

# marife

dini arařtırmalar dergisi

Turkish Journal of Religious Studies

cilt / volume: 24 • sayı / issue: 2 • kış / winter 2024

## Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar ve Ali Suâvi

### *The Young Ottomans and Ali Suavi*

Ahmet Turan Yüksel 

Prof. Dr., Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi, Ahmet Keleşođlu İlahiyat Fakültesi, İslam Tarihi Anabilim Dalı

Professor, Necmettin Erbakan University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Islamic History

Konya / Türkiye

atyuksel@erbakan.edu.tr | <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3263-908X>

#### Article Type / Makale Tipi

Research Article / Arařtırma Makalesi

DOI: 10.33420/marife.1536919

**Cite as / Atıf:** Yüksel, Ahmet Turan. "Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar ve Ali Suâvi". *Marife* 24/2 (2024) 336-362. <https://doi.org/10.33420/marife.1536919>

**Plagiarism / İntihal:** This article has been reviewed by at least two referees and scanned via a plagiarism software. / Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelendi ve intihal içermediđi teyit edildi.



**Copyright / Telif Hakkı:** "This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) International License." / "Bu makale Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari-Türetilemez 4.0 (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) Uluslararası Lisansı altında lisanslanmıştır."

e-ISSN: 2630-5550

<https://marife.org/tr/>

## | The Young Ottomans and Ali Suavi

### Summary

*This study deals with the Young/New Ottomans Society, which emerged in the last period of Ottoman history, and the prominent views of Ali Suavi, one of the members of this society, such as Nationalism, Constitutionalism, Populism, Patriotism and Civil Disobedience. During the establishment of Young Ottomans, the French Revolution of 1789 was the beginning of a new era in every field for the Ottomans, as for other states of the period. In this period, the concepts of equality in social and political life, nation and nationalism began to be seen in the Ottoman geography. As a matter of fact, independence movements that wanted to separate from the Ottoman administration emerged, especially in the Balkan geography. Among these, the Serbian Revolt of 1804 and the Greek Revolt of 1821 are noteworthy. In this process, the Ottoman administration had to take new steps, and this situation manifested itself primarily in military reforms. The reforms brought about close contact and influence with Europe. Meanwhile, students, diplomats and government officials were sent abroad. In this context, the Ottomans started diplomatic relations with France and England. These developments brought new ideas and approaches to the Ottoman agenda, such as constitutionalism and parliament, innovations in the field of education, and equality in the legal field. The new situation continued during the periods of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid and Abdulhamid II and led to different developments. During the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), Sublime Porte was established, and the Janissary Military System was abolished. Additionally, new approaches have come to the fore in the field of education. After Mahmud II, during the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861), the 1839 Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu, or Tanzimat, was declared. In this way, the equality of all Ottoman citizens was accepted. With all these developments, the Ottoman administration widely opened its doors to Europe and the influences coming from there. The Young/New Ottomans who emerged in this process started their activities with the claim of bringing the Ottoman Empire to the same level as Europe by putting these ideas and concepts into their programs. Şinâsi's writings in Tasvir-i Efkâr guided the formation process of the Young Ottomans. The Young Ottomans were primarily followers of the state concept expressed in the Tanzimat Edict. Six people who came together at a picnic in the Belgrade Forest in the summer of 1876 during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876) are known as the founders of the society. These names included Mehmed, Nuri, Reşad, Namık Kemal, Âyetullah and Refik Bey. At this stage, they were strongly opposing the management approach of Grand Vizier Âli Paşa. Considering the Tanzimat Edict, they were in a more conservative position. They adopted three main views: Constitutionalism, Parliament and Ottomanism. At this point, the fact that almost all of them worked as clerks in the Translation Chamber, which started operating during the reign of Mahmud II, played a role in my being influenced by these ideas. The activities of the Young Ottomans, whose basic idea was based on Europe, also caused conflict with the administration. One of the leading names of the community is Ali Suavi. Born in Istanbul in 1839, Suavi lived during the reigns of Sultan Abdülmecid, Abdülaziz, Murad V and Abdulhamid II. He received his primary education at Davud Paşa Junior High School. At the same time, he received religious education by attending lecture circles in mosques. He completed his pilgrimage at the age of eighteen. On his return from pilgrimage, he worked as a clerk at Serasker Kapısı, Dersaadet Attendance Office, and as a teacher at Bursa Rüşdiye, and also taught at Simav Rüşdiye. Later, he was appointed as the Director of Tahrirat in Plovdiv. However, he had a falling out with Governor Ata Bey on the grounds that he encouraged people to revolt in his speeches, and he was removed from his post. Suavi, who met Namık Kemal in this process, joined the formation. Suavi, who also wrote articles in newspapers, became an ardent defender of the society's ideas, especially in his articles in Muhbir newspaper. In 1867, Muhbir was closed and Suavi was exiled to Kastamonu. With the invitation of Mustafa Fazıl Paşa, he escaped from Kastamonu and went to Paris. From here, Suavi went to London and continued to publish the Muhbir newspaper and defend the ideas of the Young Ottomans. Suavi, who returned to Istanbul in November 1876, participated in the struggle against the rule of Abdulhamid II, defining it as a regime of oppression with the influence of European states. In this context, he was killed in the Çırağan Incident (May 20, 1878), which was initiated to kidnap Murad V from the Çırağan Palace where he was imprisoned and bring him back to the Ottoman throne. This historical event, in which Suavi was at the forefront, is also known as the Ali Suavi Incident.*

**Keywords:** History of Islam, Young Ottomans, Ali Suavi, Çırağan Event, Constitution.

**Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar ve Ali Suâvi**

**Özet**

*Bu çalışma Osmanlı tarihinin son döneminde karşımıza çıkan Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti ve bu cemiyetin*

