

**A REEVALUATION OF THE POLITICS OF DÜZCE UPRISINGS
AGAINST ANKARA DURING THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE PERIOD**

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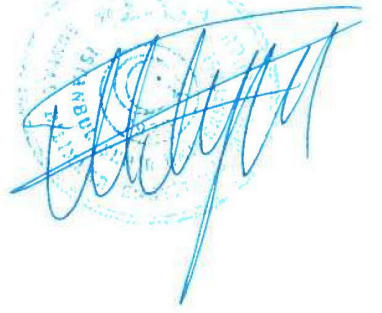
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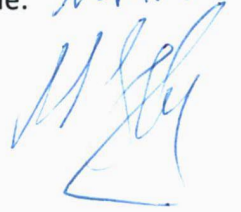


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ABSTRACT

A REEVALUATION OF THE POLITICS OF DÜZCE UPRISINGS AGAINST ANKARA DURING THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE PERIOD

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MA in History

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This study investigates the rebellion of Düzce in a flexible chronology, from wide range of documents. Its claim is that the rebellion of Düzce was not simply a reactionary royalist movement against parliamentarists, to which religious fanaticism, ignorance, and enmity against progress at the minds of rebels ignited; it was a result of chronic social, administrative and security problems in the local context.

Düzce was a little village at the edge of İstanbul's periphery until the mid-nineteenth century. The migration waves triggered by Ottoman withdrawal from the Caucasia and the Balkans, and the Russian advance in the North transformed this little village into a populous town. The town had multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic structure. It was a challenge for the officers of modernizing Ottoman state to organize the immigrant settlements and the new chaotic structure of the town. Public security had been under threat since 1880s, because of the diversity of the population, and the clashes among communities in the local context.

From 1908 on, the social incoherence in the town became the context of political opposition against the Committee of Union and Progress. The disasters of Great War caused the opposition in town to integrate with the revanchist politics of the Liberal Entente Party after the armistice of Mudros. The North Caucasian communities in the region rejected to support Grand National Assembly, and they rebelled against the

opening of GNA. In the fall of 1920, the rebellion ended and the rebels confirmed to the GNA rule.

Keywords: the North Caucasian Immigrants, National Struggle, the Rebellion of Düzcce



ÖZ

MİLLİ MÜCADELE DÖNEMİNDE ANKARA'YA KARŞI DÜZCE AYAKLANMASININ YENİDEN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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Bu çalışma Düzce İsyanı'nı esnek bir kronolojide geniş bir kaynak çeşitliliğine dayanarak incelemektedir. Çalışma temel olarak, güncel tarih yazımında; cahil, mürteci halkın hilafetçiler, saltanatçılar ve itilaf devletleri tarafından kışkırtılması ile ortaya çıkmış bir ayaklanma olarak ele alınan Düzce İsyanı'nın, bölgede kronikleşmiş toplumsal ve idari problemlerin sonucu olarak ortaya çıktığını iddia etmektedir.

19. yy başlarında Düzce, İstanbul'un taşrasının hududunda küçük bir karyeydi. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kafkaslar'dan ve Balkanlar'dan çekilmesinin ve bu coğrafyadaki Rus istilasının tetiklediği göç dalgaları bu küçük köyü, birçok etnik grubun, kültürün ve dilin barındığı nüfusça kalabalık bir kazaya dönüştürdü. Modernleşmekte olan Osmanlı Devleti'nin idari memurları için ellerindeki imkanlarla kazanın bu yeni yapısını düzenlemek oldukça güçtü. 1880lerden itibaren, kazadaki etnik çeşitlilik ve cemaatlerin kendi aralarındaki çatışmalar sebebiyle, kasabada emniyeti umumiye sürekli tehdit altındaydı.

1908 sonrasında Düzce'deki koşullar eşraf arasında İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ne karşı muhalefete bir zemin oluşturdu. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında kazadaki muhalefet Hürriyet ve İtilaf Partisi'nin siyasetini takip etti. Bölgedeki Kuzey Kafkasya göçmenleri Büyük Millet Meclisi'ni desteklemeyi reddetti ve meclisin açılmasına karşı isyan ettiler. 1920'nin sonbaharında isyan bitti ve isyancılar BMM yönetimini kabul ettiler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kuzey Kafkasya Gçmenleri, Milli Mcadele, Dzce İsyanı



To the memory of Boncuk



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Thesis Statement

In the spring of 1920, a great wave of uprisings throughout Anatolia threatened the very life of the nationalist movement centered in Ankara. Country people in adjacent sections of Balıkesir, Bursa, İzmit, Adapazarı, Bolu, Ankara, Konya and Yozgat disobeyed the calls of nationalist movement for re-assembling of the Ottoman Parliament in Ankara and remained as the masters of their territory until the fall. The treat to central authority in Ankara prevailed even after the foundation of the Republic. The uprisings in 1920 and its aftermath are named as internal treats, counterrevolution, civil war or simply as internal rebellions in the conventional literature. Starting from this, my thesis is on the uprisings of Circassian and Abkhazian communities in Düzce, having reached peripheral villages of Ankara during this period.

The memory of 1920 uprisings inspired only small sections in the histories of Turkish Revolution and a few popular history books aiming at establishing hero and traitor characters to their ideological myths. This study says very little about the heroes and traitors. Instead, it centers upon the nature of the society at the turn of century in the rebellious towns, and the developments following the Great War and outbreak of uprisings. Three main interests in this study mainly cover the effects of modernization in rural areas, the reasons behind resistance to nationalist movement and the origins of Düzce rebellion. Throughout my study, my aim would not surely be to judge the actors of the rebellion, their aims and expressions. This thesis aims at re-evaluating the radical movements during the rebellion of Düzce in a broader context, in a flexible chronology, with clearer concepts. Pre-war and post-war transformations of Düzce, from a very small village to a rebellious town, will constitute another theme in this study. On the basis of a deep research on the issue, the Circassian and Abkhazian communities and other immigrant people located in Düzce, First World

War conditions, and the radical politics regarding daily events during the rebellions will be considered.

In my thesis, I tried to explain the rebellion in Düzce by focusing on the local context. What this thesis asserts is that; on one side the event in Düzce was a continuation of the administrative, social, economic and public security problems that Ottoman State had faced in its last century. On the other side, it was a part of the political competition over the fate of nation between the Committee of Union and Progress and its opponents in the post-First World War period.

1.2. Historiography, Methodology, Sources

Traditional histories retrospectively perceived the rebellions in the National Struggle Period as anti-republican treason acts ignited by backward-minded men of religion, bandits supported by occupation forces, captive government and traitor Sultan. They justified only a few possible motives for the rebellions such as; 1) royalism, 2) resistance to mobilization, 3) religious fanaticism, 4) leaders' self-interests, 5) naive loyalty among the bulk of the rebels.¹ They underestimated local contexts of the events and the transformations in the Ottoman provinces throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; administrative reforms, immigrant settlements and ethno-religious turmoil in the provinces.

The concepts of treason, ignorance, enmity and religious fanaticism in the nationalist discourse actually did not use to have any correspondence in the contemporary context of the rebellion. These concepts began to be established after the foundation of the Republic especially in the post Lausanne period and were crystallised in 1927 by means of *Nutuk* (Great Speech by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk). They were put forward to silence the opponent discourses or simply the discourses on the foundation of the republic except for the Kemalist one. The beginning of the issue was related to the

¹ Rahmi Apak, *Türk İstiklal Harbi vol. VI İç Ayaklanmalar (1919-1921)*, (Ankara, Gnkur. Basımevi 1964), Cemil Hakan Korkmaz, *Kurtuluş Savaşının İkinci Cephesi İç İsyanlar*, (İstanbul, Altın Kitaplar 2008) Türkmen Törel, *İstiklal Harbinde İç İsyanlar*, (Ankara, Kripto 2012)

Lausanne treaty. The Turkish government demanded an excepted category from the oblivion that the Entente demanded during the negotiations of the Lausanne peace treaty. The oblivion was related to the political and military crimes in between 1914 and 1922. Turkish side demanded this oblivion to be about only the non-Muslim populations. To expand the extent of the general pardon, the Entente claimed a wide definition minority that included non-Turk Muslim groups such, as Circassians, Georgians so on, as minorities. The Turkish side claimed that all Muslims in Turkey had been Turks. In the end, both sides agreed upon an exception list from pardon consisting 150 people. In the assembly, there was a list of 600 traitors. The list was discussed in the assembly and was decreased to 150 people from the opponents of Ankara or supporters of the ancient regime. The two-third of the list was consisted the Circassian rebels/bandits. The members of the list were actually passivized figures or out of the country at that time. However, the symbolic meaning of the 150lik list was more effective in the literature. It represented the traitors of the republic.²

In *Nutuk*, the 1920 rebellions against national forces are covered briefly³ and only one and a half page is about Düzce rebellion. It is only this short passage that is perceived as one of the main sources for the concepts and the contexts in the studies about Düzce rebellion. In his work, Mustafa Kemal briefly mentions about the occurrence of the event, how it affected Ankara and the precautions taken by Ankara. Rebels and the rebellion were not approached in detail. The source the work fed through is telegraphs the Chamber of Deputies and Grand National Assembly received during the events. Treason, ignorance, enmity and (religious) fanaticism are the main concepts he chose to define this rebellion. However, these concepts remained unquestioned in explaining the events in Düzce. These concepts were also used to define all opponents against his rule including the second group in the first assembly and his comrade in arms throughout his speech.

² Hakan Özoğlu, *From Caliphate to Secular State: Power Struggle in the Early Turkish Republic*, (California/Santa Barbara, Praeger 2011) chapter II

³ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk vol. II*, (İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1973), 442-448.

The memoirs of the Army Generals, regarded as primary sources to the conventional literature, were written many years after the rebellion. The authors of those memoirs focused on their own roles in the national movement rather than the concepts defining the opponents. In addition, the majority of the secondary sources perceived these concepts as a base for popular worries of their own periods: threats on laicism, conflict between new and old, reactionary religious people and the role of army in defence of the nation. However, treason, ignorance, enmity and religious fanaticism were problematic concepts in explaining both the real condition experienced in the local context during the rebellion and the reason why the people in Düzce rebelled.

The introductory study of Hüseyin Rahmi Apak, in which he claimed to cover both the strongholds and misdeeds during the establishment of the western front in Turkish War of Independence, offers very brief account of the rebellion in Düzce. His book is widely benefited as a secondary source by the scholars. His accounts offer a brief narrative of the events in the eyes of an observer. According to Apak, the roots of banditry in Düzce go back to First World War and even to Balkan Wars. In consequence of negotiations of the LEP and Nationalists against bandits, bandits chose to give support to the LEP, and it resulted in a rise against nationalists. Nationalists suppressed the rebellion by force and negotiation. Ethem illegally hanged fifty of the rebels even though they were forgiven by GNA. Since the main focus of Apak's study is considered to be on the establishment of the western front and regular army. His accounts on Düzce rebellion consisted very few primary sources and depended mostly on anecdotes from his own experiences during the event.⁴

Sebahattin Selek perceives Düzce rebellion as a part of the loyalist counter-revolution at the price of denouncing the report by Lazistan deputy Osman Nuri on Düzce rebellion. The report shared in an assembly meeting refers profoundly to some reasons behind the rebellion as 1-) social problems of Ottoman past, 2-) inability of Ankara in proclamation of themselves, and 3-) inability of state organisms to contact

⁴ Rahmi Apak, İstiklal Savaşı'nda Garb Cephesi Nasıl Kuruldu, (Ankara, TTK Basımevi 1990)

with the people of Düzce. By underestimating those reasons, he finds Osman Nuri unable to comprehend the counter-revolution.⁵

Sina Akşin has a similar attitude towards Düzce rebellion in the third volume of his study on the governments of İstanbul during the National struggle. He designates the period between 30 October 1918 and 10 August 1920 as “internal war period”. His attention is stated to be on the Sultan’s role during occurrence of rebellion. Some examples to his comments on the rebels could be given as follows; “Poor Turks, a mass, it is unknown if even more than five per cent was literate... Captives and slaves in the hands of Sheikhs and Agas, and Vahidettin was a Super Sheykh and Super Aga of some kind. Therefore, rather than defending their own independence, they draw weapons against it.”⁶

The first monograph on the issue belongs to Rükü Özkök who was working as a teacher in Bolu at the time he ground out the book. It was not written with an academic intention, either but widely used by the scholars on the field. The book covers a part of series in memoriam of the fiftieth anniversary of the GNA as well as some substantial concerns to understand the issue. However, the poor methodology of the study and his loyalty towards official discourse restrain those concerns from a clear argumentation, an analytical perception and contextualization of the event.⁷ Süreyya Şehidoğlu puts the exploitation of the religion as the main reason behind the rebellion.⁸ Enver Konukçu follows the conventional discourse. He follows a chronology from 19 May 1919 to foundation of the Republic. He focuses on the contributions and harms of the population in the region during the National Struggle

⁵ Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu İhtilali vol I*, (İstanbul, Kastaş Yayınevi 2010), 376

⁶Translated by Murat Hatip, Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele vol III: İç Savaş ve Sevr’de Ölüm*, (İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları) 67

⁷ Rükü Özkök, *Düzce-Bolu İsyanları*, (İstanbul, Milliyet Yayınları 1971)

⁸ Süreyya Şehidoğlu, *Milli Mücadele’de Adapazarı-Bolu Düzce-Hendek ve Yöresi Ayaklanmaları*, (Ankara, Bilgi Basımevi 1970)

period.⁹ Günay Çağlar's MA thesis and dissertation concentrate on the perspective of Ankara during the rebellion and the Bolu contributions to the National Struggle. He used a wide range of sources.¹⁰ Lastly, Erol Evcin's dissertation follows the nationalist discourse. He also focuses on the alliance between Sultan, the rebels, and the entente powers.¹¹

The revisionist discourse on the history of Turkish Republic questions *Nutuk*-oriented discourse, though, revisionist approaches to the local histories lack in the literature. Eric Jan Zürcher focuses on historical mistakes in *Nutuk*. He highlights the role of the CUP in organization of local resistances before the arrival of Mustafa Kemal and the role of the CUP members in the Kemalist movement. In his claim, *Nutuk* by Atatürk is asserted to be written to suppress oppositional discourses after he dealt with the oppositional movements in 1925 and 1926. Ottoman past, Islamist discourse, bolshevist discourse, the CUP, and other actors challenging Mustafa Kemal are neutralized and accused of treason throughout this book to legitimize his actions between 1919 and 1927.¹² Therefore, the concepts and chronology represent 1927 context in *Nutuk*. Zürcher follows a flexible chronology; from late Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. He defines the period between 1918 and 1923 as the second pluralistic regime of the Young Turks and he relates the politics of the period with first five years of the CUP rule between 1908 and 1913 in Turkey.¹³

⁹ Enver Konukçu, "Bolu Bölgesine Ait Millî Mücadele Kronolojisi", Atatürk Devrimleri Enstitüsü Dergisi, vol I (Erzurum, June 1978) 23-34. Enver Konukçu, *Hendek Tarihten Sayfalar*, (İstanbul, Hendek Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 2010)

¹⁰ Günay Çağlar, *Hüsrev Bey Heyet-i Nasihası*, (Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi 1997), Günay Çağlar, *Bolu Mutasarrıfı Halil (Türkmen) (21 Haziran 1920-13 Haziran 1921)*, Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü unpublished dissertation at the field of history 1990

¹¹ Erol Evcin, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluşuna Bolu ve Çevresi (Olaylar ve İz Bırakanlar)*, (Ankara, Atatürk Araştırmaları Merkezi 2013)

¹² Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building, From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, (New York, I.B. Tauris 2010), 6-16

¹³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey, A Modern History*, (New York, I. B. Tauris 2004)

Bülent Tanör evaluates the period between 1918 and 1920 in a different manner and names it as the period of Local Congress Governments. He claims that the Mudros treaty created problems related to the state and government in the remaining Ottoman lands. The solution by remaining Ottomans was to organize local governments throughout Anatolia to secure the heartlands of Turkish population. Tanör's focus was mainly on the establishment and operation principle of these local governments whose main reactor was the CUP members. Local notables as well as men of religion joined these organizations. These governments were designed to be able to function as a state in the absence of a central government and gradually integrated into GNA.¹⁴

Şükrü Hanioglu names the 1919 – 1922 period as “Muslim Socialism” to signify the dominant ideological tendencies in the nationalist movement. Muslim Socialism represents the discourse and the method of the nationalist movement. Nationalists highly applied Islamist discourse to mobilize Muslim population in Anatolia and to discomfort the entente powers by claiming to represent Muslim peoples under their colonial rule. The Islamist discourse of nationalists reached its highest level after the opening of GNA. The method of the nationalist resistant organizations resembled to the way Russian Soviets had been systematized. In addition, Soviet Russia had already developed sympathy to nationalist movement in Anatolia. Through this way, Nationalists, in their struggle, tried to get both economic and political support of Russia.¹⁵

Ryan Gingeras' study offers a contextual base for the politics of violence in the post-war Ottoman realm. His focus is mainly on the four provinces in the North-West Anatolia, Balıkesir, Bursa, İzmit, Adapazarı, where he named as South Marmara Region. The first stations of the two major railways in İzmit and Balıkesir gave this region a critical role in Empire's transportation system in Anatolia. These cities were

¹⁴ Bülent Tanör, *Türkiye'de Yerel Kongre İktidarları (1918-1920)*, (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2002)

¹⁵ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Atatürk, An Intellectual Biography*, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey 2011), 86-129

considered to be important agricultural and industrial centres, as well. In terms of population, while Gingeras defines local Muslims as Turks, he informs the reader about the danger of this usage because of the differences among local Muslims in terms of religion, language, and customs. Furthermore, these cities were crucial centres for non-Muslim communities, and they were highly affected by mass migration waves Anatolia received because of Russian advancement in the North and establishment of the nation states in the Balkans. The North Caucasian immigrants, Albanians, Pomaks and other Muslim populations became part of the already-complex-social-structure at the region, which led religion to be the main factor in the peoples' identities in this region. As Gingeras puts forward, even before the arrival of the immigrants, banditry used to be a chronic problem in the provinces of Ottoman State. To deal with the problem, Ottoman State integrated some of the bandit bands into state structure, used them as gendarme forces, and appointed the leaders of bandit bands as army officers and local governors. The CUP rule continued this policy but set even closer relationship with the local bandits. North Caucasian immigrants, especially, played a critical role in this liaison. With their close relationship to capital and palace, North Caucasian immigrants became notables of their towns, they established their own armed forces and they enjoyed a social mobility during the rule of CUP eventually militarized. Under these circumstances, careers of Eşref, Ethem, Rauf Orbay, Anzavur Ahmet, Maan Ali, Berzeg Sefer Beg, Abdülvehab Efendi, and Mahmud Paşa became reasonable.¹⁶

Public security was always a problem in Düzce from the beginning of twentieth century onwards. Raids on public buildings, tobacco cargos, stage coasts, villages and pastures happened to be a routine in Düzce. Due to the forests, it was very difficult to follow and arrest bandits, which created another problem for the centre. In the dispute between forest rangers and the immigrant invaders Düzce was a centre of restiveness. Moreover, the opposition in the Circassians and Abkhazian communities in Düzce against state officers had their origins in Hamidian Era and Second

¹⁶ Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores :Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1923*, (New York, Oxford University Press 2009)Chapter 1 and 3

Constitutional period. Therefore, taking Düzce rebellion into account as an instant anti-republican reactionary movement against nationalist movement would lead many missing arguments such as the rebellion having its roots in the late Ottoman transformations, and local experience by those transformations. Throughout my thesis, I will make my inquiry to tell the history of Düzce rebellion by focusing on the continuities from the Late Ottoman Empire to National Struggle Period.

The majority of the sources I used in this study were taken from the documents of sub-offices of the Ottoman Ministry of Internal Affairs. Those sources enabled this study to obtain valuable information about the local context in Düzce. The documents were about public security problems, the formation of the new institutions in the local context, the petitions of locals and the reports of the officers on their problems and possible solutions to the problems the center had offered in the local context. For my thesis, I tried to choose the most representative cases from the documents. The criteria of the representative power of the documents depended on the expressions stating continuity of a condition such as public security problems or invasion of the forests, and emphasizing a novel change such as the sudden rise in the population with the immigrant settlements. I tried to give coverage to local voices from the documents. In this sense, the petitions of the locals and the reports of administrative and judgmental queries are very useful. There were some cases concerning inabilities and misdeeds of some local administrators in Düzce, which helped me follow the relationship between state representatives and local communities.

