GRAND TURK

WILFRID T. F. CASTLE

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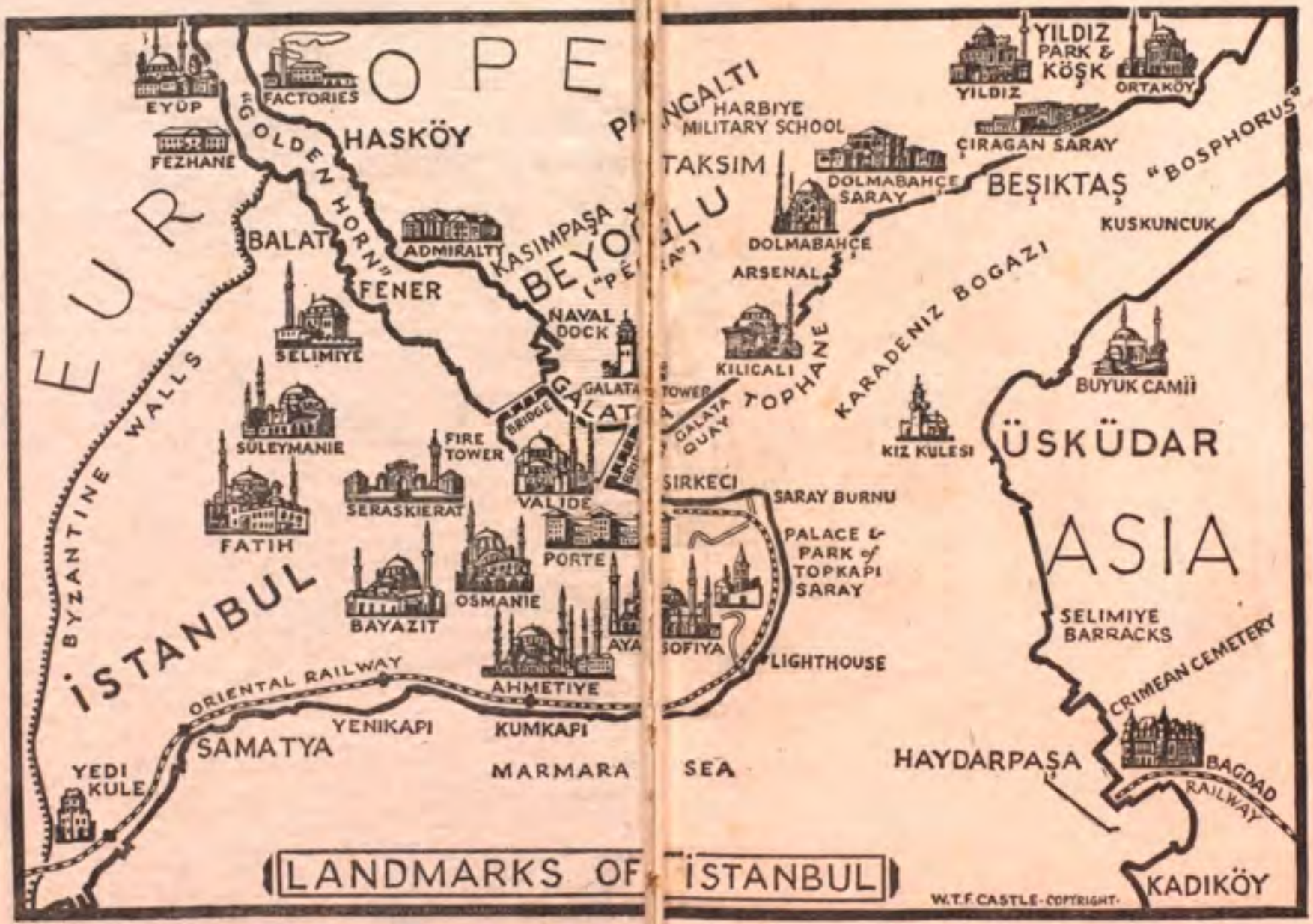

LANDMARKS OF İSTANBUL

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GRAND TURK

The Spelling of Proper Names

In accordance with the common-sense policy of the National Geographical Society of the U.S.A., proper names throughout *Grand Turk* are rendered in the correct official spelling of the respective countries in which they occur, as far as typography allows. Exceptions are obvious: Athens, Aleppo, Cairo, Damascus, the Euphrates. This policy means that one or two difficult names may puzzle the reader, but there is really no way out of the difficulty, short of learning seven languages. Gjinokaster in Albanian is not greatly improved by changing into Argyrokastron in Greek. The Ottoman provinces have been called by the familiar names they have borne since their independence, e.g. the word 'Bulgaria' (Turkish, *Bulgaristan*) was practically unknown prior to 1878. Turkish proper names often consist of two or more words combined, but in the case of certain well-known names this practice has not been followed—e.g. Abdûl Hamit and not Abdûlhamit. Kamâl Atatürk bears the name throughout which has gone down to history. (He was once called Mustafa Kemâl Pasha.)

Turkish spelling is strictly phonetic: c is pronounced as/or dj; ch, gh and sh are represented in Turkish with a cedilla instead of the 'h'; e is the French é, or English eh; ı is the French ì or the English ee; u is ou or Northern English u; ü is the piping French u, ö is the French eu—almost the English er as in 'perm'.

[Turkish Ministry of the Interior Photograph]

A BEAUTY MORE SUBTLE THAN THE BEAUTY OF MERE DECAY

Istanbul, Rumelihisar (1452)

WILFRID T. F. CASTLE, M.A.

GRAND TURK

An Historical Outline of Life and Events, of Culture and Politics, of Trade and Travel during the Last Years of the Ottoman Empire and the First Years of the Turkish Republic

With a Foreword by
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR PERCY LORAINE, BT., G.C.M.G.
Late His Majesty's Ambassador to Turkey

WITH 17 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 9 MAPS

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Foreword

The subject-matter of this book, as set forth by Mr. Castle in his sub-title, is placed in a clear perspective down which the author carries his reader with a sure hand and a nice sense of historical proportion. Those who like a good story in a book will not go unsatisfied; those who wish to inform their minds can read the book with profit; those whose studies have made them already familiar with the author's subject will find it treated with objectivity, sympathy, and lucidity.

I think, however, that Mr. Castle has been too modest in his sub-title, and has done something more than he claims—for he has traced the lineage of the political and social structure of the Turkey of today, and has shown that its roots lie in the character of the Turkish race. That is an important matter. Many people have been astonished and puzzled by the apparent anomaly of a decrepit oriental autocracy transforming itself almost overnight into a modern, progressive Republic, on a popular basis. The astonishment is based on an all too facile assumption of imitative westernization. The true explanation is that forces latent all along in the Turkish character have been released, and are fanning out under the Kemalist Repu blic into a tide of regeneration and progress.

The greatness of Atatürk is that he released those forces; not for his own purposes, but for those of the Turkish people. The greatness of Inönü's task, nobly begun, is to lead the Turkish people, in a convulsed and tormented world, steadily along the course set by Atatürk and to bring them through with their honour, their virtue, and their institutions not merely intact, but steeled and tempered by the hurricane.

In honesty I must record two points on which I do not find myself in agreement with Mr. Castle. I think that he mis-estimates the spirit and the effect of the laïcization of the Turkish State, and that in this regard he departs for once from his careful objectivity.

I also think that he underrates the healthy and stabilizing influence of the growing confidence and intimacy that have animated Anglo-Turkish relations for the last seven years or so. The times of war that still may lie before us, and the times of peace to which our thoughts so naturally aspire, will, in my opinion, reveal those relations as a valuable asset, not only to Britain and Turkey, but also to all the nations who are today consecrated to the deliverance of mankind from a vicious ring of brutal oppression, lawless force, and broken faith.

If there is any merit in these few words of mine, it will be that they have served to commend Mr. Castle's book to a wide British public.

Percy Loraine

THE CAMP,
ASCOT.
December 14th, 1942.

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PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

THE OPENING GATE OF THE EAST

"Constantinople, May —, 1835. My dear —. Oh, you who hope one day to roam in eastern lands, to bend your curious eyes upon the people warmed by the rising sun, come quickly, for all things are changing. You who have pored over the story of the Turk; who have dreamed of him as a gloomy enthusiast, hating, spurning, and slaying all who do not believe and call upon the Prophet . . . come quickly, for that description of Turk is passing away."—J. L. STEPHENS, *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia and Poland* (p. 45).

TURKEY IS THE GUARDIAN OF TWO GATES, THE PERIODIC ADVANCE OF Russian power towards the West, and of Russian influence in south-eastern Europe, gives to the holder of the passages between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean a vital, strategic and political importance. On the other hand, the advance of German power towards the south and east of Europe, with Asia as its ultimate goal, gives to the holder of Thrace and Anatolia a correspondingly vital importance.

The Turkish Republic and its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, have for long guarded these two gates, and in doing so Turkey has proved herself a good friend of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of all the Democracies, even when she herself has perforce formed part of an autocratic Empire. Sooner or later, in time of crisis or in days of war, interest turns to Turkey, her history, her geography, her culture.

The Ottoman Empire, which passed away in the year 1923, was the only modern power of which it may literally be said that its pomp of yesterday is one with Nineveh and Tyre. It was indeed the heir of both, and of almost every empire of the ancient world, in that its area covered the portion of our globe known to all Mediterranean peoples as "the Civilized World".

Within the dominions of the Ottoman Sultans were practically all those lands which had once been under the sway of Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, Chaldean, Assyrian, Cretan, Israelite, Persian, Syrian, Greek, Byzantine, Arab and Seljuk empires and kingdoms. The whole country between the Adriatic and the Caucasus, between the Sudan and the Crimea, was full of the relics of a series of civilizations,

from the Hittites, in whom Turkish historians see a parent race whose blood cannot have disappeared from Anatolia, to the Ottoman Turks.

It was the virility of the true Turkish race which enabled Süleyman Kanuni ("the Law-giver")—Suleiman the Magnificent—from his palaces in Istanbul, a glorious capital city astride two continents, to rule in the sixteenth century over an immense Empire extending from the Arabian deserts almost to the gates of Vienna. The story of the decline and fall of the Empire is of great interest—an interest intensified at times into a pang of sorrow or a thrill of horror. It possesses throughout that strange fascination which is the attribute of the histories of the last days of all the great works of man, and a beauty more subtle than the beauty of mere decay, for in it we may recognize that end of the striving of man's spirit which is the antecedent always of some form of resurrection. With the destruction of the last links with the past in the establishment and organization of the Turkish Republic there closed an age of mixed greatness and decay, of great conservatism and of great experiment, of beauty and of ugliness, of ecstasy and of horror. The last of the great historical powers of the Eastern Mediterranean had fallen. . . .

The story has a further interest: the vanished Ottoman Empire was an *Oriental* country, imbued with all the strangeness and glamour of the East, even though its dominion extended deep into Europe. In spite of their wide conquests and extensive contacts with the West, the manners of the Turks were for a considerable period fixed in an antiquated Oriental mould. The atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights* was outwardly maintained for hundreds of years. The Turkish race itself, only nominally the ruling race, was—especially in the cities—under the influence of Persian, Arabic and Byzantine culture. In Europe it was usual to call the country "The Turkish Empire", or simply "Turkey". This practice, though almost universal, was most inaccurate and misleading. Up to 1922 there was no country which could be called Turkey. Certainly the Ottoman Empire had been founded by Turks, and in Anatolia and Thrace the population was almost entirely Turkish—the descendants of conquering Turks from Central Asia blended with other ancient indigenous strains—but in Albania and Serbia, in Romania, Bulgaria, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Libya there were only a few Turkish officials and soldiers. The actual word "Turk" was a term of abuse corresponding to "rustic" or "bumpkin"; the true Turk had become part of the nation of Islâm along with Arabs and Kurds.

> "The Osmanlis employ the term 'Turk' in referring to a coarse and brutal man [wrote d'Ohsson]. As they attach to this word the idea of the most marked insult, no foreigner in the Empire ever allows himself to use it in speaking to them."

During the last three hundred years of the Ottoman Empire it seemed to the people of Western Europe that this State, conscious of its decline, yet opposed to reform, could only exist precariously by

exploiting the rivalries of greater Powers. It was, therefore, hardly surprising that they should have watched the rise of Turkish nationalism with incredulous and almost indignant surprise. Events later dispelled their fears, yet up to 1922 reforms and improvements in the Ottoman Empire had only served to intensify such fears. For there *had* been reforms and improvements, but by a perversity which seems incredible they were never traced back to Turkish enterprise. Turkish reformers there had been—men after the type of Kamâl Atatürk, "Maker of Modern Turkey"—but their enlightenment was usually attributed to foreign parentage.

It is with such an enlightened though somewhat ruthless man of action that the nineteenth century begins.

On the 28th of July, 1808, a young man of twenty-two years of age became ruler of the Ottoman Empire "by the infinite grace of the great, just, and all-powerful Creator and the abundance of the miracles of the chief of His prophets: Emperor of powerful Emperors; Refuge of Sovereigns; Distributor of Crowns to the Kings of the Earth; Keeper of the Two Very Holy Cities; Governor of the Holy City of Jerusalem; Master of Europe, Asia and Africa; High King of the Two Seas . . . The Shadow of God upon Earth"—and to Europeans simply "Mahmut the Reformer".

Mahmut II, the new Padishah or Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, was half French. The story of his mother, Aimée Dubuc de Rivéry, is one of the most romantic in Turkish history. She was born in Martinique—the little West Indian island which gave Madame de Maintenon and the Empress Joséphine to France—and at the age of seventeen she was captured aboard ship by Algerian pirates and offered for sale in a public slave market in North Africa, purchased by the local ruler and sent as a present to Abdûl Hamit I at Istanbul. The son she bore him came to the throne of an empire which had altered little during the past three hundred years: during his reign of thirty-seven years far-reaching changes followed one another in rapid succession.

Of those changes, some were due to the pressure of external events, others must be attributed to Mahmut himself. But at the outset his hands were tied by a mischievous survival of past history—the institution of the Corps of Janissaries, a body of soldiers whose name was a corruption of the Turkish for "new order", once the flower of the Christian youth of the Empire forcibly converted to Islâm, slave soldiers who had been the bulwark of the Ottoman power but were now one of its greatest sources of weakness—formidable in time of peace and useless in time of war, chartered libertines and military bullies who deposed rulers at their will. Mahmut determined to be rid of this anachronism as soon as opportunity should offer. For the moment, his high-sounding titles had little substance: the Janissaries were the real rulers, and it was in name only that he held an empire which included the later independent states or distinctive territories of Bosnia, Herzegowina, Serbia, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Sudan, Arabia and Libya.

Mahmut's glorious capital, Istanbul—then almost universally known, by a corruption of its Greek name, as "Constantinople"—was in the hands of the Janissaries. So were several other large cities. The more distant provinces were either under feudal lords or in open revolt.

Scarcely had Mahmut girded on the Sword of Osman than the stage of Ottoman history became suddenly crowded with actors. Ibrahim Pasha, the stepson of Mehmet Ali Pasha—formerly an Albanian tobacco merchant of Kaválla, but now Viceroy of Egypt—was attacking the Arabian Empire of the Wahhabi. On the 18th of September, 1818, he became virtual master of Arabia. The position of Mehmet Ali in Egypt was already one of almost complete independence.

In the so-called "Turkey in Europe", Serbia, Greece and Romania were all in open revolt, partly as a result of a growing nationalistic feeling among the nominally Christian inhabitants, partly as a result of the ambitions of local leaders.

In Serbia, after many abortive risings in the district of Belgrade, virtual independence began to be a reality when the headmen of a large area elected one Milosh Obrenovic as "Prince of Serbia", declaring the title hereditary in the family.

The immediate opportunity for insurrection among the strongly race-conscious Greeks was the revolt of Ali Pasha, who had succeeded in founding a remarkable principality centred on Ioánnina (Janina), in Epeiros. The northern Greeks were reduced to subjection under this very devil of a man, but his activities gave those of the south cause for thankfulness in that they kept the Ottoman forces fully engaged at the critical moment of their national uprising. Within the month of April 1821 the Ottoman rule and the Turkish population had alike virtually ceased to exist in the south of the Greek Peninsula.

A part of the Ottoman Empire which had long been regarded as a pawn in the games of diplomacy and war was Romania. Much territory inhabited by Romanians belonged to the Austrian and Russian Empires, but in the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia the Padishah still possessed "a Latin island in the midst of a Slav and Turanian Sea". A rising of the Greek ruling classes had already begun there, but these Greek agents of the Ottoman Government were hated almost as much as the Turks themselves. However, in 1821 a small and badly disciplined "army of the people" marched towards the town of Bucharest, only to come into violent conflict with a Greek rising. But the entire country was ripe for independence.

The partial success of all these movements forced Mahmut to call upon his nominal vassal, Mehmet Ali, to send help from Egypt. Mehmet Ali responded by sending his stepson, Ibrahim Pasha, with a fleet to deal with the Greek insurgents. The fact was that the Ottoman Empire had been leaning hitherto on a broken reed—the Janissaries, whose credit was now undermined even among the most conservative Mussulmans. Mahmut now saw his chance, and while feeling was high against the impotence and incompetence of this slave-army, he made careful preparations for its abolition. He commenced the

[Turkish Ministry of the Interior Photograph]

WHERE THE MARMARA NARROWS TO THE BOSPHORUS

Fenerbahçe ("Lighthouse Garden") on the Asiatic Shore, looking across to Istanbul

[Turkish Ministry of the Interior

AN OLD CITY CLOTHED IN FLAMING JEWELS AND DARK, RICH VELVET

Istanbul, looking up the "Golden Horn"

Photograph]

training of artillerymen on European lines, and in positions of high command he placed French officers. He selected men from each Janissary battalion and formed them into regiments with new uniform, better pay and Western methods. Then he himself appeared at a parade clad in European uniform. He was met with shouts of "Death to the Infidel Padishah!" The Janissaries were in revolt! On the 16th of June, 1826, they closed in on the palace of Topkapi Saray at Istanbul and demanded the heads of the chief ministers.

Unfolding the green standard of the Prophet, Mahmut called upon the people to rise and defend themselves against the enemies of religion, people and State. Then the battle began in earnest. As the rebels advanced down the narrow streets of Istanbul, a battery of Mahmut's new artillery opened fire. Shot and shell did such great havoc that the Janissaries had to retreat to their fortified barracks, but a battery of heavy guns was soon brought to bear on the walls of their retreat and the buildings caught fire from end to end. The awful struggle continued in the midst of the flames till hundreds were destroyed in the blazing and blood-soaked ruins. Hand-to-hand fights occurred in other parts of the city, notably in the vast underground cistern of "the Thousand and One Columns". The number of Janissaries who met death has been variously estimated at between ten and twenty thousand. The corpses which were not burnt in the fires, which blazed in all directions, were cast into the sea, and for months the fish caught in the vicinity were not edible. The slaughter in other cities of the Ottoman Empire was in proportion to that in the capital, until at length Mahmut had succeeded in sweeping away a tyranny under which his people had groaned for centuries.

Just over a year after these events—on the 20th of October, 1827—there occurred a great naval battle off Nauarinon (Navarino), in Greece, when British sailors acted in spite of their own reluctant Government and sent almost all of the eighty-two Turkish and Egyptian vessels to the bottom of the sea, thus materially assisting the Greek nationalists. Two months later Mahmut proclaimed a Holy War against all infidels. Mahmut was not really a man of broad religious views, and he had not recognized the supreme difficulties of attempting to reform a people whose intellectual and moral growth was cramped by its religious system. Rather he attempted to use that religious system as a rallying-point against the Christian "rebels", and against interfering foreign Powers.

Russia, always ready for an excuse, took up the challenge. The Czar declared war on the 26th of April, 1828, and himself took the field, while his armies advanced into the Ottoman Empire on two fronts. In Europe they occupied the Romanian principalities, crossed the Danube and, after tremendous struggles in Bulgaria, arrived finally at Edirne (Adrianople), which fell on the 20th of August. In Asia the Russians took the Black Sea ports of Poti and Trabzon (Trebizond) and the Anatolian towns of Akhaltsikhe, Ardahan, Kars and Bayazit. When the Russians were almost at the gates of Istanbul, Mehmet was forced to yield and, with tears in his eyes, consented to

the Treaty of Edirne (Adrianople) of the 14th of September, 1829, a treaty which restored to himself nearly all the parts of the Empire occupied by the Russians, but allowed the Czar to retain the conquered districts nearest the Caucasus. The Ottoman provinces inhabited by the Romanians gained practical autonomy and southern Greece virtual independence—an independence which was recognized on the 3rd of February, 1830, by the Protocol of London. In 1830, also, the French seized pirate-ridden Algeria while Russia started to make administrative regulations for the autonomous Romanian territories.

Thus Mahmut's first violent reforms were undertaken in days of violent warfare and bitter frustration. The massacres and revolts which had taken place were too much part and parcel of the traditional Oriental system for any Turk to stay them when once started, but as soon as order was restored in the capital he set to work to reassure his non-Turkish subjects, and so effectually did he do this that before long not less than thirty thousand Greeks had emigrated from independent Greece into Ottoman territory. Free of the Janissaries, Mahmut completed the reorganization of the army and navy, established a naval and military college, published an official paper in the Turkish language, created an Order of Merit to be awarded to Mussulmans and Christians impartially, accredited Ambassadors to all the Courts of Europe, permitted steamships to ply in the neighbourhood of Istanbul, and, having put Western uniforms on his soldiers, he dressed his civil servants in frock coats, making both civil and military officials wear some form of "tarbush" or fez in place of the turban, and boots in place of oriental slippers. Henceforth the "Stambouli" frock coat, the red tarbush of Greek origin and the elastic-sided boots were the typical marks of the official class in the Ottoman Empire for practically a hundred years. But at the time the Oriental world was shaken to its depths by such innovations; travellers from Western Europe and America—of which there were large numbers from this time onwards —were amazed. The dress reform was almost the first thing mentioned by that celebrated woman traveller of the times, Miss Pardoe, in *The City of the Sultan*:

> "I beheld in every direction [she wrote] the hideous and unmeaning *fēz*, which has almost superseded the gorgeous turban of muslin and cachemire: indeed, I was nearly tempted in my womanwrath to consider all the admirable reforms wrought by Sultan Mahmoud in his capital overbalanced by the frightful changes that he has made in the national costume. . . . The costly turban that bound the brow like a diadem, and relieved by the richness of its tints the dark hue of the other garments, has now almost entirely disappeared from the streets . . . the flowing robe of silk or of woollen material has been flung aside for the ill-made and awkward surtout of blue cloth; and the waist, which was once girdled with a shawl of cachemire, is now compressed by two brass buttons!" (p. 3, edn of 1854).

It was the same writer who pointed out why this revolution in manners and customs remained a process of Westernization only, and did not develop into a class-conscious revolution after the pattern of contemporary movements in Europe. Mahmut, the Reformer, was a benevolent dictator, but his most loyal subjects in Anatolia and Thrace were mainly of Turkish race, among whom a sort of tribal democracy had anciently flourished. In striking contrast with the Russian it was true to say that:

> "The sharpest sting of worldly misfortune is spared the Turk, by the perfect similarity of habit and feeling between the rich and the poor. . . . There exists no aristocracy in the country, either of birth or wealth, to ride rough-shod over their less fortunate fellowmen. The boatman . . . and the porter in the streets—the slave . . . and the groom in the stables—are alike eligible to fill the rank of Pasha; there is no exclusive *clique* or *caste* to absorb the 'loaves and fishes' of office in Turkey; the butcher of today may be the Generalissimo of tomorrow. . . . To this circumstance must be attributed, in a great degree, the impossibility of a (social) revolution in Turkey; but another may also be adduced of at least equal weight. In Europe, the subversion of order is the work of a party who have everything to gain, and who, from possessing no individual interest in the country, have, consequently, nothing to lose . . . but throughout the Ottoman Empire nearly every man is the owner of a plot of land, and is enabled to trim his own vine, and to sit under the shadow of his own fig tree—he has an interest in the soil" (pp. 33–4, edn. of 1854).

But to what extent of reform Mahmut would have gone, had his wide dominion enjoyed a period of peace, was never to be discovered.

Mehmet Ali, "who had risen . . . to the position of a modern Pharaoh", had built up a strange half-European, half-barbaric empire in Egypt and Arabia. His stepson, Ibrahim, now sought to extend this rule to include Palestine, Syria and Anatolia. Despite all Mahmut's attempts at centralization, the Egyptian Power would have accomplished this ambition had it not been for the intervention of those European Powers which were themselves interested either in the integrity or in the controlled dismemberment of Mahmut's dominions. Russia was accused of wishing to "gobble up Greece at one mouthful and Turkey at the next"; Britain held that "the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire is a vital interest"; France had cast eyes towards goodly Lebanon and hoped for the whole of Syria and possibly Cyprus too, while she was already building up a French province in Algeria.

All these Powers were equally alarmed and perplexed to see Ibrahim march into Palestine and Syria, besiege, and finally occupy, Acre (May 27, 1832), then Jerusalem, Damascus, Homs and Aleppo, sweep on to Konya, Kūtahya, and threaten Istanbul itself. "His name, like that of Cœur de Lion in the days of the Crusades, thrilled like a spell

of terror through the hearts of his adversaries." By 1833 all of Palestine and Syria from Sinai to the Toros, and a great part of Anatolia, had been added to the new Egyptian Empire. The Governments of Western Europe were either unable or unwilling to come to Mahmut's assistance: the British tendered apologies and the French tendered advice. Mahmut in desperation appealed to the Czar. On February 20th, 1833, Russian warships moved from the Black Sea to the very walls of Istanbul, a second Russian squadron appeared and a Russian army encamped near the capital.

The arrival of the Russians at the gates of the Mediterranean caused far more consternation in Western Europe than the conquests of Ibrahim. In June, naval forces sent by Russia's two great rivals, Britain and France, arrived outside the Straits, and there was much show of force, bargaining and talk. While France wished to make Mehmet Ali and Ibrahim into independent friends (their organization was already French in character), Britain preferred the Ottoman Empire intact as "a good occupier of the road to India". The outcome was that Russia, resolved to get her reward for "protecting" the Ottoman Empire, stepped in and signed a treaty of peace and alliance with the Ottoman Government on the 8th of July. The Treaty of Hunkyar Iskelesi provided for Russian protection of the Ottoman Empire "in case of need", but a secret article stipulated that if the need were to be on Russia's part the Padishah should close the Straits to the warships of all nations except those of Russia.

The year 1833 thus marks the zenith of Imperial Russian influence at Istanbul. The Turkish wolf, his teeth drawn, was being hugged by the Russian bear. With one stroke of the pen Mahmut had signed away his independence. The Russian alliance gave great umbrage to the bulk of the people, strengthened the position of Ibrahim and, combined with Mahmut's passion for innovation, caused a want of affection for the Padishah which gave a dangerous instability to his reforms. This is the most important reason why Mahmut, by nature a reformer of the type of Atatürk (though with less breadth of vision), was unable to remodel the Ottoman Empire and lead his people to nationhood.

Cries of "Death to the Infidel Padishah!" were daily becoming more insistent. One day a member of one of the reactionary orders of Dervishes seized the bridle of Mahmut's horse and shouted: "Infidel Padishah, are you not satiated with your abominations? . . . Allah speaks through me, and He has promised me the crown of martyrdom if I speak truly to you!" "Very well, then," Mahmut answered, "so be it!" and turning to an officer of his suite he ordered: "Give the good man his crown of glory!"

Yet in spite of Mahmut's unpopularity, contacts between Orientals and Europeans were now becoming so frequent, the taste for innovation was becoming so widespread, that Lord Ponsonby could write that "organization is advancing in every branch of the Sultan's service, and information spreading in a surprising manner among the younger men". Was it not "the Pasha of the everlasting Pashalik of Karagho-

lookoldour" who thus spake to the Traveller in the imaginary conversation in A. W. Kinglake's *Eothen*:

> "I know it—I know all; the particulars have been faithfully related to me, and my mind comprehends locomotives. The armies of the English ride upon the vapours of boiling caldrons, and their horses are flaming coals!—whir! whir! all by wheels!——whiz! whiz! all by steam!"

Although railways had their origin in England and were the symbols of British commercial prestige acknowledged by many who had never seen a locomotive, British statesmen were not then fully alive to the importance of land communications in the Ottoman Empire—of the ease with which India might have been bound to Britain by iron links. Yet it was a very young officer in the British Army who conceived the idea that a railway from one of the Syrian ports to the Euphrates, linked with water transport down that river and the Persian Gulf, would provide a strong link with India, bringing back cultivation, industry and commerce to the lands by the way. Francis Rawdon Chesney set out in 1835 at the head of an expedition which carried with it two small steamers in sections overland from Süveydiye on the Syrian Hatay coast, at the mouth of the Asi or Orontes river, to a point on the Euphrates called "Port William". The *Tigris* was lost on the difficult journey downstream, but the *Euphrates* reached the Persian Gulf, and by a strange irony of fate was the first steamboat ever to navigate the River Tigris.

British enterprise had a rival even at this early date in certain adventurous Germans, especially in Count Helmuth von Moltke, one of the first Germans to realize the immense importance of Anatolia, Syria and Iraq. His topographical researches were but the antecedents of a mission of organization and instruction to the Ottoman army. The Ottoman Empire was to von Moltke the land of future adventures in the path of Teutonic world dominion. But to the British statesmen Russia was by far the most formidable rival, so that when at last hostilities broke out once more between Mahmut and Ibrahim, Britain was willing to assist the Ottoman Empire. Mahmut had sought by vigorous military action to free himself from his dilemma, but his army failed him. On the 24th of June, 1839, it met utter defeat at Nizip near the Euphrates. . . .

The news of the defeat travelled towards the capital, where Mahmut was becoming excited, nervous and ill. He had lost Algeria; he had witnessed the virtual independence of Arabia, Egypt, Syria; he had seen Serbia, Greece and Romania fighting for independence, and two of them had obtained it, while in the third Russia was firmly established; he had seen Russian armies encamped in the suburbs of Istanbul, Russian ships almost under the windows of his palaces; he had listened to his own people demanding his death. . . .

On the 30th of June, 1839, ere further bad news could reach him, Mahmut II "the Reformer" died.

The epitaph on his tomb says of him:

> The great King, judicious and wise, the son of his Empire,
> He opened the gate of the East to new light.

CHAPTER II

ROB ROY ON THE JORDAN

"The East seems to be shrinking before the West, and the romance of the long Arabian night is fading away before the prose common-sense of the European day."—HAROLD SPENDER, Introduction to *Eothen*.

A BOY OF SIXTEEN, WEAK IN BODY, GENTLE AND COMPLIANT IN DISposition, a youth utterly inexperienced in the ordinary concerns of life, succeeded to the throne of the Ottoman Empire as Abdûl Mecit I (Abdul Medjid).

Abdûl Mecit was soon in direct negotiation with the effectual ruler of Egypt, Arabia and the Levant—Mehmet Ali—and was disposed to grant him the hereditary government of Egypt and Syria, when, on the 27th of July, 1839, the Cabinets of France, Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia urged him not to make a final decision.

While these rival Powers were trying to fix on a common policy, Abdûl Mecit, under the influence of certain liberal thinkers, set about preparing a reform expressly designed to gain European support—a reform which Lord Ponsonby hailed as "a victorious answer to those who say that this Empire cannot be saved by its ancient Government".

The victorious answer was published on the 3rd of November, 1839, at the Gûlhane Köshk, or "Rose Kiosk", at the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul. It proved to be an entire code of enlightened statesmanship, variously known as the "*Tanzimat*" (Organizations), "*Hatti Sherif*" (August Proclamation) or "Rose Chamber Decree". At its proclamation Western diplomats were present—the first association of foreign officials with Osmanlis in a public function of the Empire.

The Tanzimat guaranteed the lives, property and honour of all Abdûl Mecit's subjects, irrespective of race or creed; it granted liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; it threw open the civil service to native Christians of all denominations and of every racial origin; it regularized the internal administration by uniformity of taxation and liability for conscripted military service; it provided for a Council of State, a Council of Justice, a Penal Code, a State Bank and a limited amount of secondary educational facilities.

All this was loudly acclaimed by a European public which echoed Lord Ponsonby's words. The rest of the story is simple. The Tanzimat had an excellent reception from the Jews of Thessaloníki (Salonika); it took a year to be translated into Bulgarian and some other languages which were in use in the Empire, and long before then it

was a dead letter. But it had done its work and had forced the European statesmen to make up their minds. It conjured up an Anglo-Austrian fleet under Sir Charles Napier, which appeared off Beyrouth. Seeing the ships, the factious mountaineers of Lebanon, deprived of ancient privileges by Ibrahim's policy of centralization, rose against the Egyptians. The Powers attacked Ibrahim at Beyrouth on the 9th of September, 1840, and later onslaughts led up to the great naval action at Acre on the 3rd of November. "The Key to Syria", which had held up the forces of Ibrahim for six months, was rendered useless to him after three hours' bombardment. The collapse of Egyptian rule in Anatolia and Syria was completed when Ibrahim evacuated Adana, Tarsus, Iskenderon, Aleppo, Zahlé, Jaffa, Jerusalem and, at length, Damascus, whence he moved southward by a semi-desert route east of Jordan, crossed country to Gaza, and so back to Egypt.

Mehmet Ali was now forced to realize that his hold upon the Levant had gone for ever. After lengthy discussions, Abdûl Mecit issued a decree on the 1st of June, 1841, conferring on the house of Mehmet Ali "the government of Egypt, Nubia, Kordofan, Darfur, Senaar and the Island of Thasos". From that day forward Egypt ceased to be closely bound up with Ottoman history.

The tightening of Ottoman rule in the restored Levant had an unfortunate effect in the Lebanon district, however. It seemed to be Abdûl Mecit's object to reduce to the level of a provincial governorship a mountain stronghold which had once been an almost independent principality and later the scene of the stirring events of the Egyptian occupation when the rule of Istanbul had seemed feeble and remote. Tension between the two peoples inhabiting the district was increasing every day—between the nominally Christian Maronites, who were in communion with the Roman Church and advanced in culture, and the Druzes, a race of hardy mountaineers professing an esoteric religion derived from Islâm, distinguished for their hospitality, chivalry and occasional fanaticisms. In October 1841 these Druzes rose against the prince whom the Ottoman Government had placed in power, and a massacre of Maronites began. In 1845 the appointment of separate governors for each race put an end to violence for the next uneasy years, but the fires of hatred smouldered in the hearts of the fanatics on both sides.

There was a widespread interest at this time in Syria and Palestine and the problems of the Christian communities in the Holy Land, especially on the part of France and Russia, the one taking the part of the Latin Church, the other of the Greek Orthodox Church. Religious occasions of conflict between these two led soon to political issues; the old question of Russia's position in the Ottoman Empire was raised anew; the Czar made demands for a general Russian protectorate over the Orthodox subjects of Abdûl Mecit—demands backed by menaces; Britain held that there could be no real peace in the Near East until the pretensions of Russia had been publicly repudiated, and until the Czar had sustained an unmistakable defeat either in diplomacy or in war.

The defeat was to be in both. The world was aghast at the crudity of the Czar's suggestions:

> "Turkey is in a critical state . . . the country itself seems to be falling to pieces. We have on our hands a Sick Man, a very Sick Man: it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us before all necessary arrangements were made. . . . If the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more. . . ."

Once more, nominally Christian Russia issued the call to a crusade, and nominally Christian Britain and France not only snubbed the Russian but were found in league with the Mussulman Turk. On the 3rd of July, 1853, the Russians invaded the Romanian provinces. On the 28th of March, 1854, the Crimean War began.

Of this tragedy it is only necessary to say that at the time the Ottoman Empire was largely untouched by it. Though the Empire had to participate in it as a measure of self-defence, the only incidents which belong to Ottoman history are the renewal of Russian occupation in the Romanian principalities, the sinking of an Ottoman naval squadron off Sinop on the Black Sea coast and the heroic defence of Kars (an important Turkish town in Eastern Anatolia) by General Fenwick Williams. Sure foundations of Anglo-Turkish friendship were being laid. British and French forces operated from Gallipoli, Istanbul, Varna and the Serpent Island.

In order further to impress the victorious Powers at the critical stage when the fruits of victory were being shared out, Abdûl Mecit issued a second edition of the Tanzimat on the 18th day of February, 1856. The "*Hatti Humayun*", or Illustrious Rescript, though markedly similar to its predecessor, was taken as evidence that the Sick Man was almost completely recovered—sufficiently so to benefit from two clauses of the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of March, 1856. Abdûl Mecit must indeed have been gratified to read:

> "VII.—The rulers involved . . . declare the Sublime Porte (i.e. the Ottoman Government) admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. Their Majesties engage each on his part to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.
>
> "IX.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a decree which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire . . . it is clearly understood that it cannot in any case give to the Powers the right to interfere . . . in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire."