üyelerinden Ali Suâvi'nin Milliyetçilik, Meşrutiyet, Halkçılık, Vatansızlık ve Sivil İtaatsızlık gibi öne çıkan görüşlerini ele almaktadır. Yeni Osmanlılar'ın kurulma sürecinde 1789 Fransız ihtilali dönemin diğer devletleri gibi Osmanlılar için de her alanda yeni bir dönemin başlangıcı olmuştur. Bu dönemde sosyal ve siyasi hayatta eşitlik ile millet ve milliyetçilik kavramları Osmanlı coğrafyasında görülmeye başlamıştır. Nitekim başta Balkan coğrafyası olmak üzere Osmanlı idaresinden ayrılmak isteyen bağımsızlık hareketleri baş göstermiştir. Bunlar arasında 1804 Sırp İsyanı ve 1821 Yunan İsyanı dikkat çekicidir. Yaşanan süreçte Osmanlı idaresi yeni adımlar atmak durumunda kalmış ve bu durum öncelikle askeri islahatlarda kendisini göstermiştir. İslahatlar Avrupa ile yakın teması ve etkilenmeyi beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu arada aynı zamanda yurt dışına öğrenciler, diplomat ve devlet görevlileri gönderilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Osmanlılar Fransa ve İngiltere ile diplomatik ilişkilere başlamıştır. Bu gelişmeler Osmanlı gündemine meşrutiyet ve meclis, eğitim alanında yenilikler, hukuki alanda eşitlik gibi yeni fikir ve yaklaşımları taşımıştır. Yeni durum II. Mahmud, Abdülmecid ve II. Abdülhamid dönemlerinde devam etmiş ve farklı gelişmelere yol açmıştır. II. Mahmud döneminde (1808-1839) Bâb-ı Âli tesis edilmiş ve Yeniçeri Askeri Sistemi ilga edilmiştir. Ayrıca eğitim alanında yeni yaklaşımlar gündeme gelmiştir. II. Mahmud'dan sonra Abdülmecid döneminde (1839-1861) 1839 Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümayunu yani Tanzimat ilan edilmiştir. Bu şekilde bütün Osmanlı vatandaşlarının eşitliği kabul edilmiştir. Bütün bu gelişmelerle Osmanlı yönetimi kapılarını Avrupa'ya oradan gelecek etkilere geniş bir şekilde açmıştır. Bu süreçte ortaya çıkan Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar bu fikir ve kavramları programlarına koyarak Osmanlı Devleti'ni Avrupa ile aynı düzeye getirme iddiasıyla faaliyete başlamıştır. Genç Osmanlıların oluşum sürecinde Şinâsi'nin Tasvî-i Efkâr'daki yazıları yön vermiştir. Genç Osmanlılar öncelikle Tanzimat Fermanı'nda ifade edilen devlet anlayışının takipçileri olmuştur. Sultan Abdülaziz döneminde (1861-1876) Belgrad ormanında 1876 yazında bir piknikte bir araya gelen altı isim cemiyetin kurucuları olarak bilinir. Bu isimler Mehmed, Nuri, Reşad, Namık Kemal, Âyetullah ve Refik Beyler'den oluşmaktaydı. Bu aşamada Sadrazam Âli Paşa'nın yönetim anlayışına şiddetle karşı çıkmaktaydılar. Tanzimat Fermanı dikkate alındığında ise daha muhafazakâr bir konumda idiler. Meşrutiyet, Meclis ve Osmanlıcılık olmak üzere üç esas görüşü benimsemişlerdi. Bu noktada II. Mahmud döneminde faaliyete başlayan Tercüme Odası'nda hemen hepsinin birer kâtip olarak görev yapmaları bu düşüncelerden etkilenmelerinde rol oynamıştır. Temel düşüncesi Avrupa'ya dayanan Genç Osmanlıların faaliyetleri idare ile çatışmaya da sebep olmuştur. Topluluğun önde gelen isimlerinden birisi Ali Suâvi'dir. 1839'da İstanbul'da doğan Suâvi, Sultan Abdülmecid, Abdülaziz, V. Murad ve II. Abdülhamid dönemlerinde yaşamıştır. İlk eğitimini Davud Paşa Rüşdiyesi'nde almıştır. Aynı zamanda camilerdeki ders halkalarına katılarak dini eğitim almıştır. On sekiz yaşında da hac görevini yerine getirmiştir. Hac dönüşünde Serasker Kapısı, Dersaadet Yoklama Kalemî'nde kâtiplik ve Bursa Rüşdiye'nde muallimlik yanında Simav Rüşdiye'nde ders vermiştir. Daha sonra Filibe'de Tahrirat Müdürü olarak görevlendirilmiştir. Ancak konuşmalarında insanları ayaklanmaya teşvik ettiği gerekçesiyle Vali Ata Bey ile arası açılmış ve görevinden uzaklaştırılmıştır. Bu süreçte Namık Kemal ile tanışan Suâvi oluşuma katılmıştır. Aynı zamanda gazetelerde yazılar yazan Suâvi, başta Muhbir gazetesindeki yazıları olmak üzere cemiyetin söz konusu fikirlerinin atesli bir savunucusu olmuştur. 1867'de Muhbir kapatılmış ve Suâvi Kastamonu'ya sürgün edilmiştir. Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın davetiyle de Kastamonu'dan kaçarak Paris'e gitmiştir. Buradan Londra'ya geçen Suâvi Muhbir gazetesini neşretmeye ve Genç Osmanlılar'ın fikirlerini savunmaya devam etmiştir. 1876 Kasım ayında İstanbul'a dönen Suâvi, II. Abdülhamid'in yönetimini Avrupa devletlerinin de etkisiyle bir baskı rejimi olarak tanımlayarak yönetime karşı mücadeleye iştirak etmiştir. Bu bağlamda V. Murad'ı hapsedildiği Çırağan Sarayı'ndan kaçırıp tekrar Osmanlı tahtına çıkarmak üzere başlatılan Çırağan Vak'ası'nda (20 Mayıs 1878) öldürülmüştür. Suâvi'nin en önde yer aldığı bu tarihi olay Ali Suâvi Vak'ası olarak da bilinmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslâm Tarihi, Genç/Yeni Osmanlılar, Ali Suâvi, Çırağan Vak'ası, Meşrutiyet.

## Introduction

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the perspectives and activities of the Young Ottomans, including Ali Suavi as one of their prominent figures, it is essential first to examine the socio-political context and the developments surrounding the constitutional movement in the Ottoman Empire.

The French Revolution introduced concepts such as political equality, social justice, and nationalism, which began influencing the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Selim III (1789–1808), particularly through military reforms between

1792 and 1807.<sup>1</sup>

How did these ideas reflect in the Empire? Naturally, the military reforms' needs led the way to the employment of European specialist, founding the military schools and translation of the books concerning the same issue. Therefore, some Turks began to learn French.<sup>2</sup> It goes without saying that in this way, they were influenced by the foreign ideas and concepts.

Besides the military innovations, some people were sent abroad as students, diplomats or officials, so, even between end the 18th and the first years of the 19th century some of the Turkish diplomacy men in foreign countries such as England and France, became familiar with the Constitutional system. For example, Mahmut Raif Efendi, he was Agah Efendi's secretary and the Ottoman Ambassador to London as well, was able to study carefully the Constitutionalism in England and advised to the Porte to make some reforms by adopting the same system for the purpose of raising the Ottoman State up to the European countries level. After returning back to Istanbul, he personally spent his energy to put his ideas into practice in the years of 1806 and 1807, but he died without getting any achievement.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of Mahmud II (1808-1839), for the same reasons, new innovations particularly concerning the military and education were introduced into the Ottoman government and society; in other words, the idea of purposeful change to improve the society began to form in the reign of Mahmud II.<sup>4</sup> He created the Porte (Bab-ı Ali). It was known by the European diplomacy as the government centre. He abolished the Yeniçeri Military System.<sup>5</sup> In addition, a new approach adopted in the traditional concepts of knowledge, learning and of the institutions of education.<sup>6</sup> It means that Ottoman Government opened the doors more widely to Europe, and influences which would come from the great powers.

As a result of particular relations with the non-Muslims, and the emergence of nationalist movements among the societies, Mahmud II also desired to eradicate the nation divisions on the basis of equality before the laws of administration.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, after the emergence of nationalism in France, same ideas spread first in the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire through the foreign propaganda having the political aims such as separation of the minorities.<sup>8</sup> Eventually, two major revolts broke out: first the Serbian Rebellion in 1804 (1804-1817) and the second the Greek Revolt in 1821 (1821-1832). Both of them had the very purposes

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 55.

<sup>2</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (New York: Gordian Press, 1973), 22.

<sup>3</sup> Yuriy Aşatroviç Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, çev. Mazlum Beyhan-Ayşe Hacıhasanoğlu (Ankara: Bilgi Basımevi, 1974), 42-43.

<sup>4</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 93.

<sup>5</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 97. For detail information on the reforms at the time of Mahmud II see, M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 60-65.

<sup>6</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 99.

<sup>7</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 95.

<sup>8</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1974), 5/104-105.

as it has been also pointed out by Davison.<sup>9</sup>

After Mahmud II, Abdulmecid (1839-1861) came to the throne, and in his reign another important event, Tanzimat, had been proclaimed in 1839. In Tanzimat, the semi-constitutional charter, the creation of all Ottoman subjects as equal was promised.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the doors to the West were thrown wide open and the institutions of legal, political, economic and educational began to change.<sup>11</sup>

With the beginning of the Tanzimat a new period began. As far as the equality is concerned, Mardin explains the situation as follows:

“In those years (between 1839 and 1850’s) the more extensive commercial relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the growth in missionary activities, the influence of the secular ideas of the Enlightenment on the Christian populations of the empire, the rising national and political consciousness of these same people, the growing interest taken by the Great Powers in the protection of Christians in the Empire—each raised a different problem in relation to the equality promised in the 1839 Rescript... Yet traditionally the non-Muslim population of the Empire had been granted special privileges so that these services might be performed by their own communities. The Ottoman statesmen were thus justified in believing that a surrender of these communal privileges should be the price paid by the establishment of an Ottoman nationality under which would fully enjoy the benefits of state services as well as the equal protection of the laws... These statesmen were never allowed an opportunity to carry out such ideas in practice, since they were under constant pressure from the Great Powers to grant at one and the same time equal rights of citizenship and special community privileges.”<sup>12</sup>

In the following years, foreign traders living in Istanbul generated another pressure by putting forward the idea that they need commercial code as a reference concerning the disputes with the Muslims. During the War of Crimea (1853-1856) with the pressure of the allies to the Ottomans to implement reforms in order to remove the disabilities, Hatt-ı Humayun, guaranteeing the rights to all subjects, was proclaimed on February 18th, 1856.<sup>13</sup>

In this new Hatt, ‘the guarantees of 1839 were the logically repeated and extended’.<sup>14</sup> It was indicated that the Muslims and non-Muslims were equal in the

<sup>9</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 25. On the nationalism in the Ottomans see, Davison, “Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response”, *Nationalism in a Non-National State*, eds. William W. Haddatt and William Ochenwald (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), 25-56; Ercüment Kuran, “The Impact of Nationalism on the Turkish Elite in the Nineteenth Century”, *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, eds. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 109-117.

<sup>10</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 14.

<sup>11</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 137.

<sup>12</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 14-15.