To focus on the transformation of the town from the perspective of provincial governments I utilized the provincial yearbooks of Kastamonu and Bolu provinces. The majority of the yearbooks does not include a local voice sample. Nevertheless, they offered statistical information and official definitions of the town. I also used a wide range of memoirs as primary sources. However, memoir is a problematic genre concerning the subject of my study as most of them were written in 1950s. To sort out the context in which they were written and the events they express, I tried to make some comparisons between them and the archival material. I used the

newspapers to put forward different perspectives about post-armistice politics in İstanbul. Mainly I used interviews to have clear expressions of the contemporary Ottoman politicians.

I tried to follow the formation of the town within the period from 1860s to 1920s. The reason why I worked on such a long period of time was to have a local reflectability by focusing on how the local context was transformed in this period, and to understand the relationship, if any, between the transformation of Düzce and the rebellion.

1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

My thesis has two body chapters each of which has three body sections. In the first chapter, I focused on the transformation of Düzce from a little village to a rebellious town. This chapter covers the period from 1860s to 1918. The first section of this chapter is based on the provincial yearbooks from 1869 to 1916. The second section is about the immigrant settlements in Düzce; how state organized the settlers, problems in settlement processes, complaints of the local communities, and how migration transformed the town during above-mentioned period. The third section is about the administrative and social problems in Düzce from 1880s to 1918. This section focuses on the continuities concerning those problems as well as the solutions the Ottoman state offered to those problems. The second chapter is centered upon the period between the armistice of Mudros and the rebellion. In the first section, I tried to show the governments of İstanbul not being a solid entity. There were two types of governments mainly; neutral governments and revanchist governments. In the second section, I focused on the discourse of the nationalist movement, their claims and their methods while in the third section, I focused on the daily politics of the rebellion. The LEP organization which was against the CUP existed in Düzce from the 1915s onward. From the perspective of Ferit Paşa, the rebels in Düzce were actually state forces organized to suppress the rebellion in Ankara. In this section, I tried to evaluate the contemporary documents with local voices and the perspectives of the actors from the side of rebels, the nationalists and İstanbul.

CHAPTER 2

TRANSFORMATION OF DÜZCE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The people from the North Caucasia came to the Ottoman lands as slaves, pilgrims and soldiers even before the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, they were not in great numbers until the expulsion of Tatars from Crimea that began in late eighteenth century. The expulsion of the North Caucasian communities, mainly Circassians, followed the exodus of Tatars. The colonization of the North Caucasia by the Russian Empire was instigated with the establishment of Georgian Military Road between the years 1816-1846, which gives Russia the opportunity to control over the Northern shores of the Black Sea. With the end of the Imam Shamil struggle in 1859, spirit of resistance of the Muslims perished. The politics of expulsion with massacres, reductions and deportation continued until 1867 when Russia completed potency there. As the Russians marched to the South, the life opportunities of the Muslims, who spoke different dialects of Adige language, from different sections of the North Caucasia with different customs, degraded into three. The first was to fight the Russian Army and the militias sponsored by Russia. The second was to accept deportation to the North of Kuban River. The third was to immigrate to the Ottoman lands where the leader of the Muslims would give them the freedom to live according to their own customs. They chose to immigrate to the Ottoman lands in the Balkans. The pressure of the Russians in the Balkans and over Transcaucasia resulted in an Ottoman defeat in 1877-78 Russia-Ottoman war. Ottoman state canalized the immigrants to the peripheries of cities such as İstanbul, Edirne, İzmir, Bursa, Samsun, Kayseri, Maraş, Adana, Yozgat, and Ankara. Ottoman Empire gave the word of providing houses and large pieces of lands for the new settlers in the beginning. Even so, the state became insufficient to provide them with these, as the number of immigrants increased. First, the size of the lands decreased, later the places with inefficient soil opened for settlement. State encouraged new settlers to dry

swamplands and to irrigate dry lands in order to make the soil fertile. In the bargain, in some cases new settlers deforested to open settlement sites out of state control.¹⁷

Düzce was a small settlement at the border of İstanbul's periphery and one of those swamplands that Ottoman state had provided for the settlement of the Muslim immigrants from the Balkans and the Caucasia. Local population of Düzce was comprised of *Manav*, Gipsy villages, and a few non-Muslim families before the mass migration waves. According to the census of 1831, the total population of Düzce was around five thousand. From the 1860s on, new settlements shaped a complex ethnic structure, and turned the town into the ark of Noah¹⁸. Firstly, the North Caucasian émigrés, Tatar, Circassian, Abkhazian, Georgian, Laz, Kurdish tribes began to settle there. Wave of Turkish immigrants from Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, and province of Trabzon¹⁹ occurred after the 1878 Russia-Ottoman war. Hundreds of villages of those new settlers mushroomed around Düzce, between Bolu and Adapazarı. According to yearly book of Bolu in 1916²⁰, the population was 60.200 and the North Caucasian immigrants, essentially Circassians and Abkhazians were the majority of the population.

In this chapter, I will focus on transformation of Düzce from a village to a populous town from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. My main objective is to establish a background for the demography, topography, and economy there. Besides, the survey of the relationships within the local groups and between the state and the people will enable a background for the study of opposition in the town. Firstly, the transformation of the Ottoman Empire in the

¹⁷ Fabio L. Grassi, *Yeni Bir Vatan. Çerkeslerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Zorunlu Göçü*, (İstanbul, Tarihçi Kitabevi 2017) Chapter III, Fuat Dünder, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları 2015) 230-234,

¹⁸ This comparison was firstly made in the yearly book of Bolu 1916, *Müstakil Bolu Sancağı Salnamesi 1334*, edited by Hamdi Birgören, (Bolu, Bamer 2008) 206, then Zekai Konropa also used it in his accounts of the days of rebellion. Mehmet Zekai'nin *Kaleminden İsyân Günlerinde Bolu*, edited by Hamdi Birgören, (Bolu, Bamer 2008) 24

¹⁹ These settlers were named as *Ordulu* in Düzce.

²⁰ Hamdi Birgören, *Müstakil Bolu Salnamesi 1334*, 206

second half of the nineteenth century, modernization of the state structure, territorial changes, population moves deeply affected the provinces. During that time, Anatolia began to shoulder the burden of the empire and this situation led to changes in the topographies, economies and the populations of the Anatolian provinces. Düzce was not regarded as an exception. Secondly, the changes in the topography, economy and population of Düzce with the new settlements, new agricultural investments and the new settlers had triggered a quick growth in Düzce. Thirdly, the growth of the town did not result in social cohesion; mutiny became a common activity around the town, as it was the condition in the most of Anatolia. There were controversies among local groups and between the state and some local groups in Düzce overland, cultural differences and sometimes as a part of nihilistic self-destruction²¹. The violence during the days of rebellion was not a sign of rupture in the town. Rather, it had been a part of daily life of the locals from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Throughout this chapter, my inquiry focuses on the immigrant settlements in Düzce, the growth of the town, and the acts of banditry and opposition around the town from the end of the nineteenth century up to the post First World War context.

2.1. Düzce in the Ottoman Provincial Yearbooks

As a part of Tanzimat reforms, the yearbook of Ottoman state was first published in 1847. Following this, different types of yearbooks for different institutions were printed by Ottoman State. The first Ottoman provincial yearbook was prepared in Bosnia in 1866 whereas the last one in Bolu in 1921-22.²² The contents of the yearbooks vary by province. Mostly, the yearbooks cover information about administrative divisions and lists of officers, economical, demographical and geographical conditions, historical background, trade routes and roads, new state

²¹ Oktay Özel, *Türkiye 1643, Goyşa'nın Gözleri*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları 2013) 147-166, he perceives nihilistic-self destruction as the peak point of the cycle of violence throughout Anatolia in the early modern era. I borrowed this term to emphasize the continuities in the cycles of violence in Anatolia.

²² Bilgin Aydın, *Salname*, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol 36, 52

investments as well as information about public buildings. In this section, I will follow the transformation of Düzce from the yearbooks and elaborate the texts and contexts of the passages on Düzce.

There is a section on Düzce in twenty-one yearbooks Kastamonu province between 1869 and 1905, and in two yearbooks of Bolu, in 1916 and 1921. The yearbooks consist of only short passages and a few sentences to describe the town until 1880. Tables of new buildings, state investments on agriculture and public buildings, and lists of state officers could be mostly found in the yearbooks regarding that period. After 1880, the length of the passages on Düzce increased, as the volumes of yearbooks got thicker. The descriptive passages on towns were mainly repetitions of the previous yearbooks and inconsistent updates were restricted with only a few sentences. After 1889, new subtitles were added in sections of each town according to their features such as demographic structure, forests, climate and history. The yearbook of independent sanjak of Bolu in 1916 was prepared following a different perspective. The committee focused more on the descriptive texts than numbers and statistics. The yearbook of 1921-22 was published in 1925.

Düzce was a village that was depended on Bolu, a town of the province of Kastamonu, until 1908. The first yearly book of Kastamonu was published in 1869. Düzce was defined as “the administrative center of Akçaşehir village in the yearly book. Akçaşehir was a part of the Black Sea commerce network and on the main route to capital of the region. Additionally, *Düzce*, described as a “beautiful town locating in a plain land sixty-nine hours far from provincial center [Kastamonu]. And thanks to many Circassian immigrant settlements there, [*Düzce*] was developing and growing day by day.”²³Until 1872, yearbooks did not have definitive sentences on Düzce. Moreover, in 1872 the success of the state’s support on agriculture in Düzce was the sole feature clearly stated.²⁴ In 1873, furthermore, tobacco production was specified

²³ Güray Önal, *Osmanlı Devri Kastamonu Salnamelerinde Bolu Sancağı*, (Ankara, BAMER Yayınları 2011), Vol. 1, 36

²⁴ *Ibid*, 109

to be doubled itself with state encouragement.²⁵ In 1874, “The farms of (Düzce) watered by big dams built on the rivers started to be built around Düzce.”²⁶ We can see the growth of the town, construction of bridges, shops, mosques, and sidewalks each following year as the population grew radically.

The yearbook of 1880 established an outline for following yearbooks. In the passages about Düzce, the town was located in a more central position with its clear administrative borders, rather than being defined as the administrative center of Akçaşehir port. In addition, this time the passages included a few sentences about ancient history, historical remnants and archeological potential of the town. This can be related to both the rise of interest on archeology in the Ottoman Empire at that time, and a search for a historical base for the quick growth of the city with new settlements.

The center of Düzce district is located in the South West of the center of province Kastamonu and in the West of the center of Bolu. It is sixty-nine hours from the center of Kastamonu and nine hours from Bolu. With its eastern border, Bolu, western border Adapazarı and Hendek , southern border Mudurnu and Göynük, northern border the Black Sea and Ereğli districts, it has a significant location. The center of Düzce consists of a large plain land with mountains and hills around. Since its foundation as a district, the amount of the houses, shops and several other buildings have risen day by day due to its all borders having flat and some swampy lands. The air is not so fresh in summer. But at the North side, an hour away the *Melen* river, Üskübü town has a higher location with mild weather and fresh water.

Although, actually Üskübü town has only a hundred houses, some shops and coffee houses, the archeological remains reveals Üskübü as a significant city. Long and large stones found while plowing the lands around the northern side of the Melen river between Üskübü and Düzce, indicate the rumored ancient city in the plain land had really existed.

Akçaşehir is situated along the Black sea shore. As a positive effect of a dock at the place, there exist many shops and coffee houses, although it is a very small town.

²⁵ Ibid, 136

²⁶ Ibid, 168

Town and market are settled as two separated districts; uptown and downtown, and ships are able to approach to the dock from both sides. [...]

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The yearbook of 1895 includes a list of the villages for the first time. Most of the villages belong to the immigrants. The names of the villages stem from ethnic backgrounds with an exception of having family background of the dwellers such as *Ordumuhacirleri Karyesi*, *Laz Hamidiye Karyesi*, *Abaza Hacı Batbey Karyesi*, *Rumeli Muhacirleri Karyesi*. As it was stated in the yearbook of 1916, the town had a compartmental structure. In some places, villages of Kurdish, Circassian, Abkhazian and Turkish immigrants from the Balkans were side by side and five different languages were spoken in a few kilometers squared.

Bolu became the administrative center of the region between Adapazarı and Kastamonu as an independent province following the administrative reforms in 1908. In the spring of 1909, a group of people telegraphed a petition to Ottoman Assembly in which they demanded to cut the administrative relation with Bolu and became dependent on the province of Izmit.²⁸ Internal affairs rejected that demand after the query and Düzce was included in the first provincial yearbook of the independent province of Bolu, which was prepared in 1916. According to the head of the yearbook commission, the focus of this yearbook would rather be on the conditions behind the public life in the province than unnecessary numbers of the shops and houses in the province.²⁹ Although the yearbook was not prepared as a coherent and well-organized text, in addition to the statistical information, the yearly book also contains certain appealing comments we cannot come upon in other provincial yearbooks of Kastamonu.

To follow the sketch of the passages, “*Düzce* was a village with a few houses. In 1871, it became a town center in the region that was defined as the Eastern border of

²⁷ Translated by Murat Hatip, *ibid* 317

²⁸ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* DH. MKT., 2773 / 43

²⁹ *Müstakil Bolu Sancağı Salnamesi*, 9

Bithynia and the Western border of Paphlagonia.” The history section got deeper, and the author surveyed the roots of the town from Hellenistic era and Roman past to the Ottoman conquests. When it comes to the contemporary times, Düzce is compared to Noah’s Ark. In the demographic records, the author divided population into ethnical compartments rather than religious such as Turks, Lazs, Circassians, Abkhazians, Georgians and non-Muslims. The ninety-eighth of the population were Muslims. Besides, it was explained in detail that each ethnic element was religious in their own ways, obedient to their own customs. Each ethnic group spoke their own mother tongues, in Turkish, Tatar, Kurdish, Armenian, Greek, Circassian, Abkhazian, Georgian, Lazs, dialect immigrants of Ordu spoke, Bosnian, and Romany. Especially, Circassians, Abkhazians and Georgians were claimed to be unfamiliar with the Ottoman state and customs. In the next yearbook, the expressions about ethnical identities became invisible, and even the names of the villages were altered.

Economic condition of Düzce was reported as promising in this volume. Due to Düzce’s location along the route from Bolu to Akçaşehir port and to Arifiye train station, trade was a profitable affair in the town. Moreover, if the railway project from Arifiye station to Zonguldak would realize, Düzce would become a prosperous city. The first researches about this railway project commenced in 1888. It had a strategic importance for Ottoman Navy in terms of coal supply and would connect the capital directly to the region. However, the project was never achieved.

In this section, I analyzed the yearbooks of Kastamonu and Bolu to follow the condition of Düzce from the perspective of local governments. In the first yearbooks, the passages about Düzce were very short without any descriptive sentences about the location, climate, and demography of the town. From 1880s on, the passages about Düzce became longer as the town grew. In each of the yearbooks, the growth of town was shown by giving statistical information, but the last one. Here, long passages about the history, economy, demography, climate, location, and geography of the town were covered. In the demography section, the author referred to some discrepancies within the local society.

2.2. Immigrant Settlements in Düzce

I tried to work on the growth of Düzce in the previous chapter via the yearbooks of Kastamonu and Bolu. In this section, I will mainly focus on the demographic transformation of the town with the new settlements. There were two types of immigrant settlements in Düzce: those who settled with official permission and those settled out of state control. The first type mainly consisted of the immigrants from the Balkans and the Caucasia. The immigrants from Ordu formed the majority of the second category. Throughout this section, I will try to survey how Ottoman Empire reacted the immigrants, how they unraveled the problems of the new settlers, and how the immigrant settlements were handled in Düzce.

During the early days of Circassian migration, at the time when the news of migration request of a thousand and five hundred North Caucasian people to Anatolia unless the attacks of Russia ended was broken at the Supreme Assembly of *Tanzimat*, Ottoman State faced with three possibilities: to send them back, ignore, or protect them and allow them to be settled. Although Rumeli lands were the most appropriate for the immigrants, as the migration would increase the Muslim population, the inconvenient conditions of the people there since they already helped many immigrants to settle would restrain them. In addition, Rumeli would not be safe for immigrants abandoned their homelands. However, Anatolia had enough sources for new settlers. Immigrants demanded to settle with the *Nogay* tribes they used to live together, stating that they would not be able to survive otherwise. Ottoman Empire offered them to settle around Adana and Kütahya as they requested and to compensate the costs of their journey.³⁰

The number of the immigrants arriving at the Ottoman Lands reached hundreds of thousands in a very short period. Ottoman Empire established a commission for immigrants to cope with their problems in 1860. The immigrants were in the capital, in the ports of the Black Sea, and they were in great numbers. The duties of that commission were; to organize the immigrants, local officials and local population, to

³⁰ BOA. İ. MMS., 16/649

maintain grant-in-aid on a regular basis and to provide settlers with timber, houses, agricultural equipment, livestock, seeds, saplings and money.

The problems both the Ottoman Empire and the immigrants had to deal with were not only about assistance, maintenance, inhabitation, but also about the migration creating a diplomatic problem between Ottoman Empire and Russia due to the fact that immigrants abandoned their Russian nationality for the purpose of adopting Ottoman nationality. The main worry of the Ottoman Empire was believed to be Russia's possible claim on patronage over the immigrants in future.³¹ Moreover, Russia desired the immigrants to settle down away from Russian borders.³² Therefore, Ottoman Empire and Russia started to negotiate on some official principles concerning immigrants, nationality change and their settlements. As a result of these negotiations, it was concluded that Russia would give a document to each immigrant after they abandoned Russian nationality, and Ottoman side would not accept the ones without the document in the status of immigrant, but as guests. The immigrants, who were established, were obliged to sign promissory notes in which it was decreed that in case immigrants left Ottoman nationality, Ottoman State would take their possessions, land, house, etc.

The harmony of the immigrants in the Ottoman society was even a greater problem. Many of the North Caucasian immigrants had long lived in a tribal social and feudal social system. Every tribe had its own hierarchy, and own nobles and unprivileged segments. Slavery was a common phenomenon. After they settled in the Ottoman lands, they demanded to continue living according to their own customs. Ottoman state perceived tribal hierarchies, aristocracy, and slavery as problematic issues. Nevertheless, in some cases Ottoman state manipulated those hierarchies to communicate and to solve the problems within the society. The notables of the Circassian communities tried to sustain their place in the social hierarchy. Some of them tried to collect taxes in cash and in kind, confiscated the belongings of whom

³¹ BOA. İ. HR. 173/9438, 9453

³² BOA. A. MKT. NZD, 398/7

they perceived as slaves. The unprivileged people of the Circassian communities applied Ottoman officers for the protection of their citizenship rights in case of troubles.