By 1860 the European Powers were forced once more to interfere

in the administration of the Ottoman Empire! Fanaticisms in the Lebanon led to widespread massacres in various parts of Syria. At Damascus six Consulates were destroyed by fire and about two thousand five hundred people met horrible deaths, not to mention survivors who were driven forth homeless and penniless and in some cases naked and wounded. Mussulmans joined in the attack and Christians of all denominations suffered. The Ottoman authorities made no serious efforts to intervene. France and Britain at once protested, and what amounted to a temporary French occupation came into being until Abdûl Mecit himself took strong measures, and the Lebanon (excluding Beyrouth) was made into an autonomous province under a Christian Governor-General with headquarters at Beiteddine.

The Crimean War and the Syrian massacres had told on Abdûl Mecit's health. On the 25th of June, 1861, he died at the early age of 38, "leaving behind him the memory of a humane ruler, who had attempted, if in vain, to continue the reforms of his father, and bequeathing . . . an embarrassed exchequer, an unfulfilled policy of progress, a threatening situation in the Balkan Peninsula and an untried organization on the Lebanon. . . ." (William Miller, The *Ottoman Empire*, p. 303.)

It was a dark day when Abdûl Aziz cast his enormous shadow over the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. He was a man of magnificent physique, exceedingly handsome, but cursed with a rambling mind which soon lost all sense of proportion in a delusion of godlikeness. His extravagance was astonishing. All along the waterfronts of Istanbul's suburbs on the Bosphorus he built or completed elaborate palaces; the Imperial establishments consisted of no less than six thousand servants and officials, the harems of twelve thousand inmates. Before the Crimean War the Ottoman Empire had no National Debt, but since then her obligations had increased beyond the capacity of the State to pay the entire interest on what it had borrowed. This did not deter Abdûl Aziz. The whole resources of outlying provinces of the Empire were drained into the capital to be frittered away. The armed peasantry, the freebooters, both in and out of Government, the deserted countryside, the rude culture of the fields, the rugged roads (where such existed), the mean dwellings of the workers, the insanitary lanes of towns and cities, the prevalence of disease and poverty in spite of a hard and industrious stock, were due, not to any inherent incompetence in the character of the Turks or other racial groups in the Empire, but to the madness of a man whose chief amusements were cock-fighting and slicing off the heads of unfortunate turkeys kept specially in a yard for his entertainment. At the Beylerbey Saray, near Istanbul, was a small lake, about a metre in depth, on the bank of which Abdûl Aziz would sit in summer while some of the ladies of the harem were rowed about and purposely upset for his amusement. They were always dressed very smartly for the occasion and provided with new dresses afterwards.

In the provinces unrest increased in proportion to this foolery. The first signs of trouble were in autonomous Serbia. After a general conflict which broke out at Belgrade on the 15th of June, 1862, a conference of the Powers had to be held, at which the Serbs were granted a further measure of autonomy. The unrest immediately spread to Herzegowina, where the population was Serb, and to the frontier of the independent principality of Montenegro, where many were in sympathy with the Serbian revolt. The little State was actually invaded by Ottoman forces, but its internal administration remained intact. Then insurrection broke out in the island of Crete. . . .

Under these conditions the only progress that was made in Westernization was initiated by foreign officers in the service of the Empire or followed as a natural result of the increasing contact between Ottoman subjects and travellers from the West. Changes came about from the sheer force of circumstances and not from any legislation of the "Tanzimat" type. For instance, the type of thing that was happening all over the Ottoman Empire is illustrated by Canon J. E. Hanauer in his *Walks In and Around Jerusalem*. He is speaking of the Jaffa Gate:

> "In the rainy season there was a 'slough of despond' just outside the gateway, and in the open space just within the City a pond about two feet deep in the centre. . . . In summer, the bed of the little lake became a receptacle for all sorts of filth and not infrequently the rotting carcases of dogs, cats and smaller animals. A change for the better came soon after the accession of Sultan Abdûl Aziz, in whose time the roadway was paved by gangs of prisoners brought from the common gaol and made to work in chains. This was in the year 1864, about the same time that the first line of telegraph was laid, and the first petroleum oil and lamps for its use were imported, as well as the first steam engine set up in the Holy City" (p. 6).

Symbolic of this period of the natural shrinking of the East before the West was John MacGregor—the Jerome K. Jerome of the Near East—whose adventures were published in 1869 as *Rob Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea and Gennesareth, etc, a Canoe Cruise in Palestine and Egypt and the Waters of Damascus*. True, the romance of the long Arabian night was fading away before the prose common sense of the European day—but the European day itself was not all "prose common sense". Victorian Britain was in the last stages of its romantic movement, and by bringing an influx of the public school type of Briton into the Near East, this movement, too, assisted in the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire.

The romantic travels of MacGregor and a hundred others illustrated but one form of attraction for foreigners in the Near East. Privileges and immunities had for centuries been the right of the nationals of those Western Powers which had contracted treaties of trade, known as "Capitulations", with the Sultans. Originally granted by conquering Ottoman rulers out of their munificence,

these treaties were being used by later nineteenth-century Europe to flood the ancient home of the arts with shoddy machine-made articles imported practically free of duty. Ottoman administrative and judicial laws could not be applied to foreign residents: under the Capitulations they were exonerated from tolls and taxes; they were liable for trial only before consular courts, and they felt at liberty to treat the Ottoman officials with rudeness. The British were less prone to take unfair advantage of the Turk than were some foreigners, yet even the gentle W. H. Bartlett could write of his embarkation at Acre in his *Footsteps of Christ*:

> "As we jumped into the boat . . . a Turkish soldier, the first time such a thing had happened to us in the East, muttered something about 'Passaporta', but we contented ourselves with replying to him by a look of ineffable contempt" (p. 213).

The fortunes of the Ottoman Empire had indeed declined since Ahmet I had headed the German Capitulations thus:

Graciously accorded by the Sultan, ever victorious, to the infidel King of Vienna, ever vanquished.

During these years of "Rob Roy on the Jordan" two parties came into being in the Ottoman Empire, formed from elements which had long been in existence. The one party, without much organization, was all for artificially maintaining in an increasingly cosmopolitan State the spirit of seventh-century Mecca; the other, whose inspiration was the French democracy with its centralization in Paris, was for introducing Western ideas and methods bodily; the one party cherished the unifying conception of Islam, the other the European conception of the nation; the one essentially Arabic, though speaking the "smooth tongue of the Osmanlee", the other having its origin in the more democratic spirit of the ancient Turkish nation.

The youth of the Empire, and also some in middle age and high position, found in this latter movement—to which the name "Young Turkey" was given—a wellspring of renewed confidence and self-reliance. On the other hand, the reactionaries found in their position—it cannot be called a movement—a rigid strength backed by a long tradition, an inward, but not an outward, defence against the attrition of the wind of modernity blowing out of the West upon the crumbling fortifications of the Middle Ages. The determined enemies of all change in religion, literature, art and social life were specially numerous among the old Arab aristocracy. Prejudice was deeply rooted in an almost illiterate Mussulman population; the village schools, where such existed, were dependent upon the mosques and taught only the rudiments of language, arithmetic and religion, chiefly in Arabic. Even the Turanian language of the Turks had become overlaid with Arabic and Persian words and was written in the un-

suitable and difficult Arabic alphabet—one of the greatest hindrances imaginable to progress in general. Art was restricted to the representation of inanimate forms only, though in spite of this prohibition by Islâm, some wonderful works were being produced in architecture, painting and design. But in no activity did women take any part except in the districts inhabited by Christians and in the interior of Anatolia, where they had always worked in equality with men in the toil of the fields, away from the artificial social system of the cities. "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other," said the Korân. "Chide those for whose refractariness he have cause to fear . . . and scourge them."

The aims of the reform party were two—the establishment of a Constitution with elected Parliament and limited Monarchy, and the political unification of the races within the State. In Europe the clock of progress was ticking merrily away: no barbarians of the West had yet arisen to put it back, and democracy, at whatever cost, seemed the inevitable policy of Ottoman reformers. It was not then apparent, and it was not apparent for a long period afterwards, that in pursuing their cause the Young Turks were ignoring the fact that the Ottoman Empire did not and could not lend itself to the Western concept of a democratic national State, for the very simple reason that it was not national and certainly not Turkish—and only in a limited sense a State at all. They wished to apply their ideals to a dominion which was being disintegrated by these very same ideals applied in their proper sphere by the homogeneous national groups in Crete, Serbia, Bulgaria and other outlying non-Turkish provinces of the Empire. But Midyat Pasha, leader of the reformers, held that by modernizing the Ottoman Empire he would remove the stimulus from the Cretan, Serb and Bulgar separâtist movements; he thought that they would be content to remain subject to Istanbul provided they were well governed and could express themselves through a Parliament. That policy, he thought, would remove from the powerful countries of Europe all pretexts for surgical operations on the "Sick Man".

It was evident that if the Empire were to be saved, something must be done quickly.

Bosnia and Herzegowina, having had only unpleasant attentions from the hands of those who were spending gigantic sums on marble palaces and superficial improvements in the capital, rose in revolt in 1875. A fierce conflict ensued, and the Young Turks were horrified as the inevitable protest against Ottoman misgovernment was handed in to Abdul Aziz by representatives of the Western Powers. In the following year—in May 1876—there was trouble in the Macedonian city of Thessaloniki (Salonika) over the "conversion" to Islâm of a young Bulgarian girl. The German and French Consuls intervened, and were murdered, upon which ships and troops were immediately sent thither. The outlook was menacing—so serious indeed that Midyat and his followers decided that the time for action had come.

Excited mobs were gathering in the streets and cafés of Istanbul: resentment against Abdûl Aziz was growing even among his Mussulman subjects, who, by a strange paradox, had the power, through the head of their religion, to depose even the most autocratic of Sultans and Kalifs.

Shortly after midnight on the 29th–30th of May, 1876, troops surrounded the great palace of the Dolmabahçe Saray and Abdûl Aziz was awakened from sleep. Standing "in a pair of pink silk striped pyjamas" at the door of his harem, the Padishah was confronted by a young Turk officer who told him that his reign was ended. Bellowing with rage, he was at last persuaded to make arrangements for leaving the palace. He spent the early hours of the morning writing a letter in the Topkapi Saray, where he had been taken—a letter begging his nephew, the new Padishah, to spare his life and allow him to end his days in the marble palace of Chiragan Saray as "your devoted subject Abd—ul—Aziz".

Thus on the 30th of May, 1876, Murat V became Padishah—a man of constitution as feeble as his uncle's mind had been weak.

On the 4th of June the recently deposed Abdûl Aziz was found dead in the Chiragan Saray, his arteries cut and his body lying in a pool of blood. A pair of pointed scissors, stained with blood, lay on the floor beside his couch. . . .

But the changes in the capital did not bring peace in the provinces. Scarcely had Murat gained the throne than a host of Mussulman irregulars was let loose on the Bulgars who had shown active sympathy with the Bosnians in the recent disturbances. The massacre that ensued was specially violent in the district of Batak, a mountain centre in the south of the country inhabited by Bulgars, where witnesses saw "dogs feeding on human remains, heaps of human skulls, skeletons nearly entire, rotting clothing . . . women here and there wailing their dead amid the ruins".

When the reports of this auspicious beginning to Murat's reign reached Western Europe, a storm of protest arose. Armed intervention seemed imminent. Here was all the material for the making of another Crimean War, and this time Britain could not easily take the side of the Ottoman Empire however much individuals might cry that the Turk himself was as much a victim of the old system as was the Bulgar. Because the Ottoman Empire was popularly known as "the Turkish Empire" the Turks were blamed for the atrocities: the phrase "Unspeakable Turk" was coined!

On the 30th of June, 1876, Serbia declared war.

In July 1876 Serbs and Montenegrins crossed the Ottoman frontier, Russian volunteers flocked to their standard and the Czar began mobilizing his army. But the reformers sprang another surprise in a last effort to save the situation. Under the double stress of horrible events within the Empire and of threats from without, Murat's mind had shown signs of abnormality. On the 31st of August, 1876, the Young Turks deposed him in favour of his brother, who girded on the Sword of Osman as Abdûl Hamit II.

With the beginning of his reign there commenced some of the most eventful years of Ottoman history.

CHAPTER III

METROPOLIS OF HISTORY

"There is a fine moral in the representation of things that have passed away, if it be read aright. . . . In after years when the Constantinople of today shall have become changed (as surely it will) into a mere city of European palaces, and marts, and manufactories, it will be a reposing place for the spirit to dwell upon the semblance of that which it once was . . . ere the progress of events, political as well as moral, swept away, with the unsparing besom of reform, the web which the spider of antiquity had woven about the palaces of the Caliphs."—J. M. PARDOE, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (p. 5).

THE LATER COURSE OF TURKISH HISTORY, BOTH DURING THE LAST YEARS of the Ottoman Empire and during the first years of the Turkish Republic, was influenced by the fact that the narrow sea passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the land route between the Balkan Peninsula and Asia, both pass through Turkish territory. And not only that. The two routes cross at one particular point. At that particular point lies the city of Istanbul, the capital city of the former Ottoman Empire.

It was there that many of the most thrilling events during the last years of the old Empire were destined to take place, just as some of the most fascinating chapters of human history had already been written on its very stones by blood, fire and earthquake. Next to Jerusalem it had had the most interesting history of any city in the world; now it was to be the scene of the activities of a sovereign who was generally regarded as a veritable Messiah, a greater than Mahmut.

The capital of the Ottoman Empire had been the capital of the Byzantine Empire which had preceded it. When Constantine the Great decided to make it the capital of the known world in A.D. 323 it had already had a long and stirring past; when it fell to the Turks in A.D. 1453 the city had reflected on a small scale the history of the world during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Since then Istanbul had been bound up with the story of the Turk, and not of the Turk only, but also of every race which peopled an Empire still enormous in size—the most varied assemblage of race, religion, custom, colour and culture that has ever come under the control of a single central government—however nominal may have been that control. Istanbul was the metropolis of history. Certainly in order to understand Turkish history one must know something about the city which was for

so long the centre of it, now to become the background of Abdûl Hamit's messianic activities.

Throughout the Ottoman dominions, and in the Western countries as well, Istanbul was universally regarded as "one of the brightest gems in the diadem of Nature". Astride the two continents of Europe and Asia, ocean-going ships able to pass through the heart of the city, its geographical position unequalled, it was still in 1876 a city of mystery and magnificence, a city of beauty and joy, of sorrow and crime, a city of squalor and luxury, of dark stories, and legend and song.

One writer spoke of it as "an urban aglomeration", but though it contained three great towns—Istanbul proper, Galata-Beyoglu and Uskûdar—it also consisted of outlying suburbs and settlements, of palaces and gipsy encampments, parks, dockyards and open fields, mosques, banks, waste ground, cemeteries, rubbish-heaps, smart hotels, busy shipping offices, wooded glens, ruins, arsenals, gardens and barracks, the whole penetrated by two magnificent and picturesque waterways, and animated by peoples as varied as the features of the place where they dwelt.

On the European shore of the great channel which connects the Black Sea with the Marmara Sea, and ultimately with the Mediterranean, dividing Europe from Asia, lay the twin cities of Istanbul proper ("Old Stamboul") and Beyoglu (or "Péra"), themselves separated by the waterway and port of the "Golden Horn", an inlet at right angles to the main channel of the Karadeniz Boghazi or "Bosphorus". Immediately opposite the twin European cities and the wide mouth of the "Golden Horn" there was the quiet Asiatic town of Uskûdar, the third large component of the triune metropolis, straining out towards the European shore on a blunt promontory, off which lay the pretty island tower known as Kiz Kulesi ("the Maiden's Tower"), or "Leander's Tower":

> A fairy fortress, girdled by the sea,
> Rock-seated and alone; whose single tower
> Was mirrored in the waves.

"Old Stamboul" occupied the triangular site of ancient Byzantium and the city of Constantine—a peninsula consisting of a gentle sloping series of undulating Thracian hills between the Marmara Sea and the "Golden Horn" harbours, narrowing finally to the point called Saray Burnu, where arose from behind old embattled walls the Divan Tower and picturesuqe buildings of the old Palace of Topkapi Saray which had been up to the era of the Crimean War the focal point of Ottoman history. Near by the great Government offices of the "Sublime Porte"—the seat of most of the Ministries—frowned over the gardens and roofs of Stamboul. But above all was the splendour of the domed mosques.

Solid, huge, superb, guarded by tapering minarets, some of the mosques—notably Ayasofiya ("Santa Sofia")—were converted Byzan-

tine churches, but the greater number were Turkish. The Ahmediye, the Nuri Osmaniye, the Bayazit, the Yeni Valide by the waterside, the Sūleymaniye, the Fatih and the Selimiye illustrated the most glorious chapter in the story of a nation of architects which had succeeded in blending Byzantine, Oriental and Renaissance forms.

Near Ayasofiya was the Ministry of Justice; near Bayazit the palace of the Seraskierat, or Ministry of War (later the University of Istanbul), in its vast courtyard approached through a Saracenic archway. From the courtyard rose the graceful "Fire Tower" of Marmara marble, built in 1823. It looked across the "Golden Horn" to the Westernized towns of Galata and Beyoglu—Galata by the waterside and Beyoglu rising above it up the hillside—across to the stolid "Tower of Christ" in Galata, raised in the fifth century. These twin guardians of the cities astride the European inlet commanded fine views from their high galleries, whence the eye was carried beyond the clustered buildings and the ancient Byzantine walls to the glittering waves and misty islands of the Marmara Sea or across to the distant mounts of Asia.

The domes and delicate tapering minarets, the trees which denoted open spaces and courts, the huge public buildings, blank and tumble-down and shuttered, under large overhanging Turkish roofs, gave to "Old Stamboul" its unique atmosphere and its romantic outline. Seen against the clouds and misty light of dawn or sunset, its effect was even more remarkable than when seen against a blue sky. The sun could reveal banality as well as beauty; trailing lights and deep shadows could but clothe the old city with flaming jewels and dark rich velvet. Yet, like everything else in the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul presented in places a spectacle of melancholy neglect, and there was always overhanging it the terrible possibility of great conflagrations, the threat of renewed massacre and murder, the memory of at least thirty-three terrible sieges, of forty great conflagrations, of countless massacres in the past. Sordid and filthy, there was yet something grandiose in this city—something hostile and threatening at times, also. To some it was Fairyland, to others Hell.

> "It holds you, it entices you. It sheds upon you a sense of mystery [exclaimed Robert Hichens in *The Near East*]. What it has seen, Stamboul! What it has known! What a core of red violence that heart has and always has had! . . . Pera glitters in the night and cries out to heaven. Old Stamboul wraps itself in a black veil and withdraws where you may not follow. . . . Between the houses the sea-wind blows up, and you catch glimpses of water, of masts, of the funnels of steamers. Above the cries of the nations rise the long-drawn wails and hootings of sirens. . . . Water and wind, mud and dust, cries of coachmen and seamen. . . ." (pp. 192–3).

The great harbour of the "Golden Horn" between the city-crowned hills on the European side was spanned by two bridges. The lower of

Photograph] [Associated British Picture Corporation and Capitol Films, Limited

"THE NEW MESSIAH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE"
Abdül Hamit II

[The Locomotive Publishing Company, Limited

ISTANBUL AT LAST HAD ITS RAILWAY

Oriental Railway Train to Edirne, about 1876

Photograph]

these was the Galata Bridge, supreme symbol of Istanbul's cosmopolitan character, its sides lined with the ferry steamers which connected the centre of the capital with its outlying waterside suburbs and with the Kizil Adalar or "Prince's Islands" in the Marmara Sea. The other bridge was higher up the "Golden Horn", where dockyards, the Ministry of Marine and rather shabby suburbs lined the inlet, until beyond this second bridge and the suburb of Eyüp it narrows and divides into two streams—the historic "Sweet Waters of Europe", principal picnic resort of the citizens of Istanbul, a pretty valley folded in the gentle Thracian hills.

On a grander scale than the "Golden Horn" was the magnificent seaway of the Karadeniz Boghazi—the "Bosphorus", where, on either shore between the Marmara and the Black Sea, were monuments of great historical and architectural interest as well as more intimate suburbs and villages. On the European shore the warehouses and quays of Galata and Tophane—the latter with a notable fountain, mosque and arsenal—soon gave place to as fine a waterfront as could be seen anywhere in the world. Backed by the green hills of Pangalti and the luxuriant grounds of the small palace of Yildiz Köshk extended two huge marble palaces—Dolmabahçe Saray (1853) and Chiragan Saray (1874)—grandiose emblems of Ottoman dominion and of the extravagance of Abdül Aziz and Abdül Mecit. On the Asiatic shore, almost opposite, was a third, often described as "the most elegant object on the Bosphorus"—the Beylerbey Saray (1865). On the same Asiatic shore, beyond Kandilli, where tall cypresses guarded the villas of English residents, two rivulets opened to the Bosphorus, their courses the "Valley of Heavenly Streams", between which tended the beautiful field of "Sweet Waters of Asia"—a rival of the other "Sweet Waters" at the head of the "Golden Horn". The Sweet Waters Palace (or Göksu Saray) which adorned the shore of the Bosphorus had been built in 1815, but it was overlooked by ancient castles on either shore —Anadolihisar on the Asian side, the more imposing Rumelihisar on the European side, with Robert College—a notable American educational institution—rising behind, symbol of Westernization looking across to Asia.

Then the channel widens: at length between the "Lighthouse of Europe" and the "Lighthouse of Asia" the Black Sea extends its restless horizon. Ahead the Sea of Storms seems boundless, yet it was but a short passage to Imperial Russia, whose fleet had already penetrated the magnificent channel to the very heart of the Ottoman capital—to the very gates of the Sultan's gardens. Istanbul was an Oriental city—but it was also a Black Sea town with the forlorn timber houses, the cold winds and the occasional grey skies of the Russian north. Twelve times within record the sea had been frozen in the heart of Istanbul and icebergs had penetrated into the "Golden Horn" itself.

"Russia was in the wind, I thought [wrote Robert Hichens, of the time when he stood upon the Galata Bridge], the breath of the steppes was wandering afar to seek—what? The breath of the

desert? . . . And all the cries of Stamboul seemed to gather themselves together in my ears, keening over the sea above which I stood —voices of many nations; of Turks, Arabs, Circassians, Persians . . . voices of bashi-bazouks and of slaves; even, thin high voices of eunuchs. From the quays to right and left of the bridge crowds of people rose to my sight and hurried away; to them crowds of people descended, sinking out of my sight. . . . Calls of Albanian boatmen came up from the sea. From the closely packed fishermen's vessels rose here and there little trails of smoke. On their decks dim figures crouched about wavering fires . . . along the curving shore towards the cypress-crowned height of Eyub, lights were strung out, marking the waterside. Behind me tall Pera began to glitter meretriciously. . . . The long shriek of a siren from a steamer near Seraglio Point tore the gloom." (*The Near East*, pp. 197–8.)

Such, in August 1876, was the heritage of the new Padishah, Abdül Hamit II, such his immediate surroundings as he prepared quarters for himself—not in the Dolmabahçe Saray which had seen the deposition of Abdül Aziz, nor in the Chiragan Saray which had witnessed his death, but in the small palace of Yildiz Köshk high up above the Bosphorus in a tree-shaded park. The royal city had long waited for a kingly king. Had the "patriot king" at length arrived in the person of Abdül Hamit?

The somewhat premature answer of many voices was already a joyful "Yes!" The glorious city was now ready to receive its Messiah; a new, clean leaf had been turned in the swelling volume of its blood-stained history. . . .

PART TWO

THE LAST YEARS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER IV

A NEW ERA OF HAPPINESS

"*We can but hope that Sultan Abdul Hamid II may be long spared, and enabled to guide his people through all their troubles, preparing for them an era of progress and happiness, and for himself an undying name as Saviour of his Country.*"—WILLIAM J. J. SPRY, *Chronicles of the Caliphs* (p. 288).

FEW SOVEREIGNS HAVE ASCENDED A THRONE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES SO unfavourable as Abdül Hamit, second son of Abdül Mecit by an Armenian dancing girl. Yet few have been granted such sympathy

and good will from the world at large. What contemporaries wrote was probably true at the time, both of the man himself and of the general situation: Spry's *Chronicles of the Caliphs*, for instance, is full of his praises:

"He at once resolved with the aid of his ministers to commence a career of usefulness and reform. . . . Abdul Hamid II has surrendered his personal feelings, and has acted well. . . . Many of the excellent qualities of his grandfather Mahmoud exist in him, he has the like diligence, the like determination and endurance. . . . His Majesty possesses a kindly and humane heart as well as all other good qualities of a wise and able sovereign."

Such were the compliments bestowed on a rather small-minded and crafty young man, a young man with a mind already prone to be narrow, childish, secretive and suspicious, suddenly raised from a life of non-intellectual pastimes amid the unhealthy intrigues of women and palace servants to a solitary and distasteful position as Emperor of the most extraordinary assemblage of races and territories in the world, at a time when that heritage was a prey to destructive forces acting from without and from within. To that eminence he had been raised by the reform party, acting through Midyat Pasha, "the King Maker" —no mere politician, but a man of deeds who in a later age might have become a disciple of Atatürk.

The best intentions in the world to commence "a career of usefulness and reform" could not immediately bring about "an era of progress and happiness" when a war between the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and Serbia and Montenegro on the other, clouded the first year of the reign of the new sovereign. Yet the very day after the accession of Abdül Hamit the greatest effort of his army succeeded.

The Battle of Alexinac against the Serbs, which took place on the 1st of September, 1876, was a decisive Ottoman victory accidentally brought about by the impatience of the Ministers of Abdül Hamit, who knew that the military advantages gained so far by the Osmanlis in this leisurely campaign were by no means great enough to give them the right to dictate terms to a beaten Serbia should the Powers intervene in the struggle. That the Powers were about to intervene seemed certain. The Serbian Prince Milan had already appealed to them, and therefore it was to the advantage of the Ottoman Government to make a vigorous effort towards a great victory before the interference and negotiation which it so greatly dreaded.

At Alexinac the Serbian army of the south was routed; on the 4th of September the Ambassadors at Istanbul approached the Ottoman Government, and thereafter endless diplomatic representations alternated with short spells of fighting and an Armistice broken more than once, until, on the 30th of October, the Czar presented to the Ottoman Government a demand supported by the threat that the Imperial Russian Embassy would quit Istanbul within forty-eight hours of a refusal. This was no less than the threat of a Russo-Turkish war.

Abdûl Hamit bowed to the fate which had once more overcome the proud races of his Empire—an Empire harassed and waylaid at every turn by foreign influence, its immense resources of military power giving it the victory in spite of bad organization, yet forced to yield in the end to the interests, ideals and intrigues of diplomats from the distant parts of Europe. "The chief powers of Christendom," wrote the British Ambassador from Istanbul, "have all more or less an interest in the fortunes of an Empire which, from being systematically aggressive, has become a tottering and untoward neighbour."

There was now the prospect of a conference of European Powers to settle the whole Eastern Question and to discuss the reforms which the new ruler would be advised to put into practice. Abdûl Hamit immediately concurred that such a conference would be an excellent thing—and why not hold the meetings in Istanbul itself? The Powers accepted. "A conference is now about to assemble at Constantinople," said the Czar, speaking at Moscow, "at which Russia will present her demands. If her endeavours are not crowned with success, Russia will be forced to take up arms." Such was the attitude of some of those to whom was to be entrusted the settlement of the delicate problems of the Near East.

On the 23rd of December, 1876, the Conference of Istanbul began its sessions in the buildings of the Ministry of Marine on the "Golden Horn". The opening speech announced that Abdûl Hamit had been pleased to grant to his ancient Empire a liberal Constitution.

A hundred and one guns boomed.

Then the delegates sat silent and incredulous as a torrent of words poured from the lips of their President—a Turk, an "Unspeakable Turk":

> "New institutions embracing the whole body of society from top to bottom have been in preparation in the Councils of the Porte. This work, now completed, considered as a New Constitution, secures civil and political equality between all Ottomans, without distinction of race or religion, and grants the participation of the country in the management of its own affairs. . . . It is the best guarantee that the Porte can give for the execution of its own programme of reforms; for it is the country itself which is constituted guardian of its own institutions. . . . A great act is at this moment accomplished. It changes here a form of government that has lasted six hundred years, and inaugurates a new era of happiness for all the subjects of Turkey."

Strong in their boast of a new Constitution, and in the name of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman delegates rejected and frequently even declined to consider proposals put forward by the other members of the Conference. The Young Turks were perfectly genuine about it all. But there were some in Western Europe who wondered whether Abdûl Hamit was trying to avert disaster and save his throne by playing off his liberal politicians against the foreigners.

Was he the real master of the Young Turks, not their creature? Was he playing off Midyat against the Czar? Did the successor of a long line of absolute rulers argue to himself that, once the Powers had been rebuffed, then the politicians at home, having done their work, could be put in their proper place?

While the Ottoman provinces were learning the meaning of the word "Constitution" and electing somewhat bewildered representatives for the Parliament which was soon to be established, there came unexpected news. On the 5th of February, 1877, Abdûl Hamit dismissed Midyat and banished him from the Empire.

It was a hard and unexpected blow, but the reformers, now full of doubts as to Abdûl Hamit's integrity, proceeded with their work; the first Ottoman Parliament was at length elected, and on the 19th of March, 1877, in the Grand Throne Room of the Dolmabahçe Saray, the First Secretary to Abdûl Hamit read the Speech from the Throne to the most varied and picturesque collection of deputies which had ever assembled in a single chamber.

The first Ottoman Parliament had been called "the last card of the Tanzimat"—a card played, it was said, not so much by the bearded deputies from Kars or Jerusalem as by the unseen hand of Abdûl Hamit. But by the time of the opening of Parliament the ruse—if indeed it were a ruse—had as good as failed. When the Czar Alexander II left his capital on the 20th of April, 1877, for Chisinau, or Kischeneff, in Bessarabia, the majority of observers felt that all hope of preserving peace was at an end. On the borders of the Russian Trans-Caucasian territory troops and munitions had long been concentrated. On the 24th of April, 1877, the Ottoman Empire found itself at war, singlehanded, against the vast power of Russia.

At first there was very little Ottoman defence, and communication with the scene of the first operations was woefully bad. As the Russians advanced in four columns upon Batumi, Ardahan, Kars and Bayazit many of the non-Turkish inhabitants of the violated territory welcomed what they regarded as liberation. "The enthusiasm of the Armenians knew no bounds," wrote an anonymous witness. "By hundreds they yoked themselves to the gun-carriages, pushed at the wheels, pulled at the ropes. . . ."

In the West the delicate position of the nominally subject State of Romania became the great question of the moment. It was evident that through this vassal State of the Ottoman Empire the main Russian thrust would come. According to the Treaty of Paris the central Ottoman Government was to agree with the local Government of Romania as to measures of defence against an aggressor. The Romanian Parliament met on the 26th of April, 1877, when the Minister for Foreign Affairs disclosed to the deputies that a secret convention with the Russian Empire had been signed ten days before; the Russian forces would have the right to use Romanian railways, roads, rivers, post and telegraph services. By the 27th of April the Russians were on the Romanian bank of the Danube, looking across into the Ottoman territory of Bulgaria. The same day the Osmanlis evacuated all the

territory in Eastern Anatolia between the Russian frontier and the fortress of Kars; on May Day the Russians entered Bayazit and fifteen days later began the siege of Ardahan, which town they took on the 18th of May.

It was only natural that the people in the capital should want to know why these things should be so. Awkward questions were asked in the Ottoman Parliament. A few patriots tried to save the situation by endeavouring to induce Abdül Hamit to take command of his troops in person as a demonstration that the virility of the old conquering Sultans was still in existence. It was all in vain. "The Conqueror", "the Drinker of Blood", dreaded to expose himself even in the streets of Istanbul; "the Commander of the Faithful" was content to dictate hundreds of telegrams—often conflicting—from the innermost rooms of Yildiz Köshk to the generals of forces without proper armament, pay, clothing or food. It was even asserted that many of the tactics of the Ottoman armies were based upon astrology, witchcraft and the interpretation of dreams. Deputies in Parliament complained that while the country was in danger and the Minister for War himself ignorant of the situation at the two fronts, the legislature was called upon to discuss matters of small moment. The applause which followed such criticisms was the measure of popular agreement. At a time of great stress and increasing anxiety, and with the reactionaries working on Abdül Hamit's secret fears and arousing his suspicion by representing all opposition to themselves as directed against the Throne, it was becoming obvious that there was a wide breach between King and Parliament.

On the 4th of June, 1877, the dissipation of energies which seemed to be characteristic of the Ottoman Command became even more evident. Ottoman forces concentrated on the borders of Montenegro attacked the little Principality—and were repulsed with heavy losses. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Danube, and Bulgarian volunteers flocked to the Russian standards in such numbers that a Bulgarian Legion was formed under Russian officers. When the Czar's forces entered the town of Tirnovo on the 12th of July they passed through flower-strewn streets, under arches inscribed with welcome words, to the sound of the deafening cheers of the "liberated" population. And now ahead lay the magnificent wall of the Balkan mountain chain, after the Danube the second line of the Ottoman defence. An advance guard crossed by means of a little pass which was badly defended by the Osmanlis who regarded it as quite "impossible" and therefore self-defending; thus on the 17th of July the Russian columns were able to move up for a concerted attack on the important Shipka Pass from both sides of the mountains. On the 19th the Russian and Bulgarian detachments from north and south of the Balkans were united and the same day a Russian force arrived before the town of Pleven, or Plevna, only to be led into a trap and badly beaten—"mown down by a hailstorm of steel". This Ottoman fortress north of the Balkan was still holding out after the "third battle of Pleven", which began on the 7th of September and lasted eleven days, but at the cost

of the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from the Montenegrin frontier. As far as Montenegro was concerned the war was won when her forces reached a provisional line of frontier which had been their object in 1876.

Kars, the historic fortress of Eastern Anatolia, fell to the Russians on the 17th of November; on the 9th of December, after the "fourth battle of Pleven", the heroic Turk, Osman Pasha, surrendered. Despite the bravery of the Turkish soldiers, things were looking very menacing on both fronts when a new and crippling blow fell; Serbia decided to celebrate her forty-seven years of increasing freedom by dealing yet one more blow at her old suzerain, who was still in possession of a large tract of territory inhabited by Serbs. On the 28th of December the Serbs captured Pirot. Isolated from the main theatre of war, with Pirot gone, Osman Pasha now left the town of Sofia to its fate. In all preceding wars the Osmanlis had set great value on the preservation of Sofia. On the 4th of January, 1878, the Russians and Bulgarians entered the town, on the 9th they broke the last Ottoman defences in the Balkan range, and continuing towards Plovdiv, met with little more than the resistance of fugitives. Nish fell to the Serbs on the 10th of January, 1878; on the 14th Tatar Pazardzhik fell to the Russians; the following day Plovdiv presented a lurid, blazing picture of destruction as the Russians entered the town; on the 20th Edirne, the second city of the Ottoman Empire, fell into Russian hands. Not a single shot was fired, its great fortifications lay deserted and silent, not a sound came from the redoubts and batteries which the Ottoman authorities had designed to be the bulwark of supreme resistance in Thrace. With banners, crosses and ikons the clergy of various communions came to meet the invaders and "the music of the Russian bands was drowned by shouts of joy".

The forward movement of the Russian armies did not cease when negotiations for an armistice were initiated, but continued even after the night of the 31st of January, 1878, when Ottoman delegates and the Russian Commander-in-Chief signed at Edirne the document which announced to the world that the war of 1877–1878 had ceased. While the Armistice was being signed, the Russians in Eastern Anatolia were engaged in a determined attack on the Black Sea port of Batumi (Batoum). The following day their forces in Thrace seized Chatalca, within easy distance of Istanbul. The taking of the city itself presented no military problem, but the British Fleet was within twenty-five kilometres of the capital and the other Powers were watchful.