<sup>13</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 16

<sup>14</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 55.

matters of military service. In addition, there will not be discrimination between them in taxation, the administration of justice, admission to civil and military schools, public employment and social respect.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, between 1941 and 1950, as an inevitable result of developments in the matters of education and relations with Europe, a group of educated people having the high level culture emerged, and also during the Crimean War, some ideas with regard to the parliamentary system were penetrated into the young generation and military officials.<sup>16</sup>

In the early 1860's, however the movement of nationalism first appeared in a strong shape in the Balkans, and secondly international relations after the latter, i.e. Balkans, were protected by the Great Powers, so between 1859 and 1864 the Moldavia and Walachia vassal principalities proclaimed a constitution and eventually gained autonomy.<sup>17</sup>

While such events were happening, at the same time, they gave rise to some kinds of reactionary movements such as Kuleli Revolt, which occurred in the capital of the Empire in 1859.

According to Berkes,<sup>18</sup> this was the first manifestation of a constitutionalist movements. Mardin gives some details in regard to this revolt as follows:

"In 1859 (September 17) a revolt called the Kuleli Revolt broke out in the capital. The leaders of the revolt were army officers and ulema who believed that the extent to which Fuad and Ali Paşa were ready to cooperate with the Great Powers and the corruption of the other ministers would lead Turkey to ruin... In short, it was a plot of zealots protesting against the extension of new privileges to the Christian populations and indignant at the loss of the Empire's old prestige."<sup>19</sup>

In the following years, other revolts ensued each other. A rebellion broke out in Herzegovina in 1860 and Montenegrins joined in this revolt.<sup>20</sup> As it has been indicated by J. Shaw<sup>21</sup> Britain, France and the Pan-Slavic agitators supported this revolt aiming the massacre and driving out of the Muslims and establishment of the Slavic Christians in their place.

After the Lebanese crisis of 1860, another blow happened to Ottoman pride and a Christian was appointed as a governor of Lebanon.<sup>22</sup>

As to the results and impacts of these events and developments in a general

<sup>15</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 55.

<sup>16</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 46.

<sup>17</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 203.

<sup>19</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Stanford J. Shaw-Ezel Kartal Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 2/149.

<sup>22</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 17.

sense, all of them left a bitter taste in the Turks' mouth.<sup>23</sup> just because the Ottoman Empire began to lose its power and pride and lands for which they struggled for years and died. In addition, all the reforms seemed to have been lopsided to the Christian people of the Empire, so the Muslim side had no share in them.<sup>24</sup>

As for the ideological background of the Young Ottomans, we cannot overlook the role of Şinasi and the newspaper, the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, in which he made his opinions public, due to the fact that in Mardin's view, he was the first person to establish the intellectual foundations of the Young Ottomans.<sup>25</sup> In addition, as narrated from Namık Kemal, Şinasi was the spiritual mentor of the Young Ottomans.<sup>26</sup>

One of the most characteristics of Şinasi's ideas was that he took the term *millet* in connotation with the French word. By this term, he indicated the importance of general opinion in the matters of state. On the other hand, he put pressure on the importance of Turkish language as an instrument of expression of public opinion through his articles in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*.<sup>27</sup>

In the light of what we have said up to here, now we can briefly deal with the idea of constitutionalism.

Sultan Mahmud II desired to set up a constitution for the Empire, and furthermore in his time a plan for two-chamber parliamentary government was drawn up.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, during the Tanzimat period, Ali Paşa, Tanzimat Grand Vezir, took a position against any proposals of constitutionalism or representative government by arguing that such an idea, if it becomes true, would give rise to all the scandals since the multinational structure of the Empire. Also he perceived that the Ottoman populations were not ready for constitutional rule.<sup>29</sup>

As a conclusion, all these events encouraged a group of people called Young Ottomans to take an active action to save the Ottoman Empire by finding concrete solutions through their ideas. In the following sections, we shall go into detail in regard with the society and then one of the members of the society, Ali Suavi.

## 1. The Young Ottomans

In the previous part, it has been examined the social and political conditions in the Ottoman State up to the end of 1850's as well as the same events leading a group of people to organize a society called the Young Ottomans Society which, we

<sup>23</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 17-18.

<sup>25</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 252.

<sup>26</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 49.

<sup>27</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 51-52. See for detail information Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 256-275.

<sup>28</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 30.

<sup>29</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 19-20.

will investigate now deeply.

Before dealing with the Young Ottomans, it would be better to give some remarks about the identities and main characteristics of these people and their aims as well.

First of all, according to Mardin,<sup>30</sup> for the first time in the Ottoman history, the ideas of enlightenment was made part of the intellectual equipment of the Turkish reading public by the Young Ottomans. Secondly, they were the first ones to attempt to work out a synthesis between Islam and these ideas. In addition, again for the first time in the Ottoman history, some Turkish intellectual people as an organized group were using the media of mass communication to extremely criticize the government.

As far as the Young Ottomans are concerned, they can be considered politically to be the followers of concept of state during the Tanzimat time. However, on the other hand, they argued that the Tanzimat failed in its goals due to the fact that the men of Tanzimat did not succeed in combining the traditional and new values within the proper way. That's why, their main demand was to put a good connection and balance between the traditional ideas and the Western culture. It means that they neither refused nor accepted completely the ideas coming from the West.

From the point of their activities, we can study the Young Ottomans in three stages: establishment of the Young Ottomans Society, the Young Ottomans in Europe during the exile, and the period after returning back to Istanbul.

### 1.1. Establishment of the Young Ottomans Society

In the summer of 1865 during the reign of Abdulaziz (1861-1876) a picnic took place in the Belgrade Forest in Istanbul.<sup>31</sup> Six young men<sup>32</sup> Nuri, Mehmed, Namık Kemal, Reşad, Refik and Ayetullah Bey attended and agreed to take action against the catastrophic policies of the Ottoman administration,<sup>33</sup> by forming a society aiming to change absolute into rule based on constitution in the Ottoman

<sup>30</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> This was the first meeting and in 1867 the Young Ottomans Society was founded in 1867 in Europe. (Kemal Beydilli, "Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013), 43/431. Also see, Ahmet Gündüz, "XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ortaya Çıkan Genç (Yeni) Osmanlılar ve Önemli Şahsiyetleri", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 157 (2005), 43-44.

<sup>32</sup> In regard to the complete members of the society, as founders or supporters, there are different ideas. According to Ebuzziya Tevfik, its members numbered onl 245. (Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, çev. Şemseddin Kutlu (İstanbul: Dizerkonca Matbaası, 1973), 79. Also see Geoffrey L. Lewis, *Turkey* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1965), 39). On the contrary, according to Petrosyan, most of the historians accept that they had 254 members. (*Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 57). For example, a dervish Şeyh Naili Efendi, according to Fehmi Caner, as it has been quoted in Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur (*The Young Turks Prelude to the Revolution of 1908* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1970), 21, n. 24). together with Ayetullah Bey participated in founding the Young Ottomans.

<sup>33</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 10-11.



State.<sup>34</sup> In other words, it was the main purpose to provide the Ottoman Empire with the constitutional principles in order to catch up with the Europe in that time.<sup>35</sup>

At that time, as it has been indicated by Abdurrahman Şeref,<sup>36</sup> they were strongly against the dictatorial and oppressive policy pursued by Grand Vezir Ali Paşa, so, if it would be necessary, they planned to remove him from power.

On the day of establishment, they named of society as the Patriotic Alliance. In the meantime, two books about the Carbonari which was the secret society established to fight against the restoration in France and Italy had been presented to them by Âyetullah Bey as guides how to organize the secret society.<sup>37</sup>

On the whole, in comparison with the Men of Tanzimat, they were more conservative, and they agreed on three basic ideas: Constitution, Parliament and Ottomanism.

The Young Ottomans, by Constitution which requires its subjects, regardless of their position in society, to obey itself, aimed to limit the power of bureaucracy.

The idea of Parliament was a demand for a representative, popularly elected parliament to control the Constitution, and was also the best means to secure the services for people in the State for the benefit of the Empire.<sup>38</sup>

As for the Ottomanism, it was the new doctrine which bestowed on all subjects the equality before the law.<sup>39</sup> In other words, it had been proposed to create a new Ottoman nation in which all the Ottoman subjects would be equal as far as the responsibilities and privileges are concerned without making any discrimination between race, religion and sects.<sup>40</sup>

The Young Ottomans' ideas might have been most likely drawn from the extensive productions of the Translation Office in which almost all of them took part as clerks. One of Mahmud II's innovation was the establishment of this office<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 205; Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 13.

<sup>35</sup> Tarık Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler, 1859-1952* (İstanbul, 1952), 91.

<sup>36</sup> Abdurrahman Şeref, *Tarih Musahebeleri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Âmire, 1340), 173.

<sup>37</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 20-21.

<sup>38</sup> Refer to Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2/132. To the Young Ottomans, the most effective means to achieve their goals, as also indicated by Devereux, was "the establishment of a parliamentary regime based on a written constitution" (Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), 31. For detail information on this issue see, I.E. Petrosyan, "On the Motive Forces of the Reformist and Constitutionalist Movement in the Ottoman Empire". *Economie et Societes dans l'Empire Ottoman (fin du XVIII-debut du XX siecle)*. eds. Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Paris: Centre National de la Resherche Scientifique, 1983), 13-24.