According to a report written by British Ambassador in Edirne to Grand Vizier in 1871, there were two types of slavery among the Circassians. The first kind was agricultural slavery. The second kind consisted of personal slaves for household works. Agricultural slaves could not be bought individually as the second category, but they could be bought together with the land. They had to pay tax and have some other responsibilities in Circassia. The leaders of the Circassians demanded to seize the lands of whom they perceived as slaves, to buy and sell them with their lands or individually, and to receive taxes from them in the Ottoman lands, as well. The inabilities of the local administrators caused persistence of the depravity and the villainy of the leaders of the Circassians. The leaders of the Circassians would grasp freedom of more and more people day by day, unless the local administrations took the necessary precautions.³³

Some leaders of the Circassian tribes claimed to represent their communities in front of other states, tried to negotiate with Russia and Britain. For instance, in 1878 during the Russo-Ottoman war, Circassian notables sent a letter in the name of Circassians immigrants in Ottoman lands to the British Parliament. In the letter, it was stated that Circassians were victims of policies of war with no good aim, and the only nation defended the rights of Circassians was the British. Circassian notables declared their loyalty to the British if they waged a war that would end the attack of Russia to the Circassians.³⁴ Into the bargain, Britain and Russia set some liaisons with those tribes. By sending inspectors and spies, they checked the processes of settlements in Anatolia. In 1879, as a response to an inquiry about the Russian and British officers who were in touch with the North Caucasian communities in İzmit, Bolu and Bursa, Colonel *Süleyman Beg* stated that the British officers inspected only the conditions of

³³ BOA. HR. TO, 246/3

³⁴ BOA. Y. PRK. ZB, 1/5

the North Caucasian immigrants and there was no sign of their actions against the Ottoman Empire. He, on the other hand, stated that the Russian officers tried to convince the Abkhazian immigrants around Bolu to return to Russia and to live in a better condition than they had lived in the Ottoman lands. He emphasized poor conditions of the immigrants because of the detentions in the settlement processes. Circassians complained that the army did not behave their martyrs well, and the ones with no family stayed unburied during the Russo-Ottoman war. The local administrators responded negatively to the commands from center for accelerating the settlement processes because of the inappropriate men among the Circassians. Nevertheless, *Süleyman Beg* declared that the honorable men of the Circassians would always hand over dishonored men among them. Thus, the problems the immigrants had experienced must have been handled as soon as possible.³⁵

The first North Caucasian settlements in Düzce were in the old center of the town, Üskübü. The Circassian tribe Besni and Nogay tribe Han demanded to settle together since they were used to the customs of each other. Ottoman state provided them with houses, lands, seeds and oxen.³⁶ Some disputes between the two tribes had occurred over the locations they settled and the size of land they got. Ottoman state solved problem by separating those tribes and resettling *Besni* tribe in Düzce. Although the tribal people found their settlement locations convenient, and accepted even mixed settlements in separate villages, the leaders of those tribes chose to check some other places before settled and demanded the state to continue paying them for their daily costs until they settled. Ottoman state did not accept those demands, and warned them against suspending all aids unless they settled the lands they were given.³⁷

Until 1864, the settlements of the North Caucasian communities were intense in Düzce. During the settlements of these tribes, minor clashes such as that of Besni and

³⁵ BOA. Y. PRK. MYD, 1/34

³⁶ BOA. A. MKT. UM. , 435/83

³⁷ BOA. A.MKT. MHM. , 193/58

Han tribes had occurred over land and payments of daily costs.³⁸Some tribes did not prefer to inhabit in Düzce and they settled in the places they found suitable through the road to Düzce. An Abkhazian tribe leaded by *Mahmut* rejected to settle in Düzce and settled on a site on the road from İznik to Düzce.³⁹Whereas some tribes rejected mixed settlement in Düzce and were sent to their former places,⁴⁰some others deserted their lands to settle around Düzce. State ordered local authorities to be sent back to their former settlement sites.⁴¹In 1864, the Governor of Bolu expressed unavailability around Düzce for new immigrant settlements. He demanded the Commission of Immigrants not to consent any new immigrant demanded to settle around⁴² and that no more immigrants would be directed to Düzce from Trabzon and Samsun.⁴³ Moreover, as the population of the North Caucasian immigrants established an important portion of the population, a Turkish-speaking member of the immigrant communities joined to the local assembly in May 1865, to consolidate the relations between the Circassian communities and local administration.⁴⁴

After the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78, Turkish speaking Muslim population increased in Düzce where Muslim peoples of the Transcaucasia and the Balkans; Turks, Circassians, Lazs, Georgians, Bosnians, Albanians and Armenian speaking Muslims settled, as well. During that period, the town became very populous. Forests in the hilly areas, and swamps in plain lands were transformed into immigrant villages. In 1889, Düzce was advanced its administrative rank and regarded as a second-class town for the reason that the importance and the population of the town increased due to the mass immigrant settlements there.⁴⁵

³⁸ BOA. A.MKT. MHM. , 301/17

³⁹ BOA. ŞD. , 2389/39

⁴⁰ BOA. A. MKT. MHM. , 334/23

⁴¹ BOA. A. MKT. MHM. ,336/34

⁴² BOA. A. MKT. MHM. , 305/65

⁴³ BOA. A. MKT. MHM. , 306/39

⁴⁴ BOA. MVL. , 705/76

⁴⁵ BOA. DH. MKT. , 1607/41

Through the turn of century, the second type of migrations was intensified. The focus of these migrations was on the forests in Düzce where important sources of timber were located. The route was from Ordu town of Trabzon province through Düzce. The migrations from Georgia to Trabzon province triggered the migrations of those people to Düzce.⁴⁶ Also the potential of having lands in Düzce, better life opportunities, the lack of state control and inabilities of state officers were other reasons behind the internal migration movement. The center considered these settlements very problematic because the forests were important source of timber for the Ottoman Navy. The immigrants from Ordu set a lot of fire in the forests with the aim of making enough room for farmlands, which was very hard for the state to control these settlements. Those immigrants had the support of local state officers most of the time. The state could only prevent them from setting fire, force them return to Ordu or find some available places for them away from forests to settle.⁴⁷ In January 1920, the Office of Forests and Agriculture ordered the immigrants of Ordu to resettle outside the forests and allocated villages for them.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the state was not successful in its aim and forests continued to diminish from day to day.

In this chapter I tried to address immigrant settlements and the transformation of local population in Düzce. From 1860s on, Düzce became one of the centers immigrants settled. In the 1880s local governors reported to the center on the lack of space for any other immigrants in Düzce. From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the settlements of Ordu villagers were intense. These people invaded forests and the state tried to ban and resettle them. There were many problems because of cultural differences, economic expectancies and discomforts between new settlers and locals during the processes of settlements. The administrative organization was not enough for these processes of mass migration.

⁴⁶ İsmail Yaşayanlar, *Osmanlı Döneminde Ordu'dan Düzce'ye Göçler*, Ed. Yusuf Oğuzoğlu and Fatih Özçelik, *Düzce'de Tarih, Kültür ve Sanat*, (Gaye Kitabevi, Bursa 2016, 87-91)

⁴⁷ BOA. DH.MKT, 2499/ 58

⁴⁸ Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi. 272-0-0-11/ İSKAN, 15 /55

2.3. Banditry and Opposition in Düzce

In the previous section, I focused on the new settlements in Düzce. The economic and demographic growth in the town did not lead to social cohesion. There were many problems with which local administrators and military officers had to deal. Public security was a chronic problem in Düzce from the second half of the nineteenth century. The main reasons behind this problem were banditry activities among the new settlers, close relationships between bandits and local notables, land disputes, and lack of state authority in the town. Bandit bands were well-organized. Theft of animals, tobacco smuggling, and brigandage were common activities around the town. Individual acts of violence could turn into a clash between local administration and the immigrants. In some cases, the tension between the locals and the immigrants rose. Here I collected some relevant expressions about the local context; public security, the shape of ethno-political realm and the relationship between peoples and state in Düzce. Then I will follow the traces of those expressions from Ottoman archive, mainly the documents of internal affairs.

In 11 June 1920, *Osman Nuri*, Deputy of Lazistan, proposed a memorandum to the Grand National Assembly about the events in Düzce. In 3 July, *Haydar Beg* recited this note in front of the assembly.

The political reactions that occurred in Düzce, in fact, were triggered by the anti-nationalist encouragements of the henchmen of *Ferid Paşa* government to disintegrate Anatolia. However, every prudent person can easily assess the facts that this propaganda cannot be the only reason behind the rage of public at this rate, overall; and that the rebellion has some deeper social factors. That is to say, the opposition, which the tranny of the government (of course the gendarme, judiciary, administrators, military quarters) there nurtured, was a vital factor, as well. Indeed, the land issues in Russia that had been lasted for ages (*pomeshchik* crises) developed such a hatred in the peasants, nothing could condemn the sudden and *magnific* attacks of those peasants to the burdens on their liberty during the collapse of tsarist regime. We must not forget the effect of the misgovernment we have for years on the public. And today the impact of the disciplinary operation on Düzce and its periphery must be sympathetically.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre 1, Cilt 2, 157

Zekai Konropa was one of the actors in the rebellion. The men of Ethem the Circassian arrested him in Düzce and he was released from capital punishment. He referred to the relationship among ethnical structure of Düzce, lack of public order and opposition.

The political air was cloudy. Clouds always rose from Düzce. Thus, the first storm broke out there (13 April). Düzce had been opponent since then. The opposition might be even more than that of in Bolu. Although Bolu joined the Nationalist Forces, Düzce did not, while Bolu accepted Committee of Deputies pompously, Düzce ignored it. Its population was complex. In fact, it was just like Noah's Ark. Martial law was declared because of the insurgencies of Circassians and Abkhazians, and its center was in Düzce.⁵⁰

Tanin reporter Ahmet Şerif visited Düzce at the end of summer, 1913. Throughout his reports, he tries to elaborate the incohesive social structure in Düzce, and classified ethnic structure as locals, Circassians and Abkhazians, immigrants of Ordu, immigrants of Rumeli, Lazs and Georgians, Tatars, Rums, Kurds, Gipsies, Armenians, Bosnians. He reported each community to set its own homeland in their villages and live according to its customs. To paraphrase his accounts, although local Turks established the majority of the population, their condition was the worst. In that complex, illogical social structure, they had many problems because of the attacks and invasions of their new neighbors. Circassians and Abkhazians were living at the best standards. Although they dealt with agriculture, their main economic activities were tobacco smuggling and theft of farm animals. They did not get on well among themselves but in case of an external threat, they behave in harmony as a community. The deputy elections in Düzce would make sense only if social structure there was considered. The majority of the constituents were among Circassians and Abkhazians even though only one or two villages out of seven or eight villages in the

⁵⁰ Mehmet Zekai'nin Kaleminden İsyân Günlerinde Bolu, 24

electoral district belonged to them. Immigrants of Ordu lived in the villages set in the forests by themselves. They were ruthless enemies of the forests. They migrated to Düzce from Ordu due to their poor economic conditions and lack of lands. They also aimed at evading conscription and state authority there. Nevertheless, they did not act as bandits unless they were not disturbed. Many of them were outlaws. Those people were Turks. They spoke Turkish in their own dialect, invaded forests to open fields and hazelnut groves out of state control. Immigrants of Rumeli resembled local Turks in their acts as insurgents. Their health was affected by their settlement in swampy lands. In fact, they could not make a living, rather fiddled away. On the other hand, Lazs and Georgians dealt with agriculture. They were so well-organized that Circassians and Abkhazians were unable to disturb them. They harmed Turkish villagers by invading their lands. Tatars dealt with small domestic trade and tobacco manufacture. If the CUP had stayed in power, the concession of Tobacco Company would not have been renewed. Thus, they voted against the CUP in the last elections. Rums migrated here Düzce from Ordu. They did not have effect in public order. Kurds had forgotten where they came from and their origins but they still preserved their language and customs. They were busy with agriculture. Gipsies were neglected. Armenians were settling Düzce at that time and were occupied with trade. The order of their houses and buildings should have been a good example for the Turks there. Bosnians who were farmers migrated there after 1908.⁵¹

According to Ahmet Şerif's accounts, public security was the most important problem in Düzce. The main reason behind this problem was not the complexity of the ethnical structure but the inabilities of government. A commissar, three police officer and thirty gendarmes consisted the whole of the police force in the town even though there was a center of Gendarme Company in Düzce. That force was unable to stop the people who normalized brigandage, theft, and violence. When Ahmet Şerif visited the courthouse, he recognized an even more radical picture. There were two hundred thirty-one investigations, eight hundred forty cases, and two thousand fifty-seven

⁵¹ Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, (Ankara, TTK Basımevi 1999), 381-389

sentences that must have been proceeded in the schedule of the court officers for beginning of November 1913. He found those numbers very dramatic and stated it was impossible for local judge to deal with such a busy schedule.⁵²

In the last part of his novel the famous bandit leader, *Çakırcalı Efe*, Yaşar Kemal applies an interview on the memoires of *Rüştü Kobaş* who was the leader of the militias from Düzce that killed *Çakırcalı*. The name of this chapter is *Çakırcalıyı Biz Öldürdük*. *Rüştü Kobaş* was graduated from military collage in 1899. He commissioned to Düzce as lieutenant in 1906. After his appointment, he organized the gendarme forces in Düzce. *Rüştü Kobaş's* accounts on Düzce belonged to the period between 1906 and 1911. He was appointed in order to handle *Çakırcalı* issue due to his experiences about banditry. Therefore, he gave some information about the context of the town in terms of public security by telling that at first he failed to banish bandits though he ran after them day and night in forests and on mountains. He then realized the wide support behind bandits in the villages among the local notables. Because gendarme forces were inexperienced, *Rüştü* and his brother organized a gang himself out of former bandits and tobacco smugglers to cope with banditry in Düzce. He managed to arrest Kara İsmail band that was the cruelest by using his own band.⁵³

According to the expressions of *Osman Nuri*, *Zekai Konropa*, *Ahmet Şerif* and *Rüştü Kobaş*, it is understood the existence of a public security problem in Düzce. Clashes between local groups and inabilities of the state power created that problem. State officers were not powerful actors in the local context. They tried to straighten problematic issues using a very limited force. I followed the traces of public security problems and social chaos in the local context from Ottoman archives to turn these reflections about Düzce into clearer arguments. I evaded from singular criminal acts, rather I include the cases, which had local voices and, which pointed out to greater

⁵² Ibid, 394-406

⁵³ Yaşar Kemal, *Çakırcalı Efe*, (YKY, İstanbul 2014) 141-182

problems in the local context, into this section. Here the problems regarding security and social order in Düzce are given case by case in a chronological order from the end of the nineteenth century to the post- World War context.

The first case is an official query about İsmail Beg who was the local administrator of Düzce in August 1882. In a petition titled *Feryadname*, the leaders of local communities who lived in *Üskübü* claimed that *İsmail* Beg, who was Circassian, let the Circassian immigrants act around Düzce as they wished. They threatened the properties, and the lives of passengers on the road. Public felt unsafe and suppressed. *İsmail* protected bandits, in case of controversy between Circassians immigrants and local communities. İsmail Beg and Circassians made secret meetings to handle local affairs. In a counter petition, Circassian leaders claimed that the statements of those leaders did not represent all locals. Actually, they got on well with them and demanded fair representation in the town council and the local courts. Although the immigrants especially Circassians consisted the majority of the population, locals had the majority in the council and the courts. Municipality did not function properly. There were corruptions in the budget of the municipality. Public health was a problem, even in front of the town hall was full of garbage and smelled bad because of puddles on the streets.⁵⁴ The governor of Bolu was appointed to question the issue. He stated that he was unable to settle the issues in Düzce unless the state organized a military operation, even martial law there. The center suggested him to apply policy of appeasement there. He made his query and as a result, İsmail Beg was found guilty. According to him, a new local administrator who was aware of the condition of town and contemporary methods should have been appointed to Düzce.⁵⁵ The case continued even after İsmail Beg resigned from his duty a year later.⁵⁶

The second case is an official query from February 1885, which was about *Osman Sıtkı Beg*, the local administrator of Düzce. One day when *Osman Sıtkı* was in town center,

⁵⁴ BOA. ŞD. , 1645/32/7

⁵⁵ BOA. ŞD. , 1645/32/13

⁵⁶ BOA. ŞD. , 1645/32/25

he perceived a crowd in front of the coffeehouse of *Salih* and heard some music. He commanded *Salih* to stop music and crowd to decongest. However, he did not obey *Osman Sıtkı's* command and was arrested. His brother and a group of Circassians agglomerated and attacked the government office to get *Salih*. *Osman Sıtkı* saw the crowd in front of the building and gunfire was heard. *Salih* and his friends from government, in their claims, asserted that *Osman Sıtkı* attempted to kill him but it resulted in a fail. *Osman Sıtkı* set forth on condition that he had shot him, he would have killed and the challenges against him would have been unsworn. *Salih* and his friends were of those who had been previously convicted. Additionally, *Osman Sıtkı* brought forward that his duty was to sustain public order in a town like Düzce where brigandage was common. *Salih* was a member of band of bandits. *Osman Sıtkı* was released from accusations since he represented the honor of the state.⁵⁷

In 1901, a petition reached to military inspectors representing the villages around Düzce. The subject of the petition was public security problems around Düzce. It was written in a pessimistic way directly to the center because the provincial administration of Kastamonu had ignored last sixth applications on that issue. According to petition, the people of Düzce became unable to go out in town, and farm their lands because of bandits and thieves. It was stated; "Unless the state took the issue in her hand, the fate of our nation and land would be in the evil hands of the bandits. We are writing to state officers for the seventh time with blood on our eyes. Also, if the state quickly sends a military inspector here, we will pay the costs of his journey."⁵⁸ In response to this desperate petition, the officers on a vast area from Kandıra, Karasu, Ereğli to Mudurnu, Geyve were informed, and appointed to control rural lands against unlawful activities.⁵⁹ It is possible to find some details about this case in an official report sent by internal affairs sent to the province of Kastamonu in January 1903. This report was about some complaints on *Ali Faik*, the Deputy Governor of Düzce. To these complaints, Lieutenant *Ali Faik* had beaten

⁵⁷ BOA. ŞD., 1646/1

⁵⁸ BOA. BEO. , 1640/ 122966/ 3

⁵⁹ BOA, BEO, 1648/ 123551/ 13

people in the government office, marshaled some free girls together around Düzce and sold them as slaves. Besides, he did not report the demands of local assembly about the public security issues, rather cooperated with bandits and thieves; he received his share from the sale of stolen goods and animals. The ministry demanded his deposition during the query from the province of Kastamonu.⁶⁰

In 1907, the substitute Kadi of Düzce, *Abdullah*, was accused by the local provincial governor of Bolu, of encouraging and helping Lazs and other immigrants from Trabzon province to settle in the forests around Düzce since *Abdullah* was also from Trabzon. He preserved those people once they settled there although it was forbidden to settle in forests. Still, military force was unable to condemn this situation and *Abdullah* was sued because of his acts against law and government.⁶¹

Here I would like to turn back to the career of *Hacı Abdülvehab*, who was one of the leaders of the rebellion. After the restoration of the Ottoman Assembly, *Hacı Abdülvehab* was elected as deputy of Bolu in 1908. He was one of the Circassian notables. He was one of the founders of the Committee of Union and Progress organization in *Bolu*. He became a member of Liberal opposition in the assembly with his brother-in-law Lieutenant *Mehmet Hayri*, a member of the LEP, as well. In 1912, he lost his place in the Assembly due to the elimination of opposition in the assembly by the CUP. He continued his career in *Bolu* as the Manager of Publishing House.⁶²

Here his speeches in the Ottoman Assembly would be important to be touched upon. In 11 February 1909, *Hüseyin Cahit* Beg presented a speech on his projects of education. According to him, Ottoman power could be restored by educating people and path to success was to send students who would finally educate the public to Europe. *Abdülvehab* responded this assertion that it was like bringing opium from *Bagdad*, the main objective of this assembly must have been to restore and

⁶⁰ BOA, ŞD, 1666/ 11 appendice A, BOA, DH MKT, 2284/ 104

⁶¹ BOA, ŞD, 1679/6/1/2

⁶²This information was obtained from the biography of Abdülvehab Efendi that was written by Salih Kutuczade, in the museum of Bolu Araştırmaları Merkezi, appendice B

reorganize current system and personnel, that there was no time to wait for the students.⁶³ In 22 March 1909, the assignment of *Avlonyalı Ferit Paşa* as the Governor of Aydın province triggered a hot debate in the assembly. Some deputies rejected his assignment because he was a man of *İstibdat*. The other side of the debate claimed that *Ferit* was one of a few qualified men in the Empire. They emphasized his services provided as the Governor of *Konya*. They focused on good qualities of his character such as piety. They claimed that discharging him from duties would not be appropriate for the wellness of the state. *Abdülvehab* was on the side of negators. He stated that the tax given for domestic animals was the worst application *Ferit Paşa* had done to the people of Anatolia addressing to the deputies of Anatolia.⁶⁴

Three days later, he took the floor in the negotiations about the regulations of vagrants. According to the first article of the regulations, the people who had no occupation for two months would be defined as vagrants. *Abdülvehab* opposed the matter that it had no sensibility about the provinces. He claimed that two months would not be enough for a man to find a job in İstanbul while it would be more than enough for small provinces such as Bolu. Otherwise, the police could not interpose the unemployed *sans-culottes* during two months permitted officially. He claimed unless the time limit in the definition of vagrant had been arranged accordingly, the regulation would have had no positive impact on the provinces.⁶⁵ In 26 May 1909, *Abdülvehab* spoke in the query about the actions of the deputy of *Berat*, *İsmail Kemal* and the deputy of *Ergiri*, *Müfit* during the events of 31 March. He told that he had not known anything about the events until he saw the crowd on the streets. When he came to the Assembly, they decided to send telegraphs to the provinces stating that everything had been under control not to create any unsettled situation in the provinces. He added that these deputies would have been punished if they had been guilty.

