the *surre-i hümayun* fund.<sup>568</sup> In earlier event between the same governors, Nazım Pasha of Syria, received a letter from the *Mâbeyn*, asking him about the truthfulness of the complaint about the Governor of

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<sup>565</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 53/37, 1318 Za 9.

<sup>566</sup> "Suriye Valisi Paşa'nın İngiliz Devleti'nin Bozcaada Vis-konsolos-ı cedidini Şam'a muvasalatında şimendüferden bizzat istikbal etmesi gibi hilaf-ı usul bir muamele etmesinin konsoloslarca numune-i misal addolunabileceğinden", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 60/31, 1320 B 12.

<sup>567</sup> "Bugün dahi Suriye Valisi Nazım ve Adana Valisi Bahri Paşalar ve Cebel-i Lübnan dahilinde Şuif kaimmakamı Mustafa namlarına Hilafet ve Gökden Sada evrak-ı matbua ve muzırarasıdan İngiliz postahanesiyle vurud eden nüshalar heman derdest edildiği maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 48/75, 1317 B 4; "Suriye Valisi Nazım Paşa namına mazrufen vurud eden Hilafet namı altındaki evrak-ı muzıraranın derdest olduğu maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/43, 1317 N 2.

<sup>568</sup> "Suriye vilayetinin ağnam rusumu buraya nisbeten üç misli fazla olduğu halde, Surre-i Humayun tertibi için oraca hiçbir şey yapılmadığı", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 57/40, 1319 L 3.

Beirut that he was spending his time with Jewish and Egyptian girls (*yahudi ve mısırlı kızlarla imrar-ı vakit*). He replied, that he was taking care of the honor of his post and not even going out to the street to take a breath, nor having anyone in his residence. He invited the governor of Beirut to prove his claims because the calumnies hurt his pride.<sup>569</sup> Later on, the coming answer from Beirut assured him that he did not send such a *jurnal*. Furthermore, the governor of Beirut did receive a similar letter. Nazım Pasha learned also that the Commander of the V. Army got the same letter from the *mâbeyn*. He suggested they send the letters to the Sultan and further wrote to the *mâbeyn* that if it was impossible for the accuser to prove his claim, a secret official could be sent for an investigation. The sending of letters to the governor of Beirut and to Commander was a malicious act, to send such state-sealed letters slandering a loyal slave, who had performed his duty for seven years, even when he was very ill, among many internal and external intrigues and dangers, was wearing him out of strength, he wrote.<sup>570</sup>

In early 1903, Muzaffer Pasha, governor of Mount Lebanon, called the governor of Beirut's behavior non-cooperative and even hostile towards him over an issue which involved the preventing the abuse of Ottoman subjects, namely the the smuggling of passengers without travel permits from Mount Lebanon and the

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<sup>569</sup> “Vezaif-i resmîyemin haricinde hava almak için bile sokağa çıkmamakda ve haneme kimseyi kabul eylememekte olduğum halde, müftereyat-ı vakıa hayat ve namusuma tesir eylediği için Beyrut Valisine isbat-ı müddeaya davet ve mümkün takdirde masdar-ı adalet ve merhamet olan atebe-i ulya-yı cenab-ı padişahîye arz-ı şikayet eyleyeceğim”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM.45/71, 1316 Z 3.

<sup>570</sup> “Emn ü itimad-ı âlfîye haiz buraya bir memur-i hafî gönderilmesine herhalükarda yegane istinadgahım olan adalet ve merhamet-i cenab-ı padişahîye istinaden ve Beyrut valisiyle Cevad Paşa'ya gelen mektublar da tedabir-i iblis-pesendane cümlesi münderic olub hidemat-ı nacizanemden başka yedi sene ve dahili ve harici birçok entrikalar ve tehlikeler içinde takatden kesilüb hasta halinde bile ifa-yı vazifeden gerü kalmamış olan bir abd-i sadık hakkında böyle resmi damgalı evrak ile vukubulan müfterayâtın ne mertebe takatküdaz olabileceği”, BOA. Y.PRK.UM.45/71, 1316 Z 3.



neighboring districts.<sup>571</sup> After ongoing complaints about the corruption of officials in Beirut, the Porte dismissed Reşid Pasha, the governor of Beirut and dispatched an inspection committee to the province. The reports of this committee vindicated the claims of Muzaffer Pasha. Reşid Pasha was protecting local interests and had given legitimacy to irregular practices.<sup>572</sup> As the possibility of recruitment increased during the Ottoman-Greek war and the Yemenite and Macedonian insurrections (1897-1903), so did the flight of enlistable peasants from the provinces of Syria and Beirut.<sup>573</sup>

Mecid Bey, governor of Aleppo, reported on the governor of Hijaz. He was in collusion with the Sharif of Mecca, who bribed him, and was responsible for the unpleasant events there. Much worse would happen, even affecting the whole Islamic world, if both would not be removed immediately.<sup>574</sup>

### **Complaints About Predecessors**

Sometimes the governors wrote in their reports on their provinces about the failures of their predecessors, as did Osman Pasha of Yannina on his predecessor Hıfzı Pasha. The latter, according to Osman Pasha, acted disloyal under the influence of the Italian consul-general of Yannina, who served for over twenty-five years. Hıfzı

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<sup>571</sup> Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Ottoman Attitudes Towards Lebanese Emigration, 1885-1910", in *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration*, ed. Albert Hourani & Nadim Shehadi (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies and I.B. Tauries & Co Ltd, 1992), p.126.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid*, p.127

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid*, p.135.

<sup>574</sup> "Arazi-i Hicaz'da bu sene vukubulan fenalıklar Vali Paşa'nın Şerif hazretlerinden bazı meva'id ile almış olduğu mebalig-i külliye üzerine bilittifak tertib etmiş oldukları plan-ı entrika neticesi bulunduğu ve bu adamların her ikisi devletce oradan kaldırılmazsa kıt'a-i mübareke-i Hicaziyye ve hilafet-i mukaddese için atiyen -Hüdâ neyde- alem-i İslamiyetce kat'an arzu olunmaz neticeler husule geleceği", BOA. Y.PRK.UM 69/32, 1322 M16.

Pasha also searched for ways of getting the protection of the Italian state in case of an Ottoman defeat in the war with the Greeks.<sup>575</sup>

Reşid Akif Bey, governor of Sivas, is the only one who went so far to accuse his predecessors in an official almanac of the province. The *salname* of 1321 was the first one published after Reşid arrived, and also the first almanach published in twelve years. But his originality lies in a chapter explaining the one-year performance of the Governor, under the title “*saye-i mamuriyetvaye-i hazret-i hilafetpenahi’de vali-i vilayet, bende-i hâss-ı şehryarî, atufetlu Reşid Akif Bey Efendi hazretlerinin henüz bir seneyi bulan zaman-ı vilayetpenahîlerinde ifasına muvaffak oldukları teşebbüsât ve icraat-ı ‘umraniye*”. Almost every part of this section contains complaints about former times, and even an exact date is given, for example, when mentioning the state of roads<sup>576</sup>. It is openly written that the construction of roads in Sivas almost stopped after 1306.<sup>577</sup> A renovated *idadi* school is mentioned here as superior to any other elsewhere (*başka yerlerde bulunan emsâline fâik*).<sup>578</sup> A new slaughterhouse was opened, “any resembling one to which could not be found in another province”.<sup>579</sup> It is also written that the governor of Diyarbekir, Nazım Pasha, had paid a visit to the slaughterhouse and was so impressed by it, that he wrote a poem for it, which is also

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<sup>575</sup> “Selef-i acizi Ahmed Hıfzı Paşa şeyme-i ubudiyet ve sadakate muhalif bazı efkar ve evhama teb’an buralarda İtalya politikasını gözetmek ve kendi zu’m ve i’tikadlarınca muharebede asar-ı mağlubiyet zuhurunda İtalya himayesinden istifade etmek üzere bazı müzakerat-ı hafıyyede bulundukları”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM.51/39, 1318 R12.

<sup>576</sup> “Çünkü vilayetin hususi yolları değil, umumi ve en işlek şoseleri bile hayli senelerden beri o kadar nazar-ı ehemmiyet ve himmetden dūr tutulmuştur ki...”; “[B]u bir sene zarfında vucuda gelen i’mârât ve inşaat evvelce beş-altı senede müyesser olamamış idi”; “Hasılı Sivas’a muvasalat-ı celilerinde adeta geçilmez bir halde bulunan vilayetin yolları...”, *Sivas Vilayeti Salnamesi*, 16/1321, p.221.

<sup>577</sup> “Üçyüzaltı tarihinden beri tarik amele-i mükellefesinin tahakkukatı hiçbir sene suret-i salimede tedkik ve tayin edilmediği içün...”, *ibid*, p.221.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid*, p.222.

<sup>579</sup> “[B]una muadil bir mezbahaya sair vilayetde tesadüf olunamayacağı”, *ibid*, p.223.

accounted in the almanac.<sup>580</sup> No governor before Reşid was able to see the need for a hospital in Sivas.<sup>581</sup> The province was champion of tax collecting in the year of 1318.<sup>582</sup> Before Reşid, the streets were dark, untidy (*târ u intizamsız*) and crooked (*murûr u ubûra sekte verecek bir hâl-i harabîde*), and the bridges were ruined and demolished (*harâb ve mûnhedim*).<sup>583</sup> The fountains and roads of water supply were also desolated and disused (*harab ve muattal*).<sup>584</sup> Reşid Pasha's way of favouring himself in the eyes of İstanbul and the public was what in Turkish political slang is called "*devr-i sabık yaratmak*" ( inventing an ancien régime), meaning "to hold the civil service personnel responsible for the wrongs of a bygone régime".<sup>585</sup>

### **Problems With High Officials Appointed for Special Missions**

Occasional dispatch of inspection missions from the center, under the names of special officials (*memurin-i mahsusa*), provincial inspector (*müfettiş-i vilayet*) or investigation committee (*heyet-i teftiş-iye*), was another embarrassing issue for the governors.

Ebubekir Hazım of Baghdad ironically wrote to İstanbul, in mid-December of 1907, that Baghdad did not need a governor as long as the head of the reform delegation (the *Heyet-i Islahiye Reisi*) was there. After pointing out his services done

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<sup>580</sup> *Ibid*, p.224.

<sup>581</sup> "[B]ir hastahanenin vucub-ı vücudu bedihi olduğu halde vaktiyle her nasılsa bu nokta-i mühimme nazar-ı ehemmiyete alınamadığı", *ibid*, p.224.

<sup>582</sup> "Üçyüzonsekiz senesinde vilayetimiz umum vilayat-ı şahaneye nisbetle tahsilatca birincilik şeref-i azimini ihraz etmiş", *ibid*, p.225.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid*, p.225.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid*, p.226.

<sup>585</sup> *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük*, 17th edition (İstanbul: Sev Matbaacılık, 1999), p.292.

for the province during his ten-month long governorship, he writes that “there is nothing more I can do here. The *Reis* Pasha of the delegation corresponded directly with the subordinate places and central organs, and sent them orders. He dismissed officials from every rank, and interferes with every matter. Naturally, all these damage his image in the province. If there remained any duties for him to do, they were of no influence and dignity, and there is no need for a governor anymore

(“*burada ayrıca bir vali vücuduna hacet kalmayacağı*”, further

[t]he presence of two governors would be harmful to the state of affairs and render situations contrary to the imperial will. Not to be left disused in this province where there is no business for me to do, I am asking for the permission of my office to be transferred to another *vilayet*.<sup>586</sup>

The clash between the inspector Pasha and the governor was not resolved peacefully, and five months later, in May of 1908, Hazım Bey resigned from office. The inspector Mustafa Nazım Pasha became *vali*, for two months, until the revolution.<sup>587</sup>

The governor of Adana, Bahri Pasha complained that the Porte was sending such officials with doubtful aims:

The functioning order of the state business is defected by the Bâbîâlî who is shaking the influence of the governors whom they do not like, by sending special officials for investigation, because of trickster letters sent with the signature of “loyal informer”. What policy’s result is it to designate some officials to the governors who were chosen and appointed directly by the majesty, the caliph himself, to criticize them and cause them to fall from importance in the public opinion? It is an obligation of loyalty to submit, by a way of disgression, that their special influence in garbling the opinion of the population is not to deny.<sup>588</sup>

<sup>586</sup> “İki vali vücudu maslahata muzır ve rıza-yı humayun-ı cenab-ı padişahıye muğayir ahval zuhurunu mucib olduğundan ve çâgerlerine bir iş kalmayan bu vilayette muattal kalmaktan ise...diğer bir vilayete nakl-i memuriyet-i bendeganeme müsaade buyrulmasını...istirham eylerim,” BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 80/99, 1325 Za 9.

<sup>587</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, “The Politics of Reform in Iraq under Abdülhamid II, 1878-1908”, *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1999), pp.41-72; p.70 (referring to YA.Res 156/83, 23 RA 1326). In his paper, Çetinsaya addresses many other cases of investigation commissions in Baghdad.