<sup>39</sup> Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2/127.

<sup>40</sup> Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1976), 6. For the aims and the programme of the Young Ottomans see, Fahri Yetim, "Modern Bir Aydın Hareketi Olarak Yeni Osmanlılar ve İslam Dünyası", *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 34 (2015), 6-10.

<sup>41</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 28.

as a lesser department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry.<sup>42</sup>

Why did Mahmud II open such an office? The answer is that, as an immediate result of the increasing context between the Ottoman Empire and the West, and urgent need for more and better Muslim Turk interpreters emerged due to the fact that the Greeks who were translators of the state were not loyal to the Government. In the meantime, the study of European languages was cherished among the Muslim Turks. Eventually, in 1822<sup>43</sup> the Tercüme Office was founded at the Bab-ı Ali. In the late 1840's this office became one of the most momentous centres for preparing young generations for state carriers.<sup>44</sup>

Briefly, working as this office, the Young Ottomans gained a significant opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Western world and ideas.

During this period, what were they activities? Once this Alliance was organized, its members propounded their ideas in the *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, whose editör was Namık Kemal, and the *Muhbir*, Ali Suavi was the chief writer, and also other periodicals and newspapers published at that time.

Between 1865 and 1867, two incidents occurred which determined the fate of the Alliance. First, an outbreak took place in Crete in the first month of 1866, and as a result of this revolt the nationality principle had become more active among the Christians living in the State. In addition, the Bab-ı Ali had not succeed to implement the promises given in the Hatt-ı Humayun of 1856. Finally, France and Russia presented some kind of reform proposals in 1867. The Russian plan aimed at the annexation of great to Crete to Greece. At the time of crisis, the chief figures of the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* and the *Muhbir*, Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi, defended the Ottoman Crete by cooperating with the members of the Patriotic Alliance.<sup>45</sup> They criticized and protested strongly the policy of the Porte, consequently Namık Kemal was sent to Erzurum in an administrative position, and Suavi was exiled to Kastamonu. Meanwhile the other members were also suspect to the port as to the Porte.<sup>46</sup>

As to the second event which occurred at the same time, Mustafa Fazıl, a Turco-Egyptian Paşa, published a letter adressed to the Sultan. In this letter, he demanded a constitutional reform.<sup>47</sup> It appeared first in *Le Nord* in Paris. On March 7, 1867, Sadullah Bey, a friend of Namık Kemal, translated this letter into Turkish. And Namık Kemal, Ebuzziya and the others who had some close connection with Namık Kemal and the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* press distributed many of the letter's copies.

<sup>42</sup> Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2/272.

<sup>43</sup> On that point, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar gives the date of 1832. (*Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Bırghaneddin Matbaası, 1942), 66); Bernard Lewis, on the other hand, presents the date of 1833. (*The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 88).

<sup>44</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 206-207.

<sup>45</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 24-25.

<sup>46</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 208-209.

<sup>47</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 24.

This letter brought increasing sympathy between him and the Young Ottomans.<sup>48</sup>

What was the content of this letter?<sup>49</sup> Why did the Young Ottomans need to translate and distribute it?

First of all, it should be mentioned here that this letter, in a sense, reflected the aims and programme of the Young Ottomans.<sup>50</sup>

According to Berkes, one of the ideas in that letter was that 'constitutional regime was the only legitimate form of government for Turkey.'<sup>51</sup> In addition, he pointed out strongly the idea of development as far as to the level of European countries by working hard and importance of Freedom as a main source of order in the affairs of state and public.<sup>52</sup> He also stressed that the foreign officials' interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman State should be eliminated.<sup>53</sup>

As a result of their activities, the Porte took an action against the Young Ottomans. Some of them were exiled to the different cities within the empire. Eventually Mustafa Fazıl invited him to join in Paris and work together, some of the Young Ottomans such as Namık Kemal, Ziya and Suavi fled to Europe, according to Ebuzziya on May 17, 1867.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile, the other members of the Alliance remaining in Istanbul were arrested.<sup>55</sup> It was the end of the first stage of the Young Ottomans and, but at the same time, beginning of the new period for them.

## 1.2. The Young Ottomans in Europe during the Exile

According to the classification of the periods by Mardin, the second period begins on August 10, 1867, when they came together in the Paşa Agah Efendi's mansion in Paris. Mardin explains the situation as follows:

"It was decided that the any organization would be created which would adopt as its program the principles of reform mentioned in Mustafa Fazıl Paşa's letter to the sultan. Ziya Bey was placed at the head of this new group, called the New or Young Ottomans Society."<sup>56</sup>

The number of the exiles who gathered in Paris were six: Namık Kemal, Mehmed, Reşad, Nuri, Ziya, Ali Suavi and Agah. Mustafa Fazıl promised to support them financially with monthly salaries.<sup>57</sup> It means that they gained the financial power.

As to their activities in exile, first of all, it should be pointed out that it was the best way for the Young Ottomans to publish various papers to express and

<sup>48</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 207-208.

<sup>49</sup> For the Turkish translation of this letter see, (Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 27-43.

<sup>50</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 62.

<sup>51</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 209.

<sup>52</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 32.

<sup>53</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 36.

<sup>54</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 66; Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 209.

<sup>55</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 164.

<sup>56</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 44-45.

<sup>57</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 212-213.

spread their ideas. That's why, Ali Suavi would immediately take action to resurrect Muhbir, which would be the Young Ottomans' mouthpiece<sup>58</sup>. However, it had to be published in London instead of Paris because of the rigid French press regulations.<sup>59</sup>

Secondly, in London, Namık Kemal and Ziya began to publish a new paper, Hürriyet, on June 28, 1868, and their major activities were carried out by means of this paper as it has been mentioned by Tanpınar.<sup>60</sup>

Apart from these two papers, Ali Suavi had began to publish an encyclopedia journal called Ulum in Paris. At the same time in Paris, Mehmed commenced İttihad again, and after him Mehmed and Hüseyin Vasfi İnkılab in Geneva.<sup>61</sup>

During this period a lot of Muslims and non-Muslims as well as some French youths who were suffering from the policy followed by Napoleon joined the Young Ottomans.<sup>62</sup>

As the years were going by, some conflicts began to appear among the members of the society. Here, since these conflicts are not really related to the topic, we do not want to get into them. Finally Namık Kemal resigned from the Hürriyet and he was promised that he would be able to return safely, he left London for Istanbul. Furthermore, after the death of Ali Paşa, Mahmud Nedim Paşa, the uncle of Mehmed Bey became Grand Vizier in September, 1871, Nedim Paşa granted general amnesty, so, in the following years, the others remaining in Europe returned to Istanbul<sup>63</sup>, and this period came to an end.

This was very important period, for it had a significant role in shaping the ideological and political ideas of the Young Ottomans. Their desire for Constitutional Regime increased more and more because of the fact that they found great opportunity to be familiar with the French literature in general, and the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Hugo, Moliere, Lamartine and Condorrec, in particular.<sup>64</sup>

During that period they had common idea that the Ottoman Empire needed to be preserved intact by halting its deplorable decline and increasing its power. In a sense, they wanted to revive the Ottoman virtues and the Ottoman Empire. Also the love of fatherland, which Namık Kemal expressed strongly during the course of his exile.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 45

<sup>59</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 45.

<sup>60</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 164.

<sup>61</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 218.

<sup>62</sup> Şeref, *Tarih Musahabeleri*, 175-176.

<sup>63</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 56

<sup>64</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 79.

<sup>65</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 221.

### 1.3. The Period After They Had Returned to Istanbul

After coming back to the capital of the Empire, the Young Ottomans continued to proclaim their ideas through papers such as *İbret*, which first appeared in May of 1872,<sup>66</sup> and after its suspension in *Hadika*, which was closed on January 23, 1873.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, Namık Kemal was working on the well-known play *Vatan Yahut Silistre/Fatherland or Silistre*.<sup>68</sup> Eventually, it was performed in April, 1873. A lot of demonstrations happened after the first and second performances to support it.

As a result, the Government arrested Namık Kemal and exiled him to Cyprus. Meanwhile, Nuri and Ebuzziya, Namık Kemal's friends, were arrested and exiled to Acre and Rhodes as well.<sup>69</sup> It means that their activities were put to an end officially by the Government. However, they, especially Namık Kemal, continued their activities and wrote plays, stories and works about literature and history. They had to remain in exile until after Abdulaziz had been dethroned in 1876.<sup>70</sup>

After Abdulaziz, Murad V (1293/1876) came to the throne, but his sultanate lasted for only three months.<sup>71</sup> Meanwhile, the Young Ottomans returned from exile and accepted him with great admiration in hopes that Sultan Murad V promulgate Constitutional Regime.