⁶³ Meclisi Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, 1. Dönem, Vol 2, 22

⁶⁴ MM ZC 1. Dönem, Vol 2, 405-409

⁶⁵ MM ZC 1. Dönem, Vol 2, 461

In 8 August 1909, *Abdülvehab's* criticism concerned the students send to Europe for education. In the negotiations on budget the minister of forest, mining and agriculture, *Aristidi Efendi* demanded an extension of the budget for the students who state would send to European countries for education. *Abdülvehab* stated that the students should have been chosen very well because the peasants would repulse most of them after they returned. They would call peasants as “*Eşek Türk!*”. The students must have been well aware of their identity if assembly would send them away otherwise, they would have spent our money for the appetite of a few men in Europe rather than for the good of the country.⁶⁶ In 8 December 1910, *Abdülvehab* harshly criticized Grand Vizier *İbrahim Hakkı Paşa's* speech on the activities of Government. He asked the Government about the kilometers of road, the number of ports and new schools they had built. He invited the deputies to see the poor condition of the roads between Adapazarı and Bolu. He stated that each year hundreds of people died in Ereğli because of ship crashes due to the lack of port. He pointed out the poor condition of waqfs and the schools around Bolu. He also asked the government about the number of animal thieves they arrested. The condition of gendarme, he said, got better; they began to follow the orders of neither administrators nor the judge office. He criticized the actions of government about the forests. When there was no institution about forests in Bolu, the income of forests was a lot more whereas the costs were less.⁶⁷

This case is not about a public security problem in the town. It is rather about the mobilization in the Circassian communities of Düzce. In 1912, the leaders of Circassian immigrants gathered around two hundred cavalries in Düzce. The father of *Berzek Sefer Beg*, *Berzek Mehmet Beg* was among the leaders of volunteers. Additionally, *Rüştü Beg* was demanded to accompany the volunteers, because he proved himself a mighty soldier with his activities both inside Düzce where public security had been a problem all along. In the province of İzmir, he successfully

⁶⁶ MM ZC 1. Dönem, Vol 6, 205

⁶⁷ MM ZC 1. Dönem, Vol 13, 432

proceeded the operation against *Çakırcalı* band.⁶⁸ According to an interview with the nephew of *Sefer Beg*, he was one of the volunteers, as well, and his father *Berzek Mehmet Beg* was killed during battle with the Bulgarians at *Çatalca*.⁶⁹ *Rüştü Beg* was reassigned in *Düzce* after the war.

In 1915, *Hacı Kamil*, co-leader of *İtilaf Kulübü* in *Düzce* and *Çakmanzade Ahmed* from the notables had been questioned about rumors around in *Düzce* town. According to rumors they were the source of a conspiracy theory against *Enver Paşa*. According to their claims an army officer and four soldiers organized an assassination plan against him and they had learnt about the conspiracy from an article of a newspaper without number and date. Its name was "Obzür" which they found in a coffeehouse. The source of the article was the newspapers of enemy states. *Hacı Kamil* and *Çakmanzade Ahmed* were arrested. After they had claimed to be libertarian (*Hürriyetperver*) and constitutionist (*Meşrutiyetçi*), they were released.⁷⁰

According to a telegraph from internal security office to the province of *Edirne*, *Sefer Beg* of *Düzce* and Abkhazian *Rıza Beg* could be on the road to *Edirne* in January 1917. Internal Security Office demanded them to be under custody.⁷¹ In August, Directorate of Personnel Department of Internal Affairs Office in their telegraph to the Governor of *Bolu* suggested that a governor from sub-districts would be more appropriate to manage *Düzce* instead of a powerful governor.⁷² In October, the Governor of *Bolu* telegraphed to Public Security Office of Internal Affairs about the opposition against the current Government in *Düzce*. He stated that there were not oppositional acts in the province except for the ones in *Düzce*. *Hacı Kamil* from the notables of the town and *Sefer Beg*, who was an ex-ranger working against tobacco smugglers, organized secret meetings against current Government. They were in touch with deserted

⁶⁸ BOA, DH İD, 159/ 39

⁶⁹ http://www.circassiancenter.com/cc-turkiye/tarih/214_cerkesetemseferberzeg.htm

⁷⁰ BOA. DH. EUM. 1.Şb / 14/ 13, BOA. DH. EUM. 1.Şb / 2 /28,

⁷¹ BOA. DH.ŞFR., 71/193

⁷² BOA. DH.ŞFR., 79/169

soldiers to mobilize them⁷³and they had been exiled to *Bozkır* for their acts in November.⁷⁴

According to documents of Internal Affairs, there was illegal weapon traffic around Düzce. In 1883, according to a report from Düzce, the recollection of the weapons was hard except for the ones from the Circassians.⁷⁵ In 1900, in petition a storehouse for the weapons in Düzce was demanded to be built.⁷⁶The weapons were kept in the mosques because of the lack of a store. The people could not use the mosques because of the weapons. It was easy for thieves to reach the weapons and three mouser rifles were stolen. A storehouse would condemn the theft of weapons, open the mosques for the public, and enable a clear credibility mechanism in the military and administrative organisms in the town for the weapons.⁷⁷In the fall of the same year, the building process was started.⁷⁸In addition, a safe road began to be built in the same year from military company to the storehouse.⁷⁹ In 1903, in a telegraph which was sent to the Internal Affairs from military office in Düzce, the increase in the traffic of illegal weapons and some other goods in the port of Akçaşehir was reported. The main actors in that traffic were *Lazs* and foreign sailors. The weapons and goods were transferred via Adapazarı to the whole of Anatolia, and vice versa. The strict control of Melenağzı would prevent the extension of the illegal trade and the benefits of our state.⁸⁰

Tobacco smuggling was also a frequent act around Düzce. *Circassian, Abkhasian, Laz* tobacco smugglers transported illegal tobacco throughout Black Sea ports from

⁷³ BOA. DH. ŞFR., 80/2/1/1

⁷⁴ BOA. DH.ŞFR., 572/82/1, BOA. DH. ŞFR., 80/48

⁷⁵ BOA. DH.ŞFR, 118/79

⁷⁶ BOA. MV. , 98/44

⁷⁷ BOA. Y. PRK. MK., 158/71

⁷⁸ BOA. Y. PRK. MK., 9/109

⁷⁹ BOA. Y. MTV., 192/128

⁸⁰ BOA. DH. TMIK. S., 48/44

Akçaşehir port. The land route of tobacco smugglers was based on Hendek, Göynük, Mudurnu and Ankara. In August 1890, tobacco company in Düzce received some information that a group of tobacco smugglers rallied in Hendek. Tobacco rangers were unable to stop those smugglers since they had been attritted.⁸¹In January 1893, tobacco smugglers evaded the rangers in Ankara. The smugglers were from Düzce and Hendek, one of which was arrested in İzmit. The duty of arresting others was on Kastamonu provincial government.⁸²In March 1897, local police force and tobacco rangers outnumbered tobacco smugglers and eventually defeated them. The smugglers were transferring a big amount of tobacco from Hendek to Düzce with *martini rifles* on their hands. In April 1903, Governor of Bolu, in his telegraph, informed Internal Affairs about the actions of tobacco smugglers. Düzce, Hendek, Mudurnu, Göynük were invaded and haunted by tobacco smugglers. Neither rangers nor state officers were able to end their actions. Various peoples had inhabited that region. For instance, Abkhazian and Georgian villages between Hendek and Mudurnu helped the smugglers whenever rangers and official guards followed them. The rebellious acts of the peoples humiliated the honor of law and state.⁸³ A year later, *Laz* tobacco smugglers from Düzce were shown around Zonguldak and acted with their *martini* riffles. The local guards were unable to follow these smugglers. Unless the leaders of the gang in Düzce were arrested, the gang would carry on their acts.⁸⁴In February 1910, according to a report to Internal Affairs, a Greek gang was in cooperation with a Muslim gang in tobacco smuggling. Local gendarmes in Düzce were unsuccessful capturing the members of gang because they evaded into the forest. These gangs were active around Akçaşehir, Ereğli and Zonguldak. Internal Affairs ordered Bolu government to resolve the lack of gendarmes by conscripting from reserve soldiers who were familiar with the region and good riders.⁸⁵

⁸¹ BOA. DH. MKT., 1799/2

⁸² BOA. DH. MKT., 2044/2

⁸³ BOA. DH. ŞFR., 304/17

⁸⁴ BOA. DH. MKT., 495 /3

⁸⁵ BOA. DH. MÜİ., 1/10

In addition, there were some cases about the tension between non-Muslims and Muslims in *Düzce*. The first case unfolded in 1895. Armenians in town claimed Circassians and Abkhazians to threaten them. As a response to this assertion, twenty more infantries were conscripted as a safeguard force.⁸⁶ In 1897, an eleven-year-old student threw a stone to a house of an Armenian. The student was advised not to do that again. He was directed back to his madrasa. However, the local authorities could not or did not elicit the people who instigated a student to that action.⁸⁷

In May 1915, according to report of Muezzin Said, in *Düzce* one night he heard gunshots around the mosque. When he went there to check the sounds, he saw drunken *Barnik* who was from the Armenians of Adapazarı. When Said asked *Barnik* about the gunshots, he answered that he would understand when he saw the Russians in *Akçaşehir*.⁸⁸ In March 1916, Internal Affairs Public Security Office demanded the Armenians, who had come to *Düzce*, would stay there for a while.⁸⁹ However, a week later the notables of *Düzce* sent a petition to the Internal Affairs Department stating that they did not want Armenians to stay in *Düzce* and they were traitors for Ottoman State and Muslim people. According to petition, Armenians had been in *Düzce* only for five or ten years. They came to *Düzce* from İzmit, Adapazarı and Van. Although they were in *Düzce* temporarily, they began to fire shops in the market and the houses they rented. The notables of *Düzce* demanded rich Armenians to be deported for the safety of two sides since they engaged in separationist political activities. The list of signatures under the petition was very long and *Hacı Abdülvehab* was among them as a member of the Assembly of *Düzce* Municipality.⁹⁰

In June 1919, during a wedding in Şerefiye district, which belonged to Armenians, the police interfered to wedding to cease gunshots at midnight. The brother of the

⁸⁶ BOA. DH. MKT., 2080/55

⁸⁷ BOA. DH. ŞFR., 207 /89 appendice C

⁸⁸ BOA. DH. EUM. KLH., 1/50 appendice D

⁸⁹ BOA. DH. ŞFR., 62 /115

⁹⁰ BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şb., 19/41

bridegroom resisted police and he was sent to the court. Gunshots from the neighborhood continued for three days after the wedding. Local officers perceived the acts in the Armenian district as political provocations, which were triggered by the effect of an unknown source.⁹¹

Throughout this section, I tried to focus on administrative and public security problems in Düzce. After immigrant settlements a tension between locals and new settlers occurred. This tension was tried to be solved with the policy of appeasement and balancing the local communities. From the beginning of the twentieth century the bands of bandits were well-organized from Adapazarı, Hendek, Düzce, Gerede to Ankara on land. They were also active at the ports of Kastamonu province, Karasu, Akçakoca, Ereğli as well as Zonguldak. Theft, tobacco and weapon smuggling were very common activities among these bandit bands. They had some support from the local communities especially among the North Caucasian settlers. Administrative mechanisms were not able to condemn violence in Düzce. Bandits attacked public buildings and local officers in some cases. Therefore, local officers requested military solutions. However, the military solutions were not as harsh as they thought to be. Rather, their aim was to gain the support of local notables and peoples. Throughout the Great War, Düzce was on the safe route between Zonguldak and İstanbul. So, the oppositions against government were suppressed during this period. After the collapse of Russia, the focus of the army turned to other fronts. The oppositional figures began their reorganizations in this period.

The representative of the North Caucasians in the Assembly was Abdülvehab Efendi who was also one of the leaders of the rebels against the nationalist. Most of the time, he was on the oppositional side in the Ottoman Assembly. His opposition did not demand for banishment of the constitutional regime and the Parliament, as claimed in conventional literature. He demanded the National Assembly to be aware of the needs of provinces and the local reflexes. In addition, he claimed for the abandonment of the tranny and the customs of Hamidian era.

⁹¹ BOA. DH. EUM. AYŞ., 15 /60

Most of the non-Muslim communities were also migrants from Trabzon province or from other eastern provinces. The Armenians were the most influential community in the non-Muslim section of the local society. There was a tension in between. That tension caused some clashes between two sides. Discomfort led to insults which also resulted in some attacks on the economic activities from both parties. The Armenians in Düzce were not deported despite the demands of the local Muslim notables.

2.4. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I collected some fragments about how the peoples of Düzce experienced the longest century of the Empire. These fragments offered a lot about transformation of Düzce from a very little village to a populous and rebellious town. Yearbooks had an optimistic perspective about the town. They presented a growth in the size, population, economy and agricultural production of the town. In the second section of this chapter, I focused on immigrant settlements in Düzce and the transformation of the social order and the topology of the town. Additionally, I surveyed some cases allowing me to detect some signs of incoherence in the local society. In the third section, my aim was to investigate if there would be a background for banditry and opposition in Düzce before the rebellion against the nationalists and Grand National Assembly. I collected some expressions of contemporary observers claiming that there was a problem of public security around Düzce because of social structure of the town, the lack of state order and the location of the town. Additionally, I compiled some traces out of the documents of Ottoman Internal Affairs supported the assertions about Düzce. The sources of this section included some petitions signed by local notables and representatives of the villages, complaints of local state officers and instructions from İstanbul or provincial centers to solve the problems.

My aim is not to acquaint the relationship between the formation of Düzce from the second half of the nineteenth century and the rebellion against Grand National Assembly in April 1920 as an exceptional case in the history of Modern Turkey. Rather I will elaborate this event in the grand scheme. From the Tanzimat era on, the

Ottoman Empire tried to establish a well-organized and more centralized state order. The reforms of 1864, 1867, 1871 and 1908 in the provincial system reorganized the way Ottoman state governed the provinces from big centers to neighborhoods. The governors of the provinces became more powerful and had wide range of responsibilities within lesser territories. The bureaucratic hierarchy in the provinces aimed at fastening the relations between state and people, and producing more actual solutions for local problems. The public had experienced political representation in the local councils of villages, towns and cities. The way the people were defined in front of the state experienced a transformation from subjects to citizens. Telegraph lines and railways shortened the distance between the center and provinces. People had more chance to involve the processes of solution for local problems as they had faced a state and a center, which were more visible at the local context.

Local contexts of the provinces did not have stable and coherent social order, the reformed state mechanisms had to bear very complex problems; ethno-religious clashes, poor Muslim immigrants and bandits. Restoration of Ottoman constitution in 1908 with hopes of saving the empire turned into a shattered dream. From the Balkan Wars onwards, Ottoman Empire faced a ten-year-long-war. Throughout those ten years, Ottoman society was mobilized completely, and the power of civil officers over provinces weakened as the military officers became more powerful. Through the end of ten year-long-war, the state lost its potency over the provinces. Local notables, militias organized by the CUP, bands of bandits, army deserters and oppositional factions captured the control of local affairs. After the armistice, Ottoman state utilized martial law to reclaim authority over the provinces. However, the complexity of the situation in the post-World War period did not let an Ottoman government centered at İstanbul.

From 1860s onwards, the population of Düzce dramatically increased. In the beginning of the twentieth century, it was around seventy thousand. Following the ten-year-long-war, in 1918 it was around sixty thousand. The rise in the population led to fertilization of the lands and agricultural growth in the town. State provided

new settlers with housing, land and agricultural tools. In addition, for the organization of the newly shaped town, administrative reforms of modernizing Ottoman state were practiced. Local administrative offices, municipality, local assemblies, court, jail, police force and military force were established and represented in official public buildings. They became parts of Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy. In the cases, I surveyed the problem solving mechanisms of the state functioning under this hierarchy. The complaints reached from the local administrative, military and judge officers or directly from representatives of public in Düzce to the provincial government of Kastamonu until 1908. From 1908 onwards, Bolu became administrative center of Düzce. In some cases, locals directly submitted their complaints to the internal affairs. In response, the provincial governments assigned administrative or military inspectors to make query on the issues. The inspectors presented detailed reports to the provincial governments about their queries and provincial governors informed the Internal Affairs about the possibilities of solutions. Internal Affairs then enlightened the provincial government about the solutions. The center hesitated from full military operations, violent acts, or strengthening other local powers against each other. Rather it initiated the provincial government policy of appeasement. Military actions were to disrupt the organization of the bandits in the region from Ankara to İzmit. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the military force supports were mostly assigned from İzmit.

More visible state in the local context of Düzce did not lead to a well-organized social order, because the Muslim immigrants from different ethnic origins with different cultural and social backgrounds claimed their own customs, and they perceived their villages as smaller versions of their homelands. Differences between languages established barriers in their new habitats. The North Caucasian peoples had privileged classes in their societies by birth; slavery was a common phenomenon among them. In addition, they had a disciplined social hierarchy enabling them to organize as militias and bandit bands. Circassian Begs were able to control and represent their tribes. They were also able to solve problems within their society when state was unable to solve them. Modernizing Ottoman state had some problems with multiple hierarchies within the society because those hierarchies

conflicted the relation between state and citizens. Ottoman state tried to disjoint and manipulate those hierarchies by applying to policy of appeasement to stabilize the complexity of the local society. There was a competition over dominance on the local government among local people because it would lead to autonomy and freedom from law for the local peoples. Autonomy had economic profits, as well. It could enable invasion of lands, control over agricultural production, and collection of illegal taxes by brigandage. In addition, it would lead to control of weapons and violence over the local society. Thus, local communities did not hesitate to involve in tobacco rangers, local police and gendarme forces, even to the Ottoman army. To elaborate the conflicts about local governors, the competition over dominance on local government becomes clearer. While the Circassians demanded a wider representation over local affairs because they were the majority of the population, the *Manav* population claimed themselves hosts and *ensars*. At the time when a Circassian was charged as a governor, the Circassian became dominant. When there was a neutral governor, they felt disturbed and even for tiny reasons they did not vacillate to attack the government offices and state officers. When there became a *Laz* governor, he supervised his own people and let them invade the forests. In addition, local communities blamed the other for local problems; they felt uncomfortable by the customs of each other.

Banditry, theft, tobacco and weapon smuggling were very common activities around Düzce. In fact, bandits were more organized than state officers in the local context. They could easily evade or deceive the law. They were a part of an illegal commercial network from Black Sea region to Central Anatolia. The location of the town had a strategic position between İstanbul and Anatolia. The port of Akçakoca enabled the smugglers to engage in sea trade around close ports like Karasu, and Ereğli. Thick forest around the town facilitated a natural protection for them when they needed to evade the law. They received more support from the local communities than the state officers did. In fact, they were better-trained-shooters and riders than the local military and police forces. Actually; bandits, thieves and smugglers were mostly the same people. They were cruel and vigilantes. They could become partners of the state if there was a common ground. Whenever they had support from the officers, some

of their actions could be ignored, they could bribe and threaten the officers, or in case of a lack in local authority they could take over the power. State power did not have a powerful representation in the town most of the time. While administrative and military officers had only a few infantries under their order, the members of the bandit bands were always many times more.

After the restoration of the Ottoman Assembly, *Abdülvehab* was elected as one of the deputies of Bolu. He became a member of liberal opposition in the Assembly. His opposition did not have antiparliamentary features. He was neither a counter revolutionist nor a monarchist and hoped that the second constitution promised. Between 1908 and 1912 the topics such as the meaning of liberty, working principle of the Assembly, differences between despotism of the Hamidian era and the liberty of the second constitution guaranteed should have been crucial in the Assembly. *Abdülvehab* was one of those who was disappointed and eliminated in the process of the CUP's taking full power. His criticism centered on the romantic aspects of the CUP on the solutions of the current problems. His opposition concerned local context, and he questioned the reductionist views in the Ottoman Parliament by taking the local reflexes into account. According to his short biography, although he was eliminated from the Assembly, with the support of some of his friends from the CUP, he continued his career in Bolu as a member of local councils. He engaged in politics again after the end of the Great War, and became one of the reorganizers of the LEP Party in Bolu.⁹²

Four thousand men joined the army in 1911 from Düzce. *Circassians* established a volunteer cavalry band consisting of around two hundred men and led by the chiefs of *Circassian* tribes in Düzce.⁹³ The father of Sefer Beg was one of the leaders of these volunteers and Sefer was one of the cavalries, as well. The mobilization of men continued during the WWI. Between 1911 and 1917 for the safety of land route between Zonguldak and İstanbul, Düzce was under strict control of the military. The

⁹² Appendice B

⁹³ BOA. DH. İD., 159/ 39

focal point of schism in local society was rather at religious level in this period. Through the end of war, the interests of the Ottoman Army changed completely. There was a lack of authority throughout Anatolia. Düzce became full of army deserters and bandit bands again.

The clashes concerning religion and nationality throughout the Empire affected daily life in Düzce. In 1895 when the tension between state and the Armenian populations rose, a highly-motivated-student threw a rock to an Armenian house and the state perceived this event as a political action. In the following years, the gap between Muslim and non-Muslim populations widened throughout the Empire. Local Muslims perceived Armenians as traitors and among those local Muslims, there were the ones who were hanged by nationalist forces due to being traitors.