<sup>588</sup> “Muhbir-i sadık imzasıyla gönderilen evrak-ı müzevvireyi esas tutarak Bâbîâlîce haklarında hüsn-i niyet beslenilmeyen vulâtn tahkîk-i ahvalleri için ikide birde memurîn-i mahsusa i’zamıyla nüfuz-ı

The governor of Erzurum, Rauf Pasha, made complaints about Şakir Pasha, who changed the *mutasarrıf* of Bayezid without inspection. He did not see the newly appointed Cebbar Bey as able to direct such an important sub-province which has borders with two foreign states.<sup>589</sup> He preferred to unite the *mutasarrıflık* and the commander in the hands of one of the native leader there, because the Hamidiye Regiments were mostly stationed in that district.<sup>590</sup> He proposed an investigation be undertaken by someone else than Şakir Pasha, who neither went to Bayezid, nor sent an official.<sup>591</sup>

Tevfik Bey blamed the Grand Vizier in his memoirs for sending an investigation commission to his province in order to find a reason to complain to the Sultan, whom he could not convince otherwise to dismiss the governor. The plot was set not just for the governor of Konya, but also for Aydın and Beirut, which were ruled by governors disliked by the Grand Vizier. But the latter was aggressive by getting a decision from the chamber of ministers, and giving the commissions to be sent to the provinces investigatory power over financial and administrative issues, in order to increase the

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memuriyetlerini tezelzüle uğratarak intizam-ı devran-ı umurun haleldar edilmekte... Bir de ne gibi bir politika neticesi ise bizzat taraf-ı eşref-i hz hilafetpenâhîden intihab ve tayin buyrulan valilerin ef'al ve harekâtını tenkid ve halka karşı nev'ema ehemmiyetden iskat emeliyle tayin edilüb gönderilen bir takım memurîn ahalinin tağdiş-i ezhanı emrindeki tesir-i mahsusalarının ğayr-i münker bulunduğu makam-ı istidratda arz vecibe-i musadakatdan görülmüşdür," BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 80/5, 1325 C 4.

<sup>589</sup> "Şeref-i dini ve askerisince gösterdiği adem-i mübalat sebebiyle beynel-ahali nefret ve etraf-ı livaca da su-i şöhret kazanmış bir zatın vilayat-ı sittenin mevakiinden olan ve iki devletle hem-hudud bulunan mutena bir livada mutasarrıflık etmesi halen ve siyaseten mehazir-i azime-i atiyeyi dai mevaddan idüğü", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 40/10, 1315 CA 7.

<sup>590</sup> "Eğerçi Hamidiye Alayları'nın ekseriyetle o civarda bulunması hasebiyle mutasarrıflıkla kumandanlığın tevhibi irade ve ferman buyurulduğu halde, orasını hüsn-i idare edebilecek havali-yi mezkurede birçok ümera bulunduğundan, anlardan birisinin tayini vucubunu arz", *ibid*.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid*.

incomes from the *vilayets*. The Grand Vizier succeeded in dismissing the governor of Konya, where he was some years earlier governor himself.<sup>592</sup>

### **Problems with Military Commanders**

Dispute between civil and military officials was common in the province. Ortaylı pointed out that the governor and the commander were two competing powers in the province, whose disputes on duties and responsibilities never chosen.<sup>593</sup> Archival sources provide us with much interesting material on such disputes.

The Commander of the VI. Army complained to İstanbul about bad financial and administrative conditions in the provinces of Baghdad, Mosul and Basra. Military conscriptions were not being done efficiently, incidents between rival tribes drove the military units to habitually move, the decrease in provincial incomes caused non-payment of military appropriations, raised taxes were not realistic, huge lands were being given to tribal leaders who never paid their compensations, tribes were arming themselves, and population registers were not updated. Calling for a reform delegation (*heyet-i ıslahiyye*), the commander complained also about the provincial officials whom he accused of incompetence:

A part of these three *vilayet*'s civil and financial officials are not cognizant of the administrative affairs and have left the state business to its natural course. The other part does not think of anything else than their personal interests and have mixed the administrative transactions with misuse. Therefore many important affairs, like the settling of tribes, the betterment of the conditions of farmers, the collecting and assuring of taxes, the sowing of the seeds according to the condition of lands 'have fallen to the valley of negligence'.<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>592</sup> Tefik Bey, p.251-260. The fact that the governors of Aydın and Beirut did not change in the same months could be a sign of the exaggerated character of the memoirs of Tefik Bey.

<sup>593</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* (İstanbul: Hil, 1985), p.67.

<sup>594</sup> "Bu üç vilayetin memurîn-i mülkiye ve maliyesinin bir kısmı umur-i idareye gayr-i vakıf olub mesalih-i devleti mecra-yı tabiisine terk etmiş ve kısm-ı aharı menafi-i zatiyyelerinin istihsalinden başka bir şey düşünmeyerek muamelat-ı idareyi su-i istimalatla karışdırmış olmalarından dolayı aşairin



The Serasker sent this report to the Grand Vizier and asked for an investigation of the officials and the dismissal of those unskilled and bad mannered.<sup>595</sup> The Grand Vizier asked for explanations from the Minister of the Interior, who answered these charges defensively. Referring to earlier reports of investigation commissions, he noted that there was no need for a new investigation commission. He recalled the report of the investigation commission led by Mirliva Veli Pasha, the head of a commission sent more than a year earlier, which noted not only the bad manners of the civil officials but also the military ones. The condition of military forces in the area had to be restored, too:

In its report containing the results of investigation, the commission led by Veli Pasha mentioned not only the impotence, laziness and *müşamama* of the administrative and financial officials, but put the point to the military administration and suggested the imperial army to be reformed and the order and *intizam* to be conserved, as a must. That the Ministry of War has also accepted this reality is proved by the beginning of the activities within the mentioned army.<sup>596</sup>

Then, he again recalled the old reports on the same issues and suggested they be looked at again. The Grand Vizier decided not to send a commission to the region, but take a look at the old reports and investigate the personnel files of the provincial officials. Under the head of Hacı Akif Pasha, the Director of Military Equipments (*Techizat-ı Askeriyye Nazırı*), Zühdi Bey and Talib Bey, both members of the Council

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tavtini, zür'atın terfih ve tatmini, emval-i devletin tahsil ve temini, arazinin kabiliyet ve istidadı vechile tezri' ve ta'miri gibi umur-i mühimme vadi-i ihmale düşmüş...", BOA, İrade Dahiliye, no 12/ L 1324, publ. in *Musul-Kerkük*, p.292-300.

<sup>595</sup> "Me'mûrîn-i mülkiyye ve mâliyyenin ahvâlleri tahkîk ve tedkîk edilerek muktedir olmayanlarla ahlâk-ı fâside erbâbından olanların tebdîlleri", *ibid*.

<sup>596</sup> "Veli Paşa riyasetindeki heyetin netice-i tahkikatı mutazammın verdikleri layihada oralardaki mülkiye ve maliye memurlarının iktidarsızlıklarıyla tekasül ve müşamamalarından bahsedilmekle beraber idare-i askeriyye hakkında dahi şâyân-ı nazar-ı tahkikat ve bast-ı mütalaat olunarak ordu-yu hümayunun ıslahına ve muhafaza-i nizam ve intizamına tevessül edilmesi vecaibden bulunduğu ityan edilmiş ve bu hakikatin daire-i celile-i askeriyyece de tebeyyün etdiği mezkur ordu-yı hümayunun hal-i faaliyete getirilmesi esbabına tevessül delaletiyle anlaşılmıştır", *ibid*.



of State, and Rifat Bey, a director in the Finance Ministry, were chosen to the commission because of their knowledge on the region (“*ahval-i mahalliyyeye vukufları cihetiyle*”).<sup>597</sup>

Some of the Gendarmerie commandants were local usurpers (*mütegalibe*). One was, for example, Yakovalı Rıza, employed as gendarme commandant of Shkoder, and later Aleppo. Esad Toptani was gendarme commandant in Yannina. Governors were used to trouble s with these uneasy men.<sup>598</sup>

To maintain the traditional primacy of civilian authority over armies became more and more difficult because of the militarization of society and even politics. Leadership became subject to military interests and military forms of behavior became dominant in civil administrative offices.<sup>599</sup> Another indication is the fact that the vice-governors left temporarily behind by the governors were mostly military commandants, as noted above.

The military commandant was also considered as a point of check and balance against the governor. Marshall Fevzi Pasha, commander of the 6th Army Corps located in Basra, wrote to İstanbul that the governor of Baghdad, Namık Pasha, dismissed Fahd Bey from the sheikdom of Anaza and *kaymakamlık* of Rezaziyah. Fevzi pointed out that Fahd was an influential person who always acted with

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<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>598</sup> Aksüt, p. 78 and 80.

<sup>599</sup> Militarization of societies and politics in the second half of the nineteenth century is a global issue. For Germany, see *Untertan in Uniform: Militär und Militarismus im Kaiserreich 1871-1914, Quellen und Dokumente*, ed. Bernd Ulrich, Jakob Vogel and Benjamin Ziemann (Frankfurt/M: Fischer Verlag, 2001). For France, see Jacob Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt: Der Kult der “Nation in Waffen” in Deutschland und Frankreich 1871-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). Philip Kuhn refers to “the militarization of the gentry” in mid-nineteenth century China, in his *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

obedience and submission to the Ottoman government. His dismissal by Namık Pasha was not in line with Ottoman policies in the area.<sup>600</sup>

Reşid Mumtaz of Beirut complained about some high-ranking soldiers who were residing for two years in the city for *tebdil-i hava*. When their time passed by, all were extending their residences with fake health reports in order not to go back to their places of work. It was not right to allow them to reside there unemployed. They were always gathering in one of their houses that looked suspicious. They either had to be withdrawn to their workplaces, or sent to another town immediately.<sup>601</sup>

The Commandant of Van, Şemsi Pasha described confidentially to the Palace, the governor as incompetent and unable to perform the immediate reforms. As time passed by, the province was in great need of a competent and active governor ("*muktedir ve faal bir valiye eşedd-i ihtiyac vardır*"). The telegram was "to be preserved confidentially".<sup>602</sup>

Basra seems to have always be a place of quarrel between military and civil governments. The Governor of Basra, Arif Bey, accused *ferik* Muhsin Pasha desiring to become governor, and therefore made provocations (*tahrikat ve ifsadat*) against him. The *ferik* could be sent to the twelfth regiment, and *miralay* Şamil Bey from Baghdad, who was in Basra at the time, could be named as Commandant of Basra. Or, he himself could be changed to Adana, which had no governor then, or to somewhere else.<sup>603</sup> In another case, governor Muhlis Pasha had problems with the

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<sup>600</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 177/63, 1319 Ş 22.

<sup>601</sup> These high-ranking soldiers were Ferik Şükrü Paşa, Assistant Commandant of the *Hijaz Fırka-yı Askeriyesi*, Mirliva Hüsnü Pasha, a member to the VII. Army, Mirliva Aziz Pasha, *Sertabib* of the VI. Army, and Ferik Kamil Paşa, Commandant of Hodaydah, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 52/97, 1318 N 28.

<sup>602</sup> "*Mahremane hıfzı*", BOA, Y.EE 132/18, 1314 C 15.

<sup>603</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 40/108, 1315 Ş 22. On the uneasy relation of Arif Pasha and Muhsin Pasha, see Alghanem, p.57-59

Commander of the VI. Army, Ahmed Fevzi Pasha. According to the *mutasarrıf* and Commandant of Nasıriye, Fevzi Pasha bothered the governor with lies (“*hilaf-i vâkı` ihbârât-ı kâzibe ve müzevvire*”) and made local chiefs and lower officers send telegrams to İstanbul. The Grand Vizier complained about his intentions to the Sultan by stating that the commander tried everything to prevent the success of the governor, and thus, inflicted losses to the income of the treasure.<sup>604</sup> Some years later, there is another quarrel between the governor of Basra and the commandant of the VI. Army. Then the governor and commandant of Basra was Mustafa Nuri Pasha. He criticized the Commander of the VI. Army, Mirliva Fahri Pasha, who wrote to the consuls in Baghdad that there was no more security in Basra. Every night until dawn brigand groups would shoot at foreigners and consuls, the English had sent a crusader ship to protect their trade interests, and eighty soldiers were sent to land. Mustafa Nuri Pasha wrote that the consuls forwarded this misinformation from Fahri Pasha to their ambassadors in İstanbul, and that Fahri Pasha should be punished.<sup>605</sup>

One year later, the Governor of Baghdad complained about the same commander. The Grand Vizier sent the claims to the Ministry of War in order to get an explanation. But the ministry proved the commander’s innocence, and accused the governor instead. The minister wrote that the the mutually opposed communications of the governor and the commander demonstrated a growing conflict between the

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<sup>604</sup> “Ordu-yı Humayun mezkur Kumandanının her neden ise Basra Valisinin muvaffakiyetine mani olmak ve kendisini müşkil mevkide bırakmak maksad-ı rekabetkaranesiyle Basra vilayetine aid ve cihet-i askeriye müteallik hususatda mütemadiyen müşkilat ıkaından ve beynelaşair şıkak ve nifak husuli esbabını taharri ve tehyieden hâlf kalmadığı ve bu yüzden Basra’nın heman her cihetinde hilaf-ı rıza-yı âlî birtakım ahval tevâlî etmekde olduğu gibi, tahsilat işi de aynı sebebden naşı oralarda külliyyen sektedar olarak hukuk-ı hazine-i celilenin zayıat-ı mühimmeye uğramakda bulunduğu tahkikat ve muhaberat-ı cariyeden anlaşılmış ve ahval-i mezkureden ahiiren buraca bazı tarafdan dahi bahs ve şikayet edilmiş olmağla devamı katiyyen caiz olmayan bu ahvale bir nihayet verilmesi,” BOA, YA.HUS 500/73, 1324.1.13, Grand Vizier to Mâbeyn.