A "second Crimean War" seemed imminent when an event in the internal history of the Ottoman Empire caught the attention of observers. It was none other than the premature ending of the "New Era of Happiness". In the blackest hour of Ottoman history the crafty yet humiliated Padishah took the reins of power into his own control and prorogued Parliament on the 14th of February, 1878. The "Era" had lasted three hundred and thirty-two days, and many there were who feared that, with what in effect amounted to a dissolution of Parliament, the experiment of a Constitution had irretrievably

BALKAN PENINSULA
1876
ROMANIA
SERBIA
GREECE
ZEMUN
BEOGRAD
SARAJEVO
VIDIN
ALEXINAC
NIŠ
PIROT
MOSTAR
NOVI PAZAR
MITROVICA
KOSOVSKA
CETINJE
KOTOR
BAR
MONTENEGRO
SHKODËR
SKOPLJE
PRILEP
ŠTIP
DURRËS
TIRANË
OHRID
BITOLJ
STRUMICA
SOFIA
KYUSTENDIL
NIKOPOL
PLEVEN
GIURGIU
RUSE
BUCUREŞTI
CERNA VODA
CONSTANŢA
SILISTRA
SHUMEN
VARNA
TRNOVO
NOVA ZAGORA
STARA ZAGORA
TATAR PAZARDZHIK
PLOVDIV
SLIVEN
YAMBOL
BURGAS
EDIRNE
İSTANBUL
SERRAI
DRAMA
KAVALLA
XANTHI
KOMOTINI
ALEXANDROÚPOLIS
IOANNINA
VOLOS
ARTA
MANISA
İZMIR
AYDIN
KHANIA
THE
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
IN
EUROPE
WTF

broken down. The experiment had been tried under the most difficult circumstances imaginable, in the midst of domestic unrest and foreign war and under a ruler who had, in fact, made no scruple of using the genuine idealism of a few enlightened men as an instrument for his own purpose, which purpose was none other than the concentration of power into his own hands after playing off two interests the one against the other. This done, the experiment of democracy met with a harsh and sudden interruption. But had the experiment itself been a failure? It would not have been surprising if races so entirely unaccustomed to legislative forms had shown a complete incapacity to adopt them, as was the case notably in Germany, Italy and Romania in later years. The Chamber of Deputies at Istanbul had acted in no such manner. It had shown spirit, energy and debating faculty; it had proved that the true germ of hope, for the Turks at least, dwelt in those forms of liberty which had been their ancient tradition as herdsmen and farmers. In Edmund Ollier, writing his *History of the Russo-Turkish War*, the enslaved nation found a contemporary prophet:

> "If the jarring elements of Turkish society are ever to be organized to harmonious ends [he wrote], it must be in the arena of free debate; and although the prorogation of the Chamber may have been a necessary evil in that moment of supreme agony, it is only by the resumption of Constitutional Law and the rights of popular election that Turkey can ever inherit a new life, or acquire an interest in the future age" (p. 75).

On the 21st of February the Imperial Russian infantry marched into Erzurum, and the war was ended. The war which had set free so many Balkan peoples had served but to tighten the bondage of the Turk. Defeated in battle despite great bravery and toughness, muzzled in politics, for which it had shown great gifts, the Turkish nation at the opening of the year 1878 presented anything but the appearance of a generation of democrats descended from a race of conquerors.

CHAPTER V

PEACE WITH HONOUR

"The first point clear in the future of the Osmanli Turks is—what already after the last Russo-Turkish War, the more far-seeing of the Commanders did not hesitate privately to admit would sooner or later be found necessary—withdrawal from their European provinces: . . . 'We should have consolidated ourselves in Asia Minor. . . . Our Nationality thus consolidated, futile would have been the dreams of European Protectorates over our Syrian, Arabian and African Provinces. And our

Khalif's temporal sovereignty would have thus been immensely strengthened."—LUCY M. J. GARNETT, *The Turkish People* (pp. 288–9).

WITH INDECENT HASTE THE CZAR NOW PREPARED TO BURY THE "SICK Man" who had died upon his hands, and to partition his estate by a wholly Slavonic settlement, an entirely Russian rearrangement of the map of South-Eastern Europe. The result was a treaty embodying the dictated terms of a conqueror, made and signed one stormy night at "an ornamental suburb" of Istanbul called by the Turks "Yeshilköy" and by school text-books "San Stefano".

By the Treaty of Yeshilköy, or San Stefano, the Russians did not go so far as to claim Istanbul for themselves, but they did attempt to dominate South-Eastern Europe by means of a wide block of tributary territory stretching practically from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. Montenegro and Serbia were to be enlarged, Serbia and Romania were to be recognized as independent, and an enormous Greater Bulgaria created, its organization drawn up "under the surveillance of an Imperial Russian Commissioner". In Anatolia the Ottoman Empire was to lose a large block of territory to Russia, including the towns of Batumi, Artvin, Ardahan, Kars and Bayazit.

Even before the terms of the treaty were announced, it seemed obvious to all European observers that a general conference of the Powers must precede any possible action: the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 must be consulted before Russia could so drastically alter the settlement concluded after her Crimean defeat. In Europe as a whole, and especially in Great Britain, feeling ran high. In the London music-halls the word "jingoism" was born with the song:

> We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do,
> We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too.
> We've fought the Bear before, and we'll do the same again,
> The Russians shan't have Constantinople.

That the "Sick Man" was not dead yet in the estimation of the British statesmen was proved by a secret convention signed by Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire on the 4th of June, 1878, some days before the representatives of the Powers were due to meet to discuss the situation.

The Cyprus Convention contained these words:

> "If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definite Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms. . . . In order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England."

Thus one more part of the Ottoman Empire passed out of the control of the Padishah and commenced a new period of its existence under British tutelage, and the Turk, by no means dead, remained the friend of Great Britain, who had promised to help him in time of need.

Excellent port wine and biscuits were served on the afternoon of 13th June, 1878, in the grand ballroom of the Radziwill Palatz, Berlin, and from the moment of this delightful opening the Congress of Berlin pursued a leisurely and dignified course in an academic atmosphere quite foreign to the German capital. The most exciting hour of the whole proceedings was spent upon a small yacht which threatened to upset in a sudden squall and put a providential end to the astute diplomacy of Europe's most brilliant politicians.

The Ottoman delegation was late in arriving. It consisted of three members who were described at the time as "a crafty young Greek", "a renegade German" and "a somewhat dispirited creature". All three found it hard to secure much serious attention in any quarter. The haughty German police refused to guard the shabby little hotel at which they lodged, and they were not made to feel any more comfortable by being reminded that if the Congress were to succeed, it would not be in the Ottoman interest, and that if it were to fail, war would be followed by the quick ruin of the Empire. In any case parts of the Empire would have to go. Greece put in a claim for Crete, Thessaly, Epeiros and part of Macedonia; France sought for authority to occupy Tunis (though this was only nominally an Ottoman territory); Italy hinted at claims upon Libya and Albania.

None of these claims was immediately satisfied by the Treaty of Berlin, which the delegates signed on the 13th of July, 1878—a treaty which did, however, effect a settlement to be modified in details only during thirty-five years of what Lord Beaconsfield called "Peace with Honour".

The "Greater Bulgaria" of Russian dreams was to be replaced by two States, neither of them under Russian protection. The first of these was to be called "Bulgaria", the second—mainly to the south of the Balkan chain—was to be known as "Eastern Rumelia". They can best be contrasted by comparing the words of the relevant parts of the treaty itself:

> "Bulgaria is constituted an autonomous and tributary Principality under the suzerainty of His Majesty the Sultan. It will have a Christian government and a national militia.
>
> "Eastern Rumelia . . . will remain under the direct political and military authority of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, under the conditions of administrative autonomy. It will have a Christian Governor-General."

The division of Bulgaria into two States was unfair to the Bulgars in Eastern Rumelia; they were to be forcibly returned to the Ottoman Empire after having been shown a tempting example of a free Bulgaria

which was now to be perpetually before their eyes. From henceforth all Bulgarians cherished the hope that this clumsy arrangement would not last, and promised themselves that a few years would bring about a union. Thus Bulgaria, as Bulgaria, was reborn, and though still tributary to the Ottoman Empire became in sentiment and in administration practically a foreign country. Its frontier to the north was the Danube and a short line across the Dobruja lowlands from Silistria (in Bulgaria) to Mangalia (in Romania); to the south its frontier was mainly the summit of the Balkan range. Among its important towns were Vidin, Sofia, Tirnovo, Pleven, Ruse, Shumen, Silistria and Varna. But equally Bulgar in association were the towns included in Eastern Rumelia—Plovdiv (Phillipopolis), Tatar-Pazardzhik, Stara Zagora, Nova Zagora, Yambol, Sliven and Burgas.

The arrangements for Serbia were more sensible: a large area east of Alexinac was taken from the Ottoman Empire and became an integral part of Serbia; included in it were the towns of Nish, Pirot and Vranje.

Between Serbia and Montenegro came the Sandjak (or county) of Novi-Pazar, where the Ottoman administration was to remain in force with the most important reservation that Austria-Hungary was to have "the right of keeping garrisons and having military and commercial roads in the whole of this part of the ancient province of Bosnia". Here was truly a "strange and hybrid arrangement", and one which rankled in the minds of all Serbs and Montenegrins, who regarded this Austro-Turkish wedge thrust between them as rendering impossible for ever the union of Serbia, Novi-Pazar and Montenegro—as placing the hated Teuton in the position of "Sentinel of the Balkans" in the towns of Plevlje, Priboj, Rashka, Novi-Pazar, Sjenica, Nova Varosh and Mitrovica-Kosovska. But far more serious than this concession to the Teutonic "Trend towards the East" (*Drang nach Osten*) was the clause concerning the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegowina—both predominantly Serb. The most fatal blow, and the one which was to admit of a world disaster in 1914, was concealed under a very few simple words: "The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegowina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary."

Not all Herzegowina went under the Austrian Protectorate, however. A small strip went to Montenegro, together with a small portion of the Sandjak of Novi-Pazar and a portion of Ottoman Albania. Thus little Montenegro was almost encircled with a belt of new territory, including a short strip of the Adriatic coast with the port of Bar.

The only additions to Romania at the direct expense of the Ottoman Empire were the Dobruja (or Dobrogea), north of the Bulgarian frontier, including the towns of Mangalia, Cernavoda, Medjidia, Constanta and Tulcea, the islands of the Danube delta and the outlying Isola Serpilor, or "Isle of Serpents", the only truly sea-girt island in the Black Sea, romantic meeting-place of the British and French fleets on the 8th of September, 1854, before the invasion of the Crimea.

None of all these Ottoman districts and towns from the Adriatic

to the Danube was truly Turkish in character. The same cannot be said of Eastern Anatolia, where the territories of Batumi Ardahan and Kars had to be ceded to Imperial Russia, and the town and territory of Kotur to Iran (Persia). For the rest of Anatolia special provisions were made respecting the Armenian minorities:

> "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without further delay the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will supervise their application."

Such was the Treaty of Berlin in its main outlines. But there was one glaring omission. No one could claim to be ignorant of the "trouble" which had broken out on the Greek frontier—the inadequate frontier of 1830 which extended across the South of Greece from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Vólos, excluding Thessaly, which had remained Ottoman. Here the trouble amounted almost to an invasion of Ottoman territory, but for the moment there were no major wars: everyone hoped that now at last the Ottoman Empire would enter upon a tranquil course of reform and improvement under a ruler who, even if he seemed somewhat despotic, might yet prove to be a second Mahmut. Especially did Europeans anticipate with pleasure the introduction of ameliorations and reforms in the Armenian districts. Meanwhile, the Russians, Bulgars, Austrians and others set about the administration and organization of the newly-won territories.

The months of Peace with Honour lengthened into years. . . .

Then came the year 1881—unimportant at first sight, but a year notable for events and trends which proved significant in the light of later history.

The story begins with Midyat, who had been sent into exile even before the official inauguration of the "New Era of Happiness". Quite suddenly, in April 1881, sensational rumours were circulated to the effect that some individuals who claimed to have been the assassins of Abdûl Aziz in 1876 had confessed and had given details which implicated "certain distinguished persons". Among the latter was Midyat, who, with the others, had paid two men, both called Mustafa, to murder the Padishah and stage a "suicide". Such, indeed, was the evidence proffered at a preliminary enquiry, but even these sensational "revelations" in the spring of 1881 were not the only distractions of the season, and at times the royal murder drama appeared insignificant beside the international situation that threatened to develop between the Ottoman Empire and the little kingdom of Greece. In the face of warlike moves in Athens and of continued unrest in the Ottoman province of Thessaly, dilatory commissions had sat to discuss the matter in the academic manner of the Berlin diplomats. After a good deal of this sort of thing the impending war was avoided—or postponed

—by a conference of the Berlin signatories held at Istanbul. The labours of the conference succeeded, and at last produced a convention signed on the 24th of May, 1881, which transferred to Greece nearly the whole of Thessaly, including the towns of Vólos, Phásala, Lárisa, Trikkala and Kalampáka. A little local fighting followed the "settlement", but Thessaly soon settled down to Greek rule, while public interest in the Ottoman Empire—especially in the capital—reverted once more to the domestic excitement of the royal murder case.

In a large oval green tent erected outside the walls of Yildiz Köshk there began on the 27th of June, 1881, the State trial of the great Turkish reformer on the charge of causing the murder of a former ruler who had always been regarded as having committed suicide. The greater part of the tent was reserved for "ticket-holders", who listened spellbound as with graphic detail the two supposed assassins described how they had committed the crime as paid agents of the Young Turks. They were condemned to death. Midyat and three statesmen were also deserving of the same penalty, but Abdûl Hamit of his sovereign power reduced the death sentence in their case to one of banishment. The degree of satisfaction which was obviously displayed by a large section of the population was the measure of the widespread unpopularity which Abdûl Hamit would have had to suffer had Midyat been hanged. It was Abdûl Hamit's first trial of popular feeling . . . and the needle had swung to "danger". Even as it was, Midyat was looked upon as the hero of the day, and a public which was growing in political consciousness sensed that in reality the trial was no mere prosecution of criminals, but a question of Abdûl Hamit *versus* Midyat Pasha, of Reaction *versus* Reform, of Old Turkey *versus* Young Turkey, and, in an increasing measure, of Dictatorship *versus* Democracy. Abdûl Hamit was losing the loyalty and good wishes of his people.

Nor were the actual murderers executed. They had served their master well, and he is believed to have rewarded them, not with the gallows, but with a pension to the end of their days. Midyat was exiled to Taif, a town near Mecca, behind the range of hills which bounds the coastal region of the Hedjaz. And to anticipate for a moment: Midyat is supposed to have been there strangled in his bed by Abdûl Hamit's orders in May 1884, and his head sent to Yildiz Köshk in a case marked "*Objets d'Art, Ivoire Japonais*".

Abdûl Hamit, who so recently had been hailed as "a wise and able sovereign" who would rule in accordance with constitutional ideals, was now absolute dictator of the Ottoman Empire. Even the fiction of his "kindly and humane heart" was dissolving before the reality of a shrewd and cruel autocrat, the head of a police state ruled through a palace clique of reactionaries. But, Herod-like, there was one thing he could not do, and that was to make sure that there was no infant Messiah being nurtured among his own people. Even in the very hour when the Yildiz tyranny seemed to have triumphed, not only Abdûl Hamit but the entire Sultanate was already doomed to extinction, and

the social, religious and domestic life of the Turkish people destined to be for ever changed.

In that same year of 1881, one Aliriza lived with Zubeyda, his wife, in the Turkish quarter of Thessaloníki, or Salonika, half-way up the hill leading to an old fort. Aliriza himself was one of a family which had migrated to Albania from Anatolia: Zubeyda was a shrewd and energetic Albanian from the Tosk country, but probably of Turkish descent. History was being made in the capital, in Thessaly, in Taif—anywhere, it seemed, but in the narrow streets where the silence of an Oriental town still reigned. Occasionally a Mussulman priest would pass by Aliriza's door in the narrow cobbled street on his way to the mosque, or a woman clad in a shapeless gown would steal out of an entry, and, drawing her cloak across her face, noiselessly pass on her way to the fountain like a black nun in the blinding sunlight.

But who could have been expected to foresee that in the house of Aliriza and Zubeyda a child was born who should be ten times greater than the great reformer who had this year gone into exile? Nobody, indeed, could have foretold that the baby who was later to play in a little striped shirt and red tarbush around the streets of this old Turkish quarter of Thessaloníki would one day be known as Kamâl Atatürk —"Father of the Turks"—and maker of a new Turkish State: "a MAN . . . iron-willed . . . who made out of a crumbling Empire a NATION" (Harold C. Armstrong).

But for the nonce the Empire continued to crumble. On the morning of the 18th of September, 1885, Bulgarian unionists surrounded the Konak, or local government centre, at Plovdiv (Philippopolis), where was the seat of the aged Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia. The old man yielded to superior force, and without a single drop of blood being shed the two Bulgarias quietly became one. Forty-eight hours later Prince Alexander of Bulgaria set his seal on the union by his own entry into Plovdiv.

Once more it seemed that the Ottoman Empire was either on the eve of a great transformation or on the threshold of absolute ruin. A few years before, Abdûl Hamit had appeared to be earnestly striving, against cruel odds, to do what was best for his people. But now not only was the Empire gradually breaking up, but Abdûl Hamit was bringing two dreadful curses upon his own dominions: a system of espionage which was rendering life unendurable for anyone in the least suspected of progressive ideals, and a rigid censorship of the Press which silenced all criticism, and betokened the fear and loneliness that was gnawing at the heart of an increasingly detested ruler. Abroad, the Czar was, and always had been, an enemy; the French were indifferent and still entertained hopes of one day possessing Syria; Italy—scarcely a factor to be reckoned with—had never concealed her desire for Libya and Albania; Britain—traditional friend of the Turk, principal upholder of the doctrine of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—was hostile. 'Abdûl Hamit looked round for a new policy and a new friend. Suddenly it seemed he had found both. . . .

[Photograph: The Locomotive Publishing Company, Limited

BRITISH ENTERPRISE IN ASIA

A Locomotive of the Ottoman Railway Company

THE NERVE-CENTRE OF AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE
Abdûl Hamit and the Istanbul Chief of Police in the Yildiz Observatory
(*Associated British Picture Corporation and Cahiel Film, Limited*
Photograph)

Since the days of Mahmut the Reformer, and even before his time, Ottoman rulers and statesmen had looked for guidance and inspiration in the West, and had worked actively at concealing the Oriental structure of the Ottoman Empire behind a façade of Western "improvements". In the face of recent events Abdûl Hamit decided to modify, if not to reverse, this policy. He would not refuse *patronage* from the West, but as far as the *internal organization* of the Empire was concerned, he would look no longer to Europe but to the greatest part of his dominions—to Asia. His Asiatic subjects were the most acquiescent in his rule, the most amenable to autocratic methods, and the overwhelming majority of them belonged to the faith of Islâm. In name he was "Commander of the Faithful", "the Successor of the Apostle of the Lord of the Universe"—Kalif. Here, at his hand, was an instrument long disused. He would have done with Britain, France, Russia, since they sought only to break up his Empire, and his remaining Christian subjects sought only to unite with their racial brethren in Greece, Servia, Bulgaria. . . . He would be a Kalif in fact as well as in name, no longer the "Sick Man" to be bullied and exploited, but a spiritual force capable of exercising a powerful appeal even beyond his Empire's frontiers. It was the policy of Pan-Islâm, and in adopting it he showed that there was within him a trace of suspicion of even his latest friend who in many ways could be so useful to him, a doubt as to the extent to which he could do away with European influence.

CHAPTER VI

THE GERMAN ROAD TO THE EAST

"Germany . . . determined to establish herself in these regions in order eventually to dominate Asiatic communications. A strong and independent Turkey . . . might have effectually preserved the balance of power in these regions, but a weak, disorganized and un-neutral Turkey was bound eventually to fall under the domination, military, political, and strategic, of whichever Power was prepared to stake its existence on the future control of the great Eastern highway."—EVANS LEWIN, *The German Road to the East* (p. 49).

THE GATES OF THE EAST ARE DOUBLE LOCKED. THE RUSSIANS, DEFICIENT in maritime power, had attempted to force these gates by land, attacking first the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire and then Thrace on the European side, while a similar thrust had been intended from the Asiatic side. There was, however, another means of applying force to the gates of the East—the sea approach to the heart of Istanbul. The Ottoman capital could be reached from the Black Sea down the

Bosphorus, but most visitors by sea, whether heralds of peace or bringers of war, approached the city from the Mediterranean, entering first the Chanakkale Boghazi, or "Dardanelles" channel between Europe and Asia, which later widens out into the Marmara Sea, only to narrow once more into the Bosphorus at the gates of Istanbul itself. The ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire had never been to allow the armed ships of foreign Powers to pass in either direction through this landlocked waterway—a rule which in later days had been revised both in theory and in practice. The clumsy attempts of Russia to force the gates of the West had been countered by British sea power during the Crimean War and during the last stage of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. It was by now quite evident that what could not be taken by force would have to be taken by guile. . . .

It was the 1st of November, 1889, and the guests were returning from the marriage of the King and Queen of Greece at Athens. Leaving behind it the mountainous shores of Greece, the German Imperial Yacht *Hohenzollern* threaded its way between the guardian islands of Imroz and Bozcaada, entered the Chanakkale Boghazi, crossed the Marmara until its shores narrowed, and the suburbs on either side drew in to their centre, the great harbour of Istanbul. At length the German Kaiser Wilhelm II and his Consort stepped ashore on Turkish soil as the royal guests of Abdül Hamit II. The gates of the East which had resisted the armed forces and fleets of many nations were at last open. Where battleships could not penetrate without precipitating a European crisis, a little steam yacht sailed gaily in and its passengers disembarked and drove through brightly decorated thoroughfares. The battleships were to come later. . . .

Abdül Hamit had already formed his new policy, and here, in the person of the Kaiser, was his new friend. Flattered, yet deeply crafty, he spared no effort to accord his visitors every mark of goodwill. In return for German Orders and distinctions, he bestowed upon them the highest honours of the Ottoman Empire and almost overwhelmed them with jewels, Turkish carpets and Arab horses.

A new chapter had opened in the history of the last days of the Ottoman Empire. A little while previously the German Chancellor had said: "I never take the trouble even to open the mail-bag from Constantinople—the whole of the Balkans is not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." But German policy was to be different in the future: Wilhelm II had set his seal on the efforts of individual Germans and adopted their ideal—the domination of the East by Germany. Henceforth it was to be the official policy of Germany into which would be incorporated also the policy which the Austrian Empire had hitherto pursued—the "Trend towards the East" (*Drang nach Osten*).

The *Drang nach Osten* now became a purely German rather than an Austrian trend, and as the Vienna Reich and the Berlin Reich approached each other in a common Teutonic bond their respective spheres of influence became more clearly marked. To the Vienna

Reich belonged the mission of opening and keeping open the road from the centre of Europe to the Adriatic and the Bosphorus—a road still barred, however, by the Slav State of Serbia, though Bosnia, Herzegowina and the Sandjak of Novi-Pazar had already fallen to her lot. To the Berlin Reich belonged the entirely new task of creating a land empire independent of sea power, unassailable by the British Navy and built upon the foundation of the hitherto unofficial efforts of Germans in the Near East. Wilhelm came to Istanbul not only as a distinguished foreign guest, but as the supplanter of Russia, France and England in the councils of the Ottoman Government. "Yesterday," wrote a Frenchman, André Chéradame, "the influence of the German Emperor at Constantinople was nothing, or rather it was everything."

While Abdül Hamit was congratulating himself on his new policy of Pan-Islám, and on his new friend and patron whom he hoped to use without allowing him to control the political destinies of the Ottoman Empire, that new friend was attempting to work out an answer to two questions. First: When the Ottoman Empire disintegrates, who is to own its territory in Europe, Asia and Africa? And the second question: Who is to own the communications, the finance, the commercial public utility undertakings, the cultural institutions of the Empire?—for the master of these will have such a hold on the territories that they may well fall to his lot sooner or later.

For many years some Powers had been attempting to forestall events, to have a foot firmly planted on Toros or Lebanon, to bind the Sultan's lands in London, Paris, Berlin, with invisible chains of gold, or with yet isolated lines of rail. These efforts had brought about a certain attitude of mind in Western Europe. It was universally believed that the Ottoman Empire formed a suitable field for foreign commercial enterprise (as indeed it did), and furthermore, an opportunity for actual colonization in the manner of Canada and Australia.

In addition to a firm belief in the inevitability of superimposed foreign culture, there was the widespread opinion that the Osmanlis —especially the Turks—could not possibly do anything for themselves. They must have their banks, their roads, their railways, their schools, even their country estates and farms run for them by foreigners. To their everlasting credit be it said that many of these foreigners sought honestly to serve the interests of the Ottoman Empire: others regarded themselves as constituting a "fifth column". These were the Germans.

"Turkey as a Field for Emigration" is the title of a chapter in James Baker's *Turkey in Europe*. Himself a gentleman farmer, this writer singled out Macedonia as "incomparably the best field in Turkey for the emigrant capitalist", and continued in terms which demonstrate the attitude of the average non-German foreign capitalist to the Ottoman Empire:

> "An emigrant would find the purchase of land in Turkey a perfectly safe investment. So long as it remains under Ottoman government he would not be disturbed in his title; and even if the

event came to pass, which some people think probable—namely, that Turkey may change hands—it is not likely to be occupied by any uncivilized tribe from Central Africa or Timbucktoo, but by some civilized European nation who would, of course, respect the rights of property" (p. 484).

In the lurid light of later events that "of course" reads strangely. It was not, however, the actual ownership of land which was to cause the keenest rivalry and greatest bitterness among the nations concerned in what had come to be called the "Eastern Question". It was the ownership of railways. For a country which was the most backward in all matters of transport, this statement demands some explanation.

In the early nineteenth century, when railways had been projected in the Ottoman Empire, they had not been designed in any way to form a co-ordinated system or to serve the interests of the Empire as a whole; they were intended either to satisfy the desire of foreign concessionaires to gain secure dividends by taking the cream of the traffic in some prosperous district to the neglect of others, or to serve some ulterior strategic purpose. The subject gains its importance from the fact that Germany as a land empire, seeking as one of her main purposes the domination of the great land-routes to the East, was in 1889 about to endeavour to control rail-power and gradually but persistently work towards the complete mastery of the routes of commerce leading to the East. The growth of railways was contemporaneous with the increase of German military power.

With a genuine regard for the peace and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, the British had been first in the field with railway projects, though it must be admitted that their first scheme—that of the Euphrates Valley Railway—had been primarily an attempt to shorten the route between Great Britain and India. How this project appealed to the average Englishman of the time may be seen in the cheerful expectancy of John Carne, whose *Syria, the Holy Land and Asia Minor*, was very widely read:

> "The introduction of steam navigation and railroads [he wrote in 1842] would be the herald, to the admiring people, of a new era in their condition, in knowledge, in comfort, in faith! The general diffusion of instruction among a people, from whom it has been so long and so utterly withheld, will be the gradual but certain result of the rapid facilities of intercourse with England. . . . There are several large and wealthy towns, where manufactures might be introduced and a regular commercial intercourse established: the cultivation of some districts is excellent, and most are capable of it: but the people are a prey to indolence and apathy: they want a new stimulus. And this stimulus will be felt when new sources of trade, of enjoyment, of energy, shall be opened to them. . . . Railroads and steam carriages will be the greatest blessings to these rich and beautiful countries: on their rapid wheels devolve greater changes than on the march of armies" (Vol. I, pp. 5–6).

While the plans for this scheme were being discussed, other British interests, actuated by a like spirit of benevolent enterprise, were considering the great port of Izmir (Smyrna) and the possibility of a railway to link the port with the rich province of Aydin—one of the most productive parts of Anatolia. The outcome was the British organization of the Ottoman Railway Company with its concession granted on the 23rd of September, 1856, for a normal-gauge line from Izmir (Alsancak) to Aydin and on to Sarayköy.

The Izmir-Aydin project was immediately followed by a revival of interest in the Euphrates Valley Scheme, and in 1858 Abdûl Mecit had granted the concession for the line to a British group, but work was never actually commenced in spite of the enthusiasm of Sir William Andrew, in whose *Memoir on the Euphrates Valley and the Route to India* occur these priceless words:

> "The quiet possession of British India would be secured and the advancing standards of the Barbarian Cossack who would overshadow the world would recoil before those emblems of power and progress, the electric wire and the steam engine, and his ominous tread be restrained behind the icy barrier of the Caucasus" (p. 225).

So long as Russia appeared to threaten the safety of India, little thought was devoted to the possibility of any other nation driving a wedge through the Balkans and thrusting across the Bosphorus an economic or military arm towards the coveted outlets upon the Persian Gulf. The few who did think of such a possibility actually encouraged the early German enterprises as a counter-move against Russia. Unmindful they, or ignorant, of the fact that for years Germans had been advocating the creation, "in the regions of the Near East and in Asiatic Turkey, of a new Germany". So Count Helmuth von Moltke, Wilhelm Roscher, and others during the eighteen-forties and eighteen-fifties.

The first sign of activity in this quarter was when the Austrian German, von Hahn, set out in 1858 to discover whether a railway could be built to connect the Danube with the Aegean. His avowed interest was to make the line of communication between Britain and India pass through the Austrian Empire. He started from Belgrade in the winter, followed the Morava from its confluence with the Danube to its headwaters, and then descended the Valley of the Vardar beyond Skoplje (Uskub) as far as to Veles (Koprilu). The British interest in the "Route to India" and the German and Austrian interests in the *Drang nach Osten* were then hardly distinct; the few wandering threads which bound the Ottoman Empire with Vienna and with London were not yet disentangled, though the Germans outside the Ostmark were already at work trying to separate the purely German from the other more international interests.

Of these more international interests the British enterprises were well to the fore in Asia. The idea of building a railway between Jaffa and Jerusalem dates back to about 1860, when both British and French

contractors made offers to the Ottoman Government, but were refused as the Government guarantees sought were considered unduly onerous. In 1863 the British organized a company to undertake the scheme for the normal-gauge Smyrna-Kassaba Railway, but no actual work was done at this time. Izmir (Bashmahane) was to be linked with Turguthu, serving Manisa en route. The following year, Dr. Zimple, a German millionaire, offered to build the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway on grounds of religious sentiment without subsidy other than a grant of the necessary land: he was granted the concession but failed to carry out the work. Meanwhile, concessions were given to British companies to build lines in the Romanian and Bulgarian provinces which were then still Ottoman—one from the port of Constanta on the Black Sea to Cernavoda on the Danube, via Medjidia, and the other from Varna on the Black Sea to Ruse (Roussé) on the Danube, via Kaspitchan. These two short normal-gauge railways were built during the period 1863–1866, and in 1866 the very first railway in Anatolia was opened—the Ottoman Railway, then just completed from Izmir (Alsancak) to Aydin. Thus the later independent States of Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey all derive the beginnings of their railway systems to British enterprise in the eighteen-sixties.

At the same time, through the genius and activity of Baron Maurice de Hirsch—an Austrian financier—and Dr. Wilhelm von Pressel, a series of normal-gauge railways was planned and built so that the interests chiefly of the Austrian Empire might be furthered across the Balkans in the directions of Sofia, Plovdiv and Istanbul. The principal scheme was the gradual building up of a trunk route from Vienna through Nish and Sofia to Istanbul and Alexandroúpolis, and of a second route through the Sandjak of Novi-Pazar by Mitrovica-Kosovska and Skopje to Thessaloniki. From Thessaloniki another line was designed to connect with Edessa and Bitolj (Monastir) in the direction of Lakes Presba and Ohrid (Ochrida).

Thus the Chemins de Fer Orientaux thrust a solitary line bit by bit from a terminus at Sirkeci in Istanbul towards Edirne and Sofia. By 1872 this railway had displaced some of the most interesting portions of the ancient Byzantine sea wall of Istanbul, but the Ottoman capital at last had its railway. From Thessaloniki a similar line was being extended towards Mitrovica-Kosovska. Von Hahn's dream was being realized.

So far the railway schemes in Asia had been in foreign hands, but from 1871 to 1873 the engineer of the Oriental Railways was engaged by Abdül Aziz himself to construct a normal-gauge line from Haydarpasha, an Asiatic quarter of Istanbul opposite the old city, to Ismit, a town on the Marmara shore. Little was it thought that this short line along the Gulf of Ismit was destined to become part of one of the world's most historic railways, part of the main arm of German control over the Near and Middle East. But one writer did attempt a prophecy:

"One short step [wrote Mrs. M. A. Walker in *Sketches of Eastern Life and Scenery*], hitherto an ill-made unsuccessful single line of

rail, skirting the Gulf of Ismidt and leading, so to speak, to nowhere in particular; but who shall deny that, once in competent hands, with sufficient capital and honest management, it may prove the one 'step in the right direction' that shall open out the mighty highway between East and West? . . ." (Vol. 1, p. 290).

The next railway to be built was commenced in 1873—a normal-gauge line to connect the port of Mudanya on the Marmara with the ancient city of Bursa. The French company which constructed it began the work and then allowed it to lapse for some years. But France, having recovered from the Franco-Prussian War, was now coming to the fore. In 1886 an Anglo-French company opened the Mersin, Tarsus and Adana Railway in Cilicia, and on the 6th of October, 1888, a French Company—La Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman de Jaffa à Jerusalem et Prolongements—obtained the concession for a metre-gauge line between the Mediterranean port and the ancient Judæan capital.

In 1888 the Germans crossed the Bosphorus, and from that moment onwards it became ever more true that the history of the *Drang nach Osten* might be written in terms of railway development in the Near and Middle East. A German syndicate, known strangely enough by the French title of La Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie, obtained in that year a concession to build a normal-gauge railway from Istanbul eastward to Ankara, incorporating the existing Izmit line. On the 13th of June, 1889, the German engineers commenced work. . . . It was the year of the Kaiser's visit to Abdül Hamit.

The Anatolian project had originally been partly British, but in this year the British capital was bought out by the Germans with the support of Sir William White, British Ambassador at Istanbul, whose policy was still the old one of throwing German interests across the line of Russian advance in the East. But British and French prestige at Istanbul was weakening, and during the next five years was reduced almost to vanishing-point chiefly on account of the revulsion which was felt in those countries at the ill-fruits of Abdül Hamit's new policy—a revulsion which was not shared by the Germans. For in 1890 a great part of the Ottoman Empire began to resound to the heartrending cries of the Armenian minority "butchered in thousands to make a Sultan's holiday".

There had long been unrest among the Armenians in Anatolia, encouraged by nationalist movements elsewhere and especially by the recent success of the Bulgarians in achieving union in 1885; there was recent success of the Bulgarians in achieving union in 1885; there was the rise of Nihilism in Russian Armenia; there was the irritating effect of European intervention in Armenian welfare—all these factors explain why the most horrible incidents in the nineteenth-century history of the Ottoman Empire should open suddenly when the great "Century of Improvements" had but ten years to run. The Powers had interested themselves in the fate of these Armenians just sufficiently to make them ten times more unpopular than they had ever been before. Remembering his promise in the Cyprus Convention, Abdül Hamit had lived for

BALKAN PENINSULA
1878
ROMANIA
BUCURESTI
CERNA
CONSTANTA
ZEMUN
BEOGRAD
BOSNIA
SARAJEVO
SERBIA
VIDIN
GIURGIU
RUSE
SILISTRA
HERZEGOWINA
ALEXINAC
NIS
NIKOPOL
BULGARIA
PLEVEN
SHUMEN
VARNA
MOSTAR
NOVI PAZAR
PIROT
TRNOVO
MITROVICA
KOSOVSKA
ZEMPIRA
SLIVEN
CETINJE
SOFIA
BURGAS
NOVA ZAGORA
STARA ZAGORA
YAMBOL
MONTENEGRO
BAR
SKYUSTENDIL
TATAR PAZARDZHIK
PLOVDIV
SKODRE
SKOPLJE
ST. RUMELIA
PRILEP
ŠTIP
EDIRNE
DURRËS
TIRANË
STRUMICA
OHRID
BITOLJ
SERRAI
DRAMA
KAVALLA
XANTHI
KOMOTINÉ
ISTANBUL
IOANNINA
VOLOS
GREECE
MANISA
IZMIR
AYDIN
THE
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
IN
EUROPE
WTF

some time under the fear of intervention, while his Armenian subjects —who had hailed with joy the arrival of the Russians in 1877—had rested in the assurance that they were under the special protection of the Berlin signatories in general, and of Great Britain in particular. This sense of security had tended to make some of them truculent.

Now it is well known that those whose origin is different from the race to which they nominally belong are often outstanding in the extreme nationalist movements of the country of their adoption, and sometimes the most active persecutors of the people from which they derive their origin. Abdûl Hamit's father was an Oriental of mixed descent, his mother an Armenian dancing girl. Being half Armenian, Abdûl Hamit was a shrewd man. Not only did he see an opportunity for ending the threat of Armenian nationalism and Armenian Nihilism, but he knew that by 1890 all fears of intervention were groundless. He decided to use two instruments—Mussulman fanaticism, and the racial hatred felt by the more primitive of the Kurds, a people who were intermingled with the Armenian population. To arouse both he used his position as Kalif.

In the summer of 1890 it was reported that the Armenians of Erzurum had stored arms and ammunition in the principal church of that town for the purposes of a revolutionary outbreak. The church was searched by the troops and brutally desecrated. Popular passion rose like a flame—and the first massacres began. The Powers did little more than protest and appoint commissioners "to obtain evidence" and to impress upon Abdûl Hamit that the long-promised reforms could be no longer delayed. But the massacres continued and spread to all the districts where Armenians dwelt.