There was a base for anti-Unionists in Düzce. *Hacı Abdülvehab* was an opponent deputy of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Ottoman Assembly between 1908 and 1912. He positioned himself with the LEP in this period. The opponents of the CUP produced rumors about assassination of *Enver Paşa*. *Sefer Beg* became an active figure during this period. He was trying to organize the army deserters with local notables. His sister was married to the chief of a *Circassian* tribe in Gönen, Balıkesir.⁹⁴We can assume that his family relations with Gönen would play a significant role in cooperation of Circassian tribes in Düzce and Southern Marmara region.

In this chapter, I concentrated more on the context and organization of the rebellion. I tried to indicate that the problem of public security in Düzce existed from second half of the nineteenth century. There were surely several reasons behind this problem. The first reason was the lack of social cohesion. From the second half of the nineteenth century, peoples with different cultural, political and social backgrounds had settled in Düzce. The gap within the local society and between the locals and the state organization created a disintegrated local society. The second reason was the inabilities of state structure in the local context to deal with the problems.

⁹⁴ BOA. DH. SN. THR., 71/48/3/1

Modernizing Ottoman State could not meet the necessary administrative, juridical and military structures to organize the local society in Düzce. The third was banditry, theft and smuggling which were common activities around the town. Thanks to its nature and location, these activities were profitable for the locals. Moreover, the bandits were generally more organized in the region and they had closer relations with the public than the state did. The fourth was that the locals could easily access to weapons did not hesitate to apply violence against each other and the state when the tension among local ethnic elements rose. In the following chapter, I will emphasize the plausible motives of a rebellion against the Nationalist movement.



CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND THE BREAK OF REBELLION

It was clear for everyone that there would be a struggle for mastery between the Sultan and the CUP after the enthronement of Sultan Mehmet VI a year ago. The position of new Sultan was hopeless in this rivalry due to the fact that the CUP took completely the control of the army and the fleet with the help of the Germans. His condition resembled that of Mahmud II against the Janissaries. Mahmud II was enthroned when there was another power on his throne. Then, he decided the elimination of the Janissaries... Though, this rivalry gone through more or less eighty years ago repeated itself in a different form, it did not come to an end, yet.⁹⁵

Undoubtedly, the war was a disaster for both the victorious and defeated nations. Naturally the disasters were presumed even before. Especially, the catastrophes, which the defeated was heading for, were much worse. We, Turks, have made war of retreat, and faced defeats for two and a half centuries. Especially, we have just survived the disasters of Balkan wars. It was possible not to participate in the Great War. As the Minister of Finance, Cavid Beg mentioned, in the case of victory, captivity was in the hands of Germans and in the case of defeat, collapse was certain. Thus, it happened. The states of Quadruple alliance were defeated. Bulgarians applied for an armistice. Our troops in Syria collapsed with the rush of the British.⁹⁶

Talat Paşa was shocked when he heard about the collapse of Bulgarian front with the separate armistice between Bulgarians and the Entente in 28 September.⁹⁷ He was immediately dismissed. The collapse of Bulgarian front was followed by the collapse of Syrian front. The Ottoman Empire had been rushed into an armistice in 30 October. This armistice was marked as the beginning of a new phase in Ottoman political

⁹⁵ Ahmet Demirel, İkinci Grup'un Kurucularından Selahattin Köseoğlu'nun Hatıraları, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları 2017) 136, in the first footnote, Selahattin Köseoğlu references to an article from Orient News, which was dated 1 July 1919. Orient News was the publication of the army of the Black Sea of Britain. The article describes the post-war context inside the Empire and position of the sultan.

⁹⁶ Mehmet Zekai'nin Kalemile İsyân Günlerinde Bolu, 16

⁹⁷ Gwynne Dyer, The Turkish Armistice of 1918: 1: The Turkish Decision For a Separate Peace, Autumn 1918, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2 (May, 1972) pp. 143-178, 150, Esat Cemal Pâker, Siyasi Tarihimizde Kırk Yıllık Hariciye Hatıraları [Çığırçan Tarih Kitapları Serisi: 4] (İstanbul, Hilmi Kitabevi, 1952) 100.

realm. The leaders of the CUP abandoned the capital shortly after the armistice. The CUP dismissed itself. The oppositional sects within the CUP and outside started to restore themselves. They had to review the possibilities of peace that would decide the fate of Ottoman nation, as well.

Post Great War period has different names from the different perspectives. From an ideological point of view, Sina Akşin splits the period into three, Back to the Monarchy 1918, the Last Constitutional Monarchy 1919, and Civil War and Death with the Treaty of Sevres 1920. He perceives this period when a rivalry among royalists, monarchists, Chaliphate supporters and nationalists, constitutionalists and laics was experienced.⁹⁸ Bülent Tanör uses the period of local congress governments to point out the administrative features of the period in Anatolia. The end of war revealed the problems in which the Ottoman state had. Shortly after the armistice of Mudros, the existence of the Entente in the capital disabled the capital's functions. Administrative problems turned into the problems regarding the lack of state and government in the local contexts of Anatolia. Local governments were set to deal with administrative issues, to organize local militias against occupations, and to meet the economical demands of such actions.

These local governments had a wide range of support from all segments of the society; notables, administrative and military officers, farmers, teachers, peasants, bandit bands, women and children.⁹⁹ The unionists organized many of those local organizations. After the leaders of the CUP left Turkey, the governments was set either from revanchist oppositional sects according to demands of the Entente, or from neutral figures to negotiate with the nationalist movement in Anatolia. However, the unionists were all around Anatolia. They played a critical role in the organization of these local assemblies and mobilization of wider segments of the

⁹⁸ Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele*, (İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 2010), Vol I, II, III

⁹⁹ Bülent Tanör, *Türkiye'de Yerel Kongre İktidarları (1918-1920)*, (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2002)

society.¹⁰⁰ From an intellectual point of view, *Şükrü Haniöđlu* uses Muslim Socialism to point out the ideological references that the nationalist movement applied to gain the support of masses, and Soviet Russia.¹⁰¹

The rebellion in Düzce against the nationalists was a royalist movement. The rebels claimed the aim for their actions would be to save the will of Sultan, Caliph. Their declarations had intense religious references. The official sign of their rebellion was that they rejected to cut the relations with İstanbul despite the calls from Ankara. They engaged in party politics. Nevertheless, their ideological references did not differ so much from the nationalist movement. The declaration of Amasya, the congresses of Erzurum and Sivas described the condition, in which Ottoman state was; they put the goal of saving the capital, the Sultan, and the Caliphate. Saving those three meant saving İslam, as well. The method of the nationalists was to reactivate administrative, military mechanisms, which were disbanded or, strictly under the Entente pressure to secure the lands at which Muslim Anatolians lived since the occupations. Reactivating state mechanisms required a secure government, which was impossible to achieve in the capital because of the Entente occupation. The opening of a new Assembly in Ankara was a solution under extraordinary conditions. The principle aims of Assembly in terms of internal politics were to gain support of wider masses, and to organize local governments under the National Assembly. The rebellion in Düzce occurred in such a context.

Here I would like to describe some main features of the rebels. They were supporters of the LEP and opponents of the CUP. They had a spite against Russia because of the past issues. They were Muslims and carried ideological bounds to sultanate because of the beneficences they received. They were applying their own social hierarchies. Some higher clans had familial bounds with the Sultan himself. They had not been in

¹⁰⁰ Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, (Leiden, Brill 1984)

¹⁰¹ M. Şükrü Haniöđlu, *Atatürk, An Intellectual Biography*, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey 2011), 86-129

complete accordance with the Ottoman State, local governments and even other local communities. In the post war context, Society for the Defense of National Rights was not organized in Düzce at first, rather the club of the LEP was active in the town. They behaved like the local government. The gendarmerie forces were conscripted from the locals. Therefore, they possessed official police force. There were also non-official cavalries who fought in the Great War, who were consisted of bandits, tobacco smugglers, tobacco rangers, local notables or peasants.

Throughout this chapter, I will try to uncover the relationship between the post-war politics and the rebellion in Düzce against the foundation of a new assembly in Ankara that would replace Ottoman Assembly in Istanbul. In the first section of this chapter, I will focus on the post-war politics in Istanbul and analyze the parties occurred after the armistice of Mondros; their policies and the relationship between them and the public. The fractions in the policies of peace had led to the fractions in the state authority already been damaged due to the ten-year-long war. Military officers, at one side, tried to organize the unionist network in Anatolia, and at the other side civil organizations filled the lack of state authority in the provinces. The officers acted undercover to evade the witch-hunt policies of the revanchist governments in Istanbul against all unionists until they proclaimed their dependence to Nationalists. The competition between nationalist movement and the LEP over the fate of Ottoman nation led to a state structure ruled by two governments, both of which had advantages and disadvantages in this competition. In the second section of this chapter, I will analyze policies of the nationalist movement. The rebellion in Düzce was not an unexpected event for the leaders of nationalist movement. To condemn such an event, they used an inclusivist language in the regional assemblies and in the Committee of Representatives. The Nationalist movement rejected the CUP background and party politics within itself and the ideology of the unity of Muslims referred all Muslims in Anatolia. The title I use for this section “From Nationalist Struggle to National Struggle” is to emphasize the efforts of nationalist movement to control and represent wider portion of the public. Whereas the “nationalist” here refers to the term “milliyeci” in the documents defining pro-resistance party politics in Anatolia, the “national” is used for the unity of all Muslims in Anatolia. In the third

section, I will try to explain the story regarding the break of the rebellion. Firstly, I will focus on the term rebellion. The cavalry militias in Düzce who rose up against the nationalists was a part of Ottoman disciplinary forces established to suppress the nationalist organization. From İstanbul's point of view, the nationalists, themselves, were the rebels. I will discuss the term to clarify what really experienced in Düzce. Secondly, I will approach personal relations and decisions of the rebels being more effective in the occurrence of rebellion than the ideological clashes between the two parties. Thirdly, I will handle the term "traitor". Shortly after the break of rebellion, Grand National Assembly was opened. The rebels were permitted to stop their actions against GNA and to join the national struggle. *Ethem the Circassian* executed the leaders of rebels. He reinforced his forces with the rebels in Düzce and moved to Yozgat. The rebels became traitors after the list created by traitors. The number of traitors decreased from six thousand to a hundred and fifty. However, daily politics of those days was ignored and the rebellion of Düzce was turned into a movement antiparliamentary, reactionary, antidemocratic, anti-republican in the conventional literature.

3.1. The End of War and Internal Politics of the Ottoman State

Sultan Vahdettin took the throne four months before the end of War. When he was born, he was the tenth successor of the royal family. He was the last child of *Sultan Abdülmecid*. After the suicide of *Yusuf İzzettin*, and death of *Mehmet Reşad*, he became the Sultan. Although throughout his life he lived in some kind of captivity and out of politics, when he became the Sultan, he harshly opposed to the CUP. Soon afterwards, the war ended. The CUP leaders left the country. He appointed *Ahmet İzzet Paşa* as Supreme Vizier to deal with the armistice. Following the armistice, *İzzet Paşa* resigned and *Tevfik Paşa* had to set a new government. During the period of his three governments, the application of the armistice issues commenced; the first occupations of the Entente, the judgments of the war crimes, the disbandment of the armies and dismissal of the current Assembly took place in the Ottoman realm. In 4 March 1919, *Damad Ferit* became the Supreme Vizier. His policies focused on the total elimination of the CUP, whom he called Ottoman Bolsheviks, from Ottoman political scene. After him, on 2 October, *Ali Rıza Paşa* set a new government; he

negotiated with the leaders of the nationalist movement, and guaranteed a new election and the reopening of the Assembly. His government was dismissed because of the Entente pressures in 3 March 1920. *Salih Paşa* was appointed to establish a government. However, he resigned because of the official Entente occupation in the Ottoman capital. *Damad Ferit* set his fifth government with the support of Entente on 5 April.¹⁰²

The Mudros armistice brought hope to the Ottoman politicians and intellectuals after the ten-year-long war. Although the Soviet Russia revealed the secret treaties signed within the Entente before and during the war, the principles of President Wilson led to an optimism towards peace in the Ottoman political realm. The expressions of the figures represented the Ottoman state expressed their belief and trust to the rights of Turkish nation in the respect of Britain and other civilized nations and they would help their former ally Turkey to become a strong state again. Even the Sultan believed that the allies of his father during the Crimean war would never disturb the integrity of the Ottoman state. Mustafa Kemal also made remarks in his own newspaper after he returned to İstanbul from the Syrian front. The occupations throughout Anatolia and in the capital shattered the hopes of the Ottoman side. The armistice ended the war between Ottoman State and the Entente. Nevertheless, it marked the beginning of a new rivalry within the Entente. The treaties among the Entente had many conflicts and they were in a rush to hold the lands they wished to possess. The Greek occupation in Western Anatolia conflicted the claims of Italy over the dominance of the Aegean Sea while the French occupations in the South-Eastern Anatolia and Syria conflicted the plans of Britain on the Transcaucasia and Mosul Petroleum field. Powerful existence of the Entente in the Ottoman capital was also a sign of this competition among them. However, it did not have a base in their national politics. The Western Front wore France down, in the meantime British claims for world dominance created a cruel political opposition in the Empire. The participation of Italy to the war was perceived as a failure because they did not get any realistic profits

¹⁰²Gotthard Jaeschke, *Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı Kronolojisi, Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar*, (Ankara, TTK Basımevi 1989) 1-97

at the end of the war. The conflicts within the Entente and their own national post-war conditions restricted any further military campaign over Ottoman lands. Furthermore, the German peace had a priority in the schedule of the Entente since it was an internal affair of the European states. The main goal of the Entente in Anatolia was to gain time with the complete abolishment of Ottoman military and administrative mechanisms.¹⁰³

The Governments in İstanbul can be classified under two categories in terms of internal politics. The first one was “neutral governments” that would ease transition from the CUP rule to a more balanced Ottoman state between the Entente and the nationalist resistance organizations. *İzzet Paşa, Tevfik Paşa, Ali Rıza Paşa* and *Salih Paşa* governments can be elaborated under this category. The second category is “revanchist governments”. Those governments were mainly consisted of the LEP members. They applied harsh politics against the CUP members and the nationalist movement due to the reason that they perceived the nationalist movement as a continuation of the CUP. *Damad Ferit Paşa*'s governments can be classified under this category. To balance the internal and international politics, *Sultan Vahdettin* made his decision between the experienced neutral Ottoman army commanders and oppositional leader *Damad Ferit Paşa*.

Mustafa Kemal's last duty was to command the withdrawal of the seventh army corps from the Syrian front. He was one of the most prestigious commanders in the Ottoman army with a title of “aid-de-camp of the *Sultan Vahdettin*”. He was also a member of the CUP. However, because he had harshly criticized the alignment with Germany before and during the war, he became an opponent of the CUP leaders. The Sultan and the governments in İstanbul perceived him as a neutral character because of his opposition against CUP leaders and his personal relationship with the Sultan. He returned to İstanbul in November just after the CUP leaders fled the country. He did not participate in the Renewal party the unionists established. Rather, he

¹⁰³ Hasan Kayalı “The struggle for independence” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey* ed. Reşad Kasaba (New York, Cambridge University Press 2008)

preferred firstly to take influential posts in the post armistice governments to affect the peace politics. Then, following his assignment to manage the security problems in Anatolia with high authority, he began to unify the local resistance organizations and people against the Entente occupations. After the dismissal of *Ali Rıza Paşa* government, his organization gained wider support among Ottoman public officials and intellectuals and even from deputies of the LEP. Prior to this, he had worked with his close friends in the Army and in the Parliament, the komitacıs, unionists and militias organized under unionists all around Anatolia, and the local administrative officers respected and believed in him.

The neutral governments were always under strict pressure of the Entente presence and the revanchist sects in the capital. The Entente demanded the elimination of the CUP from the Ottoman political realm as soon as possible. In addition, they demanded the complete non-resistance of the provinces and disbandment armies. However, this meant the end of the Ottoman State structure and authority over the provinces. In addition, the complete disbandment of the armies would lead to public security problems in Anatolia. The local resistance organizations were semi-independent structures. On one side they represented a kind of state authority because they were established by administrative and army officers. On the other side, they represented the local contexts because local notables, army deserters, shopkeepers, peasants and even bandit bands had supported them. Neutral governments did not apply strict policies against the resistance organizations and the unionists who worked under them. Moreover, they tend to ignore the army officers who slowed down the disbandment of the armies. The revanchist governments both represented the Entente demands and CUP opponents in the capital. They applied harsh politics against the CUP members and believed that meeting all the demands of the Entente would alleviate peace conditions. These governments were under strict pressure of the local resistance movements and committee of deputies seeing that they were unable to control the provinces; their orders were ignored or adjusted by the local resistance organizations.

Here, I would like to address the expressions of supreme viziers and some ministers about the condition of the Ottoman state and the nationalists. *Izzet Paşa* gave an interview to *Peyam* published on 11 October 1919. He expressed his thoughts about nationalist movements to have a positive effect on the current condition of the Ottoman state. He knew the leaders of the movement since he was an old army general; according to his view, they were patriots. He added that he was in favor of the nationalist movement unless the committee of representatives helped the government to be strong.¹⁰⁴ On 26 October in another interview, he pointed out that except for the people who were stained with deportation and war crimes, the elections needed to be liberalist and free, and he hoped the non-Muslims to participate in the elections.¹⁰⁵ On 26 November, *Refi Cevat*, who was a member of the LEP, made an interview with *Ahmet İzzet Paşa*. He asked about the delays in executions of CUP members during *Ahmet İzzet Paşa*'s government. In his answer, he declared to have had viable reasons whereas succeeding governments did not have the reasons he had. In response to the question about *Mustafa Kemal*, *İzzet Paşa* expressed that he knew *Mustafa Kemal* well and he was a reliable man.¹⁰⁶

The interview with *Tevfik Paşa* was published on 8 September. In response to the question about mandate regime, he emphasized on two possibilities on the papers about this issue, one was the USA mandate, the other was that of British. The representatives of the USA were engaged in talks with him however their priority was to establish an Armenian state in the region. The British side had never made an attempt. In his personal opinion, he was ready to accept any friendly help from other states. About the nationalists, he believed that the provinces were secure and there was not any insurrection. For the elections, he mentioned about the existence of two parties on the scene. Their opinions were not different from each other. Nevertheless, they did not have any realistic base. Thus, it was impossible to make

¹⁰⁴ Sabahattin Özel, Işın Çakan Hacıbrahimoglu, Osmanlı'dan Milli Mücadele'ye Seçilmiş Mülakatlar, (İstanbul, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 2010) 111

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 113

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 113-116

any prediction about the elections until the results. When it comes to international politics, he declared to be a friend of Britain. He said the British would help Turkish people to become independent.¹⁰⁷

On 5th September, Damad Ferit Paşa stated that he was completely against a mandate regime. In an interview he had given to Tan, on 26th September, just after the Congress of Sivas, when his cabinet was under strict pressure of the resistance communities in the provinces; he stated that the nationalists were actually low ranked military officers who rose during the war at which they spread around Anatolia, and they were seeking jobs for themselves. He claimed that the money spent to strengthen that movement came from the fortune that CUP members acquired during the war, thus the movement of Mustafa Kemal was a CUP movement. When he was asked about the elections, he responded he was unhappy with the boycott of non-Muslims; and hoped they were able to persuade them to participate in the Parliament. He also stated that their main aim was to enlighten the public in Europe on Turkey and he hoped their objectivity rather than their sympathy.

In this paragraph, I will try to concentrate on the expressions of the ministers of Internal Affairs and war in the Ali Rıza Paşa cabinet. Şerif Paşa who was the minister of Internal Affairs, in his interview, stated that public security was conducted perfectly; Anzavur was dispelled and Eşref was dead. The interview with Cemal Paşa was made just before Amasya negotiations. He refuted the claims on the government's disagreement with the nationalists and added that the government and the nationalist movement had united, the nationalist cause was ignited by vital problems the nation was in. To him, the majority that honored nation accepted the national cause. He emphasized about the elections that the government endeavored to redeem the necessity of the Ottoman constitution. He stated about the concerns on the changes in the martial law that the head and other members of the court had been changed due to their decisions. Main goal of the martial law was to ensure

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 103-108

objectivity and step up the judgments. The public's expectation was not to have any concerns about those.

Throughout this section, I focused on the politics in İstanbul in the post-armistice period. There were different approaches to the politics of peace. The first one was the LEP pattern; and nationalist pattern was the second. The nationalists did not have any official recognition in İstanbul governments until the Government of Ali Rıza Paşa. However, the governments of İzzet Paşa and Tevfik Paşa did not try to suppress the nationalists. Ferit Paşa perceived the nationalist movement as a continuation of CUP. During the Government of Ali Rıza Paşa, the rebellion of Anzavur was perceived as an internal security problem whereas Damad Ferit sponsored Ahmet Anzavur against the nationalists in the region.¹⁰⁸ In the next section, I will focus on the formation of the nationalist discourse in defining themselves and the nation.