<sup>605</sup> “Fahri Paşa’nın tefevvühat-ı vakıası sıfat-ı memuriyet ve askeriyesi ile gayr-i mütenasib bulunmuş olduğundan, hakkında icab eden muamelenin sūrat-ı ifasını istirham eylerim”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 70/67, 1322 Ca 24.

civillian and military administration in Baghdad. As the commander would be advised by him, the minister demanded the same for the governor. The Grand Vizier ordered the Interior Minister to advise the governor Abdülvahhab Pasha, as well.<sup>606</sup>

The Governor of Mosul complained about officers who were of native origin from the nearby tribes that were misusing their posts.<sup>607</sup> An investigation commission, sent from İstanbul, found them guilty and disposed them.<sup>608</sup>

Zeki Pasha, Commandant of the IV. Army, had problems and caused quarrels with almost all governors of Erzurum. He even gave support to the 1906 uprisings in Erzurum just because he did not like the governor Nazım Pasha. The oppositional Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki*) members thanked him for his inactivity in suppressing the riots.<sup>609</sup> When he was commander of the IV.Army, the governors of Diyarbakir complained about Zeki Pasha. He was protecting the leader of the Millî tribe, Mustafa Pasha, who was attacking neighboring tribes.<sup>610</sup> But he did not always have bad relations with every governor. Zeki Pasha once praised the good conduct of the ex-governor of Erzurum, Mehmed Atâ Bey when requesting the mediation of the Grand Vizier to attract the Sultan's favor to him.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>606</sup> "Umûr ve muamelat-ı hükümetin usul u kavanîn-i mevzu'a dairesinde temin-i hüsn-i cereyanı için vilayet-i müşarûnileyhaya vasaya-yı müessire ve serî'a ifası lüzumu Dahiliye Nezaret-i celilesine yazılmışdır efendim", BOA, YAHUS 494/87, 1323.8.20, Grand Vizier to the Mâbeyn.

<sup>607</sup> "Bu zabitanın kısm-ı küllisi yerli ve aşair-i mütecavireden oldukları ve celb-i menfaat için vazâif-i memuriyetlerini suistimal ile oraca servet sırasına geçtikleri" BOA, Y.PRK.UM 54/31, 1319 S 23.

<sup>608</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 54/31, 1319 S 23.

<sup>609</sup> Orhan Türkdoğan, "1906-1907 Erzurum Hürriyet Ayaklanması ile İlgili Yeni Belgeler", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 47 (April 1987), p.71; and Demirel, pp.18-19.

<sup>610</sup> Said Paşa, vol.II, p.373.

<sup>611</sup> "Erzurum Vali-i sabıkı atufetlu Ata' Beyefendi'nin Erzurum vilayet-i aliyyesinde bulunduğu müddetce emr-i asayiş ve inzibat ve alelhusus idare-i askeriyyenin suret-i cereyan-ı emrinde meşhud olan intizam ve mükemmeliyet dilhah-ı âliye muvafık ve vucuhen sitayiş ve takdire layık görülmüş ve ahiren nefis-i merkez-i vilayetde zuhur eden ahval-i gayr-i marziyye mecerrat-ı sabık neticesi olub müşarûnileyhin mağduriyetine sebebiyet vermiş", BOA, YAHUS 507/151, 1324 L 23.

The governor of Aleppo, Mehmed Raif Pasha, had a long-term quarrel with the Extraordinary General Commandant of Aleppo and Adana (*Haleb, Adana ve Havalisi Fevkalade Umumi Kumandanı*), Ali Muhsin Pasha. The latter sent the words of a song written in praise of the governor to İstanbul at the request of the *mâbeyn*. Ali Muhsin Pasha had earlier written about the song, which indicated that Raif Pasha was popular among the local people which would alarm the Sultan.<sup>612</sup> Ali Muhsin Pasha wrote in an earlier correspondence to the *mâbeyn*, that everything said about him by the governor was a lie. He had never made comments about the orders and obeyed them. The displacement of the brigands from Antakya was just one example of his service to the government. He has seen all sides of both the provinces of Aleppo and Adana, and handed over four reports on bedouin Arabs who caused some incidents.<sup>613</sup> He thought that *Vali* Pasha was in angry with him because he accused the tax-collection officials of causing these incidents. The governor never deigned to discuss problems concerning the preservation of security, and was therefore the only one responsible for the incidents.<sup>614</sup> He never gave an ear to his warnings and nor glance much importance to the to the desert and bedouin affairs.<sup>615</sup> According to another report on the governor, Ali Muhsin once wrote that Raif Pasha had abandoned the important matters of the province while sitting in his residence. Although he was not in ill health, he used the excuse of sickness to spend the day in his *harem*, and the night in

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<sup>612</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK. 149/85, 1316 Z 3.

<sup>613</sup> Ali Muhsin uses the term “cihet-i hükümet” to address the civil provincial administration.

<sup>614</sup> “Müşarünileyh hiçbir vakitte muhafaza-i asayişe aid olan meselede müzakereye tenezzül etmez ve kendüsünün müstebidane olan hareketi urbanı bu hale getürmege sebebiyet vermişdir. Her sene urban meşayihine ihsan buyrulan hilatin nam-ı nami-i cihanbaniye olarak meşayihî hükumete bilcelb iksa etdirilerek kendülerine lazım gelen nasayih u tenbihat verildikden sonra mahallerine gönderilmesi adet-i kadimeden iken, bu sene buna dahi tenezzül etmeyüb hilatları vedy memuruna vererek teslimen çölde istediğine iksa etdirilmiş olduğu”, BOA, Y.PRK.ASK. 144/36, 1316 R 29, 4 Eylül 1314, answer to Mâbeyn’s note of the previous day.

<sup>615</sup> *Ibid.*

the *selamlık* with his friends. All conduct of official correspondence was being done the chief secretary, the *mektubcu* of the province. The security and discipline of the *vilayet* was getting worse and worse.<sup>616</sup>

The governor of Yemen, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha resigned because he could not put up with the Commander of the VII. Army, Abdullah Pasha, who meddled in the governor's business to an intolerable degree.<sup>617</sup> Mehmed Ali Bey, the mutasarrıf of Taiz at the former governor's time, found it deplorable that Abdullah Pasha became the new governor-general after he forced to resign such a great administrator as Hilmi Pasha.<sup>618</sup>

Some members of the *ulema* in Ankara, paid a visit to governor Tevfik Pasha, and stated that they were forced to sign in hurry a petition to be sent to İstanbul which they did not even read. They were told that supposedly, "the *Vali* Pasha is appointed to another position and will leave soon. This document on the good conduct of the *Ferik* Pasha to be appointed as the new governor has to reach the post". The *ulema* realized later that all this was a plot against Tevfik Pasha and the document they signed contained slanders against him. After execution of an official inquiry, it became evident that the Ferik, always desiring the post of governor, prepared this plot with the help of the police-chief, a clerk (*mektubi mümeyyizi*), and some others. He had convinced them that he has bribed some high bureaucrats in İstanbul to make him governor of Ankara.<sup>619</sup>

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<sup>616</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK.155/32, 1317 C 16, Ferik Ali Muhsin to Mâbeyn. The same document is copied in Demiroğlu, p.99.

<sup>617</sup> Said Paşa, vol.II, p. 287; Farah, pp.180-81.

<sup>618</sup> Aksüt, p.101.

<sup>619</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 51/23, 1318 R 4, Tevfik to Mâbeyn.



The commandant of Edirne complained that the müşir of the II. Army, deputy governor Arif Pasha was acting against the imperial will by sending military forces while he was busy with provincial affairs.<sup>620</sup> Some months later, the same commandant informed the court on the governor's will to resign, which was revealed to him in a private conversation.<sup>621</sup>

### **Problems with Local Notables and Clergy**

Albert Hourani's article on the "politics of notables" explained insightfully how native elites mediated between the local inhabitants and the central government authorities.<sup>622</sup> But another feature of provincial politics was the need of the interference of the central government or the court in quarrels between provincial administrators and local elites.

The mevlevi sheikh of Konya, Abdolvahid Efendi complained to the court about the misbehavior of the governors towards him since he had taken over the post, eleven years earlier:

During this era, only in the [governorship] time of Kemali Pasha, I lived in rest and peace. Your servant Ferid Bey, the governor of the province, relying on the words of some agitators, who are at enmity with our family and your servant since heretofore, is showing some difficulties in getting our salaries. Today, furthermore, by imprisoning an official, who is one of my disciples, he breached my humble rights and honour, which was protected since seven-hundred years, thanks to the praised Sultanate.

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<sup>620</sup> "İkinci Ordu Müşiri ve Edirne Vali Vekili Arif Paşa'nın vilayet işleri ile kafası fazlasıyla meşgul olduğundan asker sevkياتında irade-yi seniyyeye mugayir hareketlerde bulunduđu", BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 202/105, 8 C 1321.

<sup>621</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 204/87, 3 B 1321.

<sup>622</sup> Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", in Polk and Chambers, eds., *Beginnings of Modernization*, pp.41-68.



The sheikh further added that, if the Sultan was not in favour of changing the governor, he would like to get the permission to leave the town:

If the governor *beyefendi*'s presence here is the highest wish, I beg for my humble absence to reside in Eskişehir, until dismissal of the governor. If not possible, I beg for the allowance of acceptance of my humble resignation to reside in Eskişehir.<sup>623</sup>

The mevlevi sheikhs were the most respected of Konya, but always had problems with the governors during the reign of Abdülhamid II. The real problem was that the *veliahd*, the heir to the throne, Reşad Efendi, was a Mevlevi disciple.

Complaints about the governors could easily end with unexpected contrary results. The notables in Adana, for example, did not expect to be exiled from the province because they did not take into account the real power of the governor. Bahri Pasha inspired confidence in the palace. He received permission to take extraordinary measures against his accusers and exiled them in the middle of winter to far places, like Baghdad and Mosul.<sup>624</sup>

When the acting governor Enis Pasha was approved as full governor, various leaders of Christian groups of Diyarbekir had sent a telegram thanking the Sultan for this appointment. But some time later, they claimed that it was written in the absence of the Greek and Armenian bishops, and signed by others. The religious leaders now declared that they had not had recourse to the opinion of their people, and that the contents of the telegram was not truthful. Their churches, schools, and shops were shut for three days. The Christian inhabitants requested the abolition of the former telegram.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>623</sup> The letter is signed as "ed-dâi el-kadim postnişin-i dergah- hazret-i Mevlana kerremallahu sırruhu'l-ulya Abdülvahid", BOA, Y.PRK .AZJ. 38/18, 1316 ZA 12.

<sup>624</sup> Arıkoğlu, p.41.

<sup>625</sup> "Milletlerimizin re'yine müracaat etmediğimizden ve mazbata-i mezkurenin muhteviyatı vilayetimizin idare ve rahat-ı umumiyesi noktasınca muğayir-i hakikat olduğundan, umum milel-i

The European newspaper *Correspondence Politique* published an article complaining about the same Enis Pasha some months later.<sup>626</sup> The article accused some governors of exciting Muslims minds and causing harm for not just Armenians but to all Christians, by giving their sub-officials vague orders. The governor of Diyarbekir was the only one given by name who was counted amongst these kind of governors. His resignation was requested diplomatically in various times.<sup>627</sup> After years, Diyarbekir became ground of battles from 1901 to 1908 between governors and the tribe leader Millî İbrahim Pasha, also a commander of the Hamidiye tribe regiments, who looted and plundered the neighboring tribes.<sup>628</sup>

Beginning in the summer 1898, a struggle between in the Synod of Antioch, between an Arab majority and the Greeks, on the election of the successor of the patriarch lasted for two years. The Arabs wanted to elect an Arab patriarch with the support of the Russian consul in Damascus and the Russian ambassador in İstanbul. The Greek faction warned the British and French ambassadors of the dangers of Russian influence in the area. Central officials of İstanbul, including the Grand Vezir

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hristiyanıye ve ahali tahdis olunarak üç gündür icra-yı ayini men' ile hep kiliseleri mekatib dükkanları kapamışlardır. Mîlel-i mezkurenin eskanı mazbata-i münkadimenin feshine mütevakıfıdır. İcabının icrası neticesinin serf'an bildirilmesi müsterhamdır. [Signed by] Rum Metropolit Vekili, Keldani Patrik Vekili, Ermeni Katolik Patriki, Süryani Katolik Murahhasası, Süryani Kadim Murahhasası, Ermeni Patriki, Protestan Milleti Vekili, Rum Katolik Murahhasası", BOA, Y.PRK.PT 10/20, 1313 R 19.

<sup>626</sup> "Anadolu vilayât-ı şahanesi valilerinin intihabı hakkında Correspondence Politique gazetesinde mûnderic yazı leffen irsal kılındığına dair, Hariciye Nezareti'ne 9 Temmuz 96 tarihi ile Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesinden varid olan tahriratın tercümesi", BOA, HR.SYS 192/6, 1896.7.9.

<sup>627</sup> "Fakat maatteessüf bazı vilayet valileri vardır ki, kendi meslek-i mahsusları ve maiyetleri memurlarına mübhem bir surette verdikleri emirlerden dolayı ahali-i müslimenin efkarını tehyic ve yalnız Ermenilerin değil, belki her mezhebe mensub Hristiyanların iz'ac ve izarına yardım eylemektedirler. Diyarbekir Valisi Enis Paşa bu valiler 'idâdında ma'duddur. Müşarünileyh pek çok defalar mevzu-i bahis olmuş ve azl ve tebdili defaatle diplomasi tarikiyle taleb edilmiştir. Müşarünileyhin bir an evvel Diyarbekirden kaldırılması Bâbıâlinin menafine tevafuk edeceği şübhesizdir", *ibid*.