While meetings of protest were being held in Great Britain, the struggle to obtain strategic routes in the Near East was still continuing. In 1891 a French company obtained the concession for a 1·05-metre gauge railway from the port of Beyrouth, over Lebanon to Damascus and thence southward to Mézérib, a central point in the Hauran region, or "Land of Bashan". Two French lines were opened in 1892—the Jaffa–Jerusalem (without any "Prolongements") and the Mudanya–Bursa. In 1893 the important Smyrna–Kassaba Railway, hitherto a British concern, which the promoters had extended to Alashehir, lapsed to the Ottoman Government. It handed the line over to French capitalists, who began an extension to Afyon. By the same year the Anatolian Railway, now entirely German, had reached the upland town of Ankara, and from a Function at Eskishehir began to push in a new direction towards Konya—towards the Middle East. On the 3rd of August, 1895, the French opened their Beyrouth–Damascus–Hauran Railway and began to plan another Syrian line from the seaboard at Tripoli to Homs. The following year, on the 29th of July, 1896, the Germans reached Konya.

What the Turks themselves thought about these rival enterprises in the Near East may be seen from *The Diary of a Turk*, by Halil Halid, who wrote of the Anatolian Railway :

"It is really a loss for my countrymen that this enterprise should not have been in the hands of an English company, because they are aware that in dealing with the English there is a fair possibility of mutual benefit; while in bargaining with Germans, the greediest of all grasping Europeans, Turkey has little to expect in return for what she has to give" (pp. 214–15).

By this time even the streets of Istanbul itself were red with Armenian blood. Massacres took place under the very eyes of the European Embassies until at last the Mussulman world began to wonder if the country had not got beyond the control of the Padishah. But Abdûl Hamit knew when to stop. In 1896 the massacres ended with almost military precision. Through them all, the Germans never lifted a finger or raised a voice in protest. Rather the reverse. Even a German pastor could write : "We must be politically indifferent to the sufferings of the Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire."

To what extent was the Turkish nation responsible for these massacres and for others before and since ? The answer is that neither the ordinary Turk nor yet his religion were to blame. The work was done by the creatures of Abdûl Hamit, whether corrupt officials of mixed origin or uncivilized fanatics who professed a perverted form of Islâm, and who were, as often as not, Kurds. An Australian surgeon attached to the Ottoman Army during the Serbian and Russian campaigns, who knew the Turks better than most Europeans, shall answer for them. Charles S. Ryan wrote in *Under the Red Crescent* in 1897 :

"Courageous in misfortune, uncomplaining under the most awful suffering, good-humoured in every situation . . . it is deeply painful to think that the men whom I almost idealized should lie under the accusation of the atrocities which we must believe have been committed in 1896. Yet through the black cloud that hangs over the Turkish Empire today I can still discern the distant stars ; for I can look back with honest pride to the high sense of honour, the dauntless courage, the loyalty and true patriotism of those who were my comrades . . . in the earlier and brighter days" (p. 425).

CHAPTER VII

MEAN AND COMIC DETAILS

"Those who know the virtues of the Turk must marvel that he should be delivered into the hands of the extortioners and thieves who haunt the Palace, men who care nothing for Islam or their country and sell its interests daily to the highest bidder. The fierce and foolish chauvinism

of the Balkan States has prevented any adjustment of aims or policies."
—ARTHUR MOORE, *The Orient Express* (p. 279).

SCARCELY HAD THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL BEEN CLEANSED OF ARMENIAN blood than a fresh outbreak of violence occurred in another unsettled part of Abdül Hamit's dominion—in the magnificent island of Crete. Deriving, some said, their authority from Yildiz Köshk and their inspiration from the Kurds of Anatolia, Mussulman roughs of Crete rose on the 4th of February, 1897, and burnt a large part of the Christian quarter in Chaniá, principal town of the island. The news caused great excitement in Athens. Behind a warlike Premier was ranged all the force of strong public indignation. A fleet of Greek torpedo-boats left for Crete; on the 15th of February a Greek force landed a little to the west of Chaniá and the same day the Admirals of five European naval forces whose ships were lying off the coast gave instructions that Chaniá must be occupied in the name of the Powers. The Ottoman Governor of the island fled: he was the last who ever ruled in the name of the Padishah.

By this time the Cretan question had become a conflict between a virile Hellenism and its traditional foe—not the equally virile Turk—but the dead hand of Ottoman officialdom, the bitter repression of Abdül Hamit. Armed Greek bands on the mainland crossed the frontier into Ottoman territory on the 9th of April, 1897. On the 17th Abdül Hamit declared war on Greece, while at the same time quieting the Slav States (which at the best of times had never been too friendly towards Greece) with the concession of new national bishoprics, commercial agents, and schools in Ottoman Macedonia. An Austro-Russian Note to the heads of the Balkan countries also warned them not to enter the struggle. Thus the war was localized. The fuel had not been piled sufficiently high for these few sparks from the Balkans to set the whole world alight. The events of the next few weeks were disastrous, but disastrous for one country alone and, strange to say, that country was Greece. . . .

The Greeks had never really fought the Turks since the struggle for independence, when the Janissaries had been such ineffectual supporters of the Turkish military tradition. The Greek Army was untried; its first efforts were described by a great authority as "brigand warfare"—but the Turks had been schooled by German instructors and soon crossed the Greek frontier into Thessaly. The Greek defences fell only after severe fighting, it is true, but when Osmanlis eventually reached Lárisa, and the Thessalian countryside, which had become part of Greece in 1881, was overrun once more by the forces of Abdül Hamit, this unexpected invasion caused a reaction in Athens in proportion to the original enthusiasm for war. The King of the Hellenes barely saved his throne—and then the Powers intervened. The cat that played with the mouse was itself on the end of a string.

Under the terms of the treaty signed at Istanbul on the 4th of December, 1897, Thessaly was to be evacuated by the Ottoman troops, except for one village and certain strategic positions which brought

the new frontier very near Lárisa; Greece had to pay an enormous indemnity. When the Ottoman soldiers left the invaded province the following year almost all the remaining Mussulman landowners went with them, and the only memorials of the Ottoman occupation are six strange yet beautiful hexagonal postage stamps richly inscribed in Arabic characters.

The success of this large-scale manœuvre of the Ottoman Army trained on German lines by Baron von der Goltz, the great Teutonic soldier and scholar, afforded a natural excuse for the visit of congratulation by the German Kaiser himself—the event for which he had long been planning.

The Kaiser and Kaiserina arrived at Istanbul on the 18th of October, 1898. Having paid his respects to Abdül Hamit and "grasped in friendship the hand dripping with Armenian blood" (and Greek blood, too, for that matter), certain negotiations were concluded, and a memorial of the visit raised in the Atmeydan (or Hippodrome) of Istanbul. On the site of the Byzantine Imperial Lodge of the Hippodrome a new ornamental fountain of pleasing and substantial proportions was erected—a gift from Wilhelm II to Abdül Hamit II, symbol of the dream that one day Istanbul was to be the German capital of the East.

Up to 1898 the Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem had been connected to the Citadel by a crenelated wall crossing a fosse. There was no carriage road into the old city. The pilgrim had either to enter on foot or on donkey-back through one of the gates. But this year the wall was taken down, the fosse filled in, and a carriage road driven through the medieval enceinte to the open space opposite the "Grand New Hotel". A pilgrim of more than ordinary importance was expected.

On the 31st of October the Kaiser and his party drove into the ancient walled city. Wilhelm was dressed like a conqueror and behaved like one. The same day he set the seal of Imperial favour on the new German Evangelical Church newly built near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Of Him who nearly nineteen hundred years previously had entered the same city "meek and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass". At this ceremony the Kaiser figured as the secular head of the Reformed faith in Palestine. In the afternoon he played a similar part in a ceremony designed to represent him as patron and protector of Roman Catholicism. At the new German Church of the Assumption every detail of the ceremonial was arranged with a view to effect: the hoisting of the German Imperial Standard on the hill wrongly supposed to be Mount Zion, the Kaiser standing with drawn sword, the salute by two hundred German soldiers and sailors, all fully armed and accoutred. A week later, at Damascus, Wilhelm visited the sepulchre of Saladin, where the body of the Kurdish foe of the Crusaders rested in a beautiful cenotaph of carved wood. Anxious to ingratiate himself with the Mussulmans, Wilhelm ordered a marble tomb to be made for Saladin and crowned this imperial benevolence with a wreath of artificial flowers (which was not removed until 1918). As guest of Abdül Hamit the Kaiser was lodged in the most beautiful

Syrian family mansion of the old city—the Palace Azem of 1749. On the 8th of November, 1898, this versatile monarch delivered his famous Damascus Speech, which contained the words:

"Let His Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid, as well as the three hundred millions of Mohammedans who reverence him as their Caliph, be assured that at all times the German Emperor will remain their friend."

These words were instantly taken down by the Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin, who was with the royal party. They were telegraphed to Abdûl Hamit, translated into Turkish and Arabic and printed in letters of gold. The message was circulated next day among the population of Damascus. At Baalbeck, where the Kaiser obtained permission for the ruins to be excavated and preserved by German archaeologists, a large tablet was erected in the Temple of the Sun bearing an inscription in German and Turkish, testifying to the Kaiser's unchangeable friendship and his regard for Abdûl Hamit.

Present in the crowd at Damascus there had been a German and a Frenchman, both writers. Friedrich Naumann was afterwards author of *Mitteleuropa* and *Asia*. The Frenchman was M. Gaulis, afterwards author of *La Ruine d'un Empire*. In their respective books both preserved their impressions of this royal pilgrim. This is what Naumann thought:

"It is possible that the world war will break out before the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Then the Caliph of Constantinople would once more uplift the Standard of a Holy War. The Sick Man would raise himself for the last time to shout to Egypt, the Sudan, East Africa, Persia, Afghanistan and India: 'War against England!' . . . It is not unimportant to know who will support him on his bed when he rises to utter this cry."

And this is what Gaulis thought:

"Those who had seen, as I had, the pilgrim and his retinue in their three successive parts, Protestant, Catholic and Mussulman, stood astonished at the edge of the crowd. What motive is there in this great versatility which, desiring to give honour to all, throws a challenge to the religious convictions of the East? . . . The motive is only too obvious when in a fortnight the man pays homage, now to Jesus Christ, now to Saladin, offers one shrine to the Evangelical Church and another to the Pope."

A witty American summed up the situation as "*Deutschland über Allah*" . . .

And now the results of the negotiations between the two autocrats began to be seen in the scheme for the extension of the German-owned Anatolian railway to Baghdad, and beyond to the shores of the Persian

Gulf—perhaps to Kuwait, where there was a magnificent natural harbour.

While this vast scheme was maturing, another clever move of Abdûl Hamit was being planned at Yildiz Köshk. His policy of friendship with Germany was to have its outward and visible sign in a direct standard-gauge link of steel track linking Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Edirne, Istanbul, Konya, Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad and Kuwait. His parallel policy of Pan-Islâm had as yet no such symbol. But could not the loyalty of all Mussulmans be bound to their Kalif with a grand political and strategic line of communication, say from Damascus to Medina and Mecca? A Hedjaz or pilgrim railway could be built to serve an ostensibly religious purpose, and so perhaps the capital for its construction could be found entirely in subscriptions from pious believers throughout the world—including some Mussulmans in the British Empire. Together with a projected French railway from the main Baghdad line at Aleppo down to Damascus, the Ottoman Empire could now be provided with a new instrument of power and consolidation at practically no expense to itself. Then the ideas of a branch to the Mediterranean at Haifa and Acre and another branch off this down to Nablus suggested themselves.

It was not until the 15th of March, 1903, that the Baghdad Railway scheme took its final form. On that date a diplomatic agreement between the Ottoman Government and the Anatolian Railway proprietors was announced—an agreement under which a Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie was succeeded by a new company consisting of the same people but appropriately reconstituted as La Société Impériale Ottomane du Chemin de Fer de Baghdad. The title still remained French, French was to be the official language, and everybody employed, including every German, was to wear the Turkish tarbush. But these minute concessions to the prevailing mode of the Ottoman Empire did not hide the fact that never had the Empire been so much under the heel of a foreign interest as at the beginning of the twentieth century. The company was to have forestry rights and mining rights, to have access to all convenient ports, navigation rights on the Tigris and Euphrates and their estuary, the Shatt-al-Arab, during the progress of the work, to have the monopoly of port construction at Baghdad, Basra and on the Persian Gulf. Since the material for the railway and its equipment was to be supplied from Germany, entering the Ottoman Empire duty-free, all the profits on construction and rolling-stock would accrue to German firms. The Ottoman Government was to guarantee the construction and working of the line by the iniquitous system of "kilometric guarantees" based on the length of line constructed and "open for traffic"—whether there were to be any traffic or not. Indeed, here was a positive temptation for railway promoters to have their lines built in such a way as to obtain a maximum number of kilometres of track between any two places, served by a minimum number of trains.

Before the end of 1903 an extensive port and siding accommodation

had been built on the Asian shore opposite Istanbul at Haydarpasha, where a magnificent station in the German baronial style was arising by the landing-stage. By October 1904 the first section of heavy steel flat-bottom rails on steel sleepers was completed as far as the foot of the Toros mountain barrier at Bulgurlu. Eregli—practically the last inhabited spot before the mountains began—would have seemed the right place to finish the first stage of construction. But the company had to have its pound of flesh under the kilometric guarantee, and the line was completed to a point where a station was built six kilometres from the nearest habitation, and called "Bulgurlu"—and even a whole kilometre beyond this, to end with a pair of rails dumbly projecting into nothingness until the company could agree with the Ottoman Government about the terms of a grant for the great mountain section ahead.

At the same time work progressed on the 1·05-metre gauge Hedjaz Railway (Chemin de Fer Hijaz). Construction had been commenced at Damascus and the line was opened to traffic as far as Amman on the east side of the Jordan on the 23rd of August, 1904. The German engineer in charge—Meissner Pasha—was making great efforts to have the railway at Medina by the anniversary of Abdûl Hamit's accession on the 31st of August, 1908. The two great symbols of Abdûl Hamit's policy were intended to be linked by a section of the Baghdad Railway down to Damascus through Hama, Homs, Baalbeck and Rayak, but a French interest was already building lines in this part of the world.

Meanwhile there were slight indications that things were not going too well between the Kalif and the Kaiser. In face of the tightening German grasp on his Empire, Abdûl Hamit was showing signs of uneasiness. German policy had become closely woven into the fabric of Ottoman life. Imperceptibly German economic control was passing into German political control. Although as the friend of Wilhelm II he had been willing enough to subscribe to German economic plans as the price of a secure throne, he nevertheless checked and kept at bay all movements for securing control of the Ottoman Army. German instructors should learn to keep their place. Besides, an Anglo-German conflict was openly discussed, and Abdûl Hamit had sufficient respect for the resources of the British Empire to believe that Germany was not certain of winning such a war. He began—at first imperceptibly—to edge away from Germany, and Germany from him. The Kaiser was already looking for another instrument of German policy in the Near East, and there was only one card left to play. Sufficient unrest in the remaining European portion of the Ottoman Empire would bring about the threat of European intervention—a threat strong enough to bring the Young Turks into power once more, depose Abdûl Hamit, and put in his place a constitutional monarch who could be at the same time Kalif and puppet of a German-controlled Ottoman Government. At first the hand of the Teuton could be hidden.

For some time, indeed, there had been disturbances in the Macedonian provinces—a territory where interests overlapped, where races intermingled without liking each other the more, and which the three

(Animated British Picture Corporation and Capitol Films, Limited

"THE NATION HAS DEPOSED YOU"

Abdûl Hamit faces the Young Turks, 27th April, 1909

Photograph

AN UPLAND TARN IN WESTERN MACEDONIA

Kastoria, overlooked by Greece from the Ottoman Bosporus, 1913

[Photograph] [Greek Ministry of the Interior

States of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia claimed as their rightful heritage. Despite half-hearted measures by the Powers, who had persuaded Abdül Hamit to introduce a sort of international gendarmerie under Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, Ottoman Inspector-General of Macedonia, a new disturbing element arose in the autumn of 1904. Greek bands were formed with German blessing and Ottoman sympathy, intended to "protect" the followers of the Greek Patriarch from those of the Bulgarian Exarch, who as irregulars, secret agents and terrorists had long dominated the country. These rival nationalistic movements masquerading under the banners of two branches of the same Orthodox Church have been described as "the most shameless and bloody crusades that have ever been carried on by heathen in the name of Christ". In *The Orient Express*, Arthur Moore pictured the Macedonian scene from his own observation:

> "Patriarchist and Exarchist convert each other by killing women and children, by burning in oil, by mutilation and by torture. The Turkish Government looks on in glee while the Sons of Christ —for this is the style and title of some of the bands—cut the throats of villagers. . . . Musulman murder-bands and roving Albanian brigands join in the general pandemonium. . . . The death roll swells in volume from month to month, barbaric anarchy increases, and it would seem that the very elements of a social state are dissolving. The immemorial loyalty and patience of the Turk is at last exhausted, and the spirit of revolt against the iniquities and fatalities of the Constantinople cabal, which is plunging the empire to destruction, is widespread" (pp. 279–80).

Who could have seen at this date that both the "general pandemonium" and the "spirit of revolt" were being used by a foreign Power with contemptuous disregard for the loss of life caused by the one and for the idealism which inspired the other?

> "We must be politically indifferent to the sufferings of the Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire [wrote Friedrich Naumann, the German pastor, in his *Asia*]. Turkey must receive the constitution she needs in order to be able to keep afloat yet a little while longer. . . . As Christians we welcome the expansion of the Faith, but our politics have no occasion to be concerned with Christian Missions. The truth is, as it has always been, that we must seek for the greatest and the most important moral work. When we have made our choice we must never turn back. William II has made *his* choice . . . *his* faith is in a greater Germany" (p. 148).

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There was no sign yet, however, of the Ottoman Empire receiving any sort of constitution. At the time of the Armenian massacres Abdül Hamit had earned for himself the title of "the Red Sultan". The twentieth century was now nearly eight years old, and yet, in a manner reminiscent of the Dark Ages, the ruler of the Ottoman

Empire still dealt out death or ruin from his private residence at Yildiz Köshk, the centre of "the great poisonous grey Spider's web", a palace which was the product and the abode of fear unutterable; where everything seemed to bear the imprint of the curious and crooked mind which had called it into existence, where every detail bore testimony to Abdûl Hamit's fear of assassination.

Here was the nerve centre of an elaborate system of espionage, its most concrete symbol an observatory fitted with an excellent telescope used solely for the purpose of spying on the apartments of the heir to the throne who was kept as a virtual prisoner in the Chiragan Saray. Sometimes, when there was a particularly good reason for suspecting some victim of this universal spy system, Abdûl Hamit's fear, though not, it seems, his cruelty, caused the suspect to be tortured by deaf mutes who could tell no tales. He was never present himself at any of these gruesome inquisitions, which took place "in the guard-house at Beshiktash, close to the Palace and to the Bosphorus".

Supervised directly from Yildiz was the Censorship of the Press, whose officials were especially chosen from amongst the most narrow-minded and stupid of fanatics. Generous in bestowing concessions for new journals, but grudging in allowing them freedom to spread news or knowledge, Abdûl Hamit threw dust in the eyes of Europe which was still innocent of the art of lying propaganda. The "inspired" journalism of the Ottoman Empire, however, compares very favourably with the later efforts of lying developed in European dictatorships. It was picturesque, Oriental, perfectly harmless. It was a refreshing change from the turgid malevolence of the German propagandists of even those days to read, in an Ottoman paper, of Abdûl Hamit:

> "The esteemed Centre of the Universe at whose grand portals stand the symbols of justice and mercy, and to whom the eyes of kings and people in the West have been drawn: the rulers there finding an example of political prowess and the people a model of mercy and kindness; it is our Lord and Master the Sultan of the Two Shores and the High King of the Two Seas, the Crown of Ages and the Pride of all Countries, the greatest of all Kaliphs; the Shadow of God on Earth, the Successor of the Apostle of the Lord of the Universe, the Victorious Slayer of Infidels, Sultan Abdûl Hamid Khan; may God protect his Kingdom and place his glory above the sun and moon, and may the Lord supply all the world with the goodness which proceeds from His Holy Majesty's good intentions." (Quoted by H. Anthony Salmoné, *The Fall and Resurrection of Turkey*, p. 132.)

In the chief town of every province (vilayet) or district (sancak, or "sandjak") was the local centre of this interesting autocratic government—a building called the Konak. With a few exceptions, such as the much-admired New Konak at Thessaloniki—"a magnificent structure which compares favourably with any public office in Europe"—the Konak of the period was a colour-washed barrack-like building

with rows of broken windows and overhanging tiled roof, a sort of smaller edition of the offices of the Ministries at Istanbul called the "Sublime Porte". Among the soldiers with broken teeth and shabby uniforms amidst the crowd of onlookers, petitioners and officials, there were sure to be several spies. In almost every corner of the Ottoman Empire where a semblance of government was maintained were the secret agents, and a solitary telegraph wire drooping forlornly from crazy poles. And at the end of every telegraph wire was the listening ear of Abdûl Hamit trying to detect the first whispers of sedition, and behind every office chair or divan the sinister shadow of the esteemed Centre of the Universe, crouching over a table in a poky study at Yildiz Köshk scanning every face for the first signs of the revolt that would end his tyranny and open the way (who could tell?) to another tyranny that should bring the Ottoman Empire to its end.

And when, once a week, Abdûl Hamit, entering the "white, new and unpretentious" mosque which he had caused to be built just by Yildiz for his weekly prayer on Friday noon—when in a moment of profound silence he would turn and salute the crowd, one who was often in that crowd said of him:

> "There is no splendour in his dress or bearing; but for the moment that he stands there alone a solemnity falls over the scene, the mean and comic details disappear, and we are face to face with the spirit of a great nation and a great religion incarnate in one man. Of all his subjects there assembled before him . . . there is not one but what would fall down and kiss the hem of his garment did he deign to address them, or cheerfully die to preserve his tyranny . . . of all those Liberals and Young Turks there is not one who, when the time for talking is over and the time for action comes, will not submit to his will . . . and though much has been talked and written about revolution by the so-called Liberal Party, nothing has ever been done."*

CHAPTER VIII

ABDUL THE DAMNED

"I arrived at Constantinople in the full flush of revolution. The city was glowing like a rose, and tense with excitement. Where before there had been silence, crowds wandered singing. Christians had their arms round the necks of Moslems; the old order and the new mingled. There were high hopes for the future. Murder ceased . . . the millennium reigned."—AUBREY HERBERT, *Ben Kendim* (p. 257).

THE STORY OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE HAMIDIAN TYRANNY IN THE Ottoman Empire is the story of a secret movement which had few

* Sir Charles N. E. Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 116-17.

parallels either for secrecy or for effectiveness—the Young Turkey movement of the old days driven underground and suppressed, yet gaining in force from the very pressure which was applied by the authorities to disintegrate it, gaining in attractiveness for the younger men from the very secrecy of the conditions under which it was compelled to work.

The movement was composed of two dynamic elements: the old Liberals, the original "Young Turks" of Midyat's day, who looked chiefly to France and England for their inspiration, and a later element, which was in the ascendency, composed of young army officers and intellectuals, ambitious, cynical, atheistic, who looked to German militarism and efficiency for their ideals, and were not above using religion and liberalism as stepping-stones to the attainment of their own particular ends. Yet they were all patriots and all brave men who formed the secret revolutionary organ called Le Comité Ottoman d'Union et de Progress, or simply the "C.U.P.", or "The Committee".

The Committee made the Third Army Corps stationed in Macedonia the special object of a propaganda which speedily affected all the younger officers, but local branches sprang into being everywhere, books were smuggled into barracks, and officers sat up at night studying the history and technique of revolutions.

During the troubled years prior to 1908 there had been associated with the movement a young officer who had always taken an independent line, "a brilliant, difficult youth, with whom it is impossible to be intimate". Born at Thessaloniki in 1880, Kamál Atatürk had been a mere babe when Abdúl Hamit exiled Midyat. He had been trained at the Military Cadet School in the city of his birth, then at the Senior Military School in Bitolj (Monastir), at the Staff College at Istanbul, and by way of promotion and then prison for his views, followed by semi-exile in Damascus, he had succeeded in returning to Thessaloniki, where he was invited to join the Committee of Union and Progress. There he met the leaders of the secret movement—Enver (not yet a Pasha), Talát, Ahmet Niyasi and others.

Of these men who held the key of the future, Enver was by far the most spectacular—a slight, dapper, handsome major with heavy eyebrows and a curling moustache. All writers subscribe to two truths about him: he was energetic, and he could never pass a mirror. For the rest, there were slight differences of opinion. "He was shy and simple in all he said and did," wrote Aubrey Herbert. "Cruel, ruthless, treacherous, avaricious, corrupt," wrote Sir Harry Luke, "but to do him justice, energetic, enterprising, fearless and determined." "A slapdash fellow," wrote Harold C. Armstrong, "there was about Enver a brilliance, a verve, a sparkling audacity, a flair for publicity. But above all he had the courage of his convictions, and ultimately died a martyr to the cause of pan-Turanism while fighting the Soviets in distant Bokhara." It was rumoured that when Enver had been Military Attaché in Berlin he had already contemplated the overthrow of Abdúl Hamit and had discussed the matter with Wilhelm, who recognized in him a likely instrument of German policy in the Near

East. In great contrast with Enver was the junior member of the conspiracy, Kamál Atatürk—"a white-hot molten enthusiast, now hardening down into cold steel". He quarrelled with all the leaders on account of the inadequacy of their programme of patching up the old Empire, and for this reason he was excluded from the inner circle of the movement.

It had been the intention of the leaders, in default of Abdúl Hamit's eagerly expected death, to begin the revolution on the 31st of August, 1908, which was the anniversary of his accession. But three events caused the Committee to hasten its action: the meeting between the British King Edward VII and the Russian Czar Nikolai II at Reval, where together they drew up a programme of "appeasement" for Macedonia, which made the Young Turks fear that foreign intervention was about to take place on a large scale; the sending of a Commission into Macedonia by Abdúl Hamit to collect evidence against suspected persons, which made the Young Turks fear that the Padishah would be the first to act unless something could be done quickly; and lastly, the threat of an Albanian attack on a large Austrian excursion organization which had erected casinos and less reputable places of entertainment in a wood near Ferisovic on the railway to Mitrovica-Kosovska. Twenty thousand wild Puritans had threatened to fire on the excursion train should it attempt to pass "the cut-throat gorge of Katchanik". Naturally the Committee feared that an Albanian attack upon Germans would lead to an Austrian invasion of Macedonia. The fear that a continuance of the Yildiz regime would lose Macedonia to the Empire had been the stimulus of the action of a majority of the Committee. That fear was now sharpened by this new alarm.

There was one person for whom alarm meant quick, impetuous action. Without prearranged plans, Ahmet Niyasi and a few enthusiasts made off to Resnja in the mountains at dead of night on the 3rd of July, 1908, and there, to the north of Lake Pesba, raised the flag of freedom. Next day he found himself at the head of seven hundred men, and on the night of the 5th the Committee placarded the Ottoman Serbian town of Bitolj (Monastir) with a Constitutional Manifesto. The Revolution had begun. . . .

Vainly Abdúl Hamit attempted to crush the movement, but the troops he sent to Bitolj were already infected with revolutionary propaganda.

At noon on the 23rd of July, 1908, a vast crowd of Mussulmans and Christians, headed by their clergy, the local authorities, soldiers and one thousand insurgents, assembled on the parade ground at Bitolj. With a salvo of guns the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed! The same thing happened at Flórina.

Away down on the coast at Thessaloníki the leaders of the Committee felt themselves to be sufficiently masters of the situation to enter the New Konak, Government centre and headquarters of Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, Inspector-General of Macedonia, who declared that he was prepared to advise His Imperial Majesty to accept the Constitution.

At the other end of the telegraph one of the greatest personal decisions in his life was being made by a crafty old man, trying to gauge the strength of the unseen forces measured against him. At the last Council meeting of his old autocratic regime scarcely one of his Ministers durst speak. It was not for *them* to suggest that Abdül Hamit had no choice but to submit. In the end it was Abdül Hamit who spoke :

"I am myself heartily in favour of a Constitution. Let it be granted immediately !"

At Thessaloniki, Hüseyin Hilmi went out at noon on Friday the 24th to meet the enormous crowd waiting in front of the Konak. The people massed in the Square cheered and cheered again and then fell silent for the Proclamation of the Constitution. Afterwards Hilmi cried aloud three times : "Long live His Majesty the Sultan !" But to those words there was scarcely a whisper of applause.

An Englishman, Arthur Moore, was travelling towards Thessaloniki as these stirring events were taking place. Even as his train shot southward across the great heat-stilled plain of Hungary he felt the change coming. The restaurant car was filled with happy returning exiles—Young Turks from London, Paris, Geneva, their tarbushes at a jaunty rake as they talked of freedom, of the coming greatness and glory of the Ottoman Empire. In *The Orient Express* Moore left his impressions of that amazing experience :

"I have no hope that, though my days be as many as the sands of the seashore, I shall ever see again the like of the Turkish revolution, or feel the communicable thrill that ran through Macedonia in that summer of 1908. Liberty was in the very air, an intoxication. . . . In the morning, after a momentary halt at Ristovatz, on the Servian side, we crossed the Turkish frontier and drew up amidst a cheering crowd in Zibeftche station. In the old days, to cross the frontier from any other country was, by contrast, to step into the shadow from the sun ; one had the feeling of entering a prison. But now the cowed or scowling faces were gone. The outward and physical change was one which to be believed had to be seen. . . . Then the festive journey began again and every wayside station broke out in joyful shouts as the train steamed in. At Uskub and Kuprilu, vast, seething, good-tempered, happy crowds composed of all the nationalities of the vilayets, thronged the station . . . all wore the red and white rosette that celebrated the Constitution. Everyone seemed to wish to shake his neighbour by the hand incessantly, and Turkish officers might be seen embracing Bulgar priests, and kissing them affectionately on both cheeks.

"The great event of the day was at Kuprilu, when a train arrived bringing home twelve hundred Uskub excursionists who had been junketing at Salonika. The engine was dressed with red-and-white

streamers, and every inch of the train was decorated with palm branches and flowers. On the roof, close to the engine, was a band, and the rest of the roof was packed from end to end with men standing poised beside heavy banners—which tugged against them in the breeze—or squatted, Turkish fashion, on the carriage tops. . . .

" 'Why are you all so happy ?' I asked one.

" 'We have been in a dark cavern,' he said quite naturally, 'and now that is all over for ever. We are free.'

" 'But are you not afraid that some of the old evils may return ?'

" 'No,' he answered quite decidedly, 'after this it is impossible, no one could bring them back' " (pp. 184–7).

Meanwhile, in Europe as a whole, the new men and the new ideals in a regenerated Ottoman Empire inspired a confidence which was in striking contrast to the previous distrust of the "Unspeakable Turk" in his "Unchanging East". But there were two countries in Europe who knew the weakness of "Young Turkey" and were ready to seize the opportunity of profiting by the disorganization and hysterical intoxication of the Ottoman Empire. On the 5th of October, 1908, Bulgaria proclaimed its complete independence of the Ottoman Empire and Prince Ferdinand proclaimed himself Czar of the Bulgarians in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Tirnovo. Two days later the Empire of Austria-Hungary finally annexed Bosnia and Herzegowina—the great diplomatic coup which renders the year 1908 the turning point in early twentieth-century history. Austria was holding the twin provinces as the mandatory of the Berlin signatories : they were legally still Ottoman territory and inhabited mainly by Serbs. The same day Crete formally declared her union with the Kingdom of Greece.

It was a bad start for the Committee of Union and Progress. The Ottoman Empire seemed to be breaking up more rapidly than ever—a fact which persuaded Enver and the more militaristic Young Turks to adopt a policy of rigid centralization. There was only one compensation. Austria's ambition to reach the Mediterranean at Thessaloniki had given place to the Berlin idea of the Baghdad Railway with its link across Serbia and Bulgaria. The Mitrovica-Kosovska route was allowed to go into neglect and Austria-Hungary decided to evacuate her garrisons from the Sandjak of Novi-Pazar and to concentrate her forces on breaking Serbia, the one hindrance to Teutonic ambition along the main route to the East. So on the 28th of October, 1908, the Sandjak returned to the undivided sway of Istanbul and the last Austrian troops were withdrawn.

Meanwhile an Ottoman Parliament was elected just as in 1877, and was due to meet for the first time in the Ministry of Justice on Thursday the 17th of December, 1908.

Shortly after noon on that day a weary old man entered the Chamber and shuffled into the Royal tribune, where he stood leaning with

BALKAN PENINSULA
1908
ROMANIA
ANNEXED BY AUSTRIA 1908
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
GREECE
1881
1885
BELGRAD
SARAJEVO
NOVIPAZAR
MITROVICA
KOSOVSKA
ALEXINAC
NIŠ
PIROT
VIDIN
GIURGIU
RUSE
SILISTRA
CONSTANTA
NIKOPOL
PLEVEN
SHUMEN
VARNA
TERNOVO
SOFIA
NOVA ZAGORA
STARA ZAGORA
PLOVDIV
SLIVEN
BURGAS
YAMBOL
EDIRNE
ISTANBUL
SKOPLJE
PRILEP
ŠTIP
STRUMICA
SERRAI
KAVALLA
KOMOTINÉ
DRAMA
KANTHI
OHRID
BITOLJ
VOLOS
LARISSA
MANISA
IZMIR
AYDIN
CETINJE
BAR
SHKODËR
DURRËS
TIRANË
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE
WTF

both hands on his sword-hilt as his First Secretary read the "Speec from the Throne".

"In despite of those who were of a contrary opinion we pro claimed anew the Constitution and ordered new elections. I have directed my efforts to promoting progress in all parts of my country. . . ."

The Speech over, an old, green-robed cleric from Mecca prayed in a loud voice as Abdûl Hamit extended his hands palms uppermost to receive the blessings falling from a now thoroughly constitutional Allah. At the same moment the cannon in the Meydan began to thunder. The batteries of the Karadeniz Boghazi and the warships in the Marmara took up the note. With the bark of a hundred and one guns they saluted the birth of the Constitution. The voice of the artillery, the loud acclamation of the troops and the crowds, the strains of military bands, the whistles and sirens of the shipping rose in magnificent disharmony. It was the very voice of the Ottoman Empire.

After the prayers an unprecedented thing happened. The esteemed Centre of the Universe, the Crown of Ages and the Pride of all Countries began to speak, but owing to the noise outside not a soul heard his voice. Having finished whatever he had to say, Abdûl Hamit saluted the assembly and shuffled slowly out of view. . . .

From the small study in Yildiz Köshk the entire Ottoman Empire had been governed since the eighteen-seventies. Abdûl Hamit had personally supervised every department of State; consequently he had been accustomed to doing an incredible amount of work daily. But now, under the Constitution, he was virtually out of employment. Therein lay an unforeseen danger. Had he been a man of less rigid habits, a broad-minded, educated man with wide interests, he could have adapted himself to the new scheme of things as a good constitutional ruler. That would have been to have asked too much of one who had already overthrown one Constitution—of one who loved power, craved for it with all the hard fixity of age. A month after the Revolution spy reports were once more his mania. Accusing voices were being raised in Parliament; members were asked where were the considerable proceeds of a certain "Yildiz Bazaar" which had been held in aid of the widows and orphans of the "Thirty Days' War" against Greece; where were tremendous sums subscribed by Mussulmans all over the world for the Hedjaz Railway? To Abdûl Hamit these accusing voices could mean only one thing—the Committee of Union and Progress meant to be rid of him. From Yildiz Köshk gold began to flow out steadily for the corruption of those who disliked the Young Turk regime, especially those in the army who objected to the rigid German discipline and the hard work imposed by officers who modelled themselves on Enver. At length communications of a more definite kind than hitherto began to arrive at Yildiz.

"Most of the men belonging to Constantinople garrison have agreed to mutiny [read one such message]. They will march in a short time against the Committee. . . . In any case, blood will flow. My Servitude towards Your Majesty forces me to say that money must be given, discreetly."

By the first dim light of dawn on the 13th of April, 1909, two battalions of fusiliers marched to the sound of bugles towards the Square near Ayasofiya, where they took up a position in front of the Ministry of Justice which housed the Parliament. People who were awakened by the tramp-tramp of their marching and the call of their bugles merely thought how hard the Young Turks worked the poor soldiers, and turned again to sleep. Towards six o'clock all the men fired into the air, shouting: "Long live the Army!" Some went so far as to fire on the empty Parliament building, shouting: "You wretches in there! We're going to settle our accounts with you today! Today we desire that you obey the Sacred Law!"

By breakfast-time there was panic in Beyoglu—the shops were being shuttered, and troops without officers were marching through the streets; the Seraskierat, or Ministry of War, was almost in a state of siege; thousands of soldiers were demanding the dismissal of all officers except those taking part in the mutiny, and the removal from office of all Young Turk ministers. No Young Turk sympathizers dare approach the Parliament, so that only a minority of deputies were allowed to enter the building, but when common soldiers entered the Chamber and began to take part in the debates some of the members actually wept with rage and despair. At half past four in the afternoon Abdûl Hamit's First Secretary reached the building and read to them an Imperial decree announcing the resignation of the Cabinet and an amnesty for all those taking part in the mutiny. Reaction had won the day!