3.2. From Nationalist Struggle to National Struggle

In the previous section, I focused on the politics of peace and the formation of political parties in İstanbul. In this section, I will focus on the relationship between the public and the nationalists and the way nationalists defined the public. In this period 1918-1923, the word nation meant; Muslim, Anatolian, and Ottoman for the Turkish nationalists. Nationalists were trying to apply the Wilson Principles to the remaining lands of the Empire. Those three concepts that defined the word nation in the Post War context was not a new invention, it was debated and propagated during the ten-year-war in the Ottoman political and intellectual realm. The aim of the nationalists was to consolidate those three concepts and the people those three concepts were represented by.¹⁰⁹ The Societies for the Defense of National Rights propagated to the people their perception of nation. This perception was inclusivist to all Muslim segments within the Ottoman society.

¹⁰⁸ Uluğ İğdemir, *Biga Ayaklanması ve Anzavur Olayları (Günlük Anılar)*, (TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1989)

¹⁰⁹ Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey, Who is a Turk?*, (Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005) Chapter 1

The counter propaganda of the LEP and other oppositional groups claimed that the nationalist movement was a continuation of the CUP. The opposition also claimed the nationalists were behaving against the will of the Sultan and the Caliph and they were in cooperation with the Soviet Russia, Mustafa Kemal would become Sultan, and the unionists were not on the true path of Muslim faith. To deal with such a propaganda, Nationalists denied their CUP past, and legitimized their actions with the claims that their final goal was to save Sultan and Caliph, the Sultan and Caliph was captive of the Entente, the government in İstanbul was not free in its actions, they would be martyrs if they die, and they would be gazis in case they survive. They also propagated that they were legitimate forces and authority representing both Sultan Caliph and the nation.

Amasya Circular was the first declaration of the nationalist movement to unify whole resistance organizations. It clearly defined Ottoman Government's current condition; because they were captives of the Entente, the necessity for a committee of deputies representing the nation was needed to arise. The deputies would be elected by the resistance organizations and they would keep this as a secret until the gathering of the committee.¹¹⁰

Erzurum Congress was held in between 23 July 1919 and 7 August 1919. The first main issue discussed in the congress was the situation of the Eastern provinces that were under the threat of possible Armenian and Greek states. It was emphasized that the provinces of *Trabzon, Canik, Erzurum, Sivas, Diyarıbekir, Mamuretülaziz, Van* and *Bitlis* and the towns around them, and other Ottoman lands were inseparable parts; and the Muslim population at these provinces were brothers and sisters without any distinction regarding their race and social structures. It was stated that new privileges related to Christians the Entente occupations would provide, would not be accepted. The sixth article of the declaration defined the people under the definition of the term "nation". This definition involved all Muslim population in the lands that was under the control of Ottoman state until the armistice signed in 30 October 1918. In

¹¹⁰ Ed. Sefer Yazıcı, Milli Egemenlik Belgeleri, (TBMM Basımevi, Ankara 2015) 13

article number seven, it was asserted that a mandate regime that would respect the nation in the sixth matter could be negotiated. The article number eight demanded the reconstruction of the Ottoman Assembly. The claim on the representation of the whole nation by the congress was handled in the article number nine. The last article declared the establishment of a committee of the deputies.¹¹¹

Sivas Congress was held between 4 and 11 September. In the beginning of the congress, the representatives discussed on an oath they would abandon their past in CUP and any other dependence to a political party. The meaning of the unionist was divided into two; one was concerning the political party, the other was about the mentality that stood up for the unity of Ottoman state and nation. The first meaning was anathematized while the latter was accepted as fair. Moreover, the mandate regime was debated, but the discussion lasted with an open-ended result. The definition of nation was discussed again in the congress. The declaration of the congress consisted of the same definition of nation. Reconstruction of the assembly was remarked once more. The resistance organizations were unified under the name of the Society for the Defense of Rights of Anatolia and Rumeli. It was emphasized that this organization was free from party politics. Its main goal was to save the state. All Muslims were natural members of this organization.¹¹²

Amasya Negotiation was held between 20th and 22nd October. Just after Sivas Congress, the provinces ceased their relationship with the Government in the capital. Mustafa Kemal demanded to directly contact with the Sultan and the dismissal of the current Government. The Government of Ferit Paşa was dismissed and Ali Rıza Paşa established the new government on 2nd October. Vahdettin intended to choose him since he was a prestigious figure in the army. Salih Paşa representing Ali Rıza Paşa's Government negotiated with the head of committee of deputies, Mustafa Kemal, on the restoration of the Assembly and the appointments of reliable men to the

¹¹¹ Ibid, 23

¹¹² Ibid, 30

influential positions. Salih Paşa accepted the demands of the committee. This meeting became prominent as it provided an official recognition of the movement.

After the Congress of Sivas, the Committee of Representatives gathered to discuss current situation and the problems in 16 November 1919. The first issue was the dismissal of Ali Fuat from the twentieth army corps by Ahmet Fevzi Pasha. The committee perceived this situation as a break in the agreement they had reached with the Government of Istanbul in Amasya negotiations. Although they regarded Ahmet Fevzi as a decent man, the dismissal of Ali Fuat was an unacceptable movement against them. On the good side, their organization gained another official reaction they considered seriously. Nevertheless, the main subject of discussion was elections and the new Assembly which was going to be the last Ottoman Assembly that gathered in İstanbul. Its location was the matter in hand due to the fact that the capital was under unofficial occupation, and the Sultan was not a supporter of the nationalists. Additionally, if the Assembly had gathered somewhere safe outside the capital, it would not have met the legal requirements. The Ottoman Assembly had two components. The first was the Assembly of the Deputies and the second was the Assembly of Notables. According to the Ottoman constitutional law, the Assembly was illegal unless these two assemblies worked together. If the Assembly had met outside the capital, the Assembly of Notables would not be presented because they would not be fond of nationalists. Another problem was about security. If the committee of deputies had joined the Assembly in İstanbul, they could have been arrested, murdered, assassinated easily. In addition, they could have been victims of a bomb that an enemy battleship would drop. Furthermore, the aim of the committee was to persuade the Assembly to accept the National Pact. What if it would not happen? An Assembly outside the capital would be safer and at liberty. In addition to the problem of the Assembly of Notables, a gathering outside the capital would make the committee and the Assembly constituting. Furthermore, the public would not support an assembly abandoning the capital and the Sultan. İstanbul was not a city like Paris or London, abandoning İstanbul would mean leaving the Caliphate and Islam. These were the only things left to mobilize the masses against the enemy. After the committee put all these problems on the table, they decided the Assembly

to be in the capital. They planned to dominate the elections, accepted to join the gathering to organize the deputies to accept the National Pact. However, if the leaders of the committee would be outside Istanbul, it would be safer. They had already known that the Sultan would dismiss the Assembly again, if the nationalists would be the majority or the enemy forces would dismiss it if they would be too provocative. The dismissal of the assembly in İstanbul would create an assembly outside the capital more legitimate in front of the people.¹¹³

The last Ottoman Assembly in İstanbul gathered in January 1920. The nationalists were organized under the group of Salvation of Motherland in the Parliament. They established the majority of the Assembly. On 17th February, the Assembly accepted the National Pact which included definition of the post-war situation and demands of the Nation according to international law. The word “nation” in this declaration again referred to Ottoman and Muslim people who lived in the remaining lands of the empire. There were references to the past six hundred years that this pact was not against international law or the wishes of Britain and USA concerning the Ottoman lands. Shortly after the acceptance of National Pact, unanimity of votes in the Assembly rose to the surface, the Entente pressures overthrew the cabinet of Ali Rıza Paşa as the first step and the Entente officially occupied the Ottoman Capital.

The dismissal of the Ali Rıza Paşa’s cabinet on 3rd March triggered a wave of telegraphs of protests from all provinces to the Assembly on 5th March. Majority of these telegraphs were sent by the Societies for the Defense of National Rights. The telegraph sent from Düzce did not have the seal of Society for the Defense of National Rights because that organization had not been established in Düzce, yet. However, the telegraph covered similar subjects with other telegraphs of protests. Instead of the seal of the society, there was a long list of people applied the protest including; Ahmet Şevki, *Mufti of Düzce*, *Hüseyin Remzi*, Major of Düzce, Yusuf Ziyaeddin, *Ulama*, İsmail Hakkı, *Ulama*, Rasih, Hacı Hamdi, Hacı Abdullah, Çakmakzade Ahmet,

¹¹³ Ed. Uluğ İğdemir, *Heyet-i Temsiliye Tutanakları*, (TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1989)

Hacı İbrahim Beyzade İbrahim, Hacı İbrahim Beyzade Salim, Hacı Nuri, Kürtzade Mehmet Sitki, Berzek Sefer, Hacı Kasapzade Mustafa, Hacı Bayramzade Maksut, Müftüzade.

According to the news we have acquired, the Entente condemned the Government to dismiss neglecting in passing by the international code. Since there is no doubt that the aim of the annulment of the cabinet which was established according to the will of his majesty, and on which National Assembly relied, with pressures, was to set a cabinet that would assure the aims of the Entente. We would like to know about damages stemming from forming a cabinet on which National Assembly and public opinion would not rely, should be taken into account, and we demand only a cabinet that would represent National Assembly and the entire nation.¹¹⁴

The assembly was dismissed on 11th April after the official Entente occupation on 16th March. Mustafa Kemal called the deputies to Ankara to form the Assembly which was participated by all political parties in the Ottoman political realm and by all segments of the Ottoman society. The President of the Ottoman Assembly, Celalettin Arif, joined the Assembly, as well. In 23rd April, the Assembly was opened with religious ceremonies; recitations of Quran, sacrifices after the prayer of Friday. The name of this Assembly with extraordinary authority was the Grand National Assembly. The first affair of this new assembly was to deal with the uprisings against them in the region from Adapazarı to Ankara. Thus, the treason code was established against the rebels on 29th April. Rebels were given fifteen days to join national forces. In addition, the militias in the Western front deployed to the region. In August, the rebels were dealt with and the GNA began the organization of regular military forces against the Greek advance in the Western Anatolia.

In this section, I tried to focus on the official declarations of the nationalist movement to show its main claims. The National Pact was the final version of those declarations. The definition of the current situation that the Ottoman state was in, definition of Nation and of the boundaries of Ottoman lands as well as the method of independence were debated during this period. Final solutions to those problems

¹¹⁴ MM ZC, İctima-i Fevkelade, Vol 1, 359

were not deduced during this period. However, definition of nation enabled the nationalist movement to mobilize people into action or to gain their support and reliance. In addition, during the period between 19th May and 23rd April, the nationalists took the control of majority of Anatolia. The Government of *Ali Rıza* officially acknowledged them. They controlled the majority of the assembly and their terms of independence were accepted by unanimous vote. After the occupation of the capital, majority of the deputies joined the Assembly in Ankara. I used the term “rebellion” to define the events in Düzce because it was against a well-organized movement that controlled provinces, claimed to fill the lack of state authority, manipulated Ottoman governments, and gained the majority of the deputies.

3.3. The Break and End of The Rebellion

In the previous section, I focused on how the nationalists defined themselves and their political goals. In this section, I will survey the break of the rebellion. Firstly, I will handle the documents of the Internal Affairs, and the contemporary reflections of the actors and events. My aim is to elaborate how the rebels and the new assembly reacted to each other. Then, I will approach on the memories of the actors to find more details about the daily politics of the events.

The condition of Düzce became very critical in terms of public security after the armistice. The administrative and military officers were desperate. The capital had very limited options about the condition in Düzce and other regions with public security problems in Anatolia. In this section, I will focus in detail on the daily politics of the rebellion.

In 16 November 1919, Ali Haydar, the Governor of Bolu, sent a telegraph concerning the condition of public security in Düzce. According to the telegraph, there had been a hundred and two cases in Düzce. The gendarme forces were united with the people and they did not intervene those cases of public security. In fact, they helped the bandits to terrorization of the administrative officers in Düzce. Bandits stole many weapons from the storehouse since it was not locked at all. Furthermore, they posted “*Tehditname*” on the doors of the notables demanding large amount of money from

them. The bandits robbed a carriage on the road from Adapazarı to Düzce seven times. Unless this problem was solved, the situation in Düzce would deteriorate. There would be even bigger political and administrative problems. To solve this problem, firstly the commander of the gendarme was needed to be changed. Secondly, the gendarme forces were required to be reorganized by local state officers. Thirdly, in case of a need, violence was compulsory to be applied. Fourthly, a band of cavalry consisting two hundred soldiers were expected to solve a hundred and sixty two cases. Fifthly, some of the local notables organized bandits to make fortune by collecting money from local notables by force. Therefore, they were necessary to be exiled to give a lesson to the locals.¹¹⁵ Four days later, *Cemal Paşa*, the Minister of War, wrote to Grand Vizier about the condition in Düzce and *Ali Haydar's* demands. He claimed that the total amount of forces in fourteen provinces and eight army corps consisted of around forty five thousand men. They were not enough even for daily routine. Army could not conscript new men because of the armistice matters. The ministry could not send two hundred cavalries. The solution was to raise the standards of the gendarme forces and to increase their number with new deployments. To raise the standards, the low ranked gendarmes would be trained and sent to Düzce. If the gendarme forces would be dependent on the Ministry of War until the peace, they would be more vital. At the time when the gendarme depended on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was not easy to control them.¹¹⁶ On 25th November, the Supreme Vizier ordered the Ministries of War and Internal Affairs that martial law would be applied in Düzce ¹¹⁷and it was, consequently, declared in Düzce.

In February 1920, Abdülvehab sent a petition of objection about the elections in Düzce to the Commission of Election. His complaint was about illegal actions during elections. He claimed that the number of election centers was inadequate compared to the population and one of the candidates elected, was not from Düzce. The

¹¹⁵ BOA. BEO., 4601/ 345072/ 3,5,7

¹¹⁶ BOA. BEO., 4601/ 345072/ 9

¹¹⁷ BOA. BEO., 4601/ 345072/ 1

commission did not accept the objections of Abdülvehab. However, they regarded positively to the deficient number of the ballot boxes. On the contrary to their view, they still stated to apply the regulations of the previous election. Now that the deputy who he rejected was a prominent army officer, he could be a candidate and a deputy despite the fact that he was not from Düzce.¹¹⁸

Kuşçubaşı Eşref, *Major Mahmud*, and *Rüştü* were important figures in the relation between nationalists and the Circassian communities in the region. *Kuşçubaşı Eşref* was an important Ottoman agent who worked during the WWI in many regions. He joined the nationalist movement just after he had returned. He was appointed to Adapazarı to work with *Mahmud* and *Rüştü*. The reason why he was appointed to the region was that he was Circassian. During his duty, he was trusted neither by the locals nor by Ankara. He was not welcomed in the region, either because local notables did not show respect *Eşref* who was coming from *köle* origin to the perspective of higher clans. They trended to follow *Maan Şirin* who was a member of higher Circassian clan having familial ties with the palace. *Maan Şirin* declared that Adapazarı did not need National Forces; they had full capacity of organization themselves. *Eşref* moved to Düzce in March. He reported that the commander of the gendarmes in Düzce was reliable. However, Ankara did not believe in the reliability of the commander and called *Eşref* to Ankara immediately. *Mahmud Beg* was another important mediator between locals and Ankara. He was appointed in order to ease the tension in between. He reported with an urgent telegraph on 7th April that the *Eşref's* presence triggered the tension in the region against Ankara. Ankara ordered *Eşref* to cooperate with *Mahmud*.¹¹⁹ *Rüştü* was hiding in the villages between Karasu and Düzce because he was condemned to death by martial law because of his actions during the deportation of the Armenians¹²⁰. However, he was in contact with both the locals and Ankara. The rebels in his hometown Hendek killed *Mahmud*. Şerif

¹¹⁸ BOA DH. İ. UM. EK. , 117/ 52 appendice E

¹¹⁹ Benjamin C. Fortna, *The Circassian, A Life of Eşref Bey, Late Ottoman İnsurgent and Special Agent*, (London, Hurst 2016), 236-251

¹²⁰ BOA DH.ŞFR, 622 /58

Güralp claimed that it was obvious to him that *Colonel Mahmud* was a Circassian nationalist since the Palestinian front. Mahmud thought that Circassians and Abkhazian would not harm him because he was also one of them.¹²¹

After the occupation of the assembly in İstanbul, Mustafa Kemal representing the Committee of Deputies protested the situation in 16th March.¹²² Three days later, he declared the gathering of a new assembly in Ankara.¹²³ The nature of the assembly was an important issue. Mustafa Kemal stated that he wrote “gathering of a constituting assembly” as the draft of this declaration. Nevertheless, he changed this draft into “an assembly with extraordinary authority” in the original text. On 27th March, *Mustafa Kemal* sent a telegraph to *Celalettin Arif* who was in Düzce on the road to Ankara. He demanded a declaration from him supporting the gathering of an assembly with an extraordinary authority. *Celalettin Arif* answered that though the gathering of a new assembly was the most appropriate; there was no legal base for it in the Ottoman constitution. However, the French constitution gave the permission for such an assembly in case of extraordinary situations in the normal assembly.¹²⁴ On 11th April, the declaration of new Ferit Paşa Government against the National Forces spread to provinces. According to the declaration, National Forces affected Europa and Americas public opinion in a negative way. They cut the connection between İstanbul and Anatolia, collected taxes, attacked everywhere. It was also mentioned that this was treason and they were traitors. The fatwa of Dürrizade explained that due to the fact that nationalists disobeyed the Sultan and Caliph, they disturbed public security, therefore it was fair to fight kill those insurgents and rebels.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Şerif Güralp, *İstiklal Savaşının İçyüzü*, (İstanbul, Dizerkonca Matbaası 1958), 56

¹²² Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Vol.1,(İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1973), 419

¹²³ *Ibid*, 421

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 424-425

¹²⁵ Enver Konukçu, *Hendek Tarihten Sayfalar*, (İstanbul, Hendek Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 137-140

On 13th April, Düzce ceased their relation with Ankara, and a group of armed and unarmed men attacked the martial law officers. They attacked to jail and demolished its walls and expressed that they would not obey any other government except for the Sultan and the Caliph. They would not apply conscription unless the capital ordered them. The communication with the capital would be restored and that of with Ankara would emergently be stopped. The telegraph officers in Bolu would be changed. The ship tax would be collected only in the name of the government in Düzce.¹²⁶ In a very short time, rebels took the control of a region from Adapazarı to Ankara. They arrested *Ali Haydar*, the Governor of Bolu.

On 19th April, counter fatwa was announced by Ankara rejecting to be in rebellion against the Sultan. Counter fatwa asserted the National movement was legitimate under current circumstances and not to support them was not fair. On 21st April, according to Hüsrev Gerede's memoires, the committee of counsel consisting of *Hüsrev Beg*, the deputy of Bolu *Şükrü Beg*, the dentist *Fuat Beg*, and the deputy of Lazistan *Osman Beg* began their journey from Ankara to Düzce. They were chosen because of their familiarity with the region and the people. In 23rd April, the rebels in Gerede arrested them and they were sent to Düzce. They negotiated with *Berzek Sefer* who expressed to be working to ban the militarist rule of *Mustafa Kemal*. He also met with the commander of the disciplinary forces in İzmit and was disappointed by this encounter since he did not even debark the boat to talk with him. The negotiations helped the tension decrease. *Sefer* decided to cooperate with the Nationalists. According to Hüsrev Gerede's accounts, primary reason behind these events was *madrassa* and *mektep* conflict. Exhaustion of people due to the ten-year-wars, inabilities of administrative and military officers, and the lack of national awareness were other reasons he put in his accounts.¹²⁷

In 2nd May, national forces, under the command of *Arif*, occupied Bolu. The radical acts of national forces in Bolu created restiveness in the city and affected the views

¹²⁶ BOA DH EUM, AYŞ, 40/ 51/3

¹²⁷ Sami Önal, Hüsrev Gerede'nin Anıları, (Literatür Yayınları, İstanbul 2003) 191-202

of nonparty population on nationalist movement negatively. Rebels retook the city center with the support of the villagers, and they began to arrest and kill unionists and supporters of the nationalist movement. In mid-May, the negotiations between rebels and nationalist forces resulted and rebels accepted to support the nationalist movement. In 25th May, *Çerkes Ethem* arrived at Düzce after he took the control of Adapazarı and Hendek without any armed conflict. He arrested the leaders of rebellion and hanged them immediately.