<sup>628</sup> Selçuk Günay, "II.Abdülhamid Dönemi'nin Son Yıllarında Güneydoğu Anadolu ile Kuzey Irak'ta Aşiret Mücadeleleri ve Milli Aşireti Reisi İbrahim Paşa", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Entitüsü Dergisi*, No.2, 1995, pp.103-132; Beysanoğlu, 740-42. Ziya Gökalp's *Şaki İbrahim Paşa Destanı* (1908) is on this issue.

and the Sultan's chief secretary, received visits from the Greek faction, accepted the Greek case and began attempts to influence the actions of the Governor of Syria. The outcome of the struggle depended largely on the character of Nazım Pasha:

He was placed in an embarrassing position by the conflicting orders from the Bâbiâlî and the Sultan, who was convinced by the Russian ambassador in favor of an Arab patriarch. Meletios Dumani, the Arab Bishop of Latakia was announced as patriarch to a large crowd in front of the cathedral in Damascus, after the election behind locked doors in 28th April 1899. The Ecumenical Patriarch immediately sent a protest to the palace, in order to avoid a berat of investiture be given to Meletios. The Council of Ministers decided for a fresh election. Tension in Damascus increased by popular demonstrations, after Nazım had received orders to depose Meletios. By mid-September no action had been taken to depose Meletios, both the Sultan and Nazım standing firm. On being asked in November to hold a second election, the Synod of Antioch replied by re-electing Meletios. Nazım received confirmation from both the Sultan and the Bâbiâlî only four days later. Meletios was enthroned on 13th November in the presence of the Arab bishops and the Russian consul. The Greek Church continued to oppose and Meletios was not recognized by the Patriarchs of İstanbul, Jerusalem, or Alexandria.<sup>629</sup>

Friedrich Rosen, consul for Jerusalem in 1899-1900, recalled that the *vali* Nazım Pasha faced similar problems in Jerusalem,

On the occasion there had been a conflict between the Turkish government and the Greek Catholics concerning the election of a new Patriarch. The policy followed by the Greeks had been one of obstruction. They refused to elect a candidate for the Patriarchal See. When summoned to put an end to this state of things, they pointed out that they could not pronounce themselves unless they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and that this had hitherto not taken place. Nazım Pasha had upon this betaken himself to Jerusalem, where he had summoned the Greek ecclesiastics and told them unless the Holy Ghost inspired them within twenty-four hours he would take drastic measures. ... It was a very fortunate coincidence that the Holy Ghost happened to inspire the Greek clergy on that same day.<sup>630</sup>

In those years, Syria was a ground of competition for all the great powers. The Russians had a consul-general, the French, British, and German had consuls, the

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<sup>629</sup> Derek Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914: Church and Politics in the Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp.166-171.

<sup>630</sup> Friedrich Rosen, *Oriental Memoirs of a German Diplomatist* (London, 1930), p. 270.

Italian, Austro-Hungarian, American, Flaemish, Spaniards and Portuguese had vice-consuls, and Iran had a başşehbender residing in Damascus.<sup>631</sup>

### **Governors and the Young Turks**

The major ruling power in the aftermath of 1908, was the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), an outgrowth of the Young Turk opposition movement against the regime of Abdülhamid II.<sup>632</sup> Enis Pasha was reported to be in league with the Young Turks.<sup>633</sup> A document of internal correspondence within the CUP reveals that the governor of Mosul, Hazım Bey, was a member of the committee.<sup>634</sup> Rauf Pasha, Governor of Salonica, was reported by the Commandant of Salonica, Nazım Bey, as acting in accord with the CUP.<sup>635</sup> Halid Ziya, the *mâbeyn* clerk of Abdülhamid II's successor V.Mehmed Reşad, wrote in his memoirs that Mehmed Raif Pasha, "this old vizier, was a pupil of Midhat Pasha and bound to his love of freedom, and beared a great hatred against the absolute rule and its evils."<sup>636</sup> The governor of Beirut wrote several times to the center that he had confiscated banned pro-oppositionist magazines coming from Europe via the English post to the governors of Adana and Syria.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>631</sup> "Memurîn-i Ecnebiye Listesi" in Suriye Vilayeti Salnamesi 32/ 1318, pp.127-128.

<sup>632</sup> For notable studies of the CUP until the revolution of 1908, see M. Şükrü Hanioglu, 1995. For the Young Turk era, see Zafer Toprak, *Jön Türkler ve Milli İktisat* (İstanbul, 1983).

<sup>633</sup> FO, 424/187, no 26, p.23-25, Vice-Consul Hallward to Consul Cumberbatch, Diarbekir, March 17, 1896 (EHIB, p.127).

<sup>634</sup> Hanioglu, 1995, p.108. See also in p.122; that Hazım Bey was recalled in 1894 from Dedeagaç, where he was *kaymakam*, because he was found to be acting under instructions from Ahmed Rıza, a prominent leader of the CUP.

<sup>635</sup> Kolağası Resneli Ahmed Niyazi, *Hâtırat-ı Niyazi Yahud Tarihçe-i İnkılab-ı Kebîr-i Osmaniden bir Sahife* (İstanbul: Sabah, 1326), p.38.

<sup>636</sup> Halid Ziya, *Kırk Yıl* (İstanbul, 1936), V, pp.133-6 and 201-2.

Syria's governor was Huseyin Nazım Pasha, who was known to have been appointed to the province after being accused of protecting Young Turk activities as the Minister of Police.<sup>638</sup> His connection with the oppositional movement was verified later by the fact that he was transferred back to Syria after the revolution.<sup>639</sup> Whether this was a decision of the CUP or of the Sultan is not clear, but Nazım Pasha cooperated with the CUP and was accepted as member in October.<sup>640</sup>

Syria was the scene for the greatest CUP organization between 1895 and 1897. An alliance of local governors, military officers, notables, and religious orders undertook a *coup d'état* there.<sup>641</sup> An official inquiry into the Syrian Young Turks' activities in July of 1897 resulted in the recall of governor Hasan Refik Pasha. As observed by British consuls, Young Turk activities increased after Hasan Pasha's arrival in Damascus and then subsided after his recall. This causes one to suggest that he countenanced, if not encouraged, them.<sup>642</sup> In official documents, Hasan Pasha was accused of

overlooking the importation of harmful papers to the province of Syria and the imprint of money by the low community (*cemiyet-i fesadiye*); not having found the agitators and proceeded legal treatment, therefore tolerated the

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<sup>637</sup> "Bugün dahi Suriye valisi Nazım ve Adana valisi Bahri Paşalar ve Cebel-i Lübnan dahilinde Şuf kaimmakamı Mustafa namlarına Hilafet ve Gökden Sada evrak-ı matbua ve muzırından İngiliz postahanesiyle vurud eden nüshalar[ın] heman derdest edildiği", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 48/75, 1317 B 4; and "Suriye valisi Nazım Paşa namına mazrufen vurud eden Hilafet namı altındaki evrak-ı muzırının derdest olduğu", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/43, 1317 N 2. On an earlier occasion, he confiscated "Takib-i İstikbal nam hezeyanname", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 46/109, 1317 S 11.

<sup>638</sup> Ziya Şakir, *Yarım Asır Evvel Bizi İdare Edenler* (İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1943), vol.II, p.3.

<sup>639</sup> He was governor of Syria (December 1908-October 1910) and Aydın ( twice, in October 1910-December 11, and January-September 1913).

<sup>640</sup> Gross, p.527dn.

<sup>641</sup> Niyazi, pp.105-107.

<sup>642</sup> David Dean Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.94.

[assaults on the] protection of holy rights of the Sublime Polity (*devlet-i aliyye*).<sup>643</sup>

Another *coup d'etat* was planned in 1903 by the Young Turks with the help of Recep Pasha, the commandant, and later governor, of Tripolitania.<sup>644</sup> His sympathy to the CUP was well-known, therefore, his requests as governor were always treated in İstanbul with care. When he wanted to tour the *sancak* of Bingazi, he was told that there was no important reason to go.<sup>645</sup> According to Le Gall, Recep Pasha, was suspected from the very beginning of the Hamidian reign of having liberal leanings. He therefore spent his career in far Arab provinces, notably in Baghdad, Lebanon and Damascus, before he finally was appointed *müşir* of Tripolitania in the summer of 1898. He additionally held the governorship of the province between 1904-1908.<sup>646</sup> His return to İstanbul as minister of war in the first Young Turk cabinet was welcomed by a great audience awaiting him at the port, “with an excitement never seen before”. Nevertheless, he died three days later, before he could assume his responsibilities.<sup>647</sup> A cavalry officer under the command of Recep Pasha in Baghdad revealed in his memoirs that the commandant did help and worked with the exiles in the province, and secretly sent money to the Young Turk organization abroad.<sup>648</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 53/1, 1315 S 14.

<sup>644</sup> See the chapter “Recep Paşa Vasıtasile Bir Hal Tasavvuru” in Ali Haydar Mithat, p.170-173.

<sup>645</sup> BOA, YA.HUS 511/55, 22 R A 1325.

<sup>646</sup> Michel F. Le Gall, *Pashas, Bedouins and Notables: Ottoman administration in Tripoli and Binghazi, 1881-1902* (PhD. Thesis, Princeton University, 1986), p.61-62

<sup>647</sup> İbrahim Alaattin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1946), p.318.

<sup>648</sup> Mahmut Nedim Kerkük, *Hatıratım: Mazinin Karanlıklarından, İstikbalin Aydınlıklarına Doğru Diyarbakır, 1334(1918)*, ed.by Ali Birinci, Ankara: Altınküre Yayınları, 2002), p.45. He acted likewise during his commander- and governorship in Trablusgarp, where he also helped the exiles to take refuge in Europe; see Mevlüt Çelebi, “Selim Sırrı Tarcan’ın Jön Türklüğü”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, August 2003, s.236, pp.13-21 and Tahsin Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi*, (Ankara:TTK, 1979) p.13



Anti-Hamidian Young Turk publications were received first by Recep Pasha, who handed them over to lower civil and military officials of the province.<sup>649</sup> In his absence, he was chosen honorary president of the revolutionary community in Baghdad.<sup>650</sup> A newly arrived governor wrote to İstanbul that Recep Pasha's influence in Baghdad was as much as an independent government could have. When the Sultan decided to send him to Trablusgarp, a petition with thousands of signatures was prepared by the local people in order to induce the Sultan to let Recep Pasha stay in Baghdad. This made the Sultan more suspicious and he ordered his departure from Baghdad within twenty four hours.<sup>651</sup>

### **Relations with Consuls**

The complaints of governors against consuls began as early as the spread of the consular system in Ottoman realm. In 1837, the governor of Syria said that the consuls were independent Sultans in their districts.<sup>652</sup> The prominent statesman and intellectual Ziya Pasha wrote in the 1870's from his experiences as a governor, that provincial officials were degraded to doorkeepers of the consuls.<sup>653</sup>

Not only was the administrative apparatus of the governor underdeveloped to deal with issues arising from the opening of the provinces to foreign trade, travel and evangelization, but most governors themselves were not educated and experienced in

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<sup>649</sup> *Ibid.*, p.61.

<sup>650</sup> *Ibid.*, p.72.

<sup>651</sup> *Ibid.*, p.119. Gokhan Çetinsaya also indicates the quarrel between the governor Hacı Hasan Refik Pasha and Recep Pasha, the müşir of 6th Army in September 1892 ("Sultan Abdülhamid II's Officials: The Case of Nusret Paşa at Baghdad, 1888-1896", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XXI, 2001, p.263).

<sup>652</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p.64.

<sup>653</sup> "[M]emurin-i mahalliye konsolosların kavasları hükmünde kaldılar", *ibid.*, p.210.



the management of foreign affairs. An exception was the private deal between the Ottoman governor of Trabzon and the Russian governor of Caucasia on the extradition of criminals. His Russian colleague accepted Kadri Bey's interesting suggestion and deported from Batum to Trabzon twelve fugitives, escorted by Russian policemen. When the Russian ambassador heard of this event, he immediately asked the Grand Vizier for the dismissal of the governor of Trabzon. The Grand Vizier calmly responded, "we will dismiss him as soon as you dismiss your governor of Caucasia". He knew that this was impossible, because the governor of Caucasia was a prince.<sup>654</sup>

Although cautious of travelling foreign officials of embassies and consulates,<sup>655</sup> the Porte generally listened to the complaints of the foreign consuls about the misconduct of governors. The consuls' existence in the provinces placed a check upon the actions of the governors and consequently the center acted more cautious in choosing *valis*.

The official relations between governors and consuls was established by a written order of the Ministry of the Interior, on 22 September 1890.<sup>656</sup> According to this order, on the arrival of the newly appointed consul, the governors had to send their translator to welcome him as an act of delicacy.<sup>657</sup> Three days after the consul had been received by him in his official uniform, the governor had to repay the visit. On

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<sup>654</sup> Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Hatıralarım*, ed. İsmail Kara (İstanbul: İletişim 1991), s.47-48.

<sup>655</sup> The Foreign Ministry expressed the need to warn the Russian Embassy about such officials preparing reports in rural Rumelia, BOA, Y.PRK.HR 33/36, 1320 Z 29.

<sup>656</sup> "Vilâyât-ı Şahanede Memurîn-i Mahalliye ile Ecnebî Memurları Arasında İcra Olunacak Merasim-i Teşrifatiyeye Dair Talimat", *Düstur, Mütemmim* (Dersaadet: Hilal Matbaası, 1335/1917), pp.153-55. Also published in some provincial almanacs, for example in *Sivas Vilayeti Salnamesi 1325, 17.defa*, pp.269-271.