For some time it looked as if Armenian atrocities like those of 1890–95 were to be repeated in Anatolia and Northern Syria, especially in the region of Adana. During a very few days about twenty thousand persons lost their lives in circumstances of almost German brutality. There can be no doubt that Abdûl Hamit thought that such massacres, coming immediately after the revolt in the capital, would paralyse his enemies, rid him of Committee leaders and sympathizers and lead to criticisms of the Young Turks' ability to keep law and order. There he made a miscalculation. The telegrams from Adana and the persistent report that the reactionaries were thinking of massacring all the native Christians at Istanbul itself convinced Armenians, Greeks, Bulgars and Turks alike that at any price the rule of the Committee of Union and Progress was preferable to such a nightmare as this. It was not the Young Turk ideals which had failed, but the system of despotism and massacre which had failed. How these new massacres were regarded by the majority of true Turks and Mussulmans everywhere is illustrated by a contemporary newspaper article written by a Turkish woman and addressed to the Armenians ("To My Armenian Brethren"):

"My poor Armenian brethren, you are the greatest victims of the Hamidian nightmare [she wrote]. The fiery joy of my soul for our re-established liberty turns to ice in the face of your darkened, desolate lands, the sad fate of your homeless, motherless little ones! Our national joy falls in the dust with shame before this awful tragedy. . . . Oh, believe me, my brethren, in me is the repentance and shame of the whole present and future Turkish race; I but re-echo the mourning of our beloved country for you all."

With women writers of this calibre in their midst there was still prospect of political and social salvation for the many races who came under the name of "Osmanlis". But it was from Macedonia that the promise of immediate intervention seemed to be coming.

At the head of the Third Army Corps in Thessaloniki was the cultured Mahmut Shefkat Pasha, who had been converted to the Young Turk cause when on a journey to the Hedjaz in the steamer *Generosity*, carrying six hundred of Abdûl Hamit's political enemies to exile and death in Arabia. On the 14th of April, 1909, Mahmut Shefkat learnt of the success of the reactionary mutiny at Istanbul, sent a telegram of protest, instructed his battalions to be ready to entrain at once for the capital and at the Military Club informed his officers of the decision he had taken. He gave two reasons for action, and the order in which he stated those two reasons is germane to any attempt to estimate the Young Turkey movement at its true value: "to wash out the stain imprinted on our military honour by the Mutiny, and . . . to restore the Ottoman Constitution".

Among those who came hurrying to the rescue of Ottoman military honour and of the Constitution (regarded and valued in that order) was Enver, who had been in Berlin, and Kamâl Atatürk, who had been on a military mission in North Africa and now became a divisional Chief of Staff.

Owing to Mahmut Shefkat's initiative, the first rescuers of military honour left for Chatalca, "the key of Constantinople", on the 16th of April. Here were six hundred reactionary soldiers under officers secretly Young Turks, who managed to persuade their men to go in a body to Istanbul and enjoy themselves by cheering for the Sacred Law. They went, and the Macedonians quietly took possession of the key to the capital—barracks, stores, fortifications. Even from Istanbul itself men came marching out to join the "Army of Liberty" which held the fortified lines extending from the Marmara to the Black Sea. Wherever the Young Turks held a position all was order and progress. Trains were allowed to run through to Istanbul. "The whole scene was like a summer picnic," wrote an Englishman. "One feeling was expressed by all—they were going to make sure work this time—*Baba Hamîd bitdi*—'Father Hamid is done for'." Even the Istanbul newspapers became more outspoken as the liberators approached the capital. Here is the *Osmanlî*:

"To avoid all effusion of blood, the Sultan Abdul Hamid should immediately abdicate, and if he does so, he may rest assured that his abdication will be the one good work that he will have accomplished during his thirty-three years' reign."

The resistance which the Army of Liberty encountered in the capital was not formidable, nor even general. Considerable fighting took place at the "Sublime Porte", at the Fatih and Tashkisla Barracks, and, fiercer than anywhere else, at the Taksim Barracks, which were terribly damaged. But the whole action was more like heavy police work than military campaigning. By the evening of the 25th of April the barracks and depots of Yildiz itself were in the hands of the Young Turks. In the palace itself was dire confusion: Abdûl Hamit cowered in its inmost recesses; at night there was no artificial light and hundreds of helpless women who believed that the buildings might be stormed in the darkness began to scream, and the hours of dark were filled with dreadful voices.

The 27th of April, 1909, was the last day of Abdûl Hamit's reign. A Young Turk deputation arrived at Yildiz Köshk. It consisted of a Turk, a Jew, a Greek and Armenian. From behind a screen Abdûl Hamit shuffled towards the spokesman, saying: "Why have you come?" The Turk stepped forward and pronounced the fate of the King of Kings, the Unique Arbiter of the World's Destinies. . . .

"The nation has deposed you. The National Assembly charges itself with your personal security and that of your family. You have nothing to fear from anybody. Be assured!"

Abdûl Hamit burst out with a frenzied cry: "May God damn everlastingly all who have caused these troubles!"

"May God damn them, Your Majesty," replied the Jewish member of the deputation.

It sounded dangerously like a curse: if so, it was a legitimate inference from the fate of the Sultan's moral predecessors since the days of Jeroboam and of Belshazzar.

All dignity gone, the tearful old man pleaded for his life. Then for a moment there was silence, until the booming of the guns announced the beginning of the reign of Abdûl Hamit's brother as Mehmet V.

At 2.45 on the morning of the 28th a train left the Sirkeci station at Istanbul and steamed off into the darkness. Its line of lights could be traced from the Marmara as it followed its course along the shore by the old sea walls, then past the silent outlying suburbs and out into the desolate countryside of Thrace. It was thirty-three years since Abdûl Hamit had been in a train. At ten o'clock on the evening of the same day the train drew in to Thessaloniki. An hour later Abdûl Hamit entered his new residence—the Villa Allatini, a new furnished house built in the east of the town some eight hundred metres from the sea in the centre of a tree-shaded private park.

When the excitement of the journey had worn off Abdûl Hamit fell gradually into a condition of acute melancholia. Morose, taciturn,

irritable, sometimes he would speak to himself in a low voice, saying: "We must wait two or three months yet"; at other times he would strike the table with his fist, hissing: "Malediction! Malediction!" or rising suddenly from his chair, exclaim: "Futility! Futility! Futility!" . . .

CHAPTER IX

UNION AND PROGRESS

"The new Sultan took the name of his great ancestor Mahomed the Conqueror. . . . 'Mahomed the Conquered' wits called him, for he was a bibulous but kindly dotard, who had exchanged the captivity of Abdul Hamid for the coercion of the Committee, and signed everything that was put before him, from the death warrant of one of his own relations to the secret treaty with Germany that brought Turkey into the Great War."—FRANCIS YEATS-BROWN, *Golden Horn* (p. 67).

NO CONTRAST COULD BE GREATER THAN THAT BETWEEN ABDÜL HAMIT and the intelligent and well-intentioned elderly prince of vague liberal sympathies who succeeded him on the throne as Mehmet V. A man of gracious and easy manners, sincerely religious, exceedingly generous and kind, he was far from being the "bibulous dotard" of Francis Yeats-Brown's harsh judgment. It was easy to make sport of his difficult position: practically every writer has succumbed to the temptation. Mehmet would, in fact, have made an ideal ruler of a small neutral principality, but with all his good points this perfect Turkish gentleman was scarcely the man to hold his own against the new military absolutism that was being disguised in constitutional mufti by the extreme Young Turks. Parliament, so recently the universal panacea, was gradually becoming little more than a façade—the real decisions were being made behind the scenes, in the councils of the Committee.

A subtle, almost indescribable change seemed to have come over the Ottoman Empire since the Counter-revolution of Abdül Hamit and its suppression by the Army of Liberty. There was a growing feeling of rivalry between the old-fashioned Liberals and the Committee of Union and Progress. Great Britain favoured the former, Germany the latter. All were bound to admit that though the ambitions of the Young Turks were not unworthy of respect, though the Committee included men who were altruistically desirous of making things better, this revolution was not from the people. It was from the army. "The country has returned to Janissary rule," protested one of the old Liberals. On the other hand, the army had not betrayed the trust reposed in it. All through the recent trouble the military element

had showed extraordinary and unexpected moderation. It had held itself well in hand on occasions when a German army, for instance, would have burnt, ravished and looted.

The subtle change in atmosphere is recorded for us by Aubrey Herbert in *Ben Kendim*. He attended the opening of Mehmet's first Parliament, and afterwards wrote:

> "The comparative stillness that fell as the Padishah drove past seemed rather a pause of sad reminiscence than of hope, a contemplation of the past rather than a prayer for the future. For much has happened since the (original) opening of Parliament. High expectations have failed; Sultan Hamid has once again smirched his great office; the Christian Powers have not shown exactly the enthusiasm for reform which might have been expected, and the people look forward without much hope to the morrow, realizing, perhaps, for a moment what this crowd is never likely to achieve:
>
> O Happiness, thou dewy petalled flower,
> Thy wayside blossom shall we never see?"
>
> (p. 288).

More ominous than this collapse of popular enthusiasm was the tacit and gradual abandonment of the original ideals of the Young Turks, of their original doctrine of racial equality. The same chauvinistic nationalism which had only been sublimated for the moment in the minds and activities of non-Turkish elements of the Empire's mixed population had now begun to infect the Young Turks themselves. The cause of that sublimation had been the common struggle against the Hamidian tyranny. "Today the tyrant has disappeared," Enver had shouted from the balcony of the Olympian Palace Hotel in Thessaloniki. "We are no longer Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, Jews, Moslems; under the same blue sky we are all equal; we all glory in the name of Ottomans." And the mixed crowd in the "Place de la Liberté" had cheered him to the echo.

Though the word "Ottoman" or "Osmanli" had hitherto been freely used to designate any inhabitant or interest in the Ottoman Empire, the word had been merely a convenient expression, empty of all national significance. Now it was going to be given a meaning. The heterogeneous inhabitants of the Empire were to be brought to a common level, to a common standard of uniformity.

The Young Turks of the Committee did not aim at the *exclusive* racial Turanism of the few Turkish Nationalists among them, such as Kamâl Atatürk, for that policy involved the elimination from the state of racial elements that were not Turkish, and logically the abandonment of all except the Turkish homelands—Thrace and Anatolia. They were prepared to retain, and collaborate with, the non-Turkish elements, whether Mussulmans such as Kurds, Arabs and Albanians, or nominal Christians such as the Armenians, Greeks and Serbs, or

Jews. But all these peoples would have to abandon any national or racial ambitions of their own which they might have cherished. It is difficult to envisage what other basis the Committee could have laid down for the restoration and reconstruction of the Ottoman Empire.

This policy, however, could not be pursued without bringing in two other policies which were inconsistent with it and often incompatible with one another. By now it was not only the Christians who had developed national and racial ambitions; Arab nationalism and Albanian nationalism were beginning to make themselves felt. For this tendency there was only one corrective—the old policy of Pan-Islâm. Germany, too, had by no means abandoned her influence at Istanbul, and Pan-Islâm was in the German interest also. So the policy that had supported the tyranny of Abdûl Hamit was now used to support the Westernized military clique of smart young officers, free-thinkers and Jews, and the mild old Mehmet V began to be exploited as Kalif as much as the crafty Abdûl Hamit had exploited himself, with the same unseen German backing as there had been in the old days.

Because Germany was in the opposite camp to Great Britain, France and Russia, the policy of Pan-Islâm was obviously advantageous to Germany, for all three of the Kaiser's rivals possessed large Mussulman populations in their respective Empires. But Russia also possessed a large *Turkish* population extending from west of the Caucasus, in Russian Anatolia, almost to the borders of China—huge areas of steppe and prairie where pure Turkish was spoken, where perhaps was the cradle of the Turkish race. Could not an *inclusive* Turkish nationalism be developed?—a parallel movement to Pan-Islâm, a spear in the side of Russia, a Turkish irredentist movement that would tend to bring Turks into the Empire without excluding Arabs, Albanians, Greeks? So it was that the policy of Pan-Turanism was added to the already complex and difficult programme of Union and Progress.

So much for Union. What about Progress? Considering the difficulties of the Committee, it was a marvel that any material progress was to be seen at all. Yet as soon as Abdûl Hamit's ban on Westernization was lifted fresh money poured into the Empire under the stimulus provided by the need for railways, harbours, tramways, telephones and electric light. Especially in Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, Beyrouth, Damascus and Baghdad, a large number of new foreign companies was formed to undertake public utility services. To finance them, foreign banks organized or extended branches in the Empire and material "improvements" began to multiply as in the days of Mahmut. Even on the Sea of Galilee a steam launch was plying between Tiberias and Samakh, piloted by a half-naked man, clad in a turban and an English oilskin coat, who steered the boat with his bare foot.

In October 1909 the Ottoman Parliament moved into new quarters at the luxurious marble Chiragan Saray, which had been the virtual prison of Mehmet V for twenty-seven years and the scene of the

(Turkish Ministry of the Interior Photograph)

"SOBER, SOLID AND SINCERE"

Edirne, the Selimiye Mosque, masterpiece of Turkish constructive genius

Photograph [*Turkish Ministry of the Interior*

THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY PIERCES THE TOROS MOUNTAIN BARRIER

suicide of Abdûl Aziz. But scarcely had the deputies time to feel at home there (if that were possible) than the place was completely destroyed by fire on the 19th of January, 1910, leaving only the walls rising dumbly from the marble terrace on the Bosphorus. There were some who, gazing at the vast empty shell of fire-scarred marble, saw therein an omen of a bad future for the Young Turks.

There was one omen for the future which was ever present—the symbols of the German *Drang nach Osten*. For a considerable time the Baghdad Railway had been held up at the foot of the great Toros mountain barrier, but now in 1911 the Germans resumed work beyond Bulgurlu. The interior of Asia was fast becoming a German province, especially Anatolia and Palestine. Syria was still predominantly under French influence. The position in Palestine—the future spearhead of attacks on the Suez Canal (artery of the British Empire)—was recorded by William Eleroy Curtis, a contemporary American observer, in his book: *Today in Syria and Palestine*:

> "Germany is working slowly but surely to the bottom of affairs in this part of the world, and every man who is interested in the peace and the protection of the Holy Land should rejoice that such is the case. Ninety-nine per cent of the world care nothing for the political problem involved. They are indifferent whether John Bull or the Czar or Kaiser achieves a triumph; they do not care who does it as long as it is done, and the prayer of all Christendom should be for the success of the Kaiser's plans, although we do not know exactly what they are or how far they extend" (p. 163).

Had the ninety-and-nine been a little better informed, their prayers might have been less fervent. There was certainly no lack of affairs for Germany or for her allies, Austria-Hungary and Italy, to meddle with in the land of Union and Progress. The irritating centralization of the Committee quickly brought about unrest and trouble in the Jebel ed Druz region of Syria, in the distant neglected Yemen in Arabia, in some of the Greek islands still under Ottoman rule, and, above all, in Albania, where the inhabitants were the sole remaining European subjects of the Padishah without some liberated homeland already enjoying independence—unless, indeed, we count the Turks themselves. Here in the mountains of Albania the Young Turks were making precisely the same blunder as they were making with the Arabs in Asia and Africa—they were attempting to force the schools to use only Turkish as the language of instruction. The Mussulmans of the north, especially, objected to paying dues for which they saw no result in their own country, and to performing military service in the distant fiery deserts of Arabia. This unrest spread to the Latin Christian tribes, while among the Mirditi tribes a "Provisional Government of Albania" sprang into a brief and shadowy existence. In the face of this movement the Young Turks were forced to grant the immediate objectives of the Albanians, and in 1911 the mild old Mehmet V was suitably dressed up and taken to the Macedonian and South Serbian districts

bordering on the plain of Kosovo in the hope that the presence of the Kalif himself might inspire enthusiasm and rekindle anew the spark of loyalty in a part of the world which was riding very loose to the Ottoman harness. But he did not enter any purely Albanian districts: among those vast mountains the only law was the patriarchal law of an unconquered primitive mountain folk.

It was important for the interests of the Young Turks that Albania should be pacified, for both Austria and Italy had set covetous eyes upon it. Austria at the moment was still digesting Bosnia and Herzegowina, but Italy was turning towards the Ottoman Empire to see at what points she could forestall her ally, Germany, of whom she was intensely jealous. The Central Powers (as they were now being called) were an ill-assorted team: the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the junior partner, Italy, with little Bulgaria as a possible fifth. The occupation of a great deal of North Africa by France had been a severe blow to Italian aspirations; England was firmly established in Egypt; Germany in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq; Austria had just scored an easy triumph over her Ottoman ally in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegowina. There was only one place left, and that had once been part of the Roman Empire: Libya. Enormous in size, sparsely populated, meagre in resources, the only part of Libya which mattered was the coastal region, and this only in two small belts, forming the Ottoman province of Tripoli-in-Barbary. One included the settlements of Tripoli, Homs (Leptis Magna), Zuara, Gasr Garian and the small centres on the Golfo di Sidra. This the Italians called "Tripolitania". The other belt, which the Italians called "Cirenaica", extended from the Golfo di Sidra to the Egyptian frontier, including Bengasi, Benina, Barce, Cirene, Derna, Tobruk and Bardia—names which were destined later to figure large in the greatest military collapse in history. Behind these two coastal regions was one of the world's most empty spaces, the vast Libyan desert, but in no part of Libya was the Ottoman rule more than nominal.

It seemed in the first half of 1911 that Libya might continue to enjoy for many years to come this nominal rule of Union and Progress without experiencing much of either of these ideals, especially in view of the explicit statement of the Marchese di San Guiliano in the Italian Parliament on the 9th of June, 1911:

> "It has always been an invariable rule of Italian foreign policy that, not only in Europe but in Africa also, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire should be respected and sacred."

On the 26th of September, 1911, Italy sent an ultimatum to the Ottoman Government accusing it of a "state of disorder and neglect" in Libya, blaming it for "opposition to every Italian initiative" and for "agitation against the Italians", and demanding consent for an Italian occupation of Libya "under the sovereignty of the Sultan, and subject to the payment of an annual tribute". Forty-eight hours were to be allowed for the Ottoman reply. It need hardly be added

that the Italian transports were already on their way. The declaration of war on the 29th of September was the merest concession to an outworn convention of decency.

Some twenty kilometres inland from the port of Derna the Osmanlis made their headquarters at Ain-al-Mansur. In "a great tent with carpets spread on the floor and hung with draperies" was Enver, commanding a mixed Arab and Turkish "front" of desolate sand, even more desolate hills and occasional small, dusty, coastal towns. With him was Kamâl Atatürk. In spite of uninterrupted sea communications, immense stores and an overwhelming force of artillery backed by naval guns and searchlights, the Italians were unable to make any progress beyond the immediate coastal strip. Practically the whole of the campaign can be summarized in a few paragraphs written on the spot "amid the grunting of camels, the chattering of men, and all the varied noises of an Arab camp" by a veritable prophet, Ernest N. Bennett, in his book *With the Turks in Tripoli*:

> "From my own experiences of the land [he wrote], I can only say that I am amazed that any country should waste blood and treasure in an attempt to secure these horrible wastes. . . . There in a few coast towns lay the great invading army, unable, after all the great expenditure of blood and treasure, to advance anywhere more than three miles from their ships, while all the world laughed at their ridiculous 'annexation'. . . . The much advertised Tobruk, the hypothetical naval base of the future, is shorn of half its importance, if within eighty miles the powerful ships of Great Britain can ride securely in the deep waters of Sollum.
>
> "It is difficult, indeed, to forecast the future course of this unique war. The Italian army cannot withdraw from their intrenched positions, nor, on the other hand, does Turkey show the slightest disposition to sue for peace on any terms acceptable to Italy.
>
> "The main difficulties before Italy would seem to be the contingency, sooner or later of a bad reverse in the desert . . . and the possibility of a violent change in popular feeling if the war is unduly prolonged without any salient results. . . . The Italians will doubtless continue their efforts to secure by bribes what they cannot accomplish by arms.
>
> "There is one more reflection which should have given pause to the 'imperialist' Press of Italy before it drove the nation to this insensate adventure. If Italy ever does succeed, after an immense outlay of lives and money, in securing some sort of control over the deserts of Tripoli, she would hold her new province entirely on the sufferance of England and France. If her two powerful neighbours found themselves ranged against Italy in the course of some great European conflict, naval bases at Sollum and Bizerta would deprive Italy of her dearly-won province in a few weeks. The military 'descendants of Scipio' would be cleared out of North Africa bag and baggage" (pp. 10–29).

This prophecy was fulfilled almost to the letter in the early part of 1941 and in the latter part of 1942.

Although it was not remarkable in any military sense, this campaign has a unique interest denied it by every historian except Bennett. It was the first international struggle in which air power was used. It was in this respect, as in others, the first small fissure in the ominously thin veneer of Western civilization. A single paragraph of *With the Turks in Tripoli* is the first description of actual air warfare in literature:

> "Aeroplanes and dirigible balloons may, of course, prove more formidable as the numbers and experience of the aviators increase. The balloons are intended to carry 250 bombs, charged with a high explosive, and a few can be dropped from an aeroplane, though in this case the aviator has to guide the machine with one hand and use the other for fixing the fuse in the bomb, placed between the knees. The explosive is contained in round steel cases about three and a half inches in diameter. Little has been effected up to the present by air-ships in the way of attack, though their scouting has proved invaluable. Orientation in the desert is difficult in the absence of salient landmarks and, in order to be safe from bullets or, at times the air currents due to heavy gunfire, the aviators must remain at a height of some 2,000 feet. The Arabs show no signs of perturbation when they see the air-ships, and sooner or later the Turks may themselves secure aeroplanes and be able to try conclusions with the enemy in this new field of combat. How ridiculously inconsistent are the present laws of war, which forbid the use of an explosive bullet but permit a man to drop explosive bombs indiscriminately upon an area containing men, women, children and hospital patients!" (pp. 24–5).

Hitherto the struggle with Italy had helped the Ottoman Empire as well as injured it: it had reconciled Turk and Arab and combined both in a Holy War which deserved the name more than many that have borne it, and when, in April and May 1912, the Italians occupied the islands of Rodi, Cos, Lipso and others of the Isole dell'Egeo or Dodekanese, which should have normally become Greek, they lost the friendship of all Greeks. Such was the situation, when suddenly information of warlike preparations and sinister alliances in the Balkans caused the Ottoman Government to seek terms with the "invaders" of the North African sea beach. On the 18th of October, 1912, at a lakeside faubourg of Lausanne, the Treaty of Ouchy was hastily signed. By this sudden and unexpected act the Ottoman Empire lost its last hectare of African soil (or sand), and Italy was allowed to remain in occupation of the Aegean Islands. She had won by valour of arms almost nothing. An accident, fortunate for her, presented her with everything, for the greatest of all political miracles had actually happened. The Balkan States, with the exception of Romania, had united in the Young Turks' hour of trial in a last great

effort to satisfy their respective irredentist claims, to free their fellows who were still under Ottoman rule in Northern Greece, Macedonia and South Serbia.

On the 8th of October, 1912, Montenegro, the smallest and weakest of the Balkan allies, had declared war on the Ottoman Empire; on the 18th, the day on which the Treaty of Ouchy was signed, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece also declared war, and a large and well-equipped Bulgarian force crossed the Thracian frontier into Ottoman territory. It met with practically no immediate resistance. The Greek Army fought an engagement the following day—an engagement which only went to prove that the Greek advance on Thessaloniki was going to be as easy as had been the Ottoman advance into Thessaly in 1897. By the 23rd the Serbs were in Prishtina. The following day the Bulgarians took Kirklareli which the German Field-Marshal, von de Goltz, had pronounced as capable of "resisting a German siege for three months. On the 25th of October, 1912, the stain of the historic battle of Kosovo was wiped out on that same battlefield where Serbia had been annihilated by the Turks on the 17th of October, 1448. For close upon five hundred years the Serbs had awaited the hour when they should enter their ancient capital—Skopje. On the 26th they entered the town and despatched one body of troops to encourage their Bulgarian allies in Thrace and another to help the Montenegrins who were making slow progress against Shkodër (Scutari) in Ottoman Albania. Meanwhile the main body of Serbs flung themselves upon the Osmanlis at Prilep, thrusting them back upon Bitolj and from thence back upon the guns of the advancing Greeks, who were advancing in another direction also—towards Thessaloniki.

As the danger to Thessaloniki increased, a distinguished inhabitant of the town was taken aboard the German ship *Loreli*, arriving at Istanbul on the 3rd of November, 1912. It was none other than Abdül Hamit, yet his return attracted scarcely any attention in the distraught capital where he was quietly lodged in the Beylerbey Saray on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, destined to end his days in obscurity during the Great War of 1914–18.

Five days later, on the 8th of November, 1913, Thessaloniki fell to the Greeks. Almost at the same moment the Bulgarians arrived from the direction of Thrace and were allowed to enter the city on sufferance. They had lost the race for the capital of Macedonia. It was the first rift in the recently patched up Balkan lute, but the forces of European diplomacy were already beginning to operate and on the 3rd of December came an Armistice. The only portions of the former "Turkey in Europe" still under the Ottoman Empire were the towns of Istanbul, Edirne, Ioánnina, Gjinokastër (Argyrókastron) and Shkodër (Scutari). Ten days later a sort of double peace conference, consisting of delegates from the warring states and of ambassadors of the Great Powers, began its sittings in London.

On the 20th of December the last important event of the epic year 1912 took place. Albanian independence was at last recognized by the ambassadors of the Great Powers, including Italy.

The outcome of all this fresh interference on the part of the Powers was a Collective Note presented on the 17th of January, 1913, to the Ottoman Government urging it to bow to the inevitable and yield up all its European possessions, including the city of Edirne. This was too much for the Young Turks. The First Balkan War recommenced officially on the evening of the 3rd of February, 1913. But it was no good! On the 6th of March Ioánnina fell, on the 16th a Greek force entered the marvellous old Albanian city of Gjinokastër, known to them as Argyrókastron; on the 26th the Bulgarians entered Edirne. There yet remained Shkodër—the only European city besides Istanbul which still belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and Montenegro was determined to take it. The Osmanlis were still being badly beaten: on the 19th of April they had to accept the Armistice once more. The next day Shkodër fell to Montenegro, though she had to hand it over almost immediately to an international force landed from warships in the Adriatic.

On the 30th of May, 1913, the Treaty of London replaced the Treaty of Berlin: by it Mehmet V ceded to the Balkan States all his territories on the European Continent to the west and north of a line drawn across Thrace from Enez to Midye. The delimitation of the Albanian frontiers "and all other questions concerning Albania" were confided to the Great Powers, who would be entrusted with the apportionment of the rest of the spoils of war between Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. But before this could happen the open rupture so long foreseen occurred. Suddenly, on the night of the 29th of June, 1913, Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece; the Serbs and Greeks drove the Bulgarians before them; on the 9th of July Romania joined the dog-fight, took Silistria, in the Dobruja, and marched her forces towards Sofia. Four days later—on the 13th of July—the Ottoman Empire seized the great opportunity. Without any declaration of war Enver sent all available troops into Thrace, recaptured Edirne from the harassed Bulgarians on the 20th of July, and with bands playing and flags flying rode into the city as victor, once more the hero of the day. In his train was the man who was destined one day to rule over most of Thrace as well as over all Anatolia, but compared with Enver, now the "darling of the nation", Kamál Atatürk was as nobody. . . .

This, the Second Balkan War, lasted one month, during which time the Young Turks under Enver regained Edirne, Kirklareli and most of Thrace. On the 30th of July, 1913, a new Peace Conference met at Bucharest, and on the 10th of August the Treaty of Bucharest finally divided up the Balkan Peninsula among the combatant States: Montenegro gained a wide strip of the Ottoman Sandjak of Novi-Pazar, including the towns of Plevlje in the north of her new territory and Djakovica in the south of it. Serbia's gains were large—the Kingdom was almost doubled in size by the addition of the greater part of the Sandjak of Novi-Pazar and all South Serbia, including the former Ottoman towns of Nova-Varosh, Sjenica and Novi-Pazar in the Sandjak and Mitrovica-Kosovska, Prishtina, Prizren, Skoplje, Veles, Stip,

Prilip, Ohrid and Bitolj in South Serbia. The Greeks, too, almost doubled their Kingdom by the addition of Epeiros (including historic Ioánnina) and Western Macedonia, with its towns of Flórina, Kastoría, Vérroia, Thessaloníki, Sérrai, Dráma, Kaválla and all the islands still remaining Ottoman, excepting Imroz and Bozcaada. The Aegean coast with the port of Alexandro polis and the towns of Xánthi (Eskije), Komotini and Didymóteihon (Demotika) on the railways behind, and the hinterland as far as Strumnica in South Serbia went to Bulgaria.

To Bulgaria the Ottoman Empire had also to cede the extreme corner of Thrace on the Black Sea coast, including the towns of Tzarevo (Vasiliko) and Akhtopol, while retaining the rest of Thrace—Enver's great prize of war.

On the 23rd of November, 1913, Prince Wilhelm von Wied became King of Albania, and on the 14th of December, 1913, Crete was formally taken over by Greece. In Albania the most ancient of the Balkan races had been the last to gain its independence, and there was peace in the Balkans at last—as the world giveth peace. . . . Bulgaria had been severely punished for the mistake of initiating the Second Balkan War. In a single month she had thrown away the hard-won gains of thirty-five years. She had become a gambler and began to look round for some chance of regaining her territory, especially from Serbia and from Greece. It was manifest that should any major European war break out Bulgaria would eventually be drawn in on the side opposite to Serbia and Greece, and if Serbia was already marked down as the victim of the German *Drang nach Osten*, so Bulgaria was already marked down as the ally of that movement which made of its allies victims. The protagonists were arranging themselves: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, the Ottoman Empire and Italy on the one side; Great Britain, France, Serbia and Russia on the other. The change of Italy from the one side to the other at a later stage does not directly concern Ottoman politics.

The difference in the two methods employed to bring Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire respectively into the German net is interesting to note. Bulgaria was forced in through weakness and frustration in the hour of her defeat; the Ottoman Empire was brought gently in as a result of years of peaceful penetration and flattery at the moment when victory at Edirne had proved her vitality and power of recuperation. So long as the Turks remained at Istanbul there was no reason for the Germans to despair. "The key to German policy was to be found upon the shores of the Bosphorus."

BALKAN PENINSULA
1914
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTE NEGRO
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE
FROM BULGARIA TO ROMANIA 1913
RETROCEDED BY BULGARIA 1913
TO ITALY 1912
ZEMUN
BELGRAD
SARAJEVO
MOSTAR
NOVI PAZAR
ALEXINAC
NIŠ
PIROT
VIDDIN
GIURGIU
RUSE
NIKOPOL
PLEVEN
SHUMEN
TENOVO
VARNA
BUCURESTI
CERNAVODA
CONSTANȚA
SILISTRA
SOFIA
SLIVEN
BURGAS
YAMBOL
NOVA ZAGORA
STARA ZAGORA
TATAR PAZARDZHIK
PLOVDIV
EDIRNE
İSTANBUL
KYUSTENDIL
SKOPLJE
PRILEP
ŠTIP
STRUMICA
SALONIKA
DRAMA
KAVALLA
XANTHI
GUMULDJINA
ALEXANDROUPOLIS
PODGORICA
CETINJE
KOTOR
BAR
SHKODER
DURRËS
TIRANE
VLORË
JOANNINA
VOLOS
ARTA
MANISA
AYDIN
RODI

CHAPTER X

THE TRIBULATION OF THOSE DAYS

"The national ideal of our nation and people leads us, on the one hand, towards the destruction of the Muscovite enemy, in order to obtain thereby a natural frontier to our Empire which should include and unite all branches of our race. On the other hand, our religious principles urge us to free the Mohammedan world from the power of the unbelievers."
—Ottoman War Circular (1915).

IN JANUARY 1914 ENVER PASHA, THE HERO OF EDIRNE, BECAME MINISTER of War and virtual dictator of the Ottoman Empire.

Whatever may have been the influences exerted at Berlin prior to the deposition of Abdül Hamit, there was no doubt whatever that by now Enver was completely within the German pocket. Almost his first act was to conclude an agreement with Berlin whereby a German, General Liman von Sanders, was appointed to the effective command of the Ottoman Army. Within a few weeks Germans were everywhere, in the army, in the navy, about the person of Enver at the Seraskierat, or Ministry of War.

One month after the Sarajevo murders—"the shots that fired the powder magazine of Europe"—the Ottoman Government asked Germany for a secret alliance against Russia, and on the 2nd of August, 1914, this secret treaty, which effectively bound the Osmanlis to the Teuton chariot-wheels, was signed without the knowledge of the greater part of the Ottoman Cabinet. Enver was satisfied that the army was sufficiently mobilized.

The fate of the Ottoman Empire was already sealed when on the 10th of August, 1914, the German battleship *Goeben* and the cruiser *Breslau* appeared at the entrance to the Chanakkale Boghazi, or "Dardanelles". A member of the German Military Mission at Istanbul brought the news to Enver Pasha. The forts at the entrance to the Straits were in need of immediate instructions. On his own initiative Enver replied: "They are to allow them to enter."

It is said that the German asked one more question: "If the British warships follow the German ones, are they to be fired upon if they also attempt an entrance?" Enver replied that that was a matter for the Ottoman Cabinet to decide. The German continued to press him for an immediate answer. At length the word came—simply, "Yes." But war was not yet declared in the East, though it already raged in the West. The position in the Ottoman Empire as it appeared to an Englishman was recorded day by day in the diary of Sir Telford Waugh and later published by him in his book, *Turkey: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Here is Istanbul in August and September 1914:

"August 29th. The Germans announce decisive victory over Allies in full flight to Paris. German steamers in port decorated with flags. This news does not agree with Foreign Office telegram

that our force has changed front and now holds strong position. . . . German Embassy has big liner *Corcovado* anchored off Beicos with wireless and gets its news direct. Another liner, *General*, continually taking supplies to *Goeben* and *Breslau* in Gulf of Ismid. Large numbers of German naval officers and sailors arrive by rail and leave train at Makrikeui, where they embark in *General*. . . .

"September 9th. Iradeh (decree) issued abolishing Capitulations. Procession with drums and torches marched down along the Bosphorus, and was clapped outside the German Embassy.

"September 21st. Saw *Goeben* steaming slowly up the Bosphorus flying Turkish flag, her crew in German uniform. She went out into Black Sea and returned in the evening. *Breslau* did the same yesterday.

"September 25th. Turks are sending troops to Syria and threatening Egypt. German officers from *Corcovado* have been going down by rail. We have given the Porte [Ottoman Government] a straight warning" (pp. 149–51).

The situation was rapidly deteriorating, but Great Britain consistently refused to be provoked. Enver sent several aggressive reconnaisance parties across the frontier of Ottoman Palestine into Egyptian Sinai; Britain strengthened her hold on the Suez Canal, but still refused to fight, so the war party at Istanbul was led to stage a more dramatic effort. On the 27th of October the Ottoman Fleet under German officers made its way across the Black Sea. It reached Odessa on the morning of the 29th and under cover of darkness sank ships at anchor without warning. Three days later the Russian Ambassador at Istanbul demanded his passports, while Great Britain and France made a final appeal to the Ottoman Government for the German Military and Naval Missions to be dismissed.

On the 1st of November, 1914, the Ottoman Empire definitely entered the Great War on the side of Germany; on the 5th Great Britain declared war. . . .

The Great War in the Near East began in Iraq. Here the German policy had been to incite the latent forces of religion in the oil-bearing country which is "India's back door", and to attack or seduce the Arab chiefs who were disposed to be friendly to the British. Here also was the proposed terminus of the Baghdad Railway. The British, however, had not been asleep during these fateful days: on the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf the Indian Expeditionary Force consisting of fifteen thousand men quietly assembled. On the 6th of November H.M.S. *Odin* silenced the guns at Fao, the extreme point of Ottoman Iraq at the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab, the great river formed by the combined streams of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Fao consisted merely of a small blockhouse and a lighthouse on the Ras al Bisha; nevertheless, when an infantry detachment landed and the Union Jack replaced the Star and Crescent on the flagstaff of the fort the British had taken the first step on the difficult road to Baghdad and

Mosul. On the 22nd of November, 1914, Basra was entered unopposed.

The Ottoman Government could scarcely have expected this to be the first result of the Empire's entry into the Great War. Very well, the Great War in the East must become a *Jihad*, or "Holy War", and the savage forces of fanaticism unleashed. A Manifesto was prepared. The voice was the voice of Islâm militant, but the hand was the hand of Berlin:

> "While we were living in armed neutrality, the Russian fleet . . . unexpectedly opened fire on our fleet, which was manœuvring. This attack was contrary to International Law. . . . We have been obliged to break the peace that we always wanted, to take arms to defend our legal interests in allying ourselves to Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Russians, French and English, which by their oppressive domination, bring forth groans from millions of Mohommedans attached to our Khalifate, have never ceased to nourish evil intentions towards our Khalifate, and they have been the cause and instigators of all the disasters that have befallen us."