Ali Fuat Cebesoy was assigned in the region against the rebels shortly after the rebellion. He reported that when they received the news about uprising of four thousand men in Düzce and in the region between Adapazarı and Ankara, they were shocked and panicked. Especially the news of the murder of *Colonel Mahmud* deeply affected Ankara because Mahmud was a prestigious figure in the region and he supported nationalist movement from the beginning. They were appointed militias from Aegean region who were fighting against Greek occupation. However, as he declared, he realized the core of the rebellion was not as much as he expected. The rebels were raiding around the villages that they could gain support and spreading the word that they were the soldiers of Caliph. However, they were not organized soldiers, but irregular cavalries. To be able to solve the issue, he found more logical to conscript locals and persuade the rebels instead of assigning militias from other regions.¹²⁸

The accounts of *İsmet İnönü* led the role of *Refet Bele* to be covered in the negotiations between rebels in Düzce and Ankara. He reported that the people of Düzce had sympathy towards *Refet*. On the other hand, as Hüsrev reported to him, locals were irritated by the CUP members such as Eşref wondering around the town with guns. In addition, the increasing forest tax had negative impact on the local context. He also mentioned *Osman Beg's* statement about the people in Düzce desponding the capital; the possibility and sincerity of reconciliation with *Sefer Refet*, rather than *Ethem*, was required to go to Düzce. *İsmet Paşa* gave an order to Ethem

¹²⁸ Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Milli Mücadele Hatıraları*, (İstanbul, Vatan Neşriyat 1953) 357-367

on moving forward Düzce to Hendek. Ethem, in his reply to *İsmet Paşa*, declared that despite he promised not to arrest the rebels; he was going to hang them. *Ethem* was appointed to suppress the rebellion of Yozgat. He reinforced his men with new deployments from rebels in Düzce. *İsmet Paşa* thought that *Ethem* would not have been appropriate to represent state, he executed a lot of people but he did not deal with paper work, so he was not an accountable man.¹²⁹

Here in this paragraph, I would like to turn the accounts of *Zekai Konropa* because he was in the town when *Ethem* arrived. *Abdülvehab* rejected to join the new assembly despite he was elected since he thought the new assembly was continuation of CUP and the majority of the deputies were CUP members. He depicted the arrival of rebels to Bolu. The rebels tried to spread the uprisings around the villages. They attacked public buildings and houses of CUP, as well. After the rebels took the control of the town, they moved forward. *Zekai Konropa* was afraid of the possibility of nationalists taking their revenge. Therefore, he went to Düzce with an adventurous journey by foot that lasted three days. Upon arrival, he saw Circassian and Abkhazian cavalries riding everywhere. He defined the situation as completely chaotic since everybody had the authority without any limits. The news of a conciliation between Ankara and Rebels led him to be released. As he reported, *Sefer Beg* and *Abdülvehab* welcomed the national forces led by *Ethem*. When *Zekai* saw the crowd in the town, he realized the soldiers were comprised of Albanians, Bosnians and immigrants of Rumeli. Upon his question to one of the soldiers about their identity, he learnt they were national forces and their leader was *Ethem, Padişah* of Anatolia. After the leaders of the uprising as well as *Zekai Konropa* were arrested by *Ethem* that night, they were hanged in the morning with one exception; *Zekai Konropa*. He was saved when his father in law proved that he was not related with the rebels.¹³⁰

Halide Edip was in Ankara with *Mustafa Kemal* when they were debating about the treatment against *Sefer* and other rebels. She tried to persuade *Mustafa Kemal* to

¹²⁹ Sebahattin Selek, *İsmet İnönü'nün Hatıraları*, (Bilgi Yayınevi, İstanbul 2006) 192-201

¹³⁰ Mehmet Zekai'nin Kaleminden İsyân Günlerinde Bolu, 114-156.

apologize those men who saved the lives of *Hüsrev, Şükrü, Fuat* and *Osman*. Also they promised to pardon the rebels. Mustafa Kemal did not rely on the rebels and wanted them to be dealt with. *İsmet Paşa* was also against this action. He expressed if they represented the government they always needed to keep their words. Debate lasted until morning. Mustafa Kemal decided *Ethem* not to kill *Sefer* and his men. *Sefer* and his men were killed before the order reached to *Ethem*.¹³¹

This section was a survey of the daily events of the rebellion. I searched for representative cases from 1880s to the post war period to elaborate the local context and the relationship between state and local communities. As I put forward in the previous chapter, *Düzce* did not have a coherent social structure. There were different communities in conflict with each other and modernizing Ottoman state. Violence against other communities and against representatives of state authority (officers, public buildings, jail, weapon, rangers) was a common phenomenon. In addition, local communities had intentions to be well-organized to have official recognition of their authority in the local context. They demanded more representation in the local assemblies and to hold official and semi-official posts. They were even organized to manipulate the elections. During the post war period, the core of the conflicts was Muslim and non-Muslim contradiction in the local context.

Local notables like *Sefer Beg* and *Abdülvehab* tried to organize the local communities, army deserters, Circassian cavalries, and peasants when there was no state authority in the town. The lack of authority was filled by their organization as the other resistance organizations did in other localities in Anatolia. Most of those notables had relations with the LEP and they were opponents of the CUP. *Abdülvehab* was an opponent deputy and *Sefer Beg* was a member of influential Circassian clan. Central

¹³¹ Halide Edip Adivar, *The Turkish Ordeal: Being the further memoirs of Halide Edib*, (New York, Century Company 1928), 155-160

government perceived him as an opponent against Government, and he was sent to refuge in 1918, as I put in the previous chapter.

In the conventional literature, the rebellion is perceived as a counter revolutionary movement, a resistance of ignorant people to modernity, a loyalist movement against parliament triggered by men of backward minded men of religion. However, throughout my thesis, as I showed, this rebellion was only one of the peak points of the tension within the local context, which was triggered by the lack of state and government in the postwar period. The propaganda of *Ferit Paşa* Government focusing on the hatred against CUP and Russia ignited the rebellion. Furthermore, from the time the local communities settled in Düzce, they demanded an official recognition of their authorities in the local context. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the locals demanded more representation in the local assemblies and to be more effective in the local affairs. During the days of rebellion, the rebels easily took the control of the town from the officers of martial law and they obtained an official recognition from the Government in İstanbul. However, their liaison with İstanbul was not fruitful. The government was not in such a condition to support an operation with local militias against an Ottoman assembly in Ankara claimed to represent all Muslim people in Anatolia. The negotiations between the rebels and the committee of council led to an alliance between the rebels and the national forces. Even after the execution of the leaders of the rebellion, some of the rebels joined the forces of *Ethem* to suppress the rebels in Yozgat. After they returned from Yozgat, they made a weak attempt to take the control of the town on 8th August. However, their act was a part of the cycle of violence in the local context, and it was a continuation of their oppositional tendencies against the centralization efforts of Ankara. The rebellion completely ended in mid-September.

3.4. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I focused on the post-war politics in the Ottoman Empire and I tried to survey the relationship between the post-war politics, the local context in Düzce and the rebellion. Despite the Ottoman State became almost dysfunctional after the war, it did not end in theory. The Ottoman state, the Sultan, the Parliament

and the title of Caliph had their specific places as political and religious symbols in the Ottoman realm and even in the European perceptions in the post-war period. These concepts still have political and religious resonances in the contemporary political realm. The National Pact was a document that emphasized the importance of those symbols in defining the Muslim people in Anatolia. The goal of saving those symbols enabled re-mobilization of Anatolian people. Contradiction between the nationalist organization in Anatolia and the revanchist governments in İstanbul was at methodological level rather than ideological level. Both sides claimed to be loyalists, Islamists, nationalists and they desired to save as much land as possible from the remaining portion of the Empire. The self-determination principle of the President Wilson promised that each nation had the right to rule them. An inclusivist definition of nation based on Islam was accepted in the Last Ottoman Assembly. After the dismissal of the Assembly, many opponents of the nationalist movement joined GNA. They played an important role in the Assembly. GNA had a heterogeneous structure which had an active opposition and different political tendencies. Saving the Sultan, the Caliph and the Ottoman State were primary political goals in the Assembly.

The rebels in Düzce were not representatives of the ancient regime. Some of them were followers of the LEP, which had been in the Ottoman Parliament in between 1911 and 1912, and it was restored in January 1919 and some of the rebels were bandits and the North Caucasian cavalries who lived in between Adapazarı and Ankara. The LEP consisted liberal, Islamist and anti-centralist opposition against CUP. The party did not form its politics to restore monarchy and to ban the Ottoman constitutional law. They were followers of the concepts of Ottoman Parliament; liberty, equality, fraternity. As I stated in the previous chapter, the opposition of *Abdülvehab* did not recall monarchy, rather it demanded the realization of the promises that restoration of the Ottoman Constitution had brought. He demanded road, port, development of education and that the government to be aware of local contexts. As *Zekai Konropa* reported, he was angry with GNA because the deputies they elected from Bolu were members of CUP, except for him.¹³²

¹³² Mehmet Zekai'nin Kaleminden İsyân Günlerinde Bolu, 20

The contradiction between two political parties on the method of saving the nation and the state was referred as an ideological gab in the conventional literature. The rebellion of Düzce was a reflection of contradiction in the local context of a little town silenced as the contradiction itself. The retrospective approaches perceived the rebellion of Düzce as counter-revolutionary, anti-parliamentary, loyalist and monarchist movement. They also perceived the rebels as backward minded, ignorant and religious fanatics against the foundation of an independent Turkish republic. Nevertheless, in 1920, the assembly in Ankara was still loyal to the Sultan. The deputies were Ottoman citizens, the lands they longed for saving belonged to Ottoman state and the people they claimed to represent were Ottoman Anatolian Muslims. They had no problems with these facts when they were in such a specific period. Moreover, the rebellion of Düzce was not against an unknown future of the Turkish state, it was against the continuity of the CUP, the alliance between Soviet Russia and the nationalists.

To conclude, the lack of state power enabled the local notables autonomy in the local affairs. The Circassian and Abkhazian communities in Düzce were a part of webs of relations in the region from İzmit to Ankara. Ankara failed to convince those people to join the new assembly. The webs of North Caucasian communities took the control of their towns, they attacked former CUP members and the nationalist forces. In the fall of 1920, the rebels were suppressed. The North Caucasian communities joined the definition of Nation in the National Pact.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Throughout my thesis, I tried to cover the administrative and social problems that laid behind the rebellion of the North Caucasian communities in Düzce, and the political context of the rebellion in the post-WWI period. My main aim was to elaborate this rebellion within a flexible chronology to follow the continuities and changes in time, also, to construct a local context that explains the rebellion. By these, I wanted to question the traditional version the history of this event. In the traditional literature, the chronology of this event begins with the arrival of Mustafa Kemal at Samsun. The rebellion of Düzce was not perceived, rather than as a part of local experience, as an evil act, which was triggered by traitor Sultan and government, against the progressive nature of the nationalist movement. The ignorant people, who were naïve Muslims, followed the traitors because the men of religion blinded them. They were enlightened, despite themselves, with the light of National Forces.

In the first section of the first chapter, I focused on the definitive passages about Düzce Town in the yearbooks of Kastamonu and Bolu. In the yearbooks between 1869 and 1916, as the town grew, the length of the passages increased. The yearbooks did not offered me a detailed information about the local context of Düzce, they briefly described the local conditions, state investments, and the growth of the town. The locomotive of the growth of the town was the immigrant settlements. The population of the town dramatically rose from ten thousand to seventy thousand in between the period 1960 to 1880. The majority of the villages around the town were founded in this period. The names of the villages mostly stated the geographic or ethnic origins of the new settlers. The state investments and projects were to organize the livings of the new settlers. The town was expected to be a center of trade and transportation with the railway and road projects.

In the second section of the first chapter, I focused on the immigrant settlements in the town. The first wave of the immigrants arrived in the late 1860s. The majority of

them were members of Circassian and Abkhazian tribes. There were also Nogay and Tatar communities among the new settlers. After the Russo-Ottoman war in 1878, the migration wave to Anatolia intensified with the expulsion of Muslim communities from the Balkans. Düzce continued to receive thousands of immigrant people. The local governors claimed that there was no appropriate location left for the new settlers in 1880s. From 1880s on the forestlands were begun to be invaded by the immigrants from the Trabzon province. State tried to organize the migration waves and to save the forests. However, the local governors were unable to deal with such a work with the technology and manpower they had.

In the third section of the first chapter, I focused on the public security problems in the town. The incoherence in the local context was the most emphasized problem in the sources. The North Caucasian communities established the majority of the local population. They were more organized comparing with the other communities, because of their distinct culture and because they were the first immigrant settlers. They demanded dominance in the local affairs, over other communities. The competition among local communities created an ethnic tension. They local society had one common feature that they were Muslims. The public security problems were chronic in the town. Because, social incoherence was an important reason behind the violence in the daily life in the town. From the 1880s bandit bands began to act around the town. They were able to dominate and manipulate state organization in most cases. Also, in some cases they cooperated with them and local notables as well. The bandits dealt with smuggling in the region from İzmit to Ankara on land and around the Western Black Sea ports. They hand close ties in the local societies. From 1908 on, a base for the liberal opposition against CUP rule occurred. The tendency of the local Circassian communities to the opponent political party continued under the strict rule of CUP between 1913 and 1918. Düzce was a part of safe land route between capital and Anatolia. Through the end of the war, the opposition revived and local notables lead by Sefer and Abdülvehab began to play a critical role in the local affairs.

In the first section of the second chapter I focused on the end of Great War. The armistice of Mudros brings into open the cost of ten years long wars. There were different plans of the different political parties to save the independence of the people in the heartlands of Anatolia. There were two types of governments in this period. The revanchist governments mainly consist of the opponents of CUP, and the neutral governments, which were established by experienced statesmen, to balance the tension between the remnants of CUP rule, nationalist organization, liberal opposition and the occupation forces. The revival of Ottoman parliament was one of the common points among the different parties. The nationalist organization was tried to be silenced in this period by the revanchist governments. However, the neutral governments supported or at least not opposed the nationalists.

In the second section, I focused on how nationalists claimed to be national. The government of Ali Rıza Paşa managed to restore the assembly. In the beginning of 1920, the elections were held throughout the remaining lands of the empire. The nationalists dominated the elections. The National Cause was accepted as the main goal of the assembly with unanimity of the votes. This text mainly defined Ottoman parliament's the conditions of peace. The occupation forces dismissed the parliament and officially occupied the capital. The nationalists decreed to restore the assembly in Ankara as they planned earlier.

The third section is on the break of the rebellion. In winter of 1919, the martial law rule was established in Düzce to suppress the opposition and to deal with the public security problems. After the dismissal of Ottoman Parliament, the notables of Düzce sent a telegraph of reaction, in which they claimed that they were against the occupation forces. Nationalists tried to communicate the North Caucasian communities in the region. The main agents of that communication were Kuşçubaşı Eşref, Colonel Mahmud, and Rüştü. These agents failed to integrate the local communities into the nationalist forces. The nationalist organization was perceived as a continuation of the CUP. In 13 April, the locals attacked the martial law officers. They attacked local forces of the nationalists and rejected to participate in the

assembly in Ankara. It took a month for the new assembly to suppress the rebellion. The rebels accepted to join the national forces as the result of the negotiations.

As I brought forward in the previous chapters, the opposition of the local communities to state was a part of the process between 1860s to 1918. The tension within different segments of the local communities damaged the social cohesion in Düzce. Local communities often tried to manipulate local state officers to enable themselves a dominant place in the local affairs and autonomy in their illegal activities such as tobacco trade, theft and weapon trafficking. The local state representatives were local governor, judge and commander of the local military forces. They were often unable to put the local communities into order because of their lack of necessary means and organization. Also, the local communities were often more organized than the state officers were, and they easily evaded and dominated the state representatives in the cases of conflict between two sides. The reason the rebels took such a big territory between Adapazarı and Ankara was that the rebels were the locals of the region. As I also stated in the previous chapter, tobacco smugglers, bandits, and illegal weapon traffickers were more organized than the gendarme and other local military forces there.

To conclude, the lack of social cohesion, chronic problem of public security, the inabilities of local administrative, military and judge offices, and the political opposition against the CUP led to the rebellion of Düzce. The lack of state power led the locals to take the control of their towns. The notables took the official posts in their town. Ferit Paşa Government in İstanbul cooperated with the locals and recognized their actions as legitimate. The organization of the rebels in such a wide territory between Adapazarı to Ankara was that they had dominance over the state officers since the end of nineteenth century. The negotiations between the GNA and the rebels led to an alignment. The inclusivist policies of the GNA, and its claims of saving the nation and Islam played an important role in the aforesaid alignment.

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A.MKT.MHM (Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı)

BEO (Babialı Evrak Odası Evrakı)

DH.İD (Dahiliye Nezareti İdare Kısmı)

DH.MKT (Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi)

DH.EUM.AYŞ (Dahiliye Emniyet-i Umumiye Asayiş Kalemi Evrakı)

DH.EUM.KLH (Dahiliye Emniyet-i Umumiye Kalem-i Mahsus Müdüriyeti)

DH.İ.UM (Dahiliye Nezareti İdare-i Umumiye Evrakı)

DH.İD (Dahiliye Nezareti İdare Evrakı)

DH.MKT (Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi)

DH.ŞFR (Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Evrakı)

HR.TO (Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası Evrakı)

İ.HR (İrâde –Hariciye)

İ.MMS (İrâde -Meclis-i Mahsus)

MVL (Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti Belgeleri)

ŞD (Şura-yı Devlet)

Y.PRK.MK (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Müfettişlik ve Komiserlikler Tahrirâtı)

Y.PRK.MYD (Yıldız Perakende EvrakıEvrakı Yaveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkan-ı Harbiye Dairesi)

Y.PRK.ZB (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Zabtiye Nezareti Maruzatı)

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APPENDICES

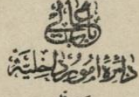
A.

T.C. BASBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARSIVI DAIRE BASKANLIGI (BOA)

ص

۴

قطون دوليه بارسنه


 كترلي
 ۱۷۷

سعادتو افروم حقرتي
 بولي سجاغي جنبه عبور اعاشي اولوب قيسى اوي اهللكه تزييع بوييله علي خانمه بلك روزم قانقلم وگاشنه بولمغي مردم اصلدار اولمده برده قسم
 قزلي طوبولوب هابه حوريم اوتيه بري كوز ديك و حريم زكاه اعاشي ناصيم روزم طوبولوب اعاناه دروس نزدنه اليقورمغي دور
 حكومه لوزه سنده ادم حربه ايتدي و برده قسم جونا نامه حرس لريك رنج و تصدري خنده روزم بجلي اداره سنه و بجه تنظيم ايتور ديك حاله اجل
 بوزمه حرف نظر ايلديكي واهالكينه الكيغي بولمكي بلك قه نوزم رزيه صاه رجه اتماغي احبابه ديرويك و هابول حماق نجه كونه حركه ف
 دوليه بر لوزمه اشعار قلمده و مردم علي خانمه بلك وگاشنه نكوره مردم بولمغي ناده و قوم كوز ديك سانه اولمده حركه و معاوله و طيغه
 ملكه سنه عاشر بولمده ناز بزه مقدر بربوز با شريك وكيل تعيينم كنوسه موقنا اينده اي جيكه بولمكي اجلي اداره و بديجه حقه محاكمه
 الحى قلمونه بالاسنيانه ۷۷ مائه تا بخنده اوده سنه هفتنه ياد شهى شرفه و بوييله رجه قطون قومانده لافهم. بليخ ماده اولمغي
 طرف والدي شهر عاكرينه كله ۷۷ مائه تا بخنده تاريخ و بنسه بر نوزملى نكوره ازار و توريه اولمده اوده مقدم لفا سيار قلميه بر نوزم
 امر و خرمه هابولمه جنابه مولانا اجري ايجاب بايده اوده اقدم حقرتي بارسنه و بوييله

داظمير بولمه

OSMANLI ARŞIVI		
ŞD		
1666	11	

ŞD.01666.00011.001

B.

MİYONAMI (-)

- 1- Adı : Abdül Vahap
- 2- Soyadı (Lakabı) : ATAÜLLAH EFENDİ ZADE
- 3- Baba Adı : Hacı Sabit
- 4- Doğum Tarihi : 1869-H.1285
- 5- Doğum Yeri : BOLU(Karagayır Mah.Silt 012/03 Sayfa 64,KITLIK 203)
- 6- Ölüm Tarihi : 11.6.1920 (H.29.5.1336)
- 7- Ana Adı : Fatma
- 8- Evlatları : Oğlu Abdülmacit Öner (1919)
(Sağ olanlar) : Kızı Aliye Hatma Okan (1911)
- 9- Aile Durumu :

Abdülvahap Efendi Bolu'nun eski ve zengin ailelerinden, hasım akrebası çok olan, Bolu Merkez ilçede Çakanlar, Çanğa(Küçükberk), Büyükberk, Çayır, Seyitköyü ve Karagayır,Büyükcami mahallelerinde tarla ve mülkleri bulunan Ataullah Efendinin torunudur.