Upon his deposition because of his illness, Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) became sultan. It can be said that the Young Ottomans got involved in his coming to the throne in the same hope that a new regime would begin, and finally the First Constitution was proclaimed on December 23, 1876 as a result of efforts of Midhat Paşa, Chairman of Constitutional Commission, and his Young Ottoman friends such as Ziya, Chairman of the Subcommittee, and Namık Kemal, who was appointed to the State Council and a few days later to sit on the Constitutional Subcommittee.<sup>72</sup>

Before concluding this part, it would be better to summarize the idea of the Young Ottomans as well as their contributions:

First of all, they were the committee supporting and working for the Constitutional Regime, the idea of Parliament and Ottomanism. In other words, they wanted to use the European theories of responsible government, and save the Ottoman State by using the word, as indicated by Mardin,<sup>73</sup> not the sword.

<sup>66</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 62.

<sup>67</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 65.

<sup>68</sup> "Its theme was patriotism, the doctrine, new to a Muslim people, of love and loyalty men owe to their country. The four acts of drama deal with an episode in the defence of the Turkish fortress of Silistria against the Russians in 1854." (*The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 158.)

<sup>69</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 298-299.

<sup>70</sup> Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, 300.

<sup>71</sup> Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 7/367.

<sup>72</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 73.

<sup>73</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 393.

Secondly, they were, in a sense, intellectual ancestors of The Young Turks/Jön Türkler and the Turkish Republic,<sup>74</sup> and also of the Committee of Union and Progress/İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti because of the fact that both of them were struggling against the sultanate,<sup>75</sup> or in other words, the Committee of Union and Progress was a direct extension of the reform movement of the 19th century, especially the Young Ottomans.<sup>76</sup>

Thirdly, the terms of Patriotism, in a wider sense, Nationalism, Nation, Love of Fatherland, Turkish History and Language, as it would be later in the case of Ali Suavi, were expressed by them.

One of the Young Ottomans' important contributions was their attitude towards the external world through an increasing desire to know, study and understand all Western administrative and financial methods in order to enlighten the public opinion.<sup>77</sup> For example, they emphasized on the terms of the economics, commerce, factory, joint-stock company and bank.<sup>78</sup> It means that they gave very much importance to the education and economy to make the Ottoman State much more powerful to face and overcome every kind of social, economic and political problems.

## 2. Ali Suavi

In this part, we will try to examine generally the life, activities and the ideas of Ali Suavi, one of the Young Ottomans and the one who had revolutionary personality and had these kinds of ideas as well.

We will divide this chapter into two parts: the first section will be dealt with his life, and the second with some of his ideas.

### 2.1. Ali Suavi's Life

Ali Suavi was born in Istanbul in 1839. He was the son of a paper merchant Hüseyin Ağa. Hüseyin Ağa lived in the times of four Ottoman Sultans, Abdülmejid (1839- 1861), Abdülaziz (1861-1876), Murad V (1876), and Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). He received the first education at Davut Paşa Rüşdiye.<sup>79</sup> In addition, he studied religious sciences by following the courses held in mosques. He performed hajj duty when he was eighteen years old.

<sup>74</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 404.

<sup>75</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Etkileri 1895-1908* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1964), 8.

<sup>76</sup> Ahmad Feroz, *The Young Turks* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969), 16.

<sup>77</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 404. According to Fazlı Arabacı, the Young Ottomans were the pinor of the various political movements of modern age in Turkey. ("Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde "Yeni Osmanlı"nın Din ve Siyaset Anlayışları", *Dini Araştırmalar* 2/5 (1999), 86.

<sup>78</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 406.

<sup>79</sup> Abdullah Uçman, "Ali Süâvi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989), 2/445.

After returning from pilgrimage he entered the service of the state in Seraser Kapısı, Dersaadet Yoklama Kalemi as a clerk in Istanbul, and then was appointed as a teacher in Bursa Rüşdiye because of the fact that the Ministry of Education organized a competitive exam and Suavi was the one who gained the highest score in this exam. Apart from Bursa, he gave lessons in Simav Rüşdiye. After the reorganization of Edirne Vilayet according to the New Law of Vilayets, he was appointed to an administrative position in Filibe as a Tahrirat Müdürü and then to a teaching position as muallim. However, because of a conflict with the historian Ata Bey, the governor of the region, he was dismissed from his position. The reason why he was dismissed was that he was giving weekly sermons at mosques, and Ata Bey blamed him to incite the people to rebellion in his speeches.<sup>80</sup>

At that time he was among the readers of the *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. After having being dismissed, he came back to Istanbul and the Minister of Education, Abdurrahman Sami Paşa protected him.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, he met Namık Kemal and join the Patriotic Alliance, which had been already established.<sup>82</sup>

In 1867, he began to write for Filip Efendi's *Muhbir* and preaching at the Şehzade Mosque. In his articles published in *Muhbir*, he defended the idea of Constitution.<sup>83</sup> As a result of his actions against the Sublime Porte<sup>84</sup>, *Muhbir* was closed and he was exiled to Kastamonu at the Black Sea coast in March of 1867. He stayed two months in Kastamonu.<sup>85</sup> The main reason for this exile was, according to Mardin,<sup>86</sup> that Ali Suavi already was talking about the rumor that a massacre of Muslims by Christians was impending and they were using churches as arsenals.

By the end of May, he, however, escaped from Kastamonu and left for Paris because Mustafa Fazıl Paşa invited him. While he was going to Paris, Namık Kemal and Ziya joined him in Italy. As we have also mentioned above, he was in charge of *Muhbir*, the First Young Ottomans paper.<sup>87</sup>

As to the papers published by Suavi and also the papers he wrote, we can mention that he published *Muhbir* in Istanbul and London; *Ulum, Bab-ı Ali* and *Republic* in Paris; *Muvakkaten Ulum Müşterilerine* in Lyon. On the other hand, he wrote articles in *Hürriyet* in London and *Vakit, Basiret, Müsavat* and *Umran* in Is-

<sup>80</sup> For all information mentioned above see, Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 170; Midhat Cemal Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi* (İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1946), 5; İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyat, 1947), 40; Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 360-361.

<sup>81</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 361.

<sup>82</sup> Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*, 59.

<sup>83</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 170-171.

<sup>84</sup> For detail information on the Sublime Porte refer to Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1980.

<sup>85</sup> Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı* (İstanbul: Gün Matbaası, 1954), 22.

<sup>86</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 41-42.

<sup>87</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 44-45; Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 171.

tanbul after he had returned from exile.<sup>88</sup> Thus, it goes without saying that Suavi got involved in press very actively in his lifetime.

Suavi started Muhbir in London in the name of the Young Ottomans Society while the other Young Ottomans were publishing Hürriyet in Paris. He acted not in accordance with the basic principles of the Young Ottomans by saying that this paper was being published by an Islamic society which was temporarily staying in Europe. That's why, a conflict appeared among them, and Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa urged him not to use the official stamp of the society placed at the bottom of the paper any more by sending him a letter. From then on, he started a new Turkish paper called Ulum in July-August of 1869 in Paris.<sup>89</sup> This Journal, subtitled Journal Encyclopedia Turk, was a proper place in which Suavi would be able to show his knowledge, and because of the Franco-Prussian War, he began to publish this paper under the title Temporarily: to the Cilientele of the Ulum in Lyon. In this sheet, he lampooned also both Young Ottomans and their aims by placing them under the same heading of enemies of the people with the Ottoman statesmen.<sup>90</sup>

Moreover, upon returning of Mustafa Fazıl to Istanbul by the request of Abdülaziz, Suavi, in one of his articles in Ulum, accused him of infidelity and proclaimed that Paşa was expelled from The Young Ottomans. Until the enthronement of Abdülhamid II, he stayed in exile. In November of 1876, he returned to Istanbul.<sup>91</sup>

As to the fact that how he could come back, it should be mentioned here that he heralded his new own ideas through his articles against the constitutionalism published in Turkish paper, Vakit, in Istanbul in September 19, 1876. Upon his article Abdülhamid II permitted him to return to Istanbul.<sup>92</sup> What is understood from this is that he has changed his ideas.

After Suavi returned to Istanbul, he was appointed as the director of the Galatasaray Lisesi. At the same time, he joined the Translation Committee established by Abdülhamid II in order to translate European publication about external affairs, but upon severe reactions of Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa against him, Suavi could not attend the first meeting, so eventually this committee was dissolved.<sup>93</sup>

Towards the end of his life, Suavi established a society called Sem'u Taat Cemiyeti/Society of Hearing and Obedience.<sup>94</sup> In a sense, the most important thing for him was to obey the sultan, in other words, he was not defending the idea of Constitution at all. Finally, he was killed in attempted coup, Çırağan Sarayı Vak'ası, aiming to rethroned Murad V in May of 1878. We will get into detail this event in the following pages.