During December Enver's forces on the Russian frontier succeeded in making their arduous way across the snow-clad mountains of the Russian borderland in Eastern Anatolia and on the 1st of January, 1915, the Osmanlis were actually in Russian territory at Ardahan. But Enver had attempted more than he could achieve: his army corps were successively isolated and defeated in a series of engagements collectively termed "the Battle of Sarikamish". But Russia had felt the pressure of the Pan-Turanian army and had already appealed to the other Allies for some diversion that would occupy Enver's attention nearer home. There was also a corresponding need to deter Bulgaria from openly joining the German side. Accordingly the Allies planned an attack upon the Chanakkale Boghazi, or "Dardanelles".

The Allies, however, were not the only people who could create diversions. On the 2nd of February, 1915, an Ottoman expedition reached various points on the east bank of the Suez Canal. It was the spearhead of an army that was rapidly being built up for the attack on Egypt.

With the sole distinction that in Sinai the Osmanlis were on the offensive, while in Iraq they were hitherto on the defensive, the two areas of activity in the Arab provinces can be compared to a two-pronged fork. At Istanbul was the hand holding the fork, against which hand the Dardanelles expedition was directed. The shaft of the fork was the line of the Baghdad Railway, still uncompleted in two mountain sections, over which motor lorries had to be used. At Mouslimiyé, just north of Aleppo, was the branch of the fork—one prong (the Baghdad Railway proper) had already reached Bahgdad, though there was a gap in the line in Iraq between Tell Kotchek and Samarra.

The other prong was more complicated—a normal gauge-line

through Aleppo, Hama, Homs and Baalbeck to Rayak, whence the Beyrouth–Damascus–Hauran Railway continued to Damascus. From Damascus the Hedjaz Railway extended to Déraa, thence to Medina and to the coast at Haifa and Acre. During the latter part of 1914 the Osmanlis dismantled the section of the Hauran line between Damascus and Mézérib as being redundant, now that the Hedjaz Railway extended from Déraa, through Mézérib and Afule to Haifa, with a later branch from Afule going southward to Massudieh and Nablus. It was this branch which the Ottoman authorities intended as the chief supply line of their Sinai forces. They took the old Hauran rails to Massudieh and built with them a new narrow-gauge line to Tulkarem and down the Palestine coast to Ramleh on the Jaffa–Jerusalem Railway. At Wadi Surar the new military line left the Jaffa–Jerusalem route and bore south to Irgeig, Beersheba, El Aujah and into the Sinai Desert as far as to Kossaima, or Qusaima.

The first efforts to strike at the hand holding this two-pronged weapon were made on the 25th of April, 1915, when British Imperial and French forces landed on the Thracian shore of the "Dardanelles"—the Gelibolu Peninsula. After the first tragic conflict, which was a victory for the Osmanlis, the Allies had to dig themselves in, and the strain and drudgery of trench warfare took the place of sudden attack and repulse.

The next Allied effort was directed towards the Baghdad end of the fork. By the 22nd of November the Expeditionary Force was at the place called Salman Pak, hard by the great solitary ruin of Ctesiphon—within striking distance of Baghdad. But it had gone far enough for safety, and was eventually forced back to Kut-al-Imara, where on the 3rd of December, 1915, it was surrounded by the Osmanlis under the German von der Goltz. Major-General Sir Charles V. F. Townshend was in charge of the British operations, and after ascribing his failure here to heavy casualties among the white officers of Indian units, he paid a splendid tribute to the enemy. In *My Campaign in Mesopotamia* he wrote:

> "There is *no soldier in Europe*—I underline that statement—to compare with the Turk when on the defensive and entrenched.
>
> "The German is supposed to be good on the defensive, but when in trenches he cannot compare with the Turk—as a proof of which I give the example of Gallipoli, where, owing to severe losses at one sector from the effects of the fire from our ships, the German troops would not remain, and had to be replaced by Turks. . . . The war with Bulgaria where the infantry behaved so badly seems to have misled the whole of Europe as to the fighting powers of the Turk" (p. 177).

One British force was tied up in Kut-al-Imara, a further outbreak of massacres had pacified the Kurds and other fanatical extremists at the expense of the Armenians during the spring of 1915, and things were going well for the Osmanlis in the Gelibolu Peninsula. A British

expert sent out there had reported in favour of evacuation: the expedition was doing no good dug in to this tip of Thrace, unable to advance while there were other fronts on which progress could be made. His advice was accepted. By the 8th of January, 1916, the Allies had gone, and a caustic critic remarked that "the brilliant success of the withdrawal from the Dardanelles provided some solace for the failure of the campaign, but did nothing to relieve from responsibility those who had designed its inception and directed its earlier course" (A. F. Pollard, *A Short History of the Great War*).

At the beginning of 1916 few people had any inkling that the Russians were in a position once more to thrust across the mountains of Eastern Anatolia under Arctic conditions. On the 11th of January, 1916, they began to move, and in a two days' battle they broke the Ottoman defence, clearing the way to Erzurum, which fell on the 16th of February—"the strongest fortress in the Ottoman Empire". To the south the Russians thrust towards the centre of Anatolia. They entered Mush and Bitlis and gained the northern shores of the great inland sea of Van Gölü. To the north they slowly pushed along the Black Sea coast and on the 18th of April took Trabzon. In contrast to this progress, the British forces cooped up in Kut-al-Imara were starved out on the 29th of April, 1916, before reinforcements could reach them. General Townshend was taken prisoner, complimented upon his magnificent resistance and treated with great respect and even with honour as "a guest of Turkey". Yet the British had other irons in the fire—not all of them in Iraq. Lengthy secret negotiations with the Sherif of Mecca—Husain ibn Ali—had ended in an agreement between the Allies and himself whereby he would take action against the Turks as soon as the time should be ripe. By the early summer of 1916 the time was ripe. On the 15th of June, Ali and Feisal, sons of Husain, raised the banner of the Arab Revolt on the outskirts of Mecca. Four days later—on the 9th of June, 1916—Husain ibn Ali declared the Hedjaz to be independent of the Ottoman Empire.

There was now war within the gates: the Ottoman Empire was beginning to break up in Asia and in the Arab provinces, in spite of Pan-Islâm. On the 15th of June the Ottoman garrison at the Red Sea port of Jiddah surrendered, but the revolt had little chance of success until the British "free-lance", Colonel T. E. Lawrence, landed in Arabia on the 16th of October, 1916. It was the taking of the Red Sea port of Wejh on the 25th of October that proved the second turning-point for good in the evolution of the Arab Revolt. Here envoys and volunteers flocked to Feisal and Lawrence. They were sworn in on the Korân:

> "To yield obedience to no Turk; to deal kindly with all who spoke Arabic (whether Bagdadi, Alleppine, Syrian or pure-blooded) and to put Independence above life, family and goods."

So when the people to whom the Prophet had himself belonged had thus risen against Mehmet V, Sultan and Kalif—risen, also, under

the leadership of a descendent of the Prophet, the Keeper of the Holy Cities of Islâm—and when these people had joined forces with the British, then the Holy War had become a failure indeed. All the policy of Abdûl Hamit and all the cunning of the Kaiser and all the cynical opportunism of the Young Turks had come to nothing; the crisis of the Great War in the Near and Middle East was passed and fresh woes were coming quickly for the authorities at Istanbul (German and Turk) and for poor, kindly Mehmet V, who was becoming a sick man, dying symbol of a dying Empire. And as matters became more difficult, there were increasing signs of ill-feeling between Turks and Germans. "The Turkish officers understood plainly by August 1916 that they would never get rid of the Germans," wrote General Townshend. "They hated the Germans for their swagger and insolence." And when cruelties were committed upon British prisoners from Kut-al-Imara, he wrote: "I ascribe the blame and guilt of these cruelties to the German staff officers with the Turks."

As the year 1916 drew to its close two great Allied enterprises began to develop: one an advance from Egypt up the Mediterranean coast towards Palestine with the Arab Revolt as its right wing, the other up the Tigris towards Baghdad. On the 20th of December the British troops captured El Arish at the mouth of the "River of Egypt"—the ancient frontier of the Promised Land. Constructing a normal-gauge railway and a water pipe-line behind them, they cleared the Sinai Peninsula of the enemy and by the 28th of February, 1917, had passed the Ottoman frontier and were advancing into Palestine.

In Iraq, also, the Empire was crumbling before the hammer-blows of an increasing British momentum. On the 11th of March, 1917, Baghdad fell, and the end of the Berlin–Baghdad Railway was in British hands. On the 23rd of April Samarra fell. The British had done single-handed all that had been planned for a joint campaign with Russia taking the leading share. But all was not well with the Russian Empire. Revolution had broken out, the country was disaffected, war-weary and plunged into uncertainty. The advance into Anatolia halted, hesitated, withdrew, abandoning conquests and releasing Ottoman forces to oppose the advance into Iraq and Palestine. It was at the onward moment that the Arab Revolt became most useful. On the 6th of July the Arabs under Lawrence took Aqaba at the head of the Gulf of that name on the Red Sea. Vessels steamed up the Gulf of Aqaba bearing armoured cars, Egyptian labourers and thousands of troops.

A bitter blow for the Germans fell on the night of the 23rd of September, 1917. The great station at Haydarpasha, opposite Istanbul, was destroyed by fire and explosion. A steam crane broke as it was lifting bombs out of a lighter at the quay alongside the station. There was an explosion, and instantly the magnificent terminus of the Baghdad Railway was in flames. Trains loaded with petrol were waiting to proceed to Aleppo; there were great stores of ammunition and projectiles waiting for rail transport to the Iraq and Palestine fronts: the whole concentration blew up, "the shells went off like rockets,

and the projectiles fell among the shipping in the Bosphorus" and about a thousand lives were lost.

Blow succeeded blow. On the 31st of October, 1917, Beersheba fell; on the 6th of November Gaza fell, on the 16th Jaffa, and General Edmund Allenby, who was now in charge of the Palestine forces, was able to occupy Nebi Samwil, the "key to Jreusalem", on the 9th of December. The British soldiers of the "Tenth Crusade" held this lovely conical hill, the Biblical Mizpah where Samuel had judged Israel and where King Richard of England had stood with Sir Brian de Gurnay in whose heart had been "the thought of another and a Last Crusade that for all time should wrest the Holy Places from the Infidel".

An English "Tommy" was foraging on the morning of the 9th of December, 1917, when he met the party which was making towards the British lines to break the news that the Turks had abandoned Jerusalem. So to a private soldier the surrender was made by the Mayor, Selim Effendi El-Husseini, and one of the greatest events in the modern history of the Near East took place in the most casual manner. On the 11th of December General Edmund Allenby made the formal entry. With becoming humility he passed into the Holy City on foot.

The utter failure of the Holy War, the Arab Revolt (no longer what Lawrence called "a wild man show", but a properly equipped striking force) and the loss of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, of Baghdad and of half Iraq—these blows were more than the elderly and ailing Mehmet V could bear. On the 3rd of July, 1918, he died: the most gentle, self-effacing and ineffectual old gentleman that had ever led a huge Empire in a Holy War. On the 4th of July, 1918, his brother was proclaimed Padishah as Mehmet VI.

Mehmet VI was a fanatical reactionary, a cunning and resourceful man somewhat resembling Abdül Hamit in features and resembling him very much in character—"an oily diplomat by nature, who preferred secret, tortuous paths to other ways". Immediately after his accession the new ruler curtailed Enver's authority, but as he had no liking for the downright and enterprising junior rival of Enver—Kamâl Atatürk—he did not consent to the latter's insistence on a complete change of policy. Enver was busy in Eastern Anatolia planning the conquest of Turkestan and Persia, blind to the fact that in Palestine and Transjordan the British and Arabs were quietly preparing the blow that should put the Ottoman Empire, not only out of the Great War, but out of history. In Damascus the Young Turk leader Mehmet Cemal, Governor of Syria and Palestine, lived in a palace and held court like a king, deputing his responsibility to General Liman von Sanders, whose headquarters were at Nazareth. In August 1918 Kamâl Atatürk joined him and took command of the centre of the Ottoman forces at Nablus, the Biblical Shechem.

The Ottoman line extended from the sea north of Jaffa, through the Hill Country of Ephraim, across Jordan and up to the Hedjaz Railway at Amman in Transjordan. The condition of the soldiers was terrible: brave men ragged and verminous, bullied by German

Photograph by Touring et Automobile Club de Turquie

CENTRALLY SITUATED, WELL PROTECTED, FREE
The Upland Town of Ankara, 1919

[Photograph] [Turkish Ministry of the Interior

"SOLDIERS! YOUR GOAL IS THE MEDITERRANEAN. FORWARD!"

Izmir, the Atatürk Statue

officers and dying by the thousands of dysentery—the pitiable remnant of the armies of the Holy War, faced now by disillusion and by men who had something of the spirit of the old crusaders, and harassed before and behind by an awakened Arab people striking for political and spiritual liberty.

At dawn on the 19th of September, 1918, the great Allied push began. The Ottoman Army broke up completely and melted away. On the 3rd of October, 1918, Colonel Lawrence was able to hand over to General Allenby the city of Damascus, an ordered town purged of almost all trace of war. The rest of Syria fell to the Allies, British French and Arab, as the result of two distinct operations—one line of advance along the Mediterranean coast from Palestine, through Haifa, Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrouth to Tripoli, the other through the centre of Syria from Damascus to Rayak, Baalbeck and Homs. On the 28th of October the Allies were at Aleppo, where Kamál Atatürk had tried to organize resistance, but failed. On the 29th Mouslimiyé railway junction had fallen, and practically the whole of Iraq, Hedjaz, Sinai, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and the Hatay region of Northern Syria were in Allied hands. The darkest hour had come. Shouts for an armistice resounded through the Ottoman capital. Only in the interior of Anatolia did resistance continue, where too often it was the resistance of deserters and brigands who were more trouble to the Turks themselves than to the enemy. Enver fled to organize a Pan-Turanian movement in the distant Central Asiatic provinces of the now defunct Russian Empire; other prominent Young Turks fled elsewhere. The Germans themselves were preparing to return to Germany.

On the 30th of October, 1918, the Ottoman Empire was out of the Great War. The Armistice was signed on board H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, one of the Ottoman delegates remarking that henceforth "Turkey could be counted on as a faithful ally to England". The Turks had had enough of German war politics.

CHAPTER XI

THE END OF AN AGE

"*It may appear to some that the Ottoman Empire has shrivelled up into Turkey, but this view is, I think, a mistaken one. The old Ottoman Empire has been thrown into a crucible in which its Turkish core has been separated from the non-Turkish elements that from the point of view of the Turk has distorted the nature of his State, to emerge small indeed, but compact, refined.*"—SIR HARRY CHARLES LUKE, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (p. 233).

THE WAR WAS OVER. THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST the armies of the democracies had been hailed not so much as con-

querors, but as deliverers. The Turks themselves were only too glad to be able to lay down arms after almost continuous fighting since 1911, and the Committee of Union and Progress, which had dragged them into the last struggle against the traditional friends of the Ottoman Empire, was utterly discredited, its members either in flight or under arrest. A Government formed from the old Liberals was in power at Istanbul, its members and the Padishah himself alike eager to collaborate with the Allies: their conception of the best interests of the nation was that of loyalty to the Armistice and co-operation with the occupying forces of the conquerors, which forces covered almost the whole of the provinces of the Empire. At Istanbul the old British Embassy was now the British High Commission; the entire city and its suburbs were full of Allied commissioners supported by military and naval detachments. Allied officers were supervising the police, the ports, the dismantling of fortifications and the demobilization of the Imperial Army; the Capitulations were established once more; the normal machinery of government was practically superseded by orders and suggestions from the Allies.

"The war was over and won [wrote the American Relief doctor, Mabel Evelyn Elliott, whose experiences of travel over the Baghdad Railway to Cilicia appeared in her *Beginning Again at Ararat*]. England held the Baghdad Railway, and Syria and Mesopotamia, and Cilicia; the Allies were in Constantinople . . . the six-century old dominion of the barbarian Turk over this fertile yet desolate land was ended. British and French would develop the country, there would be railways, mines, oil-wells, factories, modern farms, automobiles, telephones; and these millions of dark-skinned peoples would be working for London and Paris." At Eskshehir "the crowds opened respectful lanes before the British uniforms. . . Yet there was something ominious even in their alacrity, and I thought —and laughed at the thought—of wild animals moving docilely to obey the orders of the trainer's whip" (pp. 40–42).

It was precisely this spirit displayed by Italian, French, and to a very small extent by British occupying forces—not to mention those who could think of the Turks as "dark-skinned peoples"—which served to restore to the inhabitants of Anatolia something of the vitality which had seemed to have gone for ever; to infuse into them something of the patriotism which hitherto had not been characteristic of the Turks. It was the Turks who had borne the heat and the burden of the day for hundreds of years, who had fought and bled that the Ottoman Empire might retain provinces almost entirely non-Turkish—and been cursed by Europe and vilified by America as barbarians, "wild animals". Only here and there among that vast mass of uncomplaining, poverty-stricken, bereaved peasants were scattered men who knew what they wanted—the end of the Ottoman Empire and the resurgence of the Turkish nation which had been submerged for five hundred years; the bursting of the shackles, not only of the Allied occupation, but of

the Ottoman Government, with which their nation, along with Greeks, Bulgars, Arabs, had been encumbered for centuries and the Turks turned into "something non-Turkish, Levantine, unnatural, stilted, artificial, formal".

Almost alone, Kamál Atatürk urged on Mehmet VI the duty of forming a strong government, but in vain. To the Padishah the Throne and the existing State were one and the same thing; by ensuring the safety and permanence of the Throne he would save the Ottoman Empire, Arab provinces and all; the latter could be autonomous, though "the Arabs are not capable of ruling themselves, and this autonomy ought to be under the suzerainty of the Sultan".

At this time, far away in Eastern Anatolia, one Kiyazim Karabekir, with some undefeated remnants of the Ottoman Army, began to obstruct the Allied control officers, refusing to disband his men. Week by week little encounters increased: it was apparent that the Turks were steadily growing bolder. Even in the streets of Anatolian towns their bearing changed. The wild animals no longer moved docilely to obey the trainer's whip, and this caused consternation not only among the trainers but among the tame animals in the gilded cages of the Bosphorus shore. Someone must go as the representative of the Padishah and deal with the situation on the spot—a strong, capable soldier was wanted. Every indication seemed to point to one man as being suited for the work, and Kamál Atatürk was that man. At first the British High Commissioner demurred, but his objections were overruled for once, and Atatürk sailed on the 15th of May, 1919, for the north-east coast of Anatolia as Inspector-General of the Northern Area and Governor-General of the Eastern Provinces. Scarcely had the small steamer bearing Atatürk entered the Black Sea than the authorities at Istanbul became suspicious of his intentions and issued orders for the ship to be intercepted. But it was too late.

The very same day it became clear beyond all doubt that the Allies had condemned the Ottoman Empire to be partitioned to the very walls of Istanbul. On that 15th of May the Admiral of the British Mediterranean Fleet informed the Ottoman Governor of Izmir that this great seaport and the rich province of Aydin were to be occupied—by the Greeks. The Ottoman troops were hurriedly withdrawn into barracks and the Greek Metropolitan raised the Cross as the first Greek soldiers disembarked.

To all Turkish patriots these events meant that there was only one policy to be pursued. Even those most friendly to the Allies were infuriated by this foreign occupation of the richest and most essentially Turkish of their provinces, for only in Izmir itself was there any considerable Greek population. Turkish patriotism was no longer vague and intangible, exploited by politicians for selfish purposes, the emotional concomitant of an intellectual Pan-Turanism. It was a flame burning in the hearts of men and women of all classes—a flame of indignation, not of hatred. Even during cruel wars the Turks and the Greeks never hated each other, and among the Greeks

there was little enthusiasm for the Anatolian adventure. A magnificent Greek Royalist officer—Ioánni Métaxas—protested strongly to his Government, but the invasion continued.

In a heavy storm Atatürk's small ship staggered towards the landing-stage at Samsun on the north coast of Anatolia. It was the 19th of May, 1919. At Amisa he met Ali Fuat, Commander of a skeleton army corps centred on Ankara, and at a secret meeting of patriots he sketched out his plan of resistance. First of all, guerilla bands must hold up the Greeks, and covered by these irregulars the patriots must build up a National army around the old Imperial army framework but without any help from Mehmet VI or anyone at Istanbul. "As the Sultan and the Central Government are in enemy hands we must set up some temporary Government in Anatolia," he continued. A congress of delegates to represent the real, free Turkey should be called as quickly as possible. Meanwhile Atatürk set out to tour the villages, preaching resistance and in every place appointing representatives to form centres of patriotic revolt. Yet even the energy and personality of Kamâl Atatürk would not have been so effective had not news arrived that the Greeks were advancing, that the Allies were planning to constitute a second Greek colony round Samsun on the Black Sea coast and planning to add the eastern portion of Anatolia to an Armenian Republic which had already been created out of Imperial Russian territory. Everywhere the local Turks vowed that death was preferable to rule by Greeks and Armenians. Moreover, the Allies who had made these plans were far away, while near at hand was an undisbanded Turkish army corps at Diyarbekir. Men came crowding back to the ranks with guns and ammunition raided from the Allied arms dumps.

As soon as Mehmet heard of these activities he ordered Atatürk to return. The patriot's reply was a long personal telegram to the Padishah urging him as leader of his people to come over to Anatolia and himself take the lead against the Greeks and all the foreign enemies —it would be Mehmet's last chance to save himself, the Throne of his forefathers and the Turkish nation. But Mehmet's conception of the best interests of Turkey (which he still thought of as an Ottoman Empire) was co-operation with the powerful conquerors. He himself underestimated the strength of Turkish patriotism. So did the Allies; they refused Mehmet the means to crush the movement and looked upon it as a quarrel between the ruler and certain of his subjects. In these circumstances the only imaginable reply to Atatürk's invitation was a peremptory command: the rebel must report himself immediately at Istanbul. Back along the wire went the most momentous telegram in the history of the Ottoman Empire:

I shall stay in Anatolia until the nation has won its independence.

This decision was applauded at a conference of military chiefs and principal men which began at Erzerum on the 23rd of July, 1919, and lasted fourteen days, at which the members declared that it was

their duty "to organize resistance to the occupation and interference of the foreigner: to form a Provisional Government to carry on the affairs of State if the Central Government be unable or unwilling".

The work of this initial conference was continued after the 4th of September, 1919, by a larger gathering at Sivas, over which Atatürk once more established his leadership by the sheer strength of his personality. Here Atatürk and the other members proclaimed themselves the representative voice of the Turkish people, and drafted out the terms of peace for which they were prepared to fight, naming these terms the "National Pact". They elected an Executive Committee to act as a Provisional Government independent of the "Sublime Porte". Kamâl Atatürk they elected as Chairman—the virtual President of a National Government. Almost at once he took control, ordering army leaders to take over the telegraphs, to direct all revenue and correspondence to himself, and to replace officials where necessary. By the 12th of September, 1919, Istanbul behind its Allied guards was practically separated from all Central and North Eastern Anatolia.

Mehmet VI could see no other way to regain the severed provinces of Anatolia for the Throne than by subtlety. With a sudden movement characteristic of old Abdül Hamit, he unexpectedly proclaimed himself willing to summon a Government pleasing to the Nationalists, willing to consent to the election of a Parliament. The delegates at Sivas could transfer their activities to Istanbul, put Atatürk's ideas into practice and yet no longer stand in opposition to the Padishah, the Shadow of God. The patriots, who could scarcely imagine their State without a Sultan and Kalif at its head sooner or later, who had a traditional veneration for the majestic city which had for so long symbolized the very idea of government, grasped at these promises—almost all but Atatürk himself, who fought hard for a Parliament in Anatolia. He suggested that it should sit in the upland town of Ankara, where it would be centrally situated, well protected, free, absolutely independent of the Allies in a thoroughly Turkish town associated with the history of the Turks and their forefathers since the days of the Hittites. But for once the chairman was defeated and Kamâl Atatürk was left almost alone in the interior when on the 19th of January, 1920, the "National Assembly" assembled in the "City of the Sultan" and began the hopeless task of trying to work up resistance under the very eyes—and guns—of the Allies.

While the delegates were wasting their time on the Bosphorus, Atatürk was making exceptionally good use of the freedom which the absence of the talkers had given him. For the next few weeks Allied agents were kept busy reporting that large armed formations had been seen in the interior: regular troops of the old Imperial army, armed peasants, women transporting munitions and supplies as Turkish women had done in the days before Islâm. The position was becoming really serious for the Allied Armies of Occupation stationed here and there near the coast. In her diary, an American medical practitioner at Marash (Dr. M. E. Elliott) chronicled the daily deterioration of the French position in Cilicia, the South-Eastern coastal region of Anatolia:

"The firing gets worse steadily . . . a general massacre of Armenians is expected. . . . All night long the skies are red-lighted in every direction by the raging fires, and the cannons roar and the heavens shake. . . . The whole city is overhung with clouds of smoke. . . . The Turks are bolder all the time. Surely this is because they realize that this is the end for them, and are desperate."

Far from it. Every day brought fresh men and new equipment to the patriots. The Allies began to withdraw their troops from the interior. They evacuated the important Baghdad Railway junction of Eskishehir, where immediately the patriots transformed the railway depots into munition factories, adapting French munitions to German guns. The Allies replied by putting Istanbul under a sort of collective arrest and dissolving "the National Assembly". Leading patriots hid or escaped into Anatolia, where they made straight for Ankara to join Atatürk. There, on the 23rd of April, 1920, the revolutionary "Turkish Grand National Assembly" (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*) met in the building formerly occupied by the local Committee of Union and Progress. Kamâl Atatürk was President. Its first act was to make clear to the world the position of the new *Turkish* Government. The courage of its words is astonishing:

"The Grand National Assembly sitting in Ankara will preside over the destiny of Turkey as long as the Capital is in the hands of the foreigner. It has appointed an Executive Council, which has taken in hand the government of the country. Istanbul, the Sultan and the Government being in the hands of the enemy, all orders from there are aufomatically null and void. The nation's rights have been violated. The Turkish nation, though calm, is determined to maintain its rights as a sovereign independent State."

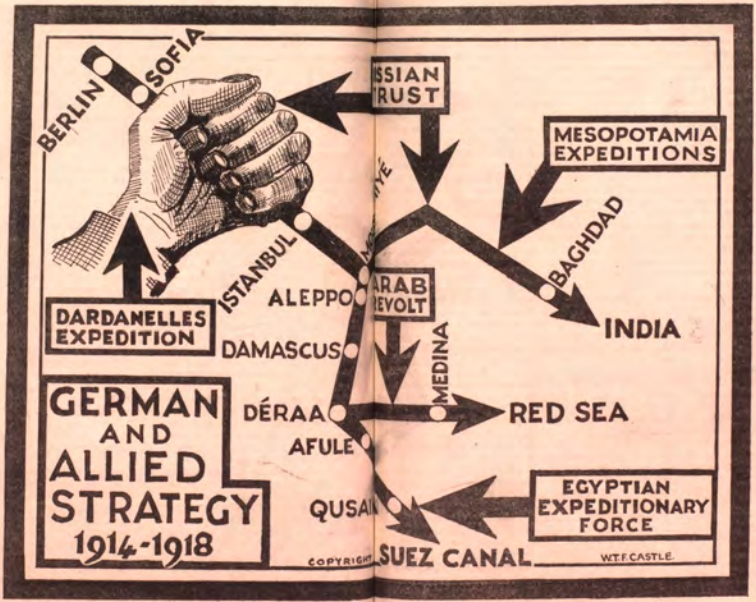
So far the patriots had been regarded as rebels by one and all. But now in May 1920 the French opened negotiations with them and concluded a twenty-days' truce—the first recognition by an Allied Power of the free Turkish Government, and the first step in "foreign policy" taken by Ankara. The next step was a mission to the Bolshevik Government at Moscow. It left Ankara on the 11th of May. There was no doubt that the Russian revolutionaries at first imagined that Turkey would be an easy convert—that the Turkish Nationalists would soon throw in their lot with the other Nationalist movements within the sphere of Moscow's influence, and along with Finland, Poland, Hungary and the Ukraine, form one link in a chain of communist States—a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But Kamâl Atatürk, fighting for freedom from foreign interference, was not likely to be sidetracked by essays in doctrinaire politics. It was to be Turkey for the Turks at last, not Turkey for International Communists. Every ill against which the patriots had been struggling had arisen

from foreign minorities within or from foreign interference from without, frequently from both simultaneously. Besides, *there was simply no class feeling in Turkey*, and scarcely any capitalism. Nevertheless the atmosphere of the Moscow discussions was friendly: neither side could afford to make more enemies, and the Turks were willing to learn from any progressive movement, anxious to obtain ideas which they could adapt to their own conditions.

At last, as the month of May 1920 was drawing to its close, the Allies published the terms of peace which they were willing to make with Mehmet VI. A small and helpless "Ottoman Empire" was to be entirely under the supervision of the Allied Powers; all the Arab provinces were to become Mandated Territories, and of these Syria and Iraq were to share between them a large portion of Southern Anatolia; the whole of Eastern Anatolia was to be added to the State of Armenia which had been already established in the former Imperial Russian provinces; around Izmir was to be a large Greek district; Antalya was to become Italian, together with a huge "sphere of influence"; Cilicia was to go to the French; the Ottoman capital itself was to be an "international centre" lying on neutral seaways under the control of Britain, France and Italy. Turkish Thrace was to be added to the portions of Macedonia and Thrace taken from Bulgaria, and the whole handed to Greece. The islands of Imroz and Boscaada (Tenedos) were to go to Greece. Only the immediate hinterland of Istanbul was to remain of the once extensive "Turkey in Europe". As Hans Froembgen remarked in his *Kamâl Atatürk*, "the Turks were to live in what may be described as a sort of Indian reservation".

The terms, if widely accepted, would have been the death sentence, not only of the Ottoman Empire but of what was now correctly described as "Turkey", which, weakened beyond the possibility of independence, could only have awaited the inevitable Italian or German overtures of the coming years, or the Bolshevik pressure from the north. The collision of these interests with the Greeks, British and French would probably have provided the occasion for a premature second Great War. By entertaining the very idea of signing a treaty based on such terms, the Ottoman Government at Istanbul was branded by the patriots as a puppet government of traitors and dotards, and almost the entire Turkish nation accepted the Turkish Government at Ankara.

There was no one to enforce the terms of the treaty, in the event of Mehmet signing it. Except for the Greeks in and behind Izmir, and the Allied forces at Istanbul or on the coast, there was nobody. Even in Thrace, at Edirne itself (now claimed by Greece), there was a Turkish Nationalist army. Alike in Europe and in Asia the force of a fierce patriotism was rising like a hurricane; the Allies were not in a position to face a fresh war in the East: only the Greeks were brave enough, or foolhardy enough (or both) to join issue with the Turks. The two most courageous nations of the Near East were at each other's throats in a moment: the Greeks being pushed on against their best feelings by politicians, the Turks defending, not Arabian or Serbian provinces for


BERLIN
SOFIA
SSIAN
RUST
MESOPOTAMIA
EXPEDITIONS
BAGHDAD
ISTANBUL
ALEPPO
ARAB
EVOLT
INDIA
DARDANELLES
EXPEDITION
DAMASCUS
MEDINA
GERMAN
AND
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1914-1918
DÉRAA
RED SEA
AFULE
QUSAI
EGYPTIAN
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FORCE
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some rapacious Sultan, but their own homeland for their own people.

The Greeks are notoriously good soldiers when advancing, and when operations began on the 23rd of June, 1920, on two fronts—the Anatolian front on the hills above Izmir, and the Thracian front towards Edirne—every movement was an advance. On the 25th of July, 1920, King Alexander of Greece made a triumphal entry into Edirne. A typical Turkish city, crowned by the glorious Selimiye mosque, it had fallen to the Russians in 1828, become Ottoman once more in 1829, again fell to the Russians and their Bulgarian allies in 1877, was restored in 1878, became a Bulgarian town in 1913, reverting to the Ottoman Empire the same year. Now it was Greek, and so was the rest of Thrace almost up to the very walls of Istanbul. The Greeks had enforced at least one clause of the unsigned treaty. The arrival of their Asiatic forces at a point half-way towards the Baghdad Railway and the preparation for an advance on Eskisehehir and Ankara would have been well on the way to enforcing the rest of the terms on the Nationalists. As it was, the Ottoman Government of Istanbul obediently signed the treaty on the 10th of August, 1920, which went down to history (or to oblivion) as the Treaty of Sèvres.

The acquiescence of the prisoners on the Bosphorus only served further to irritate the Nationalists, who ignored the treaty. But the military position could not be ignored. The Greeks, preparing themselves for a new offensive, and a little surprised at the stern resistance of "the rebels", would have found the Turkish attacks much more formidable had it not been for another artificial military "frontier" biting into the Turkish homeland. With the dissolution of the Imperial Russian Army in the Caucasus in 1917 the Armenians of the former Russian Empire had formed an Armenian State on the 28th of May, 1917. Some of the territory of this new Armenia was pre-war Russian country, including the capital, Yerevan, and of this a great deal had been Ottoman before 1878. The rest, captured by Russia in the Great War, was predominantly Turkish, including the towns of Trabzon, Rize, Erzurum, Bitlis and Van. This State was declared to be "free and independent" by the Treaty of Sèvres, but in the face of Turkish opposition to its expansion at the expense of Turkish territory, and Communist intrigue from its great neighbour, the new State was doomed to suffer a tragic fate. Turkish Nationalists, anxious to regain their homes and soil, advanced from the west; Bolsheviks and Tartar irregulars advanced from the east. On the 30th of October, 1920, the victorious armies of free Turkey entered Kars, which, permeated with Bolshevik propaganda, fell without a struggle. Kars had been taken from the Ottoman Empire by the Russians in November 1877: by the 7th of November, 1920, the Turks were already beyond the limits of Abdül Hamit's dominions and in the real old Imperial Russian territory at Leninakan, then called "Alexandropol", an important railway junction for the only line which Imperial Russia had built in the province conquered in 1877—the broad-gauge line down to Kars and Sarikamish and its war-time narrow-gauge extension to Erzurum and Yeniköy.

The last act of the independent Armenian Republic was to sign a desperate treaty of peace with the free Turkish Government on the 3rd of December, 1920—the Treaty of Leninakan—by which Nationalist Turkey regained from the Armenians almost all that the Ottoman Empire had lost to Russia since 1877, including the port of Batumi (Batoum), the possession of which was disputed with Georgia, a new republic which still retained Artvin and Ardahan.

The campaign in the East was over, the Armenian Soviet Republic came into being on old Russian territory, and Eastern Anatolia was Turkish once more. The new frontier became permanent on the 14th of March, 1921, when the Treaty of Moscow was signed by the new Soviet power, responsible for Trans-Caucasia, and by the free Turkish Government. The Turks handed over Batumi to the Soviet Republic of Georgia, but by the Treaty they were well compensated with moral and material help: the two regimes at Moscow and at Ankara respectively were described as "sharing the principle of the brotherhood of nations and of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, and confirming the solidarity which unites them in the struggle against imperialism". From Georgia the Turks regained a portion of the district of Batumi and the districts of Artvin and Ardahan.

In the West the battle had yet to be fought. On the 21st of August, 1921, the Greeks attacked. In the mountain country above the Sakarya River, some fifty kilometres west of Ankara, the two valiant peoples fought almost man to man for fourteen days under the burning heat of an August sun, the Greeks attacking with reckless abandon, the Turks hanging grimly on to the heights, Atatürk now their Commander-in-Chief. By the 4th of September the critical moment had come: the Greeks were at the end of their strength. On the 12th they recrossed the Sakarya and began to retire steadily, but there was no question of the Turks immediately following up their advantage. It was not until the end of August 1922 that Atatürk was able to sound his famous battle-call: "Soldiers! Your goal is the Mediterranean! Forward!"

Six days later the advance guard of the Turkish National forces drew within sight of the Mediterranean. There lay Izmir, crowded to overflowing with refugees. There were ships for the Greek soldiers, none for the Greek and Armenian population, crazed with fear. In the harbour towered the Allied battleships, powerless to do anything except to take as many refugees on board as possible. The Greeks alone were at war with the "rebel" Turks.

A long line of decorated cars entered Izmir on the 9th of September, 1922, on either side an escort of cavalry. In the leading car was Kamâl Atatürk, Commander-in-Chief of the free Turkish forces and Saviour of Turkey". Three days after the "change of Government" fire broke out in several parts of the city at once, and the greater part of Izmir was reduced to ashes. In *Grey Wolf* Harold C. Armstrong pictures Atatürk on the verandah of his headquarters overlooking the scene:

"The fire in the Christian quarters had spread. It was sweeping across one end of the city, licking up the houses. In the gloaming it glowed red-hot; now there would be a fierce explosion as some dump of ammunition blew up; now the wind would fan a wooden house into flame and it crashed into ruins. In the glare of the fire the harbour showed full of corpses bobbing in the waves, and beyond that, red also in the glare, lay the battleships of Europe.