<sup>657</sup> "Mücerred bir eser-i nezaket olarak resm-i hoşâmedîyi ifâ içün", *ibid*.

imperial birthdays and anniversaries of enthronements, the consul had to visit the governors for congratulations. In turn, the governors had to visit them on the occasions of their most important national days.<sup>658</sup> When the consuls sent their translator or a letter to congratulate the feasts, the governors had to send an official or a letter to congratulate their New Year.<sup>659</sup> In the case that a new governor came to the province, the consuls visited him first as a welcome, and then the governor repaid the visit. If a consul visited the governor when he was inspection the rural, on *devir*, he would repay that, too.

Any transgression of these rules could cause alarm on both sides. n Ottoman document records how the British consul-general of Beirut wondered about the governor of Syria who had personally gone to meet the vice-consul of Bozcaada at the train-station, contrary to the rules.<sup>660</sup> The Russian consul of Mosul complained to his ambassador in İstanbul that the governor Zühdü Bey insulted the special day of the Tsarina by not raising his flag and by sending his chief of batallion wearing normal clothing, although he himself was in uniform.<sup>661</sup>

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<sup>658</sup> “Her devletin en büyük yevm-i mahsusı kangısı ise”, *ibid*.

<sup>659</sup> “Milel-i sairenin re’s-i sene itibar etdikleri Kanunısani’nin birinci günü konsoloshaneye bir memur veyahud vizite kağıdı gönderilür”, *ibid*.

<sup>660</sup> “Dün mülakat olunan İngiliz’in Beyrut Ceneral-Konsolosu, Suriye Valisi Paşa’nın İngiliz Devleti’nin Bozcaada Vis-konsolos-ı cedidini Şam’a muvasalatında şimendüferden bizzat istikbal etmesi gibi hilaf-ı usul bir muamele etmesinin konsoloslarca numune-i misal addolunabileceğinden bahisle, müşarünileyhin şu hareket-i hiffetkârânesine müteaccib kaldığını ifade etdiği”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 60/31, 1320 B 12.

<sup>661</sup> “Vali bugün hükümetin sancağını çekmeyerek ve ben uniforma ile mülebbes olduğum halde Taburağasını adi urubasıyla göndererek Kraliçenin yevm-i mahsusunu tahkir etmiştir. Konsolos Rusan 24 Mayıs 97”, BOA, Y.PRK.EŞA 27/9, 1314 Z 22.

Dragomans were selected by the consuls, but the nominations had to be submitted to the Sublime Porte. The latter's approval was then still subject to acceptance by the provincial and the local Ottoman authorities- the *vali* and the *mutasarrıf*.<sup>662</sup>

The presence of consuls in the provinces of the empire was a point of balance against the authority of the governors. Because the central government was weak there was a certain imbalance in sovereignty. Armed consulate guards and consular officials with diplomatic immunity were not just defending the rights of foreigners against natives, they were interfering in intercommunal affairs.<sup>663</sup> İstanbul's need to know about all issues that could involve a European state was a strong rationale for not devolving more power to the provinces. The specter of foreign intervention complicated Ottoman efforts at government.<sup>664</sup> These conditions forged the governors to be diplomats as well.

As mentioned before, Reşid Akif, governor of Sivas, complained about his assistant Aristidi and the *mutasarrıf* of Tokad, Bekir Pasha for cooperating in a plot against him along with the French, British and American consuls. They prepared a petition which was sent by some of the important people of the province to the Palace and wrote that the governor was accepting no one to his room, private or official, so that they could not give any petition.<sup>665</sup>

According to the governor of Yannina, Osman Fevzi Pasha, the *mektubi mümeyyizi*, Safvet Efendi, was met with consuls ("*konsoloslar ile haftıyyen ihtilat ve*

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<sup>662</sup> Ruth Kark, *American Consuls in the Holy Land, 1832-1914* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), p.176-177.

<sup>663</sup> In his memoirs on his voyage to the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens, Henry Avelot, *Croquis de Grèce et de Turquie* (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1897), p.112.

<sup>664</sup> Anscombe, *Ottoman Gulf*, p.171.

<sup>665</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 58/2, 1320 M 1.

*akd-i ülfet ve münasebet*”) to plot against the government and should therefore he should be removed from office.<sup>666</sup> Osman Fevzi Pasha, who occupied this post for over eight years (October 1897-February 1906), seems to have never settled his problems with the consuls, since we learn from later documents that there were other quarrels. Once he forbade the sons of the consul to go the Vlachian school in the city. He did not get in touch with the consul, although it was ordered to him. The Grand Vizier wrote to the Dahiliye to warn the governor to behave no more in a mode of “continual controversy and increasing difficulties”. The Minister ordered the governor not to prohibit the sons of the consul to go to the school.<sup>667</sup>

The consuls could act to benefit the provincial governors against the central authorities, as did Colonel Ponsonby from Van. He submitted proposals to suppress lawlessness and the depredations committed by the Kurds in Van and added that “the Sultan should grant full authority to the civil authorities for the requisition of the nearest troops in aid of the civil power whenever required, as is done in every civilized country”.<sup>668</sup>

The *Ligue de la Patrie Arabe*, consisting of Arabs and Frenchmen in Paris, published in January, 1905 a manifesto in French and Arabic, which was distributed during the following months via the French postal system throughout the Ottoman Empire. The proclamation asked people to obey the Arab governors who would

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<sup>666</sup> “Konsoloslar ile sair bir takım ecanib tarafından mutad olan hilaf-ı vaki’ isnadat ve tesvilat vukuuna bile meydan bırakılmadığı halde öteden beru bir tavır ve vaz’-ı mahsus takınarak hükümet-i seniyyenin icraatı aleyhinde zebandrazlıkda ve konsoloslar ile hafiyyen ihtilat ve akd-i ülfet ve münasebet iderek tahrikat ve tesvilat-ı mesvedetkaranede bulunduğu delail-i adide-i vazıha ile tahakkuk ve teeyyüd ettiğinden burada bekası katiyyen caiz görülemeyen Vilayet Mektubi Mümeyyizi Safvet ef’nin haline münasib bir memuriyetle başka bir tarafa nakli”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 52/74, 1318 Ş 18.

<sup>667</sup> “Daime-i ihtilat ile tezayüd-i müşkilatı mucib ahvalden mücanebet etmesinin vali-yi müşarünileyhe ekiden ve katiyyen ihtarı lüzumu Dahiliye Nezaret-i celilesine yazıldığına dair”, BOA, Y.EE 5/152, 14 RA 1323.

<sup>668</sup> FO, 424/189, No. 229, p.278-279, Colonel Ponsonby to Sir P.Currie; Nov. 29, 1896 (*EHIB*, p.266)

replace the Turkish *valis* and *mutasarrıfs*, and to obey the Arab soldiers who would replace the Circassian officers on the appointed date. The manifesto reached Adana in early February, 1905 and provoked anxiety among the authorities. It reached Jerusalem several days later and the governor asked the French post office not to distribute them. Copies reaching Beirut aroused great excitement there. The authorities arrested local notables and carried out searches of homes.<sup>669</sup>

The English consul Bircotti paid regular visits to the governor of Salonica, Tevfik Bey. Bircotti read him notes taken from informants on incidents of political bands, how they dealt with, and the failures of local officials and platoons following these terrorists. He was kindly asking the governor's opinions to input them in his reports. Tevfik was glad to see such acts from the English consul. The Russian and Austrian consuls were also visiting him sometimes to get information. But he complained about the latter because of his unpeaceful character trying to create problems.<sup>670</sup>

The Governor and Commander of Basra complained about the Commander of the VI. Army by announcing to the consuls in Baghdad that there existed an extraordinary situation in Basra, as if there was no security anymore, brigands were attacking foreigners and consuls, and that the British had sent a warship. The consuls wrote these hearings to the embassies. The governor heard this from the consuls in Basra who had visitors from Baghdad.<sup>671</sup>

Ali Rıza Pasha had well-established relations with the Russian consul in Manastir. A sub-governor even criticized him in his memoirs for spoiling the consul.

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<sup>669</sup> Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London: Frank Cass Publications, 1993), pp.34-36.

<sup>670</sup> Tevfik Bey, p.168.

<sup>671</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 70/67,1322 Ca 24.

The Pasha is accused of amusing himself at the Bukova promenade with the Russian and other consuls while Bulgarian rebels were attacking railways.<sup>672</sup> Once, while returning from Bukova, the Russian consul had given a gendarme a box on the ears because he did not salute him. The gendarme who was mounting a guard shot him dead. The *vali* Pasha was dismissed at the request of the Russian Embassy and exiled to Tripoli in Africa.<sup>673</sup>

The Grand Vizier ordered the Interior Minister to advise the governor Abdlvahhab Pasha because of the Russian consul's complains about some of his transactions.<sup>674</sup> The vice-consul of Diyarbekir wrote to the consul that "the removal of the Governor is also a most necessary measure."<sup>675</sup>

Hseyin Hilmi Pasha, while governor of Adana, demanded the consul of Austria in Mersin be sent to his state, because he received mail with forbidden magazines. After complaints, an Austrian warship came to Mersin to take the consul. When an Austrian flag fell down during confusion on board, the Austrians demanded the governor's apology. But Hilmi Pasha refused to apologize and soon he was taken from his office.<sup>676</sup>

Although frightening İstanbul with the consuls was a guaranteed way of forcing the government to act in any matter, relations with them were not consistently bad.

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<sup>672</sup> Uzer, p.153.

<sup>673</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 70/23, 1321 Ca 18.

<sup>674</sup> "Mahalli Rusya Konsolosunun dahi vali-i mşarnileyhin bazı muamelatından mşteki idğ Rusya Sefiri'nin evvel ve ahir vukubulan ifadat ve şikayatından anlaşılmısına binaen Umur ve muamelat-ı hkmetin usul u kavann-i mevzu'a dairesinde temin-i hsn-i cereyanı in vilayet-i mşarnileyhaya vasaya-yı messire ve serî'a ifası lzumu Dahiliye Nezaret-i celilesine yazılmışdır efendim", BOA, YA.HUS 494/87, 1323.8.20, Grand Vizier to the Mbeyn.

<sup>675</sup> FO, 424/187, no 26, p.23-25. Vice-Consul Hallward to Consul Cumberbatch, Diarbekir, March 17, 1896 (EHİB, pp.129).

<sup>676</sup> Akst, pp.74-76 ve 78dn.



Some governors attracted the consuls and even astonished them. Longworth, the consul of Trabzon, commended the governor Kadri Pasha with deep admiration:

His Excellency has doubtless great moral influence, which enables him to lead rather than to drive those placed under his orders. From the highest functionary to the lowest official his personality is felt to be very much in evidence, and this secures him the implicit confidence and obedience of the honest, who are happily in the majority, with, of course, the people at their back. Being not respecter of persons, Cadri Bey's enemies, though few, are influential.<sup>677</sup>

The consul seemed deeply effected by the death of the influent governor:

The year 1903 is likely to be long associated in the memory of the inhabitants with the death of Cadri Bey. The sudden demise on the 23rd January of so popular and efficient a Governor-General was widely and deeply lamented. The loss was felt to be irreparable; and it certainly left a void difficult to fill. Reshad Bey obtained the appointment. Thus an exceptionally weak Vali succeeded a remarkably strong one. Goodness he has; but no courage and energy. His stoic indifference, however, is more assumed than real. He shirks responsibility, but is anxious to please. Some value is set by him, moreover, on public opinion, apt though he be to find consolation in the thought after Cadri Bey, even the ablest Administrator would have become locally the butt of adverse criticism and comparison.<sup>678</sup>

Mr. Shipley, acting consul in Trabzon, reported some years before Longworth, the admirable achievements of the governor, after awaiting the panic of the Armenian terror incidents in İstanbul:

Among the causes to which the absence of panic up to the present in Trebizond must be attributed, is undoubtedly the personal influence of the Vali, Cadri Bey, himself, and the respect in which he appears to be held by all Turks alike, whether friends or enemies. His Excellency ... acted with great firmness and discretion. He caused printed proclamations in Turkish ... to be placarded in the principal streets of the town, ... with a view of tranquillizing the minds of the population.... He has, further, been frequently seen in the streets personally inspecting the police and the patrols. He promptly caused a

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<sup>677</sup> FO, 424/200, No.17, p.14-17. Consul Longworth to Sir N.O'Conor, on the general condition of the Trabzon Vilayet in 1899, Trabzon, February 1, 1900 (*EHIB*, pp.374-377). For more on Longworth's mission in Trabzon, see Ahmet Halaçoğlu, "İngiliz Konsolosu Longworth'a Göre Trabzon Vilayeti (1892-1898)", *Belleten*, vol.LXVII, no.250 (December 2003), pp.881-910.

<sup>678</sup> FO, 424/206, No.10, p.12-24, Consul Longworth to Sir N.O'Connor. Trabzon, January 18, 1904 (*EHIB* p.432).



Mollah and a soldier to be imprisoned who were reported to have used threatening language, and finally has used his personal efforts to reassure the Armenians.<sup>679</sup>

Even the consul from the neighboring province praised his good work done in Trabzon which affected the nearby places of Erzurum:

The four cazas in the north-eastern corner of the vilayet, Nariman, Kiskim, İspir, and Tortoum (and in less degree also Baibourt), have alone enjoyed comparative immunity from disorder. They are mostly beyond the reach of Kurdish raids, while the energy of Kadri Bey, in the neighboring Vilayet of Trebizond, has succeeded in reducing to order the Lazes, who formerly troubled the security of the border.<sup>680</sup>

The Governor of Van, Ali Rıza Beg, was praised by the British consul of his tactfulness and capability to handle this difficult province and the revolutionary movement:

My personal opinion, which is shared by my French and Russian colleagues, is that the Vali, Ali Rıza Bey, if left to himself, and not interfered with by orders from the Palace, is quite capable of controlling in a conciliatory manner any situation which may arise.