<sup>88</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 6.

<sup>89</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 171.

<sup>90</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 363.

<sup>91</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 172. For detail information on Suavi's life refer to Hüseyin Çelik, *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 41-450.

<sup>92</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 99.

<sup>93</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 172

<sup>94</sup> See for detail information Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 151-155.



## 2.2. Some of Ali Suavi's Ideas

Before examining his ideas, two points should be made. First of all, three men among the Young Ottomans look like to have nationalistic opinions. They were Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi and Süleyman Paşa; and among them Suavi became the only apologist among the Young Ottomans for nationalistic arguments in spite of his controversy and conflicting ideas.<sup>95</sup> We will return to this subject again.

Secondly, after returning from exile we can find somewhat diversity in his ideas. As we indicated above, once he was defending the Constitution, but now he accepted to obey the Sultan without putting forward any condition by leaving the previous opinion.<sup>96</sup>

### 2.2.1. Popular Sovereignty, Representative Government and Assembly, Separation of Powers, Populism, Patriotism and Ali Suavi

We should point out that Ali Suavi put forward some ideas in regard to not only the system of administration as a politician but also education and economy as a thinker.

As far as Suavi's political theory is concerned, first of all, some terms such as popular sovereignty, representative government and assembly, separation of powers, populism and patriotism should be discussed and clarified.

Suavi's own argument on the popular sovereignty can be described as narrated by Mardin as follows:

"There exists a term which has gained considerable notoriety nowadays 'popular sovereignty', as the expression goes. This term is a translation from the French. Its original reads: 'soverainete du people'...What does 'soverainete' mean?... (It) means 'does what he desires'. Sole master of his self, absolute authority, free in his actions. Well, what is it, in fact, that rules by itself and has absolute power over things? Something which cannot be qualified with any attribute other than that of Divinity. Thus in this sense, there does not exist a single human being who possesses 'soverainete.'<sup>97</sup>

That's why, he was against the praiseful words used for the sultans and vezirs, and bending before them.<sup>98</sup>

In this context, he was defending the Constitutional Regime and Representative Government. According to Suavi, Democracy can't be applied in the Ottoman Empire because of the multinational structure of the society but, on the other hand, Sultan and Government should not be left alone to govern the state but controlled by the Representative Assembly. However, it was his main desire that Hâkim Millet/Dominant Nation,<sup>99</sup> should be in charge of governing the state.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 316-317.

<sup>96</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 175.

<sup>97</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 367.

<sup>98</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 28-29.

<sup>99</sup> According to Danişmend, Tanzimat abolished the concept of dominant nation ideologically and



Then, who was the Hâkim Millet in Suavi's opinion, it was the Muslim people who were speaking Turkish and living in the Fatherland, which consisted of Anatolia including Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Rumeli.<sup>101</sup>

As for the arguments that Suavi used to defend Representative Assembly, they were three: the institution of Hilf al-Fudul, the principle of Nazar fi al-Mazalim, and the theory of Shura. The first one existed in Islam, the Prophet was one of the participants and by which the rights of a single man were protected by the whole community. The second was a widespread Islamic practice establishing means for a recourse to justice whenever apply to the Sharia did not result in the rectification of a wrong. The third one, the theory of the Shura had existed in early Islamic times and had been used by the Caliph Umar.<sup>102</sup>

On the separation of Powers, whereas the other Young Ottomans were defending the Islamic law by putting forward the idea that the rules and laws should be arranged in accordance with the Shariat, Ali Suavi was supporting Secularism.<sup>103</sup>

As for his understanding of the Secularism, it should be pointed out here that he was criticizing the Islamic law openly, and according to him, in spite of the fact that law itself had divine origin, politics and administration can be organized by mind and experience of the statesmen in accordance with the social and geopolitical conditions of society.<sup>104</sup> This kind of explanation was made first in the Ottoman Empire by him.

Furthermore, he stated that the separation of powers existed in Islam at the beginning. That's why, the matters of state and religion should be separated from each other.

Ali Suavi's theory of Secularism is based on his way of understanding the matter of Caliphate. On that point, he refused that caliphate had a religious basis. According to him, the Prophet died without appointing any successor after him. So, president of state can be either appointed by his predecessor or elected by the people as a successor of the previous Caliph, not of the Prophet himself.<sup>105</sup>

In the same way, Ali Suavi did not accept the Monarchism, but Populism and Republican System.

As to Suavi's populism, he meant, by this term, to provide the people with

→

practically within the Empire. That is why, from that time on, there had remained no mark in terms of Turks except for the fact that the Ottoman dynasty was Turk and language was Turkish. (İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1947-1955), 4/126-127). Therefore, Suavi defended that idea.

<sup>100</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 53. For Suavi's discussion of sovereignty and ideal government refer to Numan Deniz, "An 'Islamist intellectual in the late Ottoman Empire: Ali Suavi", *MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES*, 58/56 (2022), 881-885.

<sup>101</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 51.

<sup>102</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 375-376.

<sup>103</sup> İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Ali Suâvi'nin Türkçülüğü* (İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1942), 21.

<sup>104</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 181-182.

<sup>105</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 180; Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 37.

the intellectual development and to improve the political wisdom of the people as well. Therefore, he was completely set against the traditional methods of teaching, and also curriculum of the religious schools, that is to say, madrasas.<sup>106</sup> In Suavi's opinion, this kind of education takes too long time and is not sufficient.<sup>107</sup> In addition, differences between two education centres, Madrasa and Sibyan Mektepleri should be eliminated and the whole system has to be unified in a new form. Modern and contemporary sciences should be included to the programmes.<sup>108</sup> As a result of these ideas, it can be concluded that he was the first thinker to point out the idea of Tevhid-i Tedrisat/Unification of the Education for reformation of the educational system.

As for the Republic, Ali Suavi used this word in its real sense. It means that if there was a matter to be settled, whole population would assemble and express their grievances to the government. Everyone living in the state would tell what he knew and believed.<sup>109</sup> Apart from this, he stated, in one of his articles, that the Islamic state had been governed by the Republic even at the beginning, because, as a matter of fact, Islam considered majority. However, the right of republic did not exist anymore, and the socio-economic conditions of the Empire did not allow the system to be applied. So Suavi defended the Constitution as a moderate system between Monarchism and Republic.<sup>110</sup>

As to his Patriotism, it was a further activism, and can be described as his attempt to galvanize the Ottomans in a defense of the fatherland against Russia. On one occasion he expressed his ideas as follows:

"Are there no men left in our nation who have their fatherland, their religion, their family? Who care for the defense of their own interests? Will the Turkish people who once made the world tremble accept to be the serfs of the Russians? By no means! Our nation is not yet dead... Herald it to the world that the Turks are still here. Proclaim everywhere that the Ottoman Empire cannot disintegrate merely as the result of Greek or Russian hullabaloo."<sup>111</sup>

As a patriot, Ali Suavi did not accept that the Ottomans were dead as it is understood from the passage. To support this, he refers to the word of "Young" in the name of the society. In his opinion, even that work shows that vitality of the Empire,<sup>112</sup> but in order to save and reinvigorate the state we need a new energy.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 372.

<sup>107</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 18.

<sup>108</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 49-50.

<sup>109</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 363.

<sup>110</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 182.

<sup>111</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 370.

<sup>112</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 22. Also see Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 34.

<sup>113</sup> Atay, *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*, 35.

### 2.2.2. Nationalism and Ali Suavi

As it has been indicated in the previous pages, Suavi was one of the three men to have nationalistic ideas among the Young Ottomans. How did Suavi and the others get some nationalistic opinions and defend them? In other words, did he get influence by anyone or any movement.