"'It is a sign,' said Kemal—pointing to the fire—'a sign that Turkey is purged of the traitors . . . and that Turkey is for the Turks' " (p. 203).

The only obstacle lying in the way of the Turks' following up their victory in Asia with an attack on the Greek Army, re-forming in Thrace, was the British force on the Chanakkale Boghazi—the narrow "Dardanelles" between Asia and Europe. When they reached the British lines, almost at the sea and within sight of Thrace, Atatürk ordered his men to stand fast, while to the seaport of Mudanya he sent his first soldier and statesman, General Ismet Inönu, to negotiate with Lieutenant-General Sir Charles H. Harrington, who was in command of the Allied army of occupation. On the 11th of October, 1922, they signed the Mudanya Agreement whereby the British, French and Italian forces were to remain where they were pending a definitive treaty with the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly which treaty should hand over Thrace with the districts of Edirne and Istanbul to the Turks.

The next envoy was Rifat Pasha, bound for Thrace to supervise the transfer of the province to free Turkey while a treaty was being prepared for signature at Lausanne. On his arrival at Istanbul a large orderly crowd greeted him! The capital was suddenly red with Turkish flags which had not been seen since the Armistice.

The Allies had not forgotten about Mehmet VI and his Ministers, however. They now invited the Imperial Government at the "Sublime Porte" to send a delegation to the Peace Conference shortly to be held, and with incredible tactlessness they requested Mehmet to repeat the invitation to the Grand National Assembly at Ankara, just as if it were a provincial branch of his own administration which ought to be invited just to please the country folk. When in due time Mehmet forwarded the request to Ankara "there went up a howl of rage, the Deputies screamed with fury". It was an insult that the invitation should come second-hand through this so-called "Sublime Government" ruling over one city and its suburbs.

Kamâl Atatürk now realized that he must at last persuade the Ankara Government to make an end of this puppet show in the old capital. Rifat was ordered to intervene: he was now in a position to compel the Imperial Government to withdraw its acceptance of the invitation. The "Sublime Porte", completely isolated from all real politics, with no influence and no army, could do nothing but recognize its position and comply.

While anger with the impotent dotards of Istanbul was at white

heat, Atatürk deemed the moment to have come for the great change which was now inevitable, though none the less momentous. He proposed that the Sultanate be abolished, though the Kalifate could be retained if it were to be in other hands than those of Mehmet VI. The Turkish Grand National Assembly gave the verdict:

"By the unanimous vote of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the Sultanate is abolished."

On the 4th of November, 1922, Rifat carried out a *coup d'état* at Istanbul. On the following morning the Ottoman Cabinet resigned office, and was not replaced. . . .

For a few days Mehmet stood his ground—the ruler of a palace and a private park. He felt he could trust no one but an old and doddering conductor of the royal orchestra, whom at last he sent to Sir Charles Harrington to crave British protection for "the Emperor of powerful Emperors, Refuge of Sovereigns, Distributor of Crowns to the Kings of the Earth . . . Master of Europe, Asia and Africa, High King of the Two Seas . . . the Shadow of God on Earth".

It was the 17th of November, 1922. The sky was grey and overcast. A light rain was falling, so that the domes and minarets of Istanbul shone bright against a background of dark cloud, and the streets and gardens smelled fresh and clean. A British motor ambulance drew up at a side door of Yildiz Köshk, where Mehmet was staying. Some baggage was brought out of the palace and placed in the car. An elderly man followed, accompanied by a small boy and four attendants. A British officer took the old gentleman's umbrella as he entered the vehicle. The door closed and the ambulance drove away.

An hour later the British battleship *Malaya* sailed down the Marmara on its way to Malta. The feeble sun caught the spidery minarets and towers of the city, brooding over a sea of grey, flecked with silver. The noble outlines of Istanbul receded into the distance; one after another the suburbs were left behind as the two shores separated until there was nothing but the lonely waste of wind and water and a hazy outline of coast like a vapour on the surface of the deep. But no longer was it the City of the Sultan that lay below the horizon on the seven hills of Constantine's new Rome. The last of the Sultans was on his way to exile, leaving his brother Abdûl Mecit as Kalif, but not as ruler. A greater Sovereign than all the Ottoman Sultans was now in the seat of power at Ankara—the will of the Turkish people expressed through a leader who was at one and the same time both dictator and democrat.

IT WAS THE END OF AN AGE. . . .

PART THREE

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

CHAPTER XII

GLORIOUS TRANSFORMATION

"So long as a nation is not utterly extinct, there remains in it . . . a principle of energy and resurrection, which an able and powerful intellect may render fruitful, stir up, regenerate, and guide to a glorious transformation."—ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, *Travels in the East.* (Chambers's English Edition, 1839), p. 161.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH NATION AFTER THE DEPOSITION OF THE last Sultan up to the death of Atatürk in 1938 falls naturally into two parts: the period of "wiping the slate clean" of its old Oriental writing, and the period of designing on the old background a New Turkey, modern, democratic, vital, that would at once and for all give the lie to Sir Charles Eliot's dictum that "the Turk changes not; his neighbours, his frontiers, his statute books change, but his ideas and his practice remain the same. He will not be interfered with; he will not improve . . ."

The first of these periods began in 1922, the second in 1929.

At first there was little outward change, except for the worse: Thrace and Anatolia together formed a poverty-stricken, broken-down, forlorn, crude Oriental State—the torso of an Empire from which all the provinces had been shorn: for the first time the name "Turkey" could be fittingly applied to it. Allied troops still occupied Istanbul. Yet on the other hand, to the old torso of Ottoman Anatolia the Nationalists had already added by conquest the territory taken from Abdül Hamit in 1877 by the Czar and incorporated in Imperial Russia, more recently forming part of the Armenian and Georgian Republics—the towns and territory of Artvin, Ardahan, Kars and Sarikamish. Then, virtually conquered from the French and Armenians, was Cilicia, and from the Greeks not only the hinterland of Izmir in Asia, but nearly all Thrace, in Europe—almost as far as to the Bulgarian frontier of 1914. In fact the only outstandingly Turkish lands of the old Empire still in Allied occupation were the district of Istanbul (though here the authority of Ankara was now recognized), the Straits of Chanakkale Boghazi and Karadeniz Boghazi, and the Hatay region of Northern Syria around Antakya and Iskenderon.

Syria itself was now in French hands after an attempt to govern the land as an Arab Kingdom with Damascus as capital—as the British and Arabs had originally intended. Palestine, now becoming the scene of bitter rivalries between Arab and Jew, was in British hands,

as were Transjordan—now an Arab Emirate—and Iraq, now being prepared for eventual independence as an Arab Kingdom. There was one district of Iraq, however, to which Turkey still laid claim—the territory around Mosul. This and other matters awaited the Peace Conference which was designed to make a permanent treaty to replace that of Sèvres.

The Conference met at Lausanne on the 21st of November, 1922. It had much in common with the Congress of Berlin in 1878: on the one side imposing delegations from Europe, on the other a small Turkish group from the unkempt little hill town of Ankara. But despised as the Turkish delegation was, it was led by General Ismet Inönu, who had negotiated with Sir Charles H. Harrington at Mudanya and who was answerable to no effete Sultan defeated in battle, but rather to a victorious conqueror.

Thus it was that when, on the 24th of July, 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, the Turkish Nationalists got all they wanted, except Mosul (the question of the Hatay not having been discussed or even raised at that stage). Turkey and Great Britain especially were anxious to establish a new relationship which was to be free of all ambiguity and sources of conflict. Because Atatürk was pursuing an essentially national policy he was willing, and even glad, to be free for ever of the Arab provinces. He even accepted the principal of the freedom of the Straits and the practical demilitarization of their shores.

Determined to make Anatolia and Thrace into purely Turkish lands, Atatürk agreed to a system of exchange of populations. As most of the non-Turkish elements were Greeks (the Armenians having fled), these were to be exchanged with Turks then living in Greece; the Capitulations, together with all privileges for foreigners, were to be abolished, and foreign flags were to be excluded from the Turkish coasting trade.

The financial experts declared that Turkey could not possibly survive. They pointed out that Turkey lacked everything that was essential for the existence of a civilized State: she certainly could not run her own public services nor manage her own finance. But the Nationalists defended themselves as tenaciously against foreign money and would-be concessionaires as they had done against foreign armies—and won.

The Nationalists' celebration of their success was quiet and restrained. As for the Allies, it only remained for them to extricate their Army of Occupation from Istanbul—an operation which they carried out punctually and with dignity. On the 2nd of October, 1923, after a salute of flags at the Dolmabahçe Saray, Sir Charles H. Harrington embarked in the transport *Arabic*, which sailed in the afternoon, followed by the *Marlborough* with its band playing "Auld Lang Syne".

Turkey was left to her own devices. . . .

The first result of the demilitarization of the Straits under the Treaty of Lausanne was that the effective defence of Istanbul presented

new difficulties. But no longer now did the nominal capital of a nominal Ottoman Empire possess its traditional importance. It had been a centre of Oriental intrigue, mystery and vice, and although architecturally a Turkish city, it was foreign in spirit to the temper of the Ankara puritans; an international city meaningless to the Turanian Nationalists; and moreover, a city dangerously at the mercy of probable future German moves through the Balkans to the East and of possible moves towards the Mediterranean, especially now that its approaches were to be so badly guarded. Again, in 1909 and in 1921, Istanbul had been the chief centre of reaction. It was still not by any means beyond suspicion. Here Abdül Mecit, cousin of Mehmet VI, the recently deposed Padishah, and son of old Abdül Aziz, acted as Kalif, but without any political powers: the Kalifate divorced from the Sultanate was a temporary concession of the Nationalists to a still influential section of the public which could not yet bring itself to overthrow Islâm. Few people at first took much account of this "simple, honest, good-looking, quiet gentleman", as Harold C. Armstrong describes him, yet he took his high office more seriously than any of his predecessors—so seriously, in fact, as to arouse the suspicion of the men of Ankara who now formed the only Government of an Empire without an Emperor.

Abdül Mecit revived the traditions of the great Kalifs. He resided at the Dolmabahçe Saray; he was rowed across to the great mosque at Uskûdar in the old Imperial Barge by fourteen oarsmen dressed in splendid livery; applauded by the people, he rode gallantly on a white charger across the "Golden Horn" to the Ayasofiya mosque to attend the Friday prayers, an escort of hussars behind him. Such a man was bound to attract all the discontented and reactionary elements, in spite of his genuine good intentions and transparent honesty.

The Anatolian homeland was clearly the hope of the future, and symbolic of the largely Anatolian Turkey which was rising out of the ruins of the old Empire, was Ankara, cradle of the new nationalism. It was not surprising, then, that on the 13th of October, 1923, the inevitable happened: Ankara became the capital of the Ottoman Empire—for Turkey was still in name an Empire. Yet so blind were European observers to the fact that here was no mere military revolt, but a national and popular renaissance at the ancient centre of the Turkish race, that an Englishman, Canon J. T. Parfit, wrote in sarcastic vein:

> "Constantinople has ceased to be the capital city of Turkey. The legendary Ox has recrossed the Bosphorus, and the Turk is now playing the giddy goat at Angora, his ancestral stronghold." (*The Gates of the Orient*, p. 58.)

Nothing could be a more ludicrous travesty of the truth. Strategically, Ankara was favourably situated, but it was an undeveloped place lacking everything that a city should possess. Starting from next to nothing, Atatürk proposed to wring from the hard and stony steppe surrounding the old prehistoric sites and forlorn Asiatic town a

A Portrait Sketch by Wilfrid T. F. Castle

ARCHITECT OF DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT
Kamâl Atatürk

[Photograph] [Turkish Ministry of the Interior

REFLECTING THE SPIRIT OF NEW TURKEY
Ankara, State Railway Station

city—a city systematically constructed with the aid of the latest technical and architectural knowledge, a city as romantic in its scientific modernity as the mosques and palaces of Istanbul in their strange Oriental baroque, now falling into a state of even more melancholy neglect than ever before.

Kamâl Atatürk was a dictator with a difference. Lesser men, such as Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini, were destined to rise from obscurity, gain power by contemptible methods, do a certain amount of incidental good for their respective countries and, drunk with power, fling their peoples to destruction in wars of conquest for their own aggrandizement. Kamâl Atatürk was a son of a people with ancient democratic ideals of tribal civilization, an almost classless nation. Furthermore, he was a great, if ruthless, man—great enough to see that his country was greater than himself. Every progressive idea which had stirred the people of Turkey had originated in some individual mind—his own mind was the inner witness to that. Therefore liberty was indispensable to human advancement. Although he had taken the leading part in Turkish affairs, yet he could see that a liberal constitution is not the cause of a free society but the expression of it. Turkey was at the stage where that expression would soon become inevitable. He therefore made preparations for the permanence of his constructive work by vesting the future in the hands of the nation. Now was the moment to form a strong popular political party—a People's Party.

> "The nation has already suffered much from clashes between political parties [Atatürk declared]. In other lands parties are formed to safeguard class interests. The bitter after-taste which we are experiencing is the direct result of the formation of parties here which emanated from the preconceived idea that we, too, were divided into classes. In speaking of the People's Party we must understand a party embracing the whole nation."

Here in a few words Atatürk demonstrated the essential points of difference between Communism and Fascism on the one hand and Turkish Nationalism on the other. The official pronouncements of the Party itself emphasize this difference, for instance:

> "National will and sovereignty spring from the people. It is one of the essential principles of the Party that in return for the exercise of this sovereignty and will the individual owes reciprocal duties in his relation with the State.
>
> "It is also one of our fundamental principles to regard the people of the Turkish Republic not as a mass composed of distinct classes but as a community which portions out social and individual work. Farmers, artisans, manufacturers, merchants, and civil servants are essential elements of the Turkish national entity. The work of every person is an obligation imposed on him by the life and well-being of all the others.

"In pronouncing this ideal the Party aims at substituting social order and solidarity in the place of class warfare, at establishing a harmony between interests which will eliminate all possibility of conflict. Interests are measured by merit and work.

"An analysis of the populism born of our revolution shows us that it is based:

"(1) On democratic ideas;

"(2) On the refusal to recognize prerogatives in any individual or group incompatible with the public rights of the nation;

"(3) On the refusal to acknowledge class warfare.

"Regionalism, feudal tendencies, family privileges are rejected *en bloc*. The Party opposes with equal vigour the violence of working folk and the overbearing supremacy of capitalists. Neither class warfare nor oppression." (Quoted in *The Times*, Special Turkish Number, 9th August, 1938, p. 5.)

The next step was inevitable. On the 29th of October, 1923, the name of Ottoman Empire was wiped from the slate of history. A salute of a hundred and one guns proclaimed the foundation of the Turkish Republic (Türkiye Cümuriyeti), with Kamâl Atatürk as President and General Ismet Inönu as Prime Minister. . . .

Contrary to every Western expectation, the proclamation was hailed with joy throughout Turkey, except among the reactionaries of Istanbul and in the parts of Eastern Anatolia inhabited by Kurds. These reactionaries tended to gravitate towards the liberal-minded head of their fanatical religion—the mild and cultured Abdül Mecit. Despite the correct attitude of this last representative of the House of Osman, the Republican Government felt that so long as the Kalifate were to be maintained in the old Royal Family, it would tend to be a focus for attempts to suppress the Republic and to restore the Sultanate. It came as no surprise, therefore, to those who understood the spirit of the new Turkey when, on the 3rd of March, 1924, Abdül Mecit was deposed from his position, on the following day removed from the Dolmabahçe Saray, and exiled from the territory of the increasingly secular Republic. On the 6th the princes and princesses of the Ottoman Dynasty who had remained after the expulsion of the last Padishah and the last Kalif were put upon the Simplon-Orient Express, which thus carried the last descendants of Bayazit the Thunderbolt, of Süleyman the Magnificent, of Selim the Drunkard and of Abdül the Damned out of Turkey and out of history for ever.

There still remained outwardly five great symbols of Orientalism: Eastern clothing, Ottoman law, obscurantist education, the Arabic alphabet and the fatalistic religion of Islâm. Atatürk was committed to Westernization: the Republic—his Republic—sustained by the people through the People's Party must change the whole mentality and customs of the people.

There was already a widespread revulsion from the past, and in

this respect the new movement in Turkey was entirely different from the imposed reforms of Mahmut II and the military revolt of the Young Turks which had so dismally failed to bring about union or progress. Atatürk carefully fanned into flame the embers which had never ceased to glow, even under the Ottoman misrule. Having fitted out the Army in peaked caps, he appeared at a public meeting near Kastamonu wearing a Panama hat. All hats were forbidden by the Islâmic religion. His admirers who yet clung to the old order tried to explain it away. "It is a head-covering with a vizier," they murmured. "This," replied Atatürk, "this thing is a HAT!" Everywhere he travelled he wore the forbidden head-dress. "If we will be a civilized people," he is reported to have said, "we must wear civilized, international clothes."

The Turk must no longer look like an Oriental, and in time he would cease to be an Oriental. So the summer of 1925 saw the law which made the European forms of headwear compulsory for all male Turks. Within a few days every man in Turkey wore a hat or cap, except certain high ecclesiastical dignitaries. It was reported from Izmir that in a village near by, the peasants, unable to obtain bowlers, trilbys or caps, discovered in the closed shop of a departed Armenian haberdasher a stock of ladies' summer hats, and seizing the entire selection, wore them, ribbons, feathers and all.

Such hats were rarely worn by Turkish women, who in the towns especially were concealed from all eyes under veils and cloaks. But even as early as 1923 Atatürk had addressed the people of Western Anatolia on the subject of women's rights. "Our nation has decided to be strong," he had said, "and our absolute need today is the higher education of women. They shall be instructed in every field of science, and receive the same degrees as men. Men and women will walk together in all paths of life, and help each other"—words which could only be seen in their true context by those who had known the Orient as it was, by such as those who had heard the mountain women say: "We are as the cows, how should we know? We know no more than the oranges that hang over our heads." Now in the summer of 1925 a group of jurists met to work on a new Civil Code, adapted from that of Switzerland—a Code destined to produce a revolution in the status and life of the women of Turkey. Atatürk prepared the country for the coming change by a tour of the towns and villages, during which he addressed himself principally to the menfolk. On reaching Inebolu he said:

> "I have noticed during this tour, not in villages, but in small towns and cities, that our women were tightly veiled. I can imagine how difficult it must be for them to breathe in warm weather behind such thick covers. Friends, I realize that such customs are the result of our chastity and care, but nevertheless of our selfish nature as well. Our women are not less intelligent and not less reasonable than ourselves, and provided they live up to our moral standards, and are given the knowledge of

our national character, there can be no further necessity for such sheer egoism. *Let them reveal their faces to the world!*"

So far, so good. It is impossible not to be enthusiastic about such a policy, but to the thoughtful a rather grave weakness was revealed by a statement of the People's Party which defined the attitude of the Turkish patriots to religion, and subsequently became embodied in the fundamental law of the State. The terrible results of secularism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in Nazi Germany, and in Fascist Italy were then unrevealed, the moral collapse of two of them was hidden in the future, and the progressive Turks, consistently hindered by the fossilized conservatism of an Islâm which had ceased to be dynamic, can hardly be blamed for not realizing that the field of true religion is the field of common experience in every department of life, that religion is life, and life religion. It was an interfering heresy of "Thou shalt not" which brought the reaction implied in the regrettable words:

> "The administrative machinery of the Republic is driven by the realities of national life instead of religious dogma. The Party defines secularism thus:
>
> "It is a party principle that the elaboration and application of laws and regulations must be inspired by the latest results of science and technique, by the needs of contemporary life. Religion being a matter of conscience, the Party believes that it is essential . . . to establish a dividing line between religion on the one hand and matters of State and politics on the other."

This nonsense, of course, ignores the plain fact that all social problems are theological in character, that behind "matters of State" are redeemed or unredeemed men, who are impotent to save themselves or their countries from sin and its results.

The important fact to notice, however, is that the statement is not anti-God: it allows a place for religion, but it attempts the impossible. At the same time it closes the door for ever on that greater evil of a priest-ridden medievalism from which the Turkish people were emerging.

At this moment the Dervishes and reactionary Mussulman priests scented their chance. They started to agitate the more conservative and simple-minded of the people. This was exactly what the Government had expected. On the 30th of September, 1925, came the Decree closing the Dervish centres. With the guilty many innocent and quiet philosophers suffered, but although Islâm was still nominally the State religion, in every essential the Turkish Republic was a lay State. Had religion been better represented in the Ottoman Empire it would have been represented better in the Turkish Republic, though in no case was it actively and systematically persecuted as in the neighbouring U.S.S.R. The level-headed Turk had learnt in a level-headed way the lesson of previous history with its fanaticisms, its massacres. "All

these events belong entirely to the past," wrote a Turk, "and the Turkey of today looks back upon them as dark memories which are passing more and more into oblivion as time goes by."

So, one by one, the old questions were solved, the old difficulties overcome. In December 1925 the League of Nations completed a long and careful enquiry into the question of the Mosul territory, and gave its decision awarding Mosul and its district to the Arab State of Iraq, then under British Mandate, though it was not until June 1926 that an Anglo-Turkish Treaty finally terminated the boundary dispute. Thereafter the relations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain became really cordial. Friendship with Great Britain and with France, a mutually advantageous business relation with the U.S.S.R., the active support of Near Eastern concord and of the national independence of small States became the principal features of Turkish foreign policy—a policy not concerned with "ideological fronts", too often the façades of selfishness and brutality.

As the year 1926 progressed, the old laws and the old social life based on Islâm received blow after blow from the Republican Government. In March 1926 the Turks adopted an entirely new legal system—a series of codes wisely adapted after due consideration from the best available in Europe, and administered by courts in which justice was swift and sure. In one short year the customs of centuries gave way before the new legal codes, before the Metric System, the Gregorian Kalendar, the European time-system, the purification of the language and a hundred minor innovations—the cumulative effect of which was to change the whole face of the country, the entire manners and customs of a people. Simultaneously the economic policy was "to raise Turkey economically within the shortest possible time, and through most rational ways, to the level of the most advanced country in the world".

Obviously, "the most advanced country in the world" could no longer use the archaic and complicated Arabic alphabet, never at any time suitable for the sounds of the Turkish language, and associated always with the traditions of Islâm. This beautiful but difficult script was the stumbling-block in the way of universal education. Not a tenth part of the nation could read or write. By 1928 Kamâl Atatürk had decided to change all this. As one observer expressed it: "He would send the whole of his people back to school . . . they should all learn to read and write. He would open wide for them the gate of knowledge, and he would lead his people through to success." Accordingly he carried out his usual routine; careful preparations, a well-chosen opportunity, a dramatic start.

The dramatic start was made in the summer of 1928. Atatürk had not entered Istanbul since 1919. Now he decided to revisit the old capital and take up residence in the Dolmabahçe Saray. In great state he drove through the streets down to the Karaköy Boghazi; he invited the deputies of the Grand National Assembly and all the principal men and women of the State to a reception in the Palace, and there, in the magnificent hall of Abdül Mecit, he traced on a

blackboard Turkish words phonetically spelt in the Latin alphabet. From thence he set out once more to tour the country.

"With a whoop of excitement the country went back to school," learning from the popular leader the most rational and scientific use of the Latin alphabet that could have been devised. On the 1st of October, 1928, the Republic adopted formally the new system, while Atatürk drove on with fresh language reforms—the creation, above all, of a Turkish Language Academy, for the study of the pure Turanian tongue. Arabic and Persian words and phrases were carefully deleted from the language and replaced by old Turkish words from Asia or by the technical and scientific expressions in normal international usage.

Not only words were to be changed; there was to be a new Turkish music, which, although using European forms, would at the same time preserve a distinctive Turkish character. Parallel with the development of music all the arts were to receive attention—foremost those of architecture and sculpture for the construction, reconstruction and beautification of Turkish cities. Works of art were to be preserved, historical monuments and sites excavated scientifically.

All this involved considerable historical research—a research which led to a revision of the traditional attitude towards history. History as understood by the teachers of the Imperial regime was what some Europeans still imagined it to be: dynastic chronology and anecdote. History to them was not the history of *peoples*, much less the history of the Turkish people. Commonly it began with the founder of the Osmanli dynasty. For periods before that, Turkish and foreign historians alike deliberately side-stepped from the Turks themselves and passed to the Arab Kalifs of Baghdad and Damascus, and back through them to the Arabian founder of Islâm. The early history of non-Islâmic peoples such as the early Turks was never studied; nobody realized that before the later Turkish invasions from Central Asia the Turks had been the natives of Anatolia, represented in early ages by the Eti peoples—the Hittites. Ankara, the capital of the Turkish State, was proved by excavations to have been one of the oldest centres of mankind, populated ever since prehistoric times, and often by races emanating from the same source as the modern Turks. As the new Ankara rose at the foot of the old citadel, at Alisarhöyük near by, the skeletons, works of art and ceramics of its prehistoric citizens were being discovered at a depth of twenty-eight metres below ground level.

Meanwhile the battle against illiteracy and ignorance was reinforced on the 9th of May, 1930, by the Law of Public Hygiene, which defined the duties of the new State in matters of public health, and facilitated the extinction of contagious and social maladies by a growing body of trained scientific and medical workers which was adding daily to its equipment and skill. The same year was the creation of a Central Bank of the Turkish Republic—a nationally owned and nationally managed bank of issue, which commenced, on the 3rd of October, 1931, its business of making transactions on behalf

of the Treasury and centralizing international payments. Nor was it the only modern bank in the Turkish Republic.

In 1934 began a new period in industrial development—the direct intervention of the State in economic activity by the creation of key industries which hitherto private capital and initiative had been unable to organize. Gradually the country was endowed with an industrial equipment second to none; magnificent factories for the production and treatment of cotton, hemp, woollen, art silk, paper, glass, porcelain, iron, coal, coal by-products, copper, chemicals and cement were raised here and there, their slender chimneys the minarets, and their tanks, cylinders and roofs the mosques of a new race of busy Turks whose creed was thus formulated by Celal Bayar, Minister of National Economy, writing in the *Financial Times* Turkish Supplement (1st February, 1937):

"State intervention is for the purpose of expanding the business fields of private enterprises, and not for the purpose of conciliation between class interests. The latter are the fields in which State control has been deemed necessary by the people for the national existence and protection.

"The name given to our economic policy is 'Planned Economy'. Its principles have no relation to those doctrines or theories that have evolved in different countries under different conditions, or merely imported into others during the last decades as articles of fashion. . . .

"Our financial plan always precedes our industrialization plan, and in this way, once we announce the construction of any plan, its means of construction are already at hand" (p. 13).

The principal shrine of this faith was to be a complete iron and steel plant at Karabük, near the Black Sea coast. The works were to be of sufficient capacity to meet the growing industrial steel requirements of Turkey so as to make her independent of foreign iron and steel products. The shrine of an older faith—the Ayasofiya mosque at Istanbul—ceased that year (1934) to be a place of Islâmic worship, and became a museum of Byzantine art. Reverence for the past went hand in hand with progress in the present.

In the production of raw materials agriculture was to take a leading part, and agriculture was continuously and consistently being intensified in every one of its branches, rejecting no innovation, sparing no research, adopting every scientific improvement.

In such a world there was no room for the old titles and nobilities which meant nothing to the new nobility of effort. The word "Pasha" was abolished: every man became "Bay"—hitherto a title of some honour; women became "Bayan". The universal Sunday was substituted for the Mussulman Friday as the weekly holiday. A law of 1935 prohibited the wearing of clerical dress in public by members of all cults, though the use of special vestments at public worship was not prohibited, nor the wearing of special robes in the streets by the heads

COMMUNICATIONS IN THE LEVANT, PERIOD OF THE GREAT WAR.
RAILWAYS:
NORMAL GAUGE
BUILT BEFORE WAR
BUILT BY ALLIES
DITTO, ABANDONED
1·05 M. GAUGE
BUILT BEFORE OR DURING WAR
DITTO, ABANDONED
CONVERTED TO NORMAL BY ALLIES
DITTO, ABAND'D
1·00 M. GAUGE
CONVERTED TO 1·05 M. BY TURKS, LATER TO NORMAL BY ALLIES
CONVERTED TO NORM'L BY ALLIES
FRONTIERS CREATED AFTER THE GREAT WAR:
TO ALEPPO
HOMS
TRIPOLI
DJEBEIL
BAALBEC (BAAL GAD)
RAYAK
BEYROUTH
DAMASCUS
MESMIYÉ
LEBANON
SYRIA
EZRAA
SEFFURIEH (SEPHORIS)
NAZARETH
TELL ASTERAH (ASTEROTH KARNAIM)
ACRE
HAIFA
AFULE
MEZERIB
SAMAKH
DÉRAA
JENIN (EN GANNIM)
NESSIB
BOSRA
JAFFA (JOPPA)
LYDDA
WADI ES SARAR
JERUSALEM
AMMAN (RABBATH AMMON)
ISDUD (ASHDOD)
EL MAJDAL (MIGDAL GAD)
GAZA
BETHLEHEM
HESBAN (HESHBON)
DEBAA
RAFA
HEBRON
ABU IRGEIG
BEERSHEBA
KERAK (KIR-HARASETH)
EL QUATRANI
EL ARISH
RIVER OF EGYPT
BROOK OF EGYPT
SHIHOR OF EGYPT
EL AUJAH
TO EL QUANTARA
EAST
SUEZ CANAL
QUSAIMA
PALESTINE
PETRA
MAAN
TRANS-JORDAN
EGYPT
AQABA
KALAT-EL-MUDAWARA
HEDJAZ
TO MEDINA

of each recognized religious body. Among those recognized bodies was a Turkish Christian Church founded some time previously by a priest of the Orthodox Church on the basis of the exclusive use of the Turkish language and political loyalty to the Turkish Republic. Other developments of 1935 were the entry of thirty Turkish women deputies into the Grand National Assembly (a proof that there was no more any difference in political and civil rights between men and women), and the establishment of the State Air Lines Administration. Postal, telegraph, telephone and radio services were constantly being improved, and thus by one means and another the homogeneous Turkish State was knit together in the closest bonds of fellowship and strength, its only weakness the scant attention given to matters of religion.

By this time the educational system was in full working order throughout the length and breadth of the land. All primary and most secondary schools were co-educational. In the handbook *Public Instruction in the Republic of Turkey*, published by the Ministry of the Interior in 1936, Turkish education was shown to be about as modern as anything then conceived in Europe or America:

> "An entirely democratic system of administration and discipline is rigorously applied in all Turkish schools. All forms of corporal punishment are absolutely forbidden. . . . The punishments given in accordance with school regulations are only known to the school administration, the guilty student and his or her parents. . . . It is forbidden to give the students rank, such as the first or second in class. It is also prohibited to distribute prizes to pupils as rewards for their good work. . . . The social situation of the student and of his parents is known only to the administration, and the degree of wealth or poverty of the pupil is kept as a secret. In short, all principles and requirements of a really democratic education and administration are applied in all Turkish schools without any restriction whatsoever. The student takes part in different ways in the administrative work of the school. There are, for example, student representatives in the government of the school. But the student who has been elected a representative in any kind of administrative work enjoys no special rights or privileges" (pp. 19, 20).

Thus the coping-stone of Turkish reform became the foundation of future democracy, and external affairs began once more to occupy the attention of observers.

The Turks had never liked the clauses concerning the Straits in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which demilitarized and largely internationalized the Chanakkale Boghazi and the Karadeniz Boghazi. They had accepted it because the treaty had brought them the peace they needed for reform and construction. But now once more evil men in Italy and Germany began to rattle the sabre, and the Turkish Republic appealed to the Lausanne Powers for permission to refortify and garrison the gates of the East. A conference was called at

Montreux which gave the Turks once more full control of the Straits, a control which they began to exercise on the 20th of July, 1936, under the "Convention of Montreux".

Additional strength was given to the Turkish Republic as guardian of international communications by the policy of railway construction and standardization which the Ministry of Public Works had successfully continued for thirteen years. Nearly three thousand kilometres of new lines had been opened and were in operation, of which nearly all were of normal gauge. The new railways had reached the lines and harbours built and operated by the foreign concessionary companies. As these old lines were linked up to the new, the foreign companies were liquidated and the railways incorporated in the "Turkish Republic State Railways". The French "Smyrna-Kassaba" line from Izmir to Afyon was connected up with the Baghdad line at Afyon, the branch from Manisa to Bandirma was likewise connected to the Baghdad line by a new State line from Balikesir to Kütahya, terminus of a short spur of the German line. The old British "Ottoman Railway" which had reached Egridir from Izmir was linked to the Baghdad Railway at Afyon, and linked also to Antalya on the Mediterranean coast by an extension of the Baladiz-Burdur branch. From Ankara ran a wonderfully complicated network of new railways stretching out towards the end of the old Russian lines at Erzurum, towards Kotur in Iran and towards the railheads of Iraq.

In addition to all this nationalized railway enterprise there came at the end of 1937 the establishment of the Deniz Bankasi or "Sea Bank", acting under the direction of the Minister of Economy. It took over the administration of the growing Turkish shipping industry —the Deniz Yollari ("Seaways") line of State ships, the ferry services of Istanbul, all shipyards, docks, lighthouses, life-saving, salvage, pilotage, towing and port services in the harbours of Turkey. It also obtained the right to organize transport on inland lakes. The finest of fast and trim passenger and cargo boats were gradually placed on service, and a rule made that no vessel acquired from private owners or foreigners was to be more than sixteen years old.

As Turkey came increasingly into contact with surrounding countries, one more international question came up for a just solution. The Hatay, an autonomous province of Syria using the currency and stamps of Syria and the customs and manners and dress of the old Ottoman regime, was regarded as being Arab by the Syrians and as being Turkish by the Turks. Rich in historical associations, this extreme north-west corner of the Mediterranean contained the classical capital of the old Syrian kingdom, Antakya, the ancient Antioch. Near Antakya was the ancient Syrian shrine of Harbiye or "Daphne". The mouth of the great Syrian river Asi or "Orontes" had once been considered as the end of a projected overland route to India. Iskenderon, or Alexandrette, was a flourishing port developed by the Germans at the extremity of a Baghdad Railway branch. All this was in the hands of Syria, and Syria was virtually in the hands of France, though in name a Republic.

Friendship between Turkey and France, great democratic world-power as she then was, seemed to Atatürk to be essential for peace and prosperity in the Near East. He persuaded France to grant full autonomy to the Hatay in preparation for a possible return to Turkey, to allow Turkish soldiers to garrison the country in collaboration with the French, and to overprint the Syrian pictorial stamps with the words "Sandjak d'Alexandrette".

No sooner had the rapprochement between Turkey and France become a reality, and the French agreed to do what Atatürk suggested, than the author of these plans fell ill and retired to the Dolmabahçe Saray at Istanbul in order to rest and recuperate in the healthy sea air of the old capital. . . . But he got no better. He was a worn-out man, and on the 16th of October, 1938, his illness grew desperate. On the 10th of November he died—the maker of the Turkish Republic, a conqueror over more than armies, incomparably the greatest man his country had ever produced—the "GRAND TURK".

In searching for an epitaph for this architect of democracy and development, the traveller who looked at his great buildings and industrial plant, his fields of corn and cotton, his ships and railways, and the historian who read of his political and social work, could think of only one epitaph, the epitaph of all great builders: "SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS, CIRCUMSPICE."

CHAPTER XIII

SOBER, SOLID AND SINCERE

"What has happened in Turkey is a miracle. Much has been lost that sentiment can properly regret, but what has been gained has been the revival of a nation by its own efforts . . . a nation that is dependent on no one, and has already established itself as one of the factors of peace in our disordered world."—SIR GEORGE CLERK, in *The Times*, 19th August, 1938.

UPON THE DEATH OF KAMÂL ATATÜRK THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AT Ankara issued a proclamation:

"By this sad event the Turkish nation has lost its great builder, its great chief, and mankind one of its greatest sons. . . . The election of General ISMET INÖNU to the office of President of the Republic by the unanimous vote of the Grand National Assembly is the surest guarantee that the work of Atatürk will be continued."

The work of Atatürk *was* continued, in every department of the nation's life, and under a leader possessing exceptional powers for commanding, organizing and reforming, a man of influence second to none after that of his late chief and friend.

Rather short in stature, elegantly slim, of an olive complexion, with flashing black eyes denoting intelligence and energy, a man of simple dignified manners, the new President of the Turkish Republic had already impressed many with his modesty and lack of obtrusive swagger.