He further noticed his tactfulness and capability in handling with the revolutionary movement in the province, by referring to his enemy's praise:

The best compliment one could pay him was by "the doctor", the "fedai" chief, who said that he did not like this Vali because, by his quiet and calm way of doing things, he was causing the "fedai" movement to lose ground.<sup>681</sup>

Concerning Hüseyin Nazım Pasha's brief governorship of Beirut (March-July 1897), the British consul-general there noted that he had been "quite energetic", had given a "good example of religious tolerance", and by his "through reorganization of

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<sup>679</sup> FO, 424/188, No. 221, p.197-198. Acting Consul Shipley to Mr.Herbert, 5. 9.1896 (*EHIB* pp.223-225).

<sup>680</sup> FO, 424/200, No.127, p.104-106. Mr. Bunsen to the Marquess of Salisbury, Constantinople, Transmitting the report of the Consul at Erzeroum (Lamb), Oct 15, 1900, (*EHIB* s.383-385)

<sup>681</sup> FO, 424/214, No.94, p.207-212. Vice-Consul Dickson to Sir N.O'Connor. Van, February 9, 1908 (*EHIB*, p.481-83)

the police” had greatly improved the public security of Beirut.<sup>682</sup> It should not be forgotten that Nazım Pasha was the famous Minister of Police during the Armenian incidents a few years earlier in İstanbul. Armenian incidents in the sancak of Tokat costed the governor of Sivas his office. But Major Bulman, reporting from Tokat one month after the dismissal, did not blame the governor for the events:

Halil Bey, ex-Vali of Sivas, received a letter from the Palace before his departure, informing him that the Sultan was in no way displeased with him, and that he had no reason to be alarmed on account of his dismissal. In view, therefore, of his possible advancement, I beg to furnish the following information about him.

While at Sivas he incurred the enmity of the Turks, by his indifference to the Mussulman religion, and in any case is in no way a fanatic. He is also a man of liberal ideas, and though usually supposed to be devoted to the Sultan has several times shown that he is opposed to the present system of government, and endeavoured to excuse it by ascribing it to the Sultan’s want of experience. He is personally opposed to the massacres, and previously to the disorders at Sivas had collected a large number of Circassians against possible disturbance ... He has a reputation for honesty, and I have no reason to suppose he ever took a bribe, but he allows everyone else to do so, and refuses to take any notice of such acts when his attention is called to them. Besides this he fills every office he can with men of his own, many of them of the worst description, in order to have a more undisputed authority. He is, however, a capable Governor, and in comparison with most Turkish officials, has some sense of justice, and even of humanity. He is the personal enemy of the Sadrazam, and also of the Minister of the Interior.<sup>683</sup>

A former governor of Van, Şemseddin Pasha, is reported to have cooperated with the British consul in many matters. The governor asked the consul for advice in matters such as the execution of reforms in his province in a satisfactory manner. In one instance, when he received a telegram from the Porte ordering him to complete the reforms he asked the consul Williams to go over the reforms with him, and report

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<sup>682</sup> Max L. Gross, p.467.

<sup>683</sup> FO, 424/191, No 338, p.267. Tokat, April 27, 1897. Major Bulman to Sir P. Currie (*EHIB*, pp.316-317). Halil Bey was suspended after the Tokat incidence of 19 March.

the result to the British ambassador if the consul was satisfied with them<sup>684</sup>. This was very much appreciated by the consul who in turn reported to his ambassador favorable things about Şemseddin Pasha. The consul not only used nice words about the governor, but also attempted to rescue him when he fell into trouble with the other officials in the province. In May, 1897 when a quarrel broke out between Şemseddin Pasha and Müşir Zeki Pasha, the Commander of the IV. Army Corps in Erzincan, over who commanded the troops in Van province, Şemsi asked the Porte to grant him the command of those troops in his province, and threatened the central government to resign if they did not agree to this demand. His demand was turned down in late May. He then resigned, but since he was extremely favored by the French and English consuls of Van, they had their ambassadors make an appeal at the Porte on his behalf. The pressure brought by them in İstanbul forced the Porte to reinstate Şemsi as the governor of Van in August, 1897 with power to command the troops there.<sup>685</sup> This power for any governor administrating such a province as Van was highly significant, because the province was under the constant threat of the tribes and the revolutionaries in the province on the one hand, and on the other by those tribes and revolutionaries entering the country from Russian and Iranian soil.<sup>686</sup> Consul Elliot did show his good will even before this incident:

I have great confidence in Shemsi Pasha's will and ability to put things on a proper footing throughout this vilayet. He has, as is inevitable when a man does his duty in this country, made enemies, and I fear their intrigues may prove too much for him eventually, unless he is supported by the Porte.<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>684</sup> FO 195/1944, Williams to Currie, tel, 24 Nov 1896, in Şaşmaz, p.215.

<sup>685</sup> FO 195/1985, Eliot to Currie, tels, 24-29 August, 1897; and also FO 195/1985, Graves to Currie, no 18, 12 May 1897 in Şaşmaz, p.215.

<sup>686</sup> Şaşmaz, p.216.

<sup>687</sup> FO, 424/192, No 32, Van, July 6, 1897, p.38-39, Captain Elliot to Sir P. Currie (*EHIB*, p.321).

The pro-British stand of Kamil Pasha, the ex-Grand Vizier who was now governor of Aydın in İzmir, was well known by the palace as well as by foreign observers. He had good relations with the consuls, which made him suspect and observed. His assistants and many other subofficials were secretly informing the palace about his conversations with consuls. Assistant-governor Hasan Bey wrote to the *mâbeyn* that Kamil Pasha was helping British firms in their unfair business to please the consul.<sup>688</sup> Hasan Bey forwarded his conversation with the British consul-general and added that, contrary than had been supposed, the English did not like him.<sup>689</sup> The informer was trying to change the opinion of the Sultan that any misbehavior (like dismissal) toward Kamil Pasha would make the British angry. The *mutasarrıf* of Manisa wrote to the palace about the governor's talk with the Greek consul, who informed him that Kamil Pasha looked very tired and told him that he would like to live in İzmir after leaving his post.<sup>690</sup> Nevertheless, nobody would have expected his taking refuge at the British consulate after a telegram ordered his permanent residence in Rhodes.

A *mâbeyn* source remarks that there were good relations between the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha and the German ambassador in İstanbul. Ferid Pasha constantly pleased

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<sup>688</sup> "İngiltere konsolosuna yaranmak ... maksadına mebnidir", BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 49/51, 1317 N 15. Gertrude Bell's diary confirms such an accusation by noting the closeness of a British businessman to the governor: "Edward W.[hittall] was the most intimate friend of the last Vali, Kiamil Pasha. I believe he consulted him in everything. They have all sorts of people under their protection, even the brigands turn to them for their intercession when it comes to settling up scores with the govt. and they know the country and the people as Englishmen could scarcely know it, for indeed they are half orientals themselves," [4 April 1907] <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters /1768.htm>. On the Whittall family of Smyrna, see Edmund Giraud, *Family Records: A Record of the origin and history of the Giraud and Whittall families of Turkey* (London: Adams Bros. And Sharlow Ltd., 1934).

<sup>689</sup> "Kendi kendisini İngilizler tarafından seviliyor addeyleyen Kamil Paşa aleyhinde İzmir İngilizleri bile adem-i hoşnudi ibrazından half olmayub halbuki zaten bu muhabbetin de esassız ve yine kendüstünce bir zandan ibaret bulunduğunu ilave eylemiştir," BOA, Y.PRK.UM 74/127, 1323 M 11.

<sup>690</sup> "Yunan Konsolosu'yla cereyan eden mükaleme esnasında, mumaiyleh geçenlerde Vali Kamil Paşa'nın iştiğalat-ı hazırasının kesretinden bahisle istirahat muhtac olduğu ve İzmir'in havasından istifadesi cihetle memuriyetden çekilmiş olsa da yine İzmir'de ikamet fikrinde bulunduğu yolunda idare-i lisan eylediğini ifade ve bu lisani refiklerinden bazılarına karşı istimal ettiğini ilave eylemekle bu cihetin de arz ve iblağına mütacaseret olduğu maruzdur", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 75/71, 1323 Ra 10.

the German Ambassador Marschall Baron von Bieberstein with presents and compliments when he was governor of Konya. Tahsin Pasha, the head clerk of the *mâbeyn* who hated Ferid Pasha, argues that the ambassador had a role in his appointment as Grand Vizier.<sup>691</sup> Sir Edwin Pears noted that the people were respecting the ex-governor's memory in Konya:

I have known him personally for several years and believe him to be not only an honourable and trustworthy Moslem, but a man of exceptional ability. I may here interpolate the story of his appointment. He had been Gov of Konia, and on my visit to that city, four years after the Revolution, I found that both natives and foreigners spoke highly of the justice of his government and of his character.<sup>692</sup>

### **Private Problems of Governors**

There were no official residences in the province for governors. Encumbered with petty details of household management, they had to find a house and furnish it for themselves as soon as they arrived to the province. The mayors did give great help to them in finding a convenient residence.<sup>693</sup> In 1902, the governor of Ankara was residing at a one-hour-distance and demanded a telegraph line to his house.<sup>694</sup> In his eighth year in the province, the governor of Syria lived in a new house he had built himself on the outskirts of the hills looking over the town.<sup>695</sup>

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<sup>691</sup> Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit: Yıldız Hatıratı* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), p.68. For the relations of Ferid Pasha with the ambassador when he was Grand Vizier, see Ziya Şakir, pp.152-155.

<sup>692</sup> Pears, p.230.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid*, p.?

<sup>694</sup> “Geceleri mülhakatla icra edilmekde olan muhaberat-ı mülhimmenin tesri’ ve teshili zımında, Ankara’ya bir saat mesafedeki ikametgahına bir tel çekilmesi ve makine ve memur vaz’ı Ankara Valisi atufetlu beyefendi hazretleri tarafından tekiden iş’âr kılınmış olmakla,” BOA, Y.MTV 230/92, 1320 S 17.

<sup>695</sup> Bell, [3 March 1905], <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters/1692.htm>.

Moving from one to the other province was a nightmare for the family.<sup>696</sup> The governor of Mosul, Mustafa Nuri Bey, after having learned that he was appointed to Diyarbekir, begged to be pardoned from this move because some of his family members, whom he had taken just one month earlier to Mosul, were too ill to make a new journey.<sup>697</sup>

Harsh weather conditions of the distant Arabian provinces made the governors change their residences seasonally. The governor of the Hijaz resided in Mecca during the winter and at Taif in summer, except when the pilgrimage fell in the summer months when he had to be in Mecca at all times.<sup>698</sup> The governor of Konya resided during the summers at a distance of one-and-a half hours from the city at Meram, which had a relatively cooler climate than the center because of its famous gardens and rivers.<sup>699</sup>

When separated from wives and children, as they often were, governors experienced loneliness. Any movement or arrival of family members were up to allowance from the palace, especially for governors who were exiled. There was a high incidence of illness among the governors. A German Charantine doctor noted

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<sup>696</sup> For this and many other aspects, see the memoirs of Naciye Neyyal Biren, the wife of Mehmed Tevfik Bey, the governor Konya, Salonica, and Yemen: *Ressam Naciye Neyyal'in Mutlakıyet, Meşrutıyet ve Cumhuriyet Hatıraları*, ed. Fatma Rezan Hürmen (İstanbul: Pınar, 2000).

<sup>697</sup> "Bir mah akdem buraya getirmiş olduğum ailenin bazılarının mezhim-i seferiyeye tahammül edemeyecek derecede olan rahatsızlıklarına mebni, Diyarbekir Vilayetinden afv-ı kemteraneme delalet buyrulmasını fart-ı ihtirar ile arz ve istirham ve kabul-i mazeret tebşiratına telgrafla intizar eylerim", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 80/95, 1325 L 26.

<sup>698</sup> David George Hogarth, *Hejaz before World War I*, 2.edition, 1917, ed. R.L. Bidwell (New York : Oleander Press, 1978).

<sup>699</sup> As witnessed in 1895 by Dr.Lamec Saad, *Sechzehn Jahre als Quarantaenarzt in der Türkei*, Berlin 1913, p.310.



after his meeting with Ali Kemali Pasha, governor of Konya, that he was suffering from bronchial catarrh.<sup>700</sup>

Lütfi Fikri Bey, a passionate Unionist who was himself the son of a governor, wrote in January of 1904, comparing Tolstoy's old man in *War and Peace* with a "vali pasha, who greets the people on the street with a half hand, of whose presence one enters fawning and flattering, and whose daughter and even wife cannot insinuate free-and-easy" was more despotic.<sup>701</sup> Lütfi Fikri Bey speaks with experience, because he was himself a son of the governor of Kosovo, Fikri Pasha.

Some children could cause great problems for governors. A son of Ali Kemali Pasha took flight to Europe because he was accused of having talked against the government.<sup>702</sup> Others could help the governors in their works in the province. When the French *vilayet*-ingenieur Charles Chartier prepared the detailed administrative map of Aleppo, Ragıb Bey, the son of the governor Mehmed Raif Pasha, helped him.<sup>703</sup>

The governors tried to use every opportunity to come to İstanbul and enjoy the social life there. The house of Baki Efendi, the *sadaret evrak müdürü* for decades, was recorded as a place for dinner and entertainment every Wednesday evening,

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<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*, p.310.

<sup>701</sup> *Dersim Mebusu Lütü Fikri Bey'in Günlüğü: "Daima Muhalefet"*, ed. by Yücel Demirel (İstanbul: Arba, 1991) p.25.