According to Shaw, Cemaladdin al-Afghani<sup>114</sup> was the one who influenced them. How did this happen? al-Afghani was brought to Istanbul by Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa, Tanzimat Grand Vezir and Foreign Minister, and put on the Council of Education created in 1870. He was defending the idea of reviving Islam. The appeals of al-Afghani struck a particularly vibrant chord in Istanbul because of the plight of the Turks of Central Asia against Russia. In addition, some news such as a revolt of the Chinese Muslims in Yunnan province in the 1860s, stories of massacre of the Turks in Tashkent, Buhara, Samarqand, and the masses of refugees entering the Empire as a result of these and other Christian invasion of Muslim territories had turned the attention of the people to the dilemma of Turks and Muslims outside the empire. As a result of all these, Suavi and the others began to advocate a Turkish national movement whose aim was the political and cultural union of all the Turks of the world under the Ottoman leadership.<sup>115</sup>

In addition to al-Afghani's political impact, the works of three men Arthur Lumley Davids, Arminius Wambrey and Leon Cahun, who were interested in Turkish language and history, and constitutional movement in Turkey, were quite influential in the formation of Turkish nationalism as well,<sup>116</sup> and Davids's books were definitely known to Suavi,<sup>117</sup> and he has entertained in the Turkological writings of Wambrey or Cahun.<sup>118</sup>

As far as Turkish language, history, and race are concerned, Ali Suavi was the first one to write on the general Turkish history. On the same subject, he has two works. The first one is *Hive*, which came down to us, and the second is *Taharriyat-ı Suavi ala Tarih-i Turk*,<sup>119</sup> which was not published. In regard with this mat-

<sup>114</sup> His name was Tahsin Efendi. He was sent to Paris in 1862 and remained there until 1869. After returning back to İstanbul, he was chosen to head the new Dârülfünûn. His modern scientific experiments aroused the opposition of the conservative ulema and lead eventually to his dismissal. Tahsin Efendi had become friendly with the Young Ottomans while in Paris and came to be known as Cemaleddin al-Afghani after his return to İstanbul. These influences together with his traditional and his French education led him to seek a reconciliation between Islam and natural sciences. He was sent as ambassador to Teheran where he died in 1866. (Richard L. Chambers, "Notes on the Mekteb-i Osmanî in Paris, 1857-1874", *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*. eds. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 325.

<sup>115</sup> Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2/157.

<sup>116</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 315-316; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2/261.

<sup>117</sup> According to Mardin, his book on Turkish grammar, published in London in 1832 and in a second French edition in 1836 effected Suavi. (*The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 250).

<sup>118</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 317.

<sup>119</sup> Concerning this work, Tanpınar has some doubts whether it had been written or not. See, Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 183.

ter, Suavi has three basic arguments:

1- The race of Turk has the superiority over the other races due to the fact that the Turks had played significant role from the point of politics, military and civilization.

2- Turkish, as a language, is the richest and the most perfect one among the others.

3- The Turks created the Islamic culture and civilization as well.<sup>120</sup>

In Hive, relating to the Turks living in Russia, he shared their feelings by stating that "To it Russia has sent soldiers and so we wonder what has happened in those Turkish Muslims who were of our religion and our tribe and our family". Also he spoke of the Tatars as the constitutive ethnic element of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>121</sup> In this context, Suavi should be classified as the first Turkist because of the fact that he repeatedly used the term Turk, and gave attention to the Central Asiatic problem.<sup>122</sup> In addition, due to such ideas, he was establishing the ideology of Pan-Turkism.

Incidentally, in Tanpınar's view, on the subjects concerning the Turkish history and the fact that the Turks had very significant role in shaping the Islamic and especially Ottoman civilisation, Suavi shared same ideas with Davids. Nevertheless, this did not mean that he did not bring out any new idea. He convinced that the Turks had developed the same philosophy almost five or six centuries before Hegel and Shilling produced, and in every century, there were hundreds of writers among the Turks like Shackspaer. On the other hand, on the matters in regards with the Turkish language and its problems, all the ideas originally came out from him.<sup>123</sup> In other words, in this respect he was creative and revolutionist.

As far as the Turkish language is concerned, he stated that, first of all, Turkish should be adopted as a single language of education within the Empire, and the codification of Islamic law should be given together with translation of it into Turkish.<sup>124</sup>

Because of the nation reality in the Islamic state, sermons should be given in the appropriate language to the people. In this respect, the Holy Book, al-Qur'an, can be translated into Turkish.

On the contrary, all the prayers have to be performed in Arabic, which is the

<sup>120</sup> Danişmend, *Ali Suâvi'nin Türkçülüğü*, 24-25.

<sup>121</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 371. In Hive, Suavi presented an historical account of the Khanate and laid strong emphasis on its early contacts with the Ottoman Empire. His aim was to remind Ottomans of their obligations toward the Hive Turks by indicating the differences between the attitude of the Sublime Porte in the past and in the present. (David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), 42.

<sup>122</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 371; Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 40-41.

<sup>123</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 184-185.

<sup>124</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 371.

language of Islam, in order to maintain the unity of Islam. These ideas had been developed by Camal al-Din aAfgani and passed over to the Turkists.<sup>125</sup> For example, Bursalı Tahir Bey, one of the active Turkists, followed Suavi's way.<sup>126</sup>

According to Suavi, it was unacceptable to call the Turkish language Lisân-ı Osmânî, because of the fact that this expression was a political term. Instead, Lisân-ı Türki should be used.<sup>127</sup>

All these views are worthy of being considered significant because of the fact that, in this way, Suavi desired to make the Turkish majority become aware of their identities and feel themselves as a historical nation, not an ordinary.

### 2.2.3.The Right of Civil Disobedience and Çırağan Palace Vak'ası

The most interesting aspect of Suavi's political theory is his defense of the right of civil disobedience. The theory of revolt was basically built on three Islamic arguments, which can be summarized as follows:

a)Traditions of the earliest caliphs such as Caliph Umar who requested his community to correct any errors made by himself as a Caliph.

b)The Qur'anic obligation of conforming to the Good and avoiding Evil ways.

c)Arguments taken from later medieval jurists such as Ibn Nudjaim, Dimirdashi and al-Zahidi.<sup>128</sup>

Ali Suavi, as a defender of this view, in exile in Paris, he encouraged the people of the Empire, to assassinate Ali Paşa by publishing the so-called court decision of ten articles.<sup>129</sup>

Until he returned back from exile, Suavi was strongly for the revolution against any kind of unjustness. In one of his articles, even before the exile, he was affirming in this way:

"O ye who desire justice! If you want to go about nodding your heads like snails, tyrants will never allow you to raise your voice. You are slaves. If, on the other hand, you take to the sword and show your presence in the field of honor you will stand up against tyrants, you are human beings, you are free. O people! How long are you still going to believe that a Mehdi shall appear and save you? Do you think that the Emirs who are in charge and who are free of questions and responsibility will abandon what profits they draw of you and begin to favor you."<sup>130</sup>

Nevertheless, during the period of exile, there seems to have been to some

<sup>125</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 182-183.

<sup>126</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 184.

<sup>127</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 185; Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 7/292. For some socio-pedagojic evaluations on Ali Suavi refer to İsmail, Doğan, *Tanzimat'ın İki Ucu: Münif Paşa ve ve Ali Suavi* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1991), 343-390.

<sup>128</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 377.

<sup>129</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 360.

<sup>130</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 378.

extent changes in Auavi's idea of disobedience because of the difficulties he faced, or bad impact of 1870 Ottoman-Russian War on himself. He now began to believe that we should obey the Sultan definitely,<sup>131</sup> and this conviction led him to organize a new society called Sem'u Taat Cemiyeti/Society of Hearing and Obedience.<sup>132</sup> In addition, according to Mardin, Suavi's belief that many problems of social disorganization arose when a population lost its religious faith also played important role in shaping this society.<sup>133</sup>

In other words, the Constitution did not draw his attention any more, and in a sense, he did not agree with the Young Ottomans either and the Constitution would not bring any benefits to the Empire.<sup>134</sup>

On the contrary, in spite of his ideas, he attempted to return Sultan Murad V to the throne by leading a raid on the Çırağan Palace on 20 May of 1878.

As to the reasons for his uprising, according to Uzunçarşılı,<sup>135</sup> during the Ottoman-Russian War, Suavi did not agree to make an agreement with the Russian government. He tried to persuade Abdülhamid II to resist against them but did not succeed, so he wanted to restore Murad V to the throne.<sup>136</sup>

Suavi gathered around five hundred refugees who had fled the Russian advance in the Balkans and stormed the Palace.<sup>137</sup> However, his attempt to abduct and to restore the constitutionalist-minded Murad V to the throne<sup>138</sup> ended in failure, and he was neutralized and killed by Hasan Paşa, the chief security officer of Beşiktaş.<sup>139</sup>

As to the other reasons in regard with this pilot, there are different ideas. For example, according to Namık Kemal, Suavi attempted this pilot to prepare a good ground for the Russian army to enter and seize Istanbul.<sup>140</sup> In another view, Abdülhamid II himself wanted this uprising in order to kill Sultan Murad V and to get rid of him, and for that reason he gave money to Suavi to lead this plot.<sup>141</sup> None of these opinions seemed logical, and as it has been indicated by Mardin, Ali Suavi's attempted coup in May of 1878 can't be easily explained.<sup>142</sup> The most important

<sup>131</sup> Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 174-175.

<sup>132</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 153. Tunaya calls this society Üsküdar Cemiyeti. (*Türkiye'e Siyasi Partiler 1839-1952*, 98.

<sup>133</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 383.

<sup>134</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 153-154.

<sup>135</sup> Regarding this event see, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Ali Suâvi ve Çırağan Vak'ası", *Belleten*, 8, (1944), 71-118.