Pessimists had promised themselves a chance of observing the decay of a dictatorship upon the dictator's death, but they had been mistaken in imagining Turkey to be a dictatorship on the German model: they were equally mistaken in hoping for "a study in decomposition". Atatürk's purpose had all along been to render his country self-supporting and induce its population to be self-reliant by converting Turkey into a modern agricultural and industrial State. His plans had inspired confidence; his people were free from uneasy fears that he might jeopardize their future by a vulgar imitation of despicable Central European upstarts. Turkey's national energies could be concentrated on developments at home. Abroad her only desire was for a long period of general peace which would enable her to pursue her programme undisturbed. Such was the future envisaged by Kamâl Atatürk as he had handed over the reigns of government to the Turkish people and their chosen representative. Yet, reading over his words in the lucid light of later events, one is tempted to wonder if it was of peaceful progress alone that he was thinking when he made that memorable declaration:

> *"We shall continue to move onward in unison, as we did up to now, upholding one another and supported by the Nation's will. There is an arduous road lying open before the people. Whatever aims we are bound to reach shall be reached, and we shall fulfil our glorious destiny. That is why our watchword must be: Forward! Forward! Always forward!"*

Abroad the position in international politics was becoming markedly similar to that of 1914. This time, however, Turkey was not eager to fight Germany's battles, especially as her own system of government was so far superior to the tyranny of the Viennese Paper-hanger. Turkey had no enemies, sought for none, and was certainly not going to be dragged to ruin in the train of any contemptible upstart. Once of necessity under a dictatorship, she had been an authoritarian State only that she might escape from the tyranny of the Sultans, forget the blood-stained past and learn democracy. Her true interests lay in the preservation of peace in the Balkans, Black Sea, Mediterranean and Caucasus—a peace which could best be attained by friendship with Great Britain, France, and, of course, by cordial relations with her gigantic neighbour, the U.S.S.R. With Greece, Turkey was still on those good terms which had been established after the sad incidents of 1921–1922.

The political integrity of Turkey's foreign policy won its first reward on the 23rd of June, 1939, when the French and Turkish Governments signed a joint declaration of peace and goodwill. The reality of that goodwill was proved by an Agreement made at Ankara on the same day, providing for the return of the Hatay to Turkey.

Thus, on the 23rd of July, 1939, the Hatay was incorporated into the Turkish Republic. In the presence of the French and Turkish troops and a great concourse of people the French flag which had flown over the barracks at Antakya for twenty-one years was solemnly hauled down, and the Turkish flag hoisted in its place. Then, after the new Turkish Governor had received the congratulations of the French General, the French troops left for Aleppo. Later, Turkish troops and civilians marched past the Governor, who was supported by delegations from Ankara. As the eight women representing the women of Antakya in the procession reached the Governor they halted and publicly removed the veils without which they had hitherto never appeared in public.

Many Armenians fled, not realizing that the new Turkish rule would be very different from what it had been in the days of Abdül Hamit. They cannot be blamed for their scepticism, for a Turkish newspaper had recently made the extraordinary statement that "Armenians are essentially Turks". This they took for a sample of Turkish veracity, and were not therefore prepared to give credence to what followed:

> "The new Turkey . . . considers it superfluous to bear in mind the sad and bloody events of the past. Turkey sees only the great Path of the Future, lit up by brilliant torches." (*Atayolu*, 6th June, 1939.)

For many another country in those days, however, the great Path of the Future was leading steeply downhill, and was to be lit up by the glare of searchlights, the flash of high explosives. Suddenly the path reached the abyss. . . .

Apparently repudiating her outward pretence of friendship with the Western Democracies, the U.S.S.R. allowed the Teuton to do his will. Conversations were broken off between the U.S.S.R., France and Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. proposed in negotiations with Turkey that she should likewise abandon her engagements to France and Great Britain. The Turks, with admirable spirit, declined to abandon their policy, while Herr Franz von Papen, German Ambassador at Ankara, attempted to wean Turkish loyalty from her traditional friends.

The full reply to these parallel attempts on Turkish political integrity was not long in forthcoming, and took the form of participation in a Tripartite Treaty of Mutual Assistance between France, Great Britain and Turkey, signed at Ankara on the 19th of October, 1939.

The Treaty of Ankara was a work of reason and goodwill, binding

the three countries to close diplomatic and military co-operation in the Near East, save that the obligations undertaken by Turkey were not to compel her to take action involving armed conflict with the U.S.S.R. The Turkish Republic was thus to be scrupulously honest with all parties: the door to Turko-Soviet negotiations was neither closed nor open, but left ajar. The treaty took Italy by surprise; in Germany it was denounced as a further attempt at "encirclement", and in the Democracies newspapers for the first time in history blazed forth great headlines: "Turkey's Contribution to Peace", "Turkey's Word Her Bond". The nineteenth-century writers must have stirred in their graves when the *Daily Express* commented:

> "Here is a country that keeps her bargains! Here is a nation that, when bad faith has been made a principle of statecraft by certain Powers, holds to the path of honour!
>
> "The Turks.
>
> "They will keep their obligations to Britain and France. That resolve determines their attitude to Moscow.
>
> "Give your admiration to a people that staunchly keep their word and honour their signature. Rejoice that we have the goodwill of men who are stout foes and true friends."

The day following the signing of the Treaty an event took place which brought Turkey into a closer physical relationship with the U.S.S.R. The Turkish Minister of Public Works formally opened the new normal-gauge railway connecting the Ankara-Sivas trunk line, which had been opened in 1930, with the town of Erzurum. Erzurum had long been the effective terminal of the narrow-gauge railway built during the Great War by the Russians, leading eastwards to Sarikamish, whence the route was continued by a broad-gauge line to Kars, and on to Leninakan in the U.S.S.R. Thus, through rail connection was assured from Istanbul by Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum, Sarikamish and Kars to the interior of Asia.

At the threshold of the tragic year 1940 the Turkish Republic was about to enter a period when internal events ceased to be of great importance in themselves. The larger part of the programme of reform and improvement was completed, and the position of Turkey was that of a well-organized modern fortress guarding the road between Europe and the East, facing in one direction the German threats to the Balkans, in another the Italian thrust along the Adriatic and Mediterranean, and in yet another direction the new Soviet imperialism directed at the Balkans, Black Sea and Caucasus, as a counter-move to German aggression.

> "You know that our country is not neutral, but is outside the war [explained the Turkish Foreign Minister, Bay Saracioglu, at the beginning of 1940]. You know, too, that to be neutral or outside the war does not mean resignation to fate; it means the

taking of all necessary measures to prevent the flame of war destroying the roof over our head. Only thus can peace be preserved. Turkish policy is clear and precise. We have no secret engagements, nor could we have. Such engagements as we have are as clearly defined as our frontiers . . . and if nothing happens to make us fulfil our engagements we are decided to remain in the path of peace which we have chosen, but vigilant and active as the situation may demand." (Quoted in *The Times*.)

The entry of Italy into the Hitler War was an event which tended to strengthen the Turkish resolve to stand firmly by Great Britain, even when the collapse of France caused Turkey's neighbour, Syria, to be at the mercy of Italy. The Turks saw in the Franco-German Armistice and the enslavement of the French through the Vichy puppet-government of dotards a striking analogy between current events and the state of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Great War when the Sultan's Government was in the hands of the enemy of those days. Under Atatürk, the Turkish people had thrown off the yoke of conquerors and dotards alike; so would France rise again. Therefore, when the U.S.S.R. tried to strengthen her frontier by seizing Bessarabia on the 28th of June, 1940, Turkey still remained calm and alert. At the same time Germany released a spate of propaganda designed to frighten Turkey out of the British alliance into the sticky hands of the Paperhanger, as being the only person still able to make a deal with the U.S.S.R. Disobedience would result in the partition of the Turkish territory. For the U.S.S.R. it was still a day of opportunism.

The answer of the most independent people of the Near East came through Bay Reyfik Saydam, Prime Minister, in his speech made at Ankara on the 12th of July:

> "The first thing to remember [he said] in attempting to influence Turkey is that she is no longer the dead and gone Ottoman Empire. . . . We do not attempt either to provoke or attack our neighbours. The only response which the Turkish people will make to any action threatening the independence of the Turkish Republic or the integrity of its territory will consist in taking up arms and defending the country to the last."

This answer was supplemented four days later by a significant event which proved that free, independent countries could themselves do in a peaceable, straightforward manner the kind of work which Germany had failed to do through influence, intrigue and force. The event was nothing less than the completion of Germany's *Drang nach Osten*—not by Germany but by Turkey and Iraq!

Without ceremony of any kind, the first through passenger train from Baghdad to Istanbul drew out of Baghdad station on the evening of the 17th of July, 1940. British contractors to the Iraq State Railways had taken four years in completing the missing link from Tell Kotchek in the north-eastern tip of Syria, through Mosul and Sharqat

Photograph: (Turkish Ministry of the Interior

"LET THEM REVEAL THEIR FACES TO THE WORLD!"

A Turkish Girl, completely emancipated under the Republic

Photograph] *[Turkish Ministry of the Interior*

THROUGH THE PREVAILING GLOOM THE SPIRIT OF A POLITICALLY REGENERATED TURKEY SHONE BRIGHTLY

Izmir, the Atatürk Statue

to Baiji, whence the old isolated section of German line continued to Baghdad.

Much to the chagrin of the Germans, their dream of close upon seventy years was at last being realized, not by their beloved Leader, but by Scotsmen, Arabs and Turks. The fact that the new plebeian protagonist of German rights had missed the first through train of the Baghdad Railway was regarded as an augury that the time was not far distant when Germany would cease to meddle in the East. But for the moment German and Italian influence was in the ascendant. From time immemorial there had been an Eastern Question. With the rise of the Turkish Republic and other independent national States in the Near and Middle East, the Eastern Question had been solved. No longer did Oriental hordes hammer at the gates of Vienna; no longer did the imminent death of a "Sick Man" threaten the uneasy peace of the European family: a new situation had arisen. The German hordes and Italian mercenaries hammered at the gates of Eastern cities, "Mad Men" shouting threats to efficient, modern, peace-loving countries—threats of the extension of a "New Order" of famine, nakedness, peril and sword, a Hell upon earth.

Romania, weakened by the seizure of Bessarabia, was the first to yield, and immediately paid the price of years of bad government, corruption and incredible folly in heavy losses of territory, a military occupation and complete subjection to Germany. Simultaneously Italy, already established in Libya and Albania, threatened Egypt and Greece. Syria, weakened by the fall of France, was at the mercy of traitors, who were inclined, despite Arab protests, to give Italy the advantage here—right on the flank of Turkey. The struggle for strategic centres in the Near East had now begun—a struggle in which the position of the U.S.S.R. was alone undefined.

On the 23rd of October the Germans and Italians issued a statement in Berlin for the notice of the Near Eastern countries: "We have nothing against any country which may care to remain outside our New Order." The same day Italy proved the worth of such statements by attempting to invade Greece through Albania. Decorations had already been prepared for the streets of Rome to celebrate the expected brilliant victories of Italy and the immediate downfall of Greece—Greece, the nearest neighbour of Turkey and since 1922 her closest Balkan friend. Through strenuous rivalry these two had learned to honour each other, and now as Greece stemmed the tide of Italian advance before the invaders had progressed many kilometres into the country, Turkish jubilation knew no bounds. Then the Greeks advanced, and Italy lay humiliated and mocked. But behind Greece was Great Britain, and guarding the gate of the East was Turkey, "sober, solid and sincere".

Driven almost mad with frustrated desire, Franz von Papen, German Ambassador at Ankara, rushed off to Berlin, whence new invitations for Turkey to join the "New Order" issued one after another, backed with bribes and threats. It was the old technique. The bribes, which consisted of "parts of Iraq and Syria", were met with the reply,

"Why not Scotland?"—the threats with the semi-official Press statements:

> "Turkey cannot adhere to the 'new order', of which she knows nothing. The Turkish character and traditions forbid the sacrifice of even the smallest particle of the independence of the country; besides this, Turkey refuses to recognize the right of any Power to appoint itself an arbitrator of European affairs in which Turkey might be interested."

Von Papen returned on the 22nd of November, 1940, to a blacked-out Istanbul and left for Ankara only a few hours before martial law was proclaimed in Thrace and in the military zones of the Straits. The newspapers blazed big headlines: "Victory Bells in Athens", "Syrian Hostility to Italians", "If Bulgaria attacks Greece, will Turkey march?"

For several months news of continued Greek success and of growing British strength continued, and served to establish the Turks still more firmly in the attitude they had adopted. The Italians were swept out of much of Africa; it now seemed less likely that Bulgaria would fall into the Axis net; new courage came to the South Slavs, to the Arabs in Syria. If Turkey was no longer able to exercise a mediatorial role in Eastern affairs she could at least continue as a stabilizing power. With the goodwill of the British Government she initiated conversations with Bulgaria, and on the 17th of February, 1941, signed a Pact of Non-Aggression with her in the belief that it would strengthen Bulgarian resistance to increasing German pressure, and that Turkish security could be better maintained by a strong defence of the Thracian frontier rather than by a thrust into Bulgaria to meet a German force there, but the Pact was robbed of much of its significance by the German infiltration into Bulgaria. As in 1914, so in 1941: it was not Bulgaria itself which was so much a menace to the East as the subtle workings of Germany. As German threats increased the Balkan countries, once "the powder magazine of Europe", on the whole were the calmest portion of the Continent, the last to suffer from the horrors of a war of lust and cruelty waged by one man and his satellites. Though all was uncertain, through the prevailing gloom the spirit of a politically regenerated Turkey shone brightly. Yet all over Europe the candles were going out. When would it be for Turkey to make the great decision? Was her somewhat materialistic outlook and weak religious background going to militate seriously against her in a world at war on moral and religious issues? The building was splendid, modern, scientific: what of the foundations?

Such were the questions which all lovers of the Near East asked themselves as the German spring offensive of 1941 at last burst upon the peaceful and progressive civilization of the Balkan States.

CHAPTER XIV

NEUTRALITY

"The most serious threat in the Middle East is the constant German pressure against Turkey, and much depends on the ability of Turkey to maintain her independence."—SIR FREDERICK STEWART in the House of Representatives, Canberra, 17th September, 1941.

OF ALL THE FREE AND PROGRESSIVE HEIRS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE in Eastern Europe, two alone remained beside the small "Turkey-in-Europe".

Greece was already in the war, and it was not too much to say of the Hellenes that once more in the long story of the world these upholders of freedom and civilization had clothed themselves with immortality; they whose glory had illuminated the world when the Roman Empire had neither existence nor name had once again held the whole world spellbound. With them was very soon ranged a nation, one and undivided, yet a nation hitherto at the mercy of a traitorous Government—a nation which had but yesterday decided to oust its traitors and stand on the side of honour and independence.

Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of the South Slavs, had in 1918 not only incorporated the territories but succeeded to the historic mission of freedom and civilization maintained for so long by Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegowina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia and other principalities and districts of the old Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian regimes. This great nation, whose freedom had been signed away by its traitors on the 25th of March, 1941, made a last-minute recovery, reversed its policy and made Germany fight to obtain what she already had. Bulgaria and Romania being subservient, the Germans had hitherto every reason to believe that Yugoslavia would be as easy to handle as they had been. Germany could not spare troops to hold the South Slavs down—Bulgaria was to be the chosen jumping-off ground; one Axis force to strike against Greek Macedonia and drive through to Thessaloniki, and another, under Field-Marshal List, was to move into Greek Thrace and on *into Turkey*, taking in the rear the Turkish force drawn up on the frontier of Bulgaria in the Edirne–Kirklareli region, thus separating Turkey in Europe from Turkey in Asia. German troops were to march into Turkey on the 3rd of April, on which date a pro-German revolt was to break out in Iraq. Airborne troops were to be landed in Syria, and Turkey, surrounded and penetrated, would hardly have been able to hold out for long against such odds.

According to the estimate of the Yugoslav High Command, "the Germans had planned a double pincer movement on a vast scale. The northern plan was to seize the Russian oilfields and the Ukraine by the advance through Turkey and through the Ukraine, the attack on the Ukraine being timed to coincide with the attack on the Caucasian frontier of Russia during the first fortnight in May. A German

army was also to be sent through Iran to advance into Russia up the east side of the Caspian Sea. The other pincer movement was to have made Hitler master of the Near East. His Libyan army was to advance on the Suez Canal, while from the Turkish base which he would have established by the 1st of May the other armies would have marched southward through Syria, Iraq and Palestine, towards the same objective." (Quoted in *The Times*.)

These plans were completely upset by the events which began with Yugoslavia's brave stand; the pincer movement had to be replaced by a frontal attack on Yugoslavia and Greece—a costly, comparatively slow, and bitter, humiliating delay. Once more the old familiar names of Ottoman history flashed into momentary prominence as the frustrated barbarians wreaked their vengeance upon the hero State: Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skoplje, Bitolj, and then the names that were broadcast to the world were Greek names: Thessalonîki, Alexandrópolis, Kalampáka—and at last, on the 27th of April, the swastika flag was hoisted on the Acropolis at Athens. Here were the Germans in Greece, and in some of the strategic islands also: Thasos, Samothraki, Limnos, Crete, and others which, with the Italian Aegean Islands, commanded the Turkish coast from the "Dardanelles" to Cape Anamur. Matters were serious enough, but unfortunately for the Germans the revolt in Iraq broke out while they were still fighting the frontal attack, and the British were able immediately to set about the restoration of legal government in that strategic Arab Kingdom.

During this critical time Turkish foreign policy was marked by extreme caution. The Turks were not yet under direct pressure; but there were signs that they soon would be. Their inaction so far had surprised many and disappointed some, but the full facts were that the Allies had agreed that Turkey's part should be defensive. Indeed, there was no option: an attack would have been a gamble, and the Turks were too proud of their reconstructed national life to risk the gamble at that moment. But that did not answer the question which had become ever more insistent: what part would Turkey play in the coming Armageddon? Would she be passed by as Germany pushed through Syria, or perhaps through South Russia or Iran?—Or would she, like Yugoslavia and Greece, be attacked as guardian of the gate and, perhaps, subdued? Or, most horrible thought of all, the thought forced into the minds of even her best friends as one by one fine, free countries had been reduced to slavery by treachery or by inaction—would Turkey deny her history, her character, her new name? Would she, could she, COME IN ON THE WRONG SIDE?

It could not be denied that suspicions of opportunism had entered the minds of those foreign friends who were concerned with Turkey's welfare, and with somewhat wavering hope they turned to a remarkable warning which Atatürk had issued to the youth of Turkey in the year 1927, and with the example of Poland, the Free French and the other Allies before them, they read:

"Turkish Youth! Your foremost duty is to safeguard and to defend for ever the national independence of the Republic of Turkey.

"This is the only foundation of your existence and of your future. There will be, in future, evil-minded people within and without the country, who will try to rob you of this treasure. If, one day, you come face to face with the need of defending your national independence and the Republic, you must not think for one moment of the possibilities and conditions in which you may find yourself, before you set out to do your duty. These possibilities and conditions may easily prove to be unfavourable. The enemies who threaten your independence and your Republic may even be representatives of the most victorious Powers in the world. It may be, whether by force or by ruse, that all the forts and arsenals of our dear country are captured, all our forces dispersed, and every single inch of our country actually occupied; it may be, as something still worse and sinister to contemplate, that those who are in power in the country fall into error and ignorance, become traitors, or even encourage the political ambitions of the invaders for their own personal interests. The nation may be in dire poverty, ruined and exhausted.

"O, Turkish Youth of the coming centuries! Even under these circumstances and conditions, your duty is to save the Independence and the Republic of Turkey." (Quoted as Foreword to *Public Instruction in the Republic of Turkey*.)

The fact that Germany preferred to penetrate into Syria and Iraq by air from captured Greek bases rather than directly to attack Turkey as being "the next on the list" was sufficient proof that Turkey was still worth reckoning with. Yet, should the Germans successfully occupy defenceless Syria and those portions of Iraq in the hands of traitor insurgents, Turkey would be cut off from British help, almost surrounded, and entirely at the mercy of Germany. Germany's first and, for a while, only demand of Turkey would have been the free use of the communications. On the other hand, to have entered the war deliberately in the early summer of 1941 would have been folly for Turkey: the war had proved that the most courageous of personnel was of little use unless backed by enormous resources of mechanical equipment and industrial power, and that Britain had such world-wide commitments that she could not spare enough men and machines to give effective aid to countries far away from her lines of communication.

So Turkey remained neutral in the technical sense of the word, and as a neutral she could not close the Straits to unarmed shipping carrying German equipment in or out of the Black Sea, nor could she prevent trains from Syria to Iraq passing through her territories between Mouslimiyé and Nisibin. Under International Conventions the Turks had no right to interfere with the traffic on that section of the old Baghdad Railway. In any case they did not wish to give the

Iraqis an excuse for holding up *valuable military material then on its way from Basra through Baghdad to Turkey*.

It was not at that moment obvious to all that the tide in the Near East had turned. On the 30th of May the revolt in Iraq collapsed. On the 31st the Iraqis signed an Armistice with the British, to whom once more they owed not only their independence, but their very existence. On the 8th of June British and Free French forces entered Syria to deal with the continual threat of German agents and actual units of the Luftwaffe openly using the country as a base for attacks on Iraq and future attacks on the whole of the Near East. The British and Free French entered Syria and Lebanon as liberators, promising to those two Levant States an independence greater than they had enjoyed hitherto as republics under French mandate.

Meanwhile Turkey was keeping the British Government informed of negotiations in which Germany was attempting to wean Turkish loyalty from Britain, and when at last the weight of German pressure and German territorial conquests exacted a ten-year "treaty of friendship and non-aggression" from Turkey on the 18th of June, the first opportunity to measure the degree of Turkish resistance to German demands presented itself. Though Germany had obtained her treaty, a preamble contained a specific safeguard for Turkey's obligations to other Powers, and the treaty contained no concessions likely to permit German infiltration in the economic field, nor any concessions permitting the transport of troops or war materials across Turkey so that they could be used against the British Empire. The limited scope of this agreement suggested that its only value for Germany would be for propaganda purposes. Nevertheless, the conclusion of the treaty came as something of a disappointment to all true friends of Turkey, and in an endeavour to estimate the situation they had to bear in mind eight considerations:

(1) Turkey had shown evidence of loyalty and sincerity in keeping the British Empire informed of the negotiations at every stage.
(2) Except for contact with the British in Iraq, and for a possible British or loyal French advance in Syria beyond Damascus as far as to the Turkish frontier, Turkey was surrounded by German and Italian forces. The position on her eastern frontier was still uncertain and precarious.
(3) Turkey had just taken a strong hand with an anti-democratic and totalitarian sympathizer, Kuhidin Birgen, deputy for Mardin, who had to forfeit his seat on the Grand National Assembly for not attending Parliament during two months without justification.
(4) On the other hand, it seemed almost too much to expect a country with a history such as Turkey had to be free of traitors and potential quislings, perhaps in large enough numbers and of power sufficient to betray the democracy—as had happened in many countries in the "New Europe".
(5) All treaties of neutrality or friendship or collaboration hitherto

concluded by European countries with Germany had led to further demands and eventual slavery, dismemberment and ruin. When would Germany make her first demand for special facilities on the Turkish railways—their use for "hospital trains" or military supplies?
(6) Turkey had taken up an attitude to religion which laid her open to grave dangers in pursuing the now difficult path of international morality. She was an honourable country, but only a minority was Christian even in profession, in contrast with Greece and Yugoslavia.
(7) The Turkish people possessed the further fault—or virtue—of living in a world which had passed away—the world of *mutual* respect for treaties, the world of the League of Nations to which the Turkish qualities of sobriety, solidity and sincerity were well adapted. She still regarded herself as a "factor of peace in a disordered world".
(8) German pressure on Turkey, if brought to bear, would be gently and slowly applied so as to avoid arousing popular feeling in a democracy which was traditionally Anglophile. Germany had learned the lesson of Yugoslavia: there she had made her demands too openly and harshly. The old Christian civilization had rallied round patriotic elements and humiliated the raw German in the eyes of all people, till the world's laughter had been turned into horror at the revenge exacted on an ancient stronghold of democracy and independence.

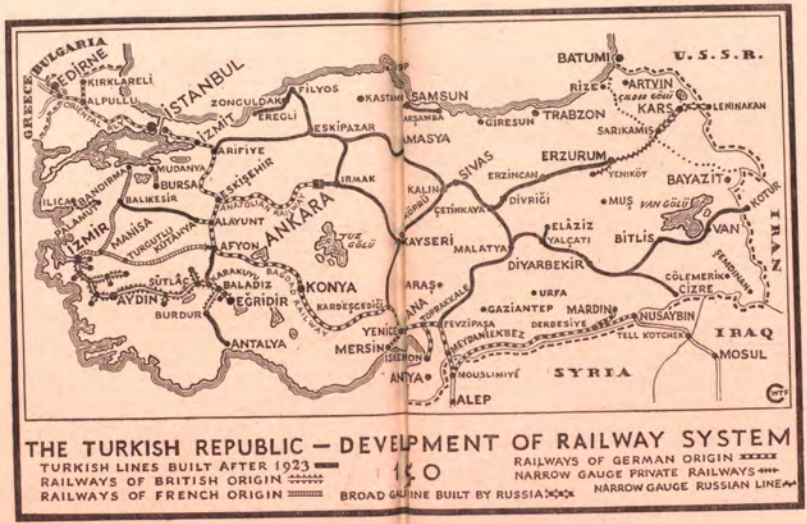
What was the attitude of the average Turk towards the treaty? Hitherto it was to the semi-official newspaper *Ulus* that foreign observers had turned to read the opinions of the new republican "Grand Turk", and even yet there seemed no reason to doubt that the voice of cautious good sense and sincerity was still speaking in these words:

"We are not renewing our friendship with Germany nor are we trying to repair an old friendship. There exists no direct discord between us and Germany. We will remain neutral in the complications centring around Turkey.

"We shall not be an instrument of aggression against our own ally, Britain, nor will Turkey act in a way incompatible with the friendship and confidence of Germany. This does not spell any change in our national policy.

"When Turkey concluded an alliance with Britain we considered it our duty to prevent the spreading of war into our mutual zone of security, not to instigate its complications; and to defend the peaceful order of this zone.

"Undesirable incidents occurred. Confronted with them, we endeavoured relentlessly to limit evil as much as possible, and remained ever faithful to our policy of not giving rise to its instigations and complications.



THE TURKISH REPUBLIC — DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAY SYSTEM

TURKISH LINES BUILT AFTER 1923
RAILWAYS OF BRITISH ORIGIN
RAILWAYS OF FRENCH ORIGIN
BROAD GAUGE LINE BUILT BY RUSSIA
RAILWAYS OF GERMAN ORIGIN
NARROW GAUGE PRIVATE RAILWAYS
NARROW GAUGE RUSSIAN LINE

"We were not ever in disagreement with our ally, Great Britain, on the score that this policy, in so far as our mutual zone of security was concerned, was the best. That Turkey is not in disagreement with Germany either on the question of defending this order and stability can only constitute for Britain a feeling of ease in so far as the security of the zone with which she is in contact is concerned."

The treaty could not be considered thus objectively and academically for long, however. The passage of a few days brought a German attack on the Soviet Union (22nd June), for which attack the agreement was a preliminary German measure. An Englishman, resident in Istanbul at the time, ventured to forecast that if a ballot were to have been taken on the question, "Do you wish for British victory or a German victory ?" seventy-five per cent of the Turks would have voted for a British victory, but if a Russian victory over Germany were to be in question, *the vote would be unanimous in favour of Germany*—a situation of which Germany took full advantage. The reasons given for this alleged feeling against Russia were four : the enigmatic attitude of the Soviet Union during the last two years which created in Turkey an atmosphere of nervousness about Soviet intentions ; the fate of Finland, the Baltic States and Bessarabia ; German statements that the Soviet Union still had her eyes on the Straits ; and the German-inspired Bulgarian reports that Russia had offered Bulgaria a large portion of Turkey in Europe as a reward for proposed co-operation against Germany.

The Turkish public mind was therefore confused, and the policy of Atatürk—co-operation with Britain and good neighbourliness with the U.S.S.R.—became more difficult for his successor to maintain, until the completion of British and Free French occupation in Syria and Lebanon on the 11th of July, 1941, once more brought Turkey into physical contact on a long frontier with her old allies who had just proved their goodwill towards both Arab-speaking countries by guaranteeing their future independence and freedom from interference as free sovereign Republics.

Great Britain and Russia were now in a position to give to Turkey a promise of every help should she be attacked. The Anglo-Soviet pledge of the 12th August, 1941, did much to dispel any feeling of uncertainty as to the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Turkish Republic. Before the end of the month the stationing of friendly British and Soviet forces in Iran to forestall the rapidly growing menace of German infiltration completed a solid wall of Allied territory extending from the Cape of Good Hope to the North of Siberia.

As a salient of this strong fortification stood the Turkish Republic, still independent but no longer isolated. In this position Turkey was able to refuse supplies of the valuable mineral, chrome, to Germany. Possibilities of trade exchanges between Turkey and Germany were reduced by the difficulties of transport at the moment when Allied control of the Levant coast enabled heavy shipments of British goods through Mersin and Iskenderon to be effected. On the eve of the

conclusion of a token "trade agreement" with Germany, engineered to save the face of Herr Clodius, leader of the German mission, the German Ambassador gave a dinner to Clodius at Ankara. The orchestra played the tune, "I can't give you anything but love, baby". Turkey had lost neither her spirit nor her wit, and Germany had lost the Battle of the Chrome.

By the agreement between Turkey and Germany on the 9th of October, 1941, Turkey did promise some chrome to Germany in the year 1943—an arrangement which, while evidencing Turkish neutrality, smacked strongly of "this year, next year, some time, never". A simultaneous exchange of goods to the value of a hundred million Turkish pounds was obviously impossible. The acceptance by Germany of the Turkish figure for the rate of exchange and the humiliating nature of the whole arrangement could only be explained by two alternative suppositions—(i) that Germany was in such a desperate condition that she could no longer afford to stand on her dignity, or, (ii) that Germany was counting on being in a position to dictate to Turkey long before 1943. At the same time, although Great Britain had been consulted all along, it was felt in Allied circles that it was a great pity that the exigencies of the moment should compel Turkey to have any truck with a regime which in Crete was tearing loyal Greeks limb from limb, burying wounded men alive, and turning the sanctuaries of churches into public lavatories.

No further proof of Turkey's peaceful intentions was needed ; some further proof of her moral strength was eagerly awaited by those who had admired it in the past.

Small indications of the way the wind blew were to be seen in Turkish reactions to the shameless and unabashed propaganda which emanated from the German Embassy in Ankara. This propaganda relied on two misconceptions of the desires and needs of the New Turkey, and was entirely based on conditions which had ruled under the last years of the Ottoman Empire ; it relied, in short, on Pan-Turanism and on Pan-Islâm ! In one instance, failing to find any foundation in these two, it fell back on a hypothetical desire for simple territorial aggrandizement—as though Turkey's racial homogeneity, so painfully acquired, should be abolished, and alien peoples brought into the Republic. It was the old game of giving away other people's territories, though at the time Germany did not possess all of them to give away. The Germans proposed that Turkey should gain from Greece part of Thrace and the islands of Mytilene, Chios and Samos ; from Syria, Aleppo and its district ; from Iraq, Mosul and its district ; from Iran, Iranian Azerbaijan, and from the Soviet Union "parts of the Caucasus and Batumi". Turkey was urged not only to secure "these ripe fruits ready to drop into her lap", but to "retrieve her lost territories and her past glory". Reports from Istanbul, however, stated that those Turks who adhered to the principles laid down by Atatürk were not only impervious to such propaganda but dead against such a fundamental contradiction of his policy. Turkey had room enough for a population three times the size of that of 1941, she needed no land,

and least of all did she need to exercise civil or religious rule over thousands of people of mixed races. Hitler, represented as the champion of irredentism, expansionism and—of all things—Pan-Islâm, had a very limited appeal in Turkey, but he had an appeal, nevertheless, to a few reactionaries who still yearned for the "glories" of the Ottoman Empire. The true nature of these "glories" has been already examined and compared with the achievements of the Turkish Republic.

Of those achievements there were some which were no more than experiments indicating the way for even more solid work in the future. The war had cut them short in the experimental stage. Those who had been familiar with Atatürk's innermost thoughts believed that he had envisaged a future Balkan Federation with a federal capital at Istanbul. The signature of a Pact between the legitimate Governments of Greece and Yugoslavia in London in January 1942, followed by one between Poland and Czechoslovakia, indicated that the original Balkan Entente fostered by Turkey had been on the right lines, and further engaged Turkish sympathies on the side of the United Nations.

In Turkey itself the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and the American Lend-Lease organizations were striving to help the State in the maintenance of economic independence in the face of a German competition keener and more ruthless than that of the days of Abdül Hamit. In May 1942 British trade alone with Turkey was four times what it had been in 1940, and probably at no time since the short, happy years that followed the Crimean War had relations between Britain and Turkey been so smooth, or the Turks been so convinced, by the manifest presence of new machinery, locomotives and naval craft, of the fact that "Britain delivers the goods".

A further indication of the direction of Turkish sympathies and of Allied feeling towards Turkey was the opening in London of the first Turkish "People's House" outside Turkish territory on the 19th of February, 1942—"a standard-bearer of Turkish culture in London", an expression of the spirit of modern Turkey, a democratic centre where the Turks and their friends could study the problems and possibilities of Turkish life in the modern world. At its opening, Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, used words which could not have been used by an Englishman in any previous age, friendly as Britain had always been towards Turkey:

> "Our cause is Turkey's cause. We stand for the defence of the same ideals of civilization, and we know that the Turks, if attacked, would defend themselves with a resolution worthy of their historic traditions. In these days, when the world is menaced by the powers of evil, we must all stand together, help one another, and know one another."

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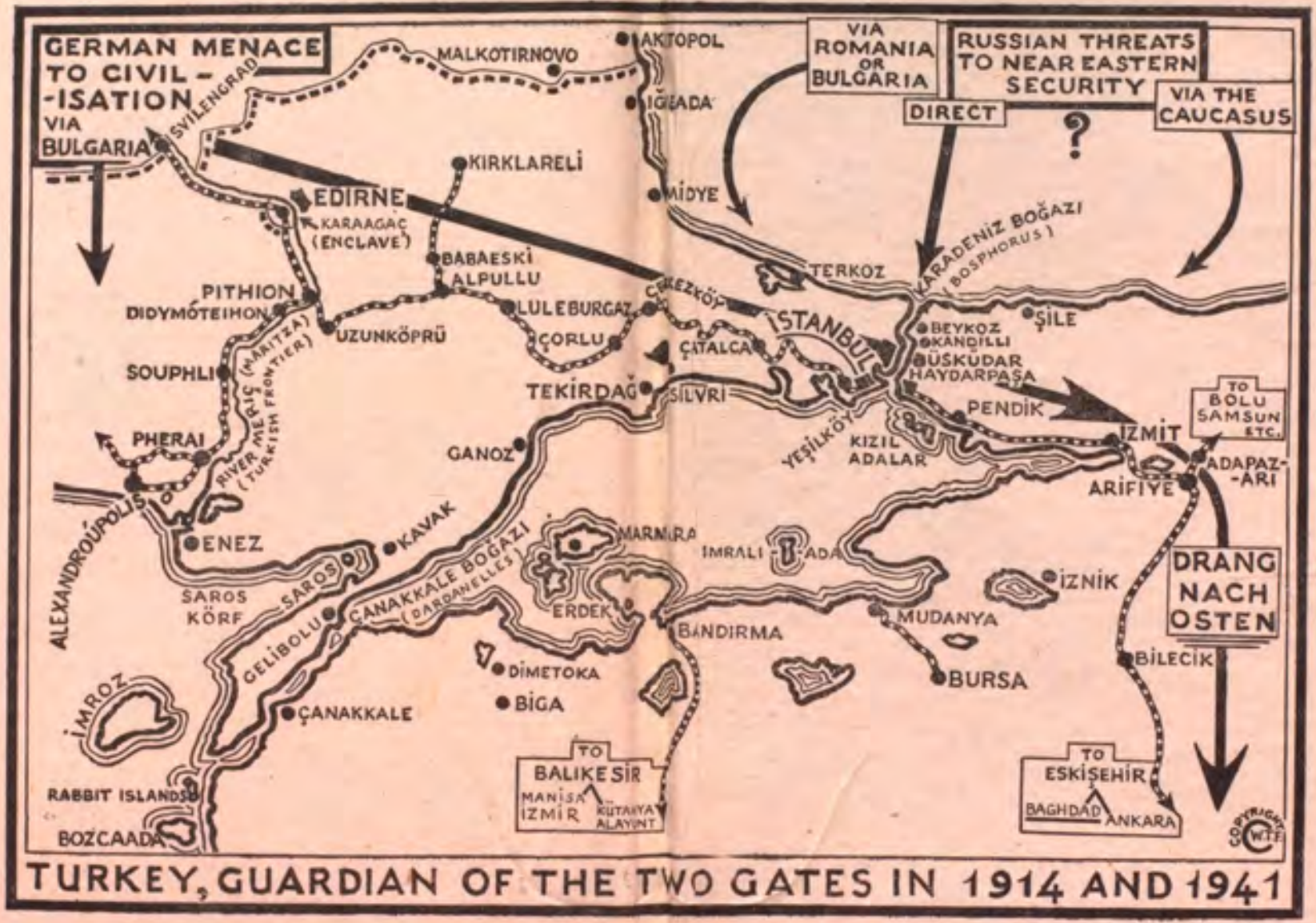

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