<sup>702</sup> "İdare-i hukümet aleyhine söz söylemiş deyu aleyhine ikame edilen davadan düçâr-ı mücâzât olacağı havfindan dolayı dört sene evvel bilamezuniyet Avrupa'ya giden ve Sofya'ya geldiğinden beru merhamet ve inayet-i hazret-i şehinşâhî-yi a'zamîye mazhariyetle avdetine müsaade buyrulması selef-i câgerânem tarafından istirham edilmiş bulunan Konya Valisi merhum Ali Kemali Paşa'nın mahdumu, ve Tophane-i Amire'ye memur Mirliya Süleyman Paşa'nın ve Bükreş Sefareti Başkatibi Galib Bey'in biraderi, Necmeddin Bey'in gurbetinin bugüne kadar devam etmiş olmasından dolayı mahzun ve mükedder olarak Sofya'yı terk ve bir maişet-i diğer aramak üzere Ruscuk'a müteveccihen hareket eylemiş olduğu", BOA, Y.MTV 269/170, 1322 L 21, further details on the matter is to be find in BOA, Y.MTV 236/141, 1320 Ş 23 and BOA, Y.MTV 261/129, 1322 R 24.

<sup>703</sup> Ayntabî, p.232.



where provincial governors like Reşit Mümtaz Pasha, Babanzade Mustafa Reşid Pasha, and Reşid Akif Pasha were also hosted, if present in İstanbul.<sup>704</sup>

In 1874, after a great famine in Anatolia and the budget deficit became five million Ottoman Liras, a *tenkihat* was put in action, lowering the salaries of the governors to twenty-five and twenty thousand liras.<sup>705</sup> The Ottoman state was unable to regularly pay its officials. The rule was, generally, the lower the official the less his chance of receiving his salary. Officials could not count on receiving salaries on schedule, if at all. Sometimes they were also subjected to austerity driven by the Porte to cut expenses. In 1879 the generally inadequate salaries of officials were reduced by ten percent, and in 1880 by thirty percent. They also were required to pay five percent to a pension program. Endorsements (*havale*), or bills were issued by the Porte, showing the revenues of the provinces as a value to be paid. Therefore representatives of banks sought payment of their notes in provincial capitals.

The new salary system, introduced in 1880, divided the provincial governorships into three salary ranges receiving 20,000, 17,000, or 15,000 kuruş monthly.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Semih Mümtaz, *Evvel Zaman İçinde: Tarihimizde Hayal Olmuş Hakikatler* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1948), p.226. The *beylikçi*, *teşrifatçı*, the undersecretary of the Grand Vizier, and many others are known to have been present in these evening meetings. This shows the links which the provincial administrators possessed to survive.

<sup>705</sup> “Vilayetler iki sınıfa taksim ile birincisine yirmi beş bin, ikincisinin yirmi bine... muvakkaten tenzili”, Vakanuvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi, c. XV, ed. M.Münir Aktepe (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), p.47.

<sup>706</sup> “Ma‘âşât Kararnamesi” (17 Cemaziyelevvel 1297/ 27 April 1880), *Zeyl-i Düstur*, vol.I, p.44-45.

Table 7: Salary Ranges of Governorships

First Degree Governorships ( <i>Derece-i Ula Valilikleri</i> ) 20.000 Kuruş	Second Degree Governorships ( <i>Derece-i Saniye Valilikleri</i> ) 17.000 Kuruş	Third Degree Governorships ( <i>Derece-i Salise Valilikleri</i> ) 15.000 Kuruş
Syria	Hüdavendigâr	Bitlis
Hijaz	Edirne	Kastamonu
Baghdad	Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	Shkoder
Yemen	Salonica	Bingazi
Aleppo	Manastır	Trabzon
Aydın	Kosovo	Mosul
Tripolitania	Yannina	Mamuretülaziz
Erzurum	Konya	
	Sivas	
	Diyarbakir	
	Adana	
	Basra	
	Van	
	Ankara	

The problem of paying his officials and the troops of the garrison was a great pain for governors. The soldiers' pay was sometimes years in arrears, and the treasury was empty. Governors searched for funds to pay subordinates, endorsement holders, and the Imperial Treasury. Instructions were given to immediately collect the taxes for the year. They sometimes were ordered to use military troops or police force rather than usual civil tax collectors.

Even the highest officials have not been paid for as much as eight months. The patience of the soldiers and the zaptiehs appears to me marvellous under the circumstances. A distribution of a small amount of pay (about a medjidieh a-head) for privates is about to be made to enable them to celebrate the Kourban Bairam. Owing to this want of money the Government is unable to do much to enforce order in the districts.<sup>707</sup>

The same conditions were reported for the province of the Hijaz. Consul Alban reported in 1896, that the treasury was empty, that the majority of officials including the *vali* himself had not received their salaries for some time, and that money could not be obtained even for the most pressing necessities. In 1901, soldiers threatened to

<sup>707</sup> FO, 424/191, No 369, p.293-295, Van, May 10, 1897, Captain Elliot to Sir P. Currie (EHİB, p.316).

plunder the town if the authorities would not pay their salaries. A fight occurred between soldiers and citizens in which three soldiers and one citizen was killed.<sup>708</sup> In Salonica and the Mediterranean Islands, the provisioning of bread stopped after problems of payment to the suppliers in September, 1899.<sup>709</sup> The same condition was reported two months later for Trabzon, Diyarbekir and Bitlis.<sup>710</sup> This was the worst year for the provinces, because of a harsh famine.<sup>711</sup>

The transfer of provincial revenues to the center got as far as funding the Russia's war costs,<sup>712</sup> the payment of the salaries of central officials,<sup>713</sup> the *surre-i humayun* to the Hijaz,<sup>714</sup> and the Hijaz railway.<sup>715</sup> It was a great headache for the governors who were trying to hold the funds for provincial needs and not send them to the center. Arguing in such an issue, Kadri Bey, the governor of Trabzon, answered a demand from the Ministry of Finance for the payment of the salaries of central officials, that he could not send the requested 10.000 Liras. It would then be

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<sup>708</sup> F.O.195/1943, 3 Aug 1896, Consul Alban to M.Herbert, Jidda, recorded by Saleh Muhammad Al-Amr, *The Hijaz Under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914: Ottoman Vali, the Sharif of Mecca, and the Growth of British Influence* (Riyad: Riyad University Publications, 1974), p.69.

<sup>709</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 154/85, 1317 CA 7.

<sup>710</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/21, 1317 Ş 17

<sup>711</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 156/71, 1317 Ş 6.

<sup>712</sup> "Rusya tazminat-ı harbiyesinin tesviyesi için Konya, Ankara, Kastamonu, Sivas ve Adana vilayetlerinin fazla-i emvalinin bankaya yatırılması", BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 58/96, 1316 Za 3; BOA, Y.PRK.UM 49/30, 1317 Ş 21 for Ankara and Konya, see ML 28/57, 1324 CA 22 for Konya, Adana and Kastamonu.

<sup>713</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ML 15/22 (1319 CA 15), 21/68 (1319 R 15) and 21/75 (1319 R 18).

<sup>714</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.HH 35/83, 1322 L 27, for fund-raising from Syria and Beirut.

<sup>715</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 240/11, 1324 CA 22, for Basra and Baghdad. For the project, see William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980), Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1994), Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000).

impossible to pay the salaries of local military officials.<sup>716</sup> After insistence by the center, he remarked that he could send only the half of the money or much greater problems would arise in the province.<sup>717</sup> After this answer, the ministry informed the court of the governor's answers. Kadri Bey's style in answering the demand changed when addressing the court, "With the help of God, in the coming few days, the sending of money for the general salaries will be fulfilled."<sup>718</sup> Indeed he sent 7.000 Lira to the center in the following days. But this was also a victory for him, because the demanded sum at the beginning was 10.000 Liras. He managed to show a 2.000 Lira increase to the 5.000, as if the latter was the ministry's original demand, although he had sent actually 3.000 Liras fewer.<sup>719</sup>

According to the personel files, all governors were awarded with many medals, for example, the Hijaz railway medals or the Greek war medals against their contributions and donations.<sup>720</sup>

Abidin Pasha, governor of the Mediterranean Islands, tried to make remind the Sultan, in a letter written from Rhodes in 1902, that although *mutasarrıfs* who were

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<sup>716</sup> "10.000 Lira'nın kamilen irsalı matlub-ı kati olduğu halde, buraca Ordu-yı Humayun ve diğer muhassasat-ı askeriye para verilmesi hakikaten kabil olmayacağı", BOA, Y.PRK.UM 55/45, 1319 Ca 7.

<sup>717</sup> "5.000 Lira'dan fazla gönderileceğini tahmin edemiyorum. Eğer mümkün olursa hizmetde tereddüd olunmayacağını arz u izah etmek fazladır. Tamamen bulunub yetiştirilmesi mutlak kaydıyla tekrar buyrulduğu halde, istikraz takviyesi gibi tedabirin imkansızlığına göre, Ordu-yı Humayun ile bazı kıtalarda ve vilayet dahilinde bulunan asakir-i cenab-ı mülukaneye ve bittabi sunûf-ı memurîn ve mütekaiddin vesaireye verilecek maaşların tenakusundan dolayı olacak şikayatin önü alınmak meşâkıl olacağı gibi, vukubulacak suallere açıktan açığa cevap arz olunmak dahi hem vazifesizlik ve hem de bî-edeblik derecesine varacağı", *ibid*.

<sup>718</sup> "Maaş-ı umumi için müretteb olan mebâliğe mahsuben -bimennihi teala- birkaç güne değin Hazine-i celileye para irsaline mübaşeret olunacağı", *ibid*.

<sup>719</sup> To the court he wrote "Maaş-ı umumi için buradan müretteb mebalige mukabil havalesi Maliye Nezaret-i celilesiyle kararlaştırılan 7.000 lira...", and to the ministry he wrote "enva' tedabire tevessül edilerek yetiştirilebileceği imkanı arz edilen 5.000 liradan başka bimennihi teala 2.000 lira bulunub takdim edileceği", *ibid*.

<sup>720</sup> On Sultan-initiated fund-raising campaigns, see Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no.1 (2005), pp.59-81.

paid 5.000-6.000 kuruş, as when he was Foreign Minister in 1880, are now in posts with 25.000-30.000 kuruş, his salary was still only 18.000 kuruş:

Everthing is expensive in the islands, and my family is crowded; my salary is not sufficient. There is no doubt that if I would be engaged with my own works in İstanbul, I could earn enough money in a month for my relief. I therefore request, as I did before, to be appointed as a member of the Council of State, or to be pensioned off. If not one of these two, I request to be improved in payment to live economically.”<sup>721</sup>

Abidin Pasha did not give up for years. He requested at different times to be taken from the islands with different excuses. Once he begged for pension because of the illness of his eyes.<sup>722</sup> He asked to be appointed to Salonica.<sup>723</sup> When, finally, he did not get even permission to come to İstanbul, he asked for his son to come to the islands.<sup>724</sup>

Foreign observers also give evidence of ill-paid provincial high-officials:

The salaries apportioned to officials are absurdly small. I remember in one case the governor of a district as large as Yorkshire had a salary of £T.70 per annum. Moreover, the salary is generally hopelessly in arrears [*tedahülde*].”<sup>725</sup>

Governors submitted constantly their problems of insufficient salary to the palace.<sup>726</sup> Governors borrowed money from wealthy local citizens.

<sup>721</sup> “Cezayirde herşey bahalı, ailem kesir olduğundan, maaşım masârif-i acizaneme kifayet etmiyor. Deraliyye’de bulunub kendi işlerimle munhasıran meşgul olacak olsam ayda idareme kafi akça kazanacağım câğherlerince şübhesizdir. Binaenaleyh bâ-maruzat-ı sabıka-i acizanem vechile, Şura-yı Devlet Azalığı’na tayininim veya tekaüdlüğümün icrası ve bu iki surete müsaade buyurulmadığı takdirde idare edecek yolda maaşımın tezyidi hasbezzarure müsterhamdır”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM 57/48, 1319 C 25.

<sup>722</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 59/64, 1320 CA 9.

<sup>723</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.UM.62/2 , 1320 ZA 20.

<sup>724</sup> “Çâğherleri evlad u ahfadımdan dur olarak taşrada kaldığımdan, hiç olmazsa mahdum-ı acizanem Rasih Bey kulları bir müddet nezd-i câğherânemde bulunmak için, ber-mu’tad müşarünileyh Rasih Bey’in mezunen buraya gelmesine müsaade ile kalb-i mahzun-ı acizanemin bu suretle tesirini istirham eylerim”, BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 70/117, 1322 C 28.