<sup>136</sup> Uzunçarşılı, "Ali Suâvi ve Çırağan Vak'ası", 77.

<sup>137</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 364.

<sup>138</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001), 126

<sup>139</sup> Uzunçarşılı, "Ali Suâvi ve Çırağan Vak'ası", 83. This event was also known as 'Ali Suavi Event' (Cevdet Küçük, "Çırağan Vak'ası", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1993), 8/306).

<sup>140</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 165.

<sup>141</sup> Kuntay, *Sarıklı İhtilalcı Ali Suavi*, 166.

<sup>142</sup> Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*,

point here is that Ali Suavi was the only one who died for the sake of his ideas among the Young Ottomans.

## Conclusion

In the light of all what we have said so far, we can say that the Young Ottomans or New Ottomans, as intellectual ancestors of the Young Turks, was the first organized society to defend three basic ideas: Constitution by which they wanted to restrict the power of bureaucracy, i.e. high level bureaucracy, which was created in the Tanzimat; Parliament or by that they demanded to control the constitution, and Ottomanism, a new doctrine proposing the equality for the all subjects leaving in the State.

The Young Ottomans wanted to reconcile the Western culture and the traditional values. According to them, it would be possible for the Ottoman State to gain its previous strength and pride only by means of the reorganizing and refreshing the existent institutions. It means that they were against the total alteration, abolishment of the values which have existed in the society and replacement by the invasion of the foreign culture.

Although, the Young Ottomans had never political leader, this society can be considered to be the first opposition party in terms of modern political terminology, as it has been indicated by Karal.<sup>143</sup>

As far as the programme of the Young Ottomans is concerned, as it has been mentioned above, they were in favour of the equality in terms of rights, establishment of the Constitutional Regime. And bounding the individuals together with the feeling of patriotism; and their method was to get to the result by means of oral expression without using force.

One of the most outstanding ideas of the Young Ottomans was the term Fatherland/Vatan by which they aimed to create an ideology of fatherland and love of fatherland around which alongside with the love of religion they tried to make all the Ottomans together, and nation which they used, on one hand, in terms of religion and sect such as Greek Nation, Armenian Nation and so on and, on the other, in the meaning of tribe and nation. For instance, in Mustafa Fazıl Paşa's letter to Abdulaziz in 1807, the terms Turk Nation and Turk Tribe had been referred.

As to Ali Suavi and his ideas, first of all, he was a revolutionist and one of the members of the society, who had nationalistic ideas. He was strongly defending Constitutional Regime, Ottomanism, Representative Government and Assembly, Popular Sovereignty, Separation of Powers, in other words, Secularism, Populism, Patriotism and Right of Civil Disobedience.

In terms of Representative Government, the necessity for the Sovereign Nation/Hâkim Millet, was one of his outstanding ideas in order to keep the government and all the citizens under control. According to him Sovereign Nation was the

→

364.

<sup>143</sup> Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 7/313-314.



Muslim people speaking in Turkish. In other words, as in the previous time of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks should be in charge of government.

With his idea of Secularism, he has put forward a new kind of understanding by saying that politics and administration can be organized in accordance with the social and geopolitical conditions of the society, not according to the Islamic law rules, and also by defending the separation of matters of religion and state from each other.

In regard with the educational system of the state, Suavi was for the unification of the educational institutions, Medrese and Sibyan Mektepleri, in order to improve the quality of education by eradicating the duality within the system itself and applying the modern teaching methods.

As a Patriot, Suavi's main wish was to mobilize the Ottomans in defense of the fatherland, and he believed that the Ottoman state was not dead or sick man of Europe. On the contrary, he referred even to the word "Young" in order to show the vitality of the State.

With his ideas about the Turkish language, history and race, he was considered to be a Turkist, who was the first one to write on the general Turkish history. In his opinion, the Turks have the superiority over the other races, and Turkish is the richest language, so it should be the language of education within the Empire. Moreover, he put forward the idea that the Holy Book can be translated into Turkish, and some of the religious practices such as sermons should be performed in Turkish to the Turks.

Ali Suavi's defense of the right of civil obedience i.e. revolt, which was basically built on the Islamic arguments such as the practice of the Caliph Umar, who requested his community to correct him, and the Qur'anic obligation of conforming to the Good and avoiding Evil ways. is the most interesting aspect of his political theory. Therefore, he always encouraged the people to raise their voice. He was eventually killed during such an attempt to rethroned Murad V.

**Funding / Finansman:** This research received no external funding. / Bu araştırma herhangi bir dış fon almamıştır.

**Conflicts of Interest / Çıkar Çatışması:** The authors declare no conflict of interest. / Yazar, herhangi bir çıkar çatışması olmadığını beyan eder.

## References

- Akçura, Yusuf. *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*. Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1976.
- Arabacı, Fazlı. "Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde "Yeni Osmanlı"ın Din ve Siyaset Anlayışları". *Dini Araştırmalar* 2/5 (1999), 51-89.
- Atay, Falih Rıfki. *Baş Veren İnkılâpçı*. İstanbul: Gün Matbaası, 1954.
- Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964.
- Beydilli, Kemal. "Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. 43/430-433. İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013.
- Chambers, Richard L. "Notes on the Mekteb-i Osmanî in Paris, 1857-1874". *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*. eds. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968, 313-329.
- Çelik, Hüseyin. *Ali Suavî ve Dönemi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994.
- Danışmend, İsmail Hami. *Ali Suâvî'nin Türkçülüğü*. İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1942.
- Danışmend, İsmail Hami. *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1947-1955.
- Davison, Roderic H. *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*. New York: Gordian Press, 1973.
- Davison, Roderic H. "The Advent of the Principle of Representation in the Government of the Ottoman Empire". *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*. eds. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968, 93-108.
- Davison, Roderic H. "Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response". *Nationalism in a Non-National State*. eds. William W. Haddatt and William Ochsenwald. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977, 25-56.
- Deniz, Numan. "An 'Islamist intellectual in the late Ottoman Empire: Ali Suavi". *MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES* 58/56 (2022), 875-889.
- Devereux, Robert. *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963.
- Doğan, İsmail. *Tanzimat'ın İki Ucu: Münif Paşa ve ve Ali Suavi*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1991.
- Feroz, Ahmad. *The Young Turks*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Findley, Carter V. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Gövsâ, İbrahim Alâettin. *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyat, 1947.
- Gündüz, Ahmet. "XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ortaya Çıkan Genç (Yeni) Osmanlılar ve Önemli Şahsiyetleri". *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 157 (2005), 41-65.
- Hanioglu, M. Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Karal, Enver Ziya. *Osmanlı Tarihi*. Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1983.
- Karpat, Kemal H. *The Poiticization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Kuntay, Midhat Cemal. *Namık Kemal Devrinin İnsanları ve Olayları Arasında*. İstanbul, 1944-1949.
- Kuntay, Midhat Cemal. Sarıklı İhtilalci Ali Suâvi. İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1946.
- Kuran, Ercüment. "The Impact of Nationalism on the Turkish Elite in the Nineteenth Century". *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*. eds. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968, 109-117.
- Kushner, David. *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908*. London: Frank Cass, 1977.
- Küçük, Cevdet. "Çırağan Vak'ası". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. 8/306-309. İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1993.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Lewis, Geoffrey L. *Turkey*. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1965.
- Mardin, Şerif. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study in the Modernization of Turkish*

- Political Ideas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Mardin, Şerif. *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1964.
- Petrosyan, I. E. "On the Motive Forces of the Reformist and Constitutionalist Movement in the Ottoman Empire". *Economie et Societes dans l'Empire Ottoman (fin du XVIII-debut du XX siecle)*. eds. Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont and Paul Dumont. Paris: Centre National de la Resherche Scientifique, 1983, 13-24.
- Petrosyan, Yuriy Aşatroviç. *Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler*. çev. Mazlum Reyhan-Ayşe Hacıhasanoğlu. Ankara: Bilgi Basımevi, 1974.
- Ramsaur, Ernest Edmondsdon. *The Young Turks Prelude to Revolution of 1908*. New York: Russel & Russel, 1970.
- Shaw, Standford J vd. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Şeref, Abdurrahman. *Tarih Muhasebeleri*. İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Âmire, 1340.
- Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1942.
- Tevfik, Ebuzziya. *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*. çev. Şemseddin Kutlu. İstanbul: Dizerkonca Matbaası, 1973.
- Tunaya, Tarık. *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler*. İstanbul, 1952.
- Uçman, Abdullah. "Ali Suâvi". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. 2/445-448. İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Ali Suâvi ve Çırağan Vak'ası". *Bellekten* 8 (1944), 71-118.
- Yetim, Fahri. "Modern Bir Aydın Hareketi Olarak Yeni Osmanlılar ve İslam Dünyası". *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 34 (2015), 1-18..