<sup>725</sup> W[illiam] M[itche]ll Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey During Twelve Years’ Wanderings* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p.164

<sup>726</sup> “Selef-i câğherânemden kalan 30.000 kr maaşdan Dahiliye Nezareti’nce bazı memurlara tevzi’ olunmak üzere bir hayli mebalığın tenzil olunacağı, ve abd-i memluklerine mazuliyet maaş-ı kemteranem derecesinde bir şey bırakılacağı mahsus olub, halbuki kullarının Selanik’de iken almakda

Some governors were wealthy and could afford to buy great residences in İstanbul after their return from the provinces, as Mehmed Raif Pasha bought the famous Abdullah Paşa Yalısı in Çengelköy.<sup>727</sup> Nazım Pasha was wealthy from family and went to the provinces with his special clerk Memduh Bey and a steward, both of whom he paid by himself.<sup>728</sup>

### **Farewell to the Province**

When the day of departure came, governors were selling their vehicles when leaving the city.<sup>729</sup> People even cried after some beloved governors.<sup>730</sup>

Some governors could not leave the soul of their provinces, their term ended with their deaths in the *vilayet*. Fehmi Bey, the Governor of Diyarbakır, died in the last days of 1907 after shocking news from İstanbul. His wife and children died when his house burned in the capital after some social upheaval. Having lost everything he owned, Fehmi Bey could not overcome this shock, and died on his way back to İstanbul in Urfa where he was buried.<sup>731</sup> Kadri Bey, governor of Trabzon, died there on 23 January 1903.<sup>732</sup> Ali Refik Bey died, too, when he was governor in

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olduğum maaş dahi selef-i câgerânemden kalan maaş raddelerinde bulunmasına nazaran bunun tenzil edilmeyüb abd-ı memluklerine dahi i'tası hususunun Bâbîâlîye ferman buyrulması müsterhamdır.” BOA, Y.PRK.UM 68/120, (1321).

<sup>727</sup> Murat Belge, *Boğaziçi'nde Yalılar, İnsanlar* (İstanbul: 1997), pp.257-58.

<sup>728</sup> Demircioğlu, p. 94.

<sup>729</sup> Fuat Carım, “İmparator’un bir Valisi”, *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, 13 September 1957.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>731</sup> Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Diyarbakır Tarihi* (Ankara: Diyarbakır Belediyesi Yayını 1990), II:742. Abdurrahman Fehmi Bey’s name is mentioned here by mistake as Hasan Fehmi Bey.

<sup>732</sup> BOA, SA 1/822.

Kastamonu, after one year service (July 1897).<sup>733</sup> Hafız Mehmed Pasha died of pneumonia during his second-term as governor of Kosovo (April 1903).<sup>734</sup> Hüseyin Efendi died in May 1904, far away in Tripolitania where he was governor since February 1903.<sup>735</sup> Ömer Sabri Bey died in Bitlis in 1899.<sup>736</sup> Hacı Hasan Hilmi died in Sivas after serving as governor there for four-and-half years. Arif Pasha died in Mosul (December 1898). Mehmed Şakir Pasha passed away in Adana (March 1898). All governors were buried where they had died. The transfer of their bodies to İstanbul or another hometown was not allowed by the Sultan.

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<sup>733</sup> BOA, SA 2/554.

<sup>734</sup> *Meşhur Valiler* (Ankara, 1969), pp.99-104

<sup>735</sup> Bilgi, p 88.

<sup>736</sup> SA 18/417, Çankaya vol.III, p.25.



## CONCLUSION

The nature of nineteenth century politics demanded centralization in state affairs, increasing the dependence of provincial administration on the interference of the center. The varieties of provincial administration were fixed and organized with provincial laws promulgated in 1864 and 1871, and the duties of governors were described finally in the regulations of 1876 (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat Hakkında Talimat*).

Modern schools opened to recruit an anonymous personnel, the imperial officials for the administration of the center and the provincial empire. The Sultan expanded the secular education system to tie it closely with the bureaucratic cadre. Modern schools training future officials in law and finance, like the *mekteb-i hukuk* and *mekteb-i maliye* were opened and the *mekteb-i mülkiye* was reorganized. First preference was given to graduates of these schools whenever there were vacancies in the provincial service.

Although appointed by the Sultan and representing him, and responsible for the enforcement of the laws which governed the whole *vilayet*, the continuous interference of the central government in the activities of the provincial units made Ottoman governors refer decisions upward and discouraged them from taking initiative. Centralized local administration remained a reality during the Hamidian era of the Ottoman state. The governor in the province was the chief of the administrative, financial and political affairs as well as of the provincial police and he enforced

sentences handed down by the courts. But this did not mean that governors were allowed full initiative. Their initiative depended to their ability to managing the poor budget of a province of a bankrupt empire. As Le Gall pointed out,<sup>737</sup>

The financial burdens facing Ottoman administration, affected efforts to bring these provinces more into the orbit of İstanbul. Because of the bankruptcy of the empire in 1875, the provincial governments took on more responsibilities for financing the reform measures dictated by the central administration. To raise these funds, the provincial governments undertook a series of tax reform measures such the introduction of new tax schemes and the elimination of tax privileges. They also collected taxes by force. Although most of these revenues, resulting from these reforms, went either towards covering the cost of defense or to the treasury in İstanbul, there were funds to improve local communications and to build modern schools and hospitals.

Therefore, the governors had to be good economists, too. This should have been a reason for choosing some governors from *maliye*-origin, or trying to fill the positions with *mekteb-i mülkiye* graduates who were taught economics in school. However, the financial conduct of the ruined empire was the most important issue of all.

Governors could be from various origins. The examination of the educational and social backgrounds, and their relations with career lines of the *valis* helped us to give a better understanding on the issue. There was no restriction to any ministerial path to become governor, and even *ilmiye* members could change their careers and gain this office. Relevance to a specific problem in a province could also pave an official's way to become a governor. The progress in career would go on further, and the extraordinary success and loyalty of a governor could make him even Grand Vizier. Mehmed Ferid Pasha came to this highest post of the Ottoman administration after his satisfactory governorship in Konya. As seen in this example, although the final decision was his, no special relationship with the Sultan was needed. The

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<sup>737</sup> Le Gall, p.252.

appointments of members or sympathizers of the opposition illustrates both the tolerance of the Sultan and the limits of the *jurnal*-system.

A successful governor's switch to a ministry was easier than any other official. This meant that a provincial office was not necessarily a hinderance to the promotion to higher central offices. Memduh Pasha became Minister of the Interior (1895-1908) after governorships in Konya, Sivas and Ankara (1887-1895). His appointment to this critical post in a time of Armenian incidents also had to do with his experiences in the Anatolian provinces.

Border provinces had to deal with additional international problems. Governors of military or *Hariciye*-origin could therefore be seen more often in such provinces. Anatolian provinces, although not borderlands, become a matter of international politics because of their Armenian population, the Christian missionaries, and the foreign consuls who were playing the role of protégé for these two groups. The Sultan was not in favor of appointing soldiers to governorships unless extraordinary conditions of a certain province, which was not a rare occurrence in this era, urged him strongly to do so.

1895 was a watershed in provincial administration after massive Armenian uprisings in both Anatolia and İstanbul. The demand for more reliable and more loyal officials, meaning more dependent on the court than the Porte, arose after having experienced the misconduct and failure of governors in crisis management. The Sultan's greatest fear was the internationalization of interior problems and, thus, the interference of European states on Ottoman provincial administration. This fear was the vital motive of overcentralization of provincial government. The court of Yıldız became the ultimate center of all provincial correspondence after 1895, which was the date of made promises to European states, concerning provincial reforms after the

Armenian incidents, the exile of the influential Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha to Izmir, the aftermath of the appointment of Tahsin Pasha as the central figure of the court, and the assignment of Memduh Pasha, governor of Ankara, as Minister of the Interior. Many governors were dismissed, exchanged and appointed after this change in the ministry, and a new era of long-term officeholding had begun.

The final shift of power to the Yıldız court in 1895 had its own problematics. The governors were more able to play the role of the loyal guardian of the sultanate yet forward misinformation to the Sultan. The widespread *jurnal*-system was not only promoted by the Sultan, but by the officials who were trying to benefit from it and were keen on corresponding directly with the head of state. All were likely to be parts of the game. By-passing the ministerial government was amusing to the governors. They co-opted the interference of the Sultan as a means to resist ministerial directives. The centralized court policy had its own limits and therefore should not be exaggerated. Ways of betraying the Sultan in official correspondence were still open and could benefit officials who manipulated correspondence. Polemics on the Sultan's initiatives in his policies should consider the potential of interference by his influential entourage in the *mâbeyn* and by the provincial officials who presented their own picture of the provinces. Considering this, the correspondence of the provincial governors on security matters should be treated carefully.

In the turn of century, court-centered policy was not just an Ottoman case. In the Austrian Empire, the transformation of *Fürstendiener* to *Staatsdiener* ended only in the 1880's, and this only in law. The main problem was that the monarchy did not turn into a nation-state to be identified with. Therefore the bureaucrats' emotional

point of submission was to the *Kaiser*, with whose benevolence they were appointed.<sup>738</sup>

Problems with local people, local notables, their own officials, other governors, military commanders, oppositionary movements, foreign consuls, and harsh weather conditions could make officials resign from office. Anscombe remarked “irregular communications, neglected local administration, money shortages, inadequate military forces, mixed quality, and rapid turnover of officials, and a lack of firm decision-making were shortcomings common to much of the empire.”<sup>739</sup> Staff problems could make the governors tough and angry, but their demands were not ignored if they did not bring extra cost to the central Treasury.

The Sultan could also appoint governors whom he did not trust, sometimes just to have them far from İstanbul. Kamil Pasha, the ex-Grand Vizier who was sent to the governorship of Aydın, was no longer able to influence high officials in the center. Additionally, he was given assistants who were there to spy him. This example also indicates that Abdülhamid II did not cross out one’s name when he began to distrust him, but sent him with a prestigious post to the provinces. His policy of exile was a substitute for the execution and confiscation of earlier times in Ottoman history.

Hamidian institutions and policies have to be investigated in many other monographs in order to have a clearer picture of the near past and a better approach to contemporary problems of modern Turkey.

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<sup>738</sup> Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780 bis 1848* (Wien, 1990), p.60.

<sup>739</sup> Anscombe, p.7.

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**BAB I**

***İDARE-İ UMUMİYYE-İ MERKEZİYYE***

Fasıl 1: İdare-i Mülkiyye

Fasıl 2: Umur-ı Hukukiyye, Meclis-i Temyiz-i Hukuk, Meclis-i Cinayet,  
Meclis-i Ticaret

Fasıl 3: Vilayetin Umur-ı Hususiyesi

**BAB II**

***İDARE-İ UMUR-I LİVAİYYE***

Fasıl 1: Umur-ı Mülkiye

Fasıl 2: İdare-i Livanın Umur-ı Hukukiyesi

**BAB III**

***İDARE-İ UMUR-I KAZA***

Fasıl 1: Umur-ı Mülkiye

Fasıl 2: Kazanın Umur-ı Hukukiyesi

**BAB IV**

***İDARE-İ UMUR-I KAZA***

**BAB V**

Fasıl 1: Kurada Cereyan Eden Usul-i İntihabiye

Fasıl 2 Kazada Olan Usul-i İntihabiye

Fasıl 3 Livada Olan Usul-i İntihabiye

Fasıl 4 Merkez-i Vilayet İçin Olan Usul-i İntihabiye

Madde-i Mahsusa

**MUKADDİME**

**BAB I**

***VİLAYETLERİN AKSAM-I İDARESİ***

**BAB II**

***MERKEZ-İ VİLAYETTE BULUNAN HEYET-İ HÜKUMET-İ İCRAİYYENİN VAZÂİF-İ MEMURESİ***

Fasıl 1 Valilerin Vazaifi

Kısım 1 Valilerin Umur-ı Mülkiyede Olan Vazaifi

Kısım 2 Valilerin Umur-ı Maliyede Vazaifi

Kısım 3 Umur-ı Maarif ve Mevadd-ı Nafiada Vazaifi

Kısım 4 Valilerin Umur-ı Zabıtada Vazaifi

Kısım 5 Valilerin Umur-ı Cezaiye ve Hukukiye İcraatında Vazaifi

Fasıl 2 Vali Muavinlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 3 Defterdarların Vazaifi

Fasıl 4 Mektubcuların Vazaifi

Fasıl 5 Umur-ı Ecnebiye Müdürlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 6 Ziraat ve Ticaret Müdürlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 7 Maarif Müdürlüğünün Vazaifi

Fasıl 8 Tarik Eminlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 9 Vilayet Defter-i Hakani Müdürlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 10 Emlak ve Nüfus İdareleri Memurlarının Vazaifi

Fasıl 11 Evkaf Müdürlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 12 Alaybeylerinin Vazaifi

**BAB III**

***İDARE-İ MÜLHAKAT***

Fasıl 1 Liva İdaresi

Fasıl 2 Kaza İdaresi

Fasıl 3 İdare-i Nevahî

Nevahî Müdürlerinin Vazaifi

Fasıl 4 İdare-i Karye

Muhtarların Vazaifi

**BAB IV**

***MECALİS-İ İDARE***

Fasıl 1 Mecalis-i Umumiyenin Vazaifi

Fasıl 2 Vilayet İdare Meclislerinin Vazaifi

Kısım 1 Umur-ı İdare

Kısım 2 Da'âvî-i İdare

Kısım 3 Ahkam ve Kavaid-i Umumiye

Fasıl 3 Liva İdare Meclisi

Fasıl 4 Kaza Meclis-i İdaresi

Fasıl 5 Nahiye Meclisi

Fasıl 6 Kura İhtiyar Meclisleri

Fasıl 7 Şehir ve Kasabalar Devair-i Belediye Mecalisi

Kısım 1 Meclis-i Beledî ve Mütteferriâtı

Kısım 2 Meclis-i Beledînin Vazaifi ile Mütteferriâtı

Madde-i Mahsusa

APPENDIX III: Chapters of *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat Hakkında Talimat*, 1876

Fasıl 1 Vilayâtın Vazâif-i Asliyesi §1-5

Fasıl 2 Vazâif-i Islahiye §6-14

Fasıl 3 Vulatın Vazâif-i Dâimesi §15-32

Fasıl 4 Mutasarrıf ve Kaimmakamların Suret-i Harekâtı §33-36

Fasıl 5 Mehâkim ve Mecâlisin Vezâifi §37-40

Hâtime