Abdül Vahap Efendi'nin aile nüfus örnekleri iliglis olarak sunulmuştur.
(Ek:1)

Halen hayatta olan: Kızlarından nüfus kaydında yedinci sırada bulunan 1327 (1911) doğumlu Aliye, Fatma Okan ile dokuzuncu sıradaki 1335 (1919) doğumlu Abdül Macit Öner ve bunların çocukları sağ olarak bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan A.Macit Öner Bey İstanbul Ticari İlimler Akademisi Yüksek İşletmecilik bölümünden 1964 yılında mezun olup, son görevi İstanbul Merkez Ziraat Bankası Şube Müdürü iken 1962 senesinde emekli olmuştur. İstanbul Ataköy'de yerleşmiştir. A.Macit Öner'in ikametgah adresi ile telefon numarası aşağıda arz edilmiştir.

10- ABDÜL VAHAP EFENDİ HAATI :

İkinci Meşrutiyet Esamisi :

İkinci Meşrutiyet, 23 Temmuz 1908 tarihinde ilân edilmesiyle başlamış, 30 Ekim 1918'de Mondros Mütarekesi ile birlikte on yıl da sona ermiştir. Fakat konumuz olan Hacı Abdül Vahap Efendinin 1908'de başlayan siyasi hayatı 1 Nisan 1920 tarihinde Bolu'dan milletvekili seçildiği halde Ankara'da Birinci Büyük Millet Meclisine katılmayı reddetmiş,böylece kadelerindeki tecellinin alanyazısı yetmiş gün sonra 11 Haziran 1920 tarihinde Kurtuluş Savaşımızın en hassas zamanında feci bir şekilde hayatı sona ermiştir.

İKİNCİ MEŞRUTİYET BOLU'DA :

2. Meşrutiyetin ilânı 23 Temmuz 1908 tarihinde Sultan 2. Abdül Hamid'in son yıllarında Sadrazam Said Paşa tarafından telgrafla vilâyetlere

(+)= Galip Zeki KOLUCUOĞLU (S.Minbaci)

ve bu mevanda Bolu'yada teile bulunuyordu. Bu telgrafın suretini İzzet Beysal caddesindeki sarayın camisine bitişik muvakkithane duvarına astırmıştı. Kimse birşey anlamamıştı. İki gün sonra İstanbul'dan gelen gazetelerden halk 2. Meşrutiyetin ilan edildiğini öğrenmişti. İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti yurdun her yerinde teşkilatını yayıyor bu surette hükümet otoritesi İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetine geçiyordu.

Bu maksatla;

Şubat 1908 tarihinde İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti birinci genel kurul toplantısını yapmış, gizli oturumda Merkez Komitesinin sekiz üyesi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içindeki gizli faaliyetleri örgütleyen ve yürütenler arasından seçilmişlerdir.

Talat, Ahmet Rıza, Enver Beylerden sonra Bolu'lu Habip Beyde bu ünlü kişiler arasında idi. Çünkü Habip Bey Anayasa İbade Meşrutiyetin yürütülmesi için Resne de ilk defa çıkıp inyan eden Meşrutiyet kahramanı olarak haklarında destanlar yazılan Kolağası Ahmet Hiyazi Beye katılmış, bu hareketin kahramanlarından biri olmuştur.

KAMİL PAŞA ZAMANI :

(5 Ağustos 1908-14 Şubat 1909)

Bolu Mutasarrıfı Ali Osman Bey idi. (21 Eylül 1908-18 Ağustos 1909)

Bolu'lu Kolağası (Ünyüzbazı) Büyük Cami Mahallesinden Habip Bey iki subayı ile Bolu'ya gelip İttihat ve Terakki Kulübünü kurmuş, zenginlerden paralar toplamış teşkilat faaliyetine başlamıştı.

Her yerde olduğu gibi bidayette Bolu'nun mineverleri, hacıların, hocaların ve bütün zenginleri İttihat ve Terakki Kulübüne kaydolmuş, herkes İttihatçı olmuştu.

Abdülhamit zamanında ilk meşrutiyet kabinesini Said Paşa kurmuş, nobu- lar meclisinde toplanan Kamil Paşa olmuştur.

İlk Milletvekili toplantısı 17 Aralık 1908 (4 Aralık 1324) de yapıla- caktır. Bu tarihte Bolu Livası Kastamonu Vilayetine bağlı idi.

Bolu Milletvekilleri :

İki dereceli seçilmişlerdir. Adayların seçimi İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti- nin desteğine bağlı idi. Bolu'da 2. ci seçmenler tarafından Kasım ayında seçilen milletvekilleri;

Bolu'da İttihat ve Terakki Kulübünü kuran Kolağası Habip bey, Hacı Abdül Vahap Efendi, Taşhancızade Mustafa Zeki Efendi, Hazarlıardan Kolçak Paşa zade Şerif Bey Bolu'den milletvekili seçilmişlerdir. Bolu'nun en seçkin ailelerinden idiler.

./..

Bolu Milletvekilleri 17 Aralık 1908 tarihinde açılacak Millet Meclisine katılmak için İstanbul'da bulunuyorlardı. Açılma merasiminde Habib Bey 18 ci Abdül Vahap Efendi 20 ci, Taşhanca Zade Mustafa Zeki Bey 21 ci arabaya binerek Meclisin açılma merasimine ve hürdada ilk oturuma katılmışlardır. Bu Meclise 1884-1890 tarihleri arasında Bolu'da 6 yıl muhtasarif olan ve Bolu'dan ayrıldıktan sonra 1901 de karanlık siyasi faaliyetlerinden ötürü idam kararı bulunan İsmail Kemal Bey de Arnavutluk Beraat sancağından Milletvekili seçilmişti.

Meclisin açılmasına bizzat ikinci Abdülhamit nezaret etmişti. İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Mecliste çoğunlukta idi. Bütün Memleket teğkilatına, Valilere, Kaymakamlara, Yüksek mevkiideki bükratlara et atmıştı.

Konumuz bulunan Hacı Abdul Vahap Efendi'nin Meclisin açıldığı 17 Aralık 1908 tarihinden bu meclisin 5 ci Sultan Resat tarafından sadrazam Said Paşa zamanında fesh edildiği 18 Ocak 1912 tarihine kadar 2 ci Meşrutiyet zamanında 3 sene 1 ay Bolu Milletvekilliği yapmıştı.

2 ci Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra 19 Eylül 1908 de Ademi Merkeziyetçi ve Özel teğebbüsü destekleyen akırcı parti 2 ci Abdülhamit'in Eniştesinin oğlu Prens Sabahattin Bey'in tavsiyesi ile kurulmuştu. Kurucular arasında ileride önemli roller oynayacak Celaleddin Arif Beğle eski Bolu Muhtasarifi İsmail Kemal Bey de bulunuyordu.

Hadi Beğle birbirini takip ediyordu. 5 Ekim 1908 de Avusturya Bosna Hersek'i ilhak etmiş aynı günde Bulgaristan işgalini ilan etmiştir.

6 Ekim 1908 de Yunanistan Girit'i resmen almıştı.

7 Ekim 1908 de Dinsel biçimde ilk tepki ortaya çıkmış, Selanikli Kör Ali adı ile anılan ve sonradan Gerde İsyanında 23 Haziran 1920 de Gerde'de idam edilen Hoca Ali'nin liderliğinde Meşrutiyetin kaldırılması, Şeriatın geri getirilmesi, Padişahın yeniden ümmetin başına geçmesi gibi çeşitli tekliflerle Yıldız Sarayına değişik büyük halk kitleleri ile gelen ve 2 ci Abdülhamit ile görüşme yapan Hoca Ali hadisesi meydana gelmiştir.

17 Aralık 1908 de Osmanlı Meclisi toplanmıştı. Çeşitli birbirini

13 Nisan 1909 da (31 Mart Vakası), 25 Nisan 1909 da Mahmut Şevket Paşa Orfi idareyi ilan etmiş 27 Nisan 1909 da 2 ci Abdülhamit tahtından indirilmiş, yerine 5 ci Sultan Resat getirilmiş bu arada toplanan Millet Meclisinde Bolu Milletvekilleri arasında Hacı Abdul Vahap Efendi de bulunuyordu.

Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra geçen 1 yıllık süre içinde 5 kabine değişikliği olmuştu.

1911 yılında Yemen imamı Yahya Efendi İsyan etmiş, Mekodonya'daki Bulgar, Sırp, Rum geteleri faaliyetlerini artırmışlardı.

23 Eylül-4 Aralık 1911 arasında Trablusgarp, Bingazi İtalyanlar tarafından işgal edilmişti.

7 Mayıs 1912 de Arnavutlar 2 ci defa ayaklanmışlardı.

8 Ekim 1912 de Balkan savaşı başlamıştı.

18 Ocak 1912 de Meclisi Mebusan fesh edilerek Abdül Vahap Efendi'nin Milletvekilliği sona ermişti.

HÜRRIYET VE İTİLAH FIKRASI :

Eski Milletvekili Abdül Vahap Efendi'yi hayatının sonuna kadar bu fıkra rada göreceğiz.

Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası 21 Kasım 1911 tarihinde İstanbul'da Damat Ferit Paşa, İsmail Hakkı Paşa, Rıza Tevfik, Doktor Rıza Nur gibi İttihat ve Terakkiye muhalifler tarafından kurulmuştur.

Bolu Merkezinde ve kazalarında da bu fırkanın gubeleri açılmıştır. Ordu içinde de İttihat ve Terakkiye muhalifet belirmişti. Bu subaylardan biride Ateşlerden Bolu lu Yüzbaşı Mehmet Beydi. Abdül Vahap Efendi'nin ilk hanımının kardeşi bulunuyordu. Bolu'ya gidip geldikçe Eniştesine uğrar mevcut iktidarın aleyhinde ve Hürriyet ve İtilaf fırkası lehinde telkinatta bulunurdu.

İttihat ve Terakki gözden düşmüştü. Mecliste dahi çoğunluğu kaybetmek üzere idi. Basın aleyhinde bulunuyordu. Bu şartlar altında meclis 5 ci Sultan Resat tarafından fesh edildi. Yeni seçim yapılarak Meclis 23 Mart 1912 de toplanacaktı. Bu seçim İttihat ve Terakkinin baskı altında yapıldığı ve büyük bir ekseriyetle İttihat ve Terakki milletvekilleri Meclise girmişti. Bolu da da durum aynı idi. Eski Mebuslardan Abdül Vahap ve Şerif Beyler seçim dışı kalmışlardı.

Bu Mecliste uzun süreli olmadı. Said Paşa yerine Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa
mevki gelmişti. 22 Temmuz 1912 de Radiseli ve sopala seçime kurulan meclis
1 edildi, Gazi Ahmet Muhtar paşa hükümeti zamanında da Balkan harbi 3 Ekin
2 de başlamıştı. Gazi Ahmet Muhtar paşa kabinası tarafsız hükümetlerdi.
kabinası hiçbir parti ile alakaları yoktu. Kabilas Hürriyet ve İtilaf partisi
afandan desteklenmekte idi. 30 Ekin 1912 de Ahmet Muhtar Paşa çekilme yerine
il paşa geçmişti. 23 Ocak 1913 de Kamil paşa da istifa etmeye mecbur olmuştur.
mut Sevket Paşa 23 Ocak 1913 te Sadrazam olunca İttihat ve Terakki partisi
ıyı tekrar ellerine almışlardır. Birinci Cihan harbi müteakibinde ve İstan-
ı un Düşman tarafından işgaline kadar İrtidara bir daha ellerinden bırakılmıg-

Edir. Komumuz olan eski Milletvekili Abdül Vahap Efendi 18 Mayıs 1915 yılında

İtani (Aise) de toplanan Öğretmen meclisinde Sultani okulunun müfessiri ara-
nda bulunmaktaydı. 1913 yılında kurulan Vilayet Matbaası müdürü sıfatı ile
Abdül Vahap Efendi de bulunuyordu. *

16 Aralık 1915 te Mutasarrıf Ahi Seyfi Bey müstakıl Bolu Sancağı için
bir sellama (yillik) tertibini düşünmüş, hazırlanan ve mekondan toplanan
ilçiler için bir sellama komisyonu kurulmuştu. Bu komisyona içinde eski Millet-
vekili ve bu tarihte Matbaa müdürlüğü olan Hacı Abdül Vahap Efendi de bulunuyor-

Abdül Vahap Efendi İttihat ve Terakkiye muhabif olduğu halde İttihat ve
Terakki genel sekreteri ve diğerleri ile çok iyi görüşürlerdi.
1332(1916) Bolu Sallanesinde Bolu Medresesi idaresi (Darul İlafehil Ali-

Müdür Hafız Ahmet Topyar Bey
Terdis Heyeti : İhsan Kızım -Tali Kızım diye ikiye ayrılmıştı.
Tali Kızında : Hacı Abdül Vahap Efendi Bulunmaktaydı olarak görevlendir.
Ahmet İzzet Paşa 14 Ekin 1918 de sadrazam oldu. Devleti kayıtsız gartmas
dışına teslim eden Medrosos Antlaşmasına 30 Ekin 1918 de imzalandı. 21 Kasım
1918 de Ahmet İzzet Paşa da çekildi. Yerine Tervik Paşaya baktı. Dışınan Meclis-
ros Müterakkesine dayanarak İstanbul İmanına 13 Kasım 1918 de girdi.
Millet Meclisinin bütün azası İttihatçı idi. E. velce meclisimiz müterakkes
mukattaratını Enver, Cemal, Talat Paşaya baktı. İttihatçı Osmanlı Devletinin
parçalanıp batmasına sebep olan bu milletvekilleri şimdi Tervik Paşaya dışınaya
çalışıyorlardı.

Padışah 6 cı Sultan Mehmet Vahdetin Kanuni Esasiye ye dayanarak meclisi
değiştirdi. 21 Aralık 1918 de İttihatçılar iş başından uzaklaştırıldılar. Her yerde
Hürriyet ve İtilaf partisi faaliyete geçti. Tervik Paşa hükümeti de 4 Mart 1919
da Malkana Damat Ferit Paşa ya devretti.

4 Mart 1919 : Damat Ferit Paşa Zamanı :
15 Mayıs 1919 da Yunanlılar İzmir'e çıkmış, Türkün ana vatana Mondros
Müterakkesine rağmen kanlı bir istilaya uğradı.

Memleken kurtuluş yollarına Türk milletine gösterebilmek için hayati bile
Fedadan çekinmeyen Büyük Kumanşan Mustafa Kemal Paşa 3 cü Ordu Müfettişi sıfatı
ile Samsun'a ayak bastığı zaman İstanbul'da 6 cı Sultan Mehmet Vahdetin padışah,
Damat Ferit Paşa da sadrazam bulunuyordu. *

İttihatçılar 3 Kasım 1918 tarihinde Ana Vatanımızdan uzaklaşarak yabancı
topraklarına ve devletlerine sığınırken Mustafa Kemal de Türk Milletinin boğazına
basıldı. 19 Mayıs 1919 da Vatanlarımızdan ve Vahandaglarımızdan kaçak İttihatçılar
sığınaklarına yabancı devletlerde hainlerin kurşunları ile can verirken Gazi Mus-
tafa Kemal Paşa Türk vatanını alçak düşmanların gizmelerinden kurtarmış bulunuyor-
du. (9 Eylül 1922)

İttihatçılardan Başkomiteci
Talat Paşa 41 yaşında Berlinde : 15 Mart 1921 tarihinde
Sait Halim Paşa 58 yaşında Roma da (6 Aralık 1923) de

!..

Cemal Paşa Tifriste 21 Temmuz 1922'de Ermeni Komitacıları tarafından.
Yaver Paşa : Buhara'da kızıl ordu ile karşılaştıkça 4 Ağustos 1922'de öldü.

İttihatçıların bir kısmı da İsmail Sütkastına karşıtları için İstiklal Mahkemesi kararı ile idam edildiler.

İSTIKLAL HARBİ BAŞLANGICINDA ABDÜL VAHAP EFENDİ

7 Şubat 1919 tarihinde 5 İngiliz subaya ve bir Ermeni papazı Bolu'ya geldi. Bu heyet Hürriyet ve İtilaf Partisi yöneticileri evlerinde misafir kaldı. Bu esnada Abdül Vahap Efendi Hürriyet İtilaf Bolu Şubesi Başkanı idi. 22 Eylül 1919 tarihinde Bolu Kuveyri Milliye nin Bolu mümesili Mithat Kemal tarafından Bolu Mutasarrıf Vekili sıfatıyla sadrazam Ferit Paşa aleyhine Bolu'dan telgraf çekilerek Bolu'nun İstanbul ile alakası kesildi. Reddi İlhak Cemiyeti Bolu Şubesi kurulmuştu. ~~son~~

Son Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisine Bolu'dan Müsade Mehmet Vasfi Bey, Yaver Cevat Abbas, Tunali Hilmi, Müftü Ahmet Tayyar Beyler 14 Aralık 1919 tarihinde seçilmişlerdi.

Mustafa Kemal Bey 27 Aralık 1919'da Sivas'tan Ankara'ya gelmiştir.

12 Ocak 1920 tarihinde İstanbul'da son Osmanlı Mebuslar Meclisi açılmıştır.

16 Mart 1920 tarihinde İtilaf Devletleri tarafından İstanbul işgal edilmiştir.

28 Mart 1920 tarihinde son Osmanlı Mebuslar Meclisi reisi Celalettin Arif Bey ve 8 arkadaşı Düzcü yolu ile İstanbul'dan Bolu'ya gelmişlerdir. İçlerinde Albay İsmet İnönü de vardı. 29 Mart gecesi 1 Nisan 1920 tarihinde Ankara'da toplanacak fıkhalade meclis için Bolu'dan eski mebus Hacı Abdül Vahap, İlyas Zâdi Şükri, Doktor Fuat, Hacı Abdullah, Nuri Efendiler seçilmişti. Yalnız Abdül Vahap Efendi itiraz ederek Ankara'ya gitmemiştir. 13 Nisan 1920'de Düzcü'de Kuveyri Milliye'ye karşı ilk ayaklanma olmuştur. 18 Nisan 1920'de Düzcü İttihadi reislerinden Hacı Kamil, Düzcü Abdullah ve Çerkez beylerinden 11 kişilik bir heyet Bolu'ya gelerek Bolu Mutasarrıfı Ali Haydar ve arkadaşlarına Düzcü'ye götürülerek göz hapsine aldı. 19 Nisan Bolu İsyanı olmuş. 21 Nisan 1920'de isyan Gerede'ye sirayet etmiş Ankara'dan nasıyat için gelen Bolu Mebuslarından İlyas Şadi Şükri, Dr. İrfan, Lazistan mebusu Hacı Beylerin Gerede'de tutuklanmıştı.

Bolu adına İstanbul'a gidecek olan Hacı Servet, Çataklız'da Zeki ve komşumuz olan Abdülvahap efendinin kayınbiraderi Ateşli zade Yüzbaşı Mehmet beylerden mürekkep bir heyetle Gerede heyetinin Düzcü heyeti ile birleşmek üzere Bolu'dan Düzcü'ye hareket etmişlerdi. 23

23 NISAN 1920 tarihinde Ankara'da Büyük Millet Meclisi muhteşem bir törenle açılmıştı. 25 NISAN 1920 tarihinde Geyve'den Düzcü'ye hareket eden 4 nc fıkra Kumandanı Yarbay Mahmut bey Hendek Düzcü arasında asiler tarafından şehit edilmişti. 2 MAYIS 1920 tarihinde Bolu'nun 5 Km. güneyindeki 3 tepelerde Yarbay Arif bey tarafından 18 kişi Bolu'lu genç öldürülmüş ve baradaki isyan hareketi bastırılmıştı. 24 MAYIS 1920 tarihinde Kuveyri Milliye karşı Mutasarrıf Osman Nuri ve Ateşlerden Yüzbaşı Mehmet Beylerin Akçakoca yolu ile İstanbul'a kaşması.

24 Mayıs 1920'de Miralay ~~Şehit~~ Beyde Mutasarrıf Cephesinde Düzcü li Sefer beyde anlaşması ve sefer beyin çetesini teskin için Düzcü'ye dönüşü Rafet ve Nazım beylerin Bolu üzerine hareketi.

26 Mayıs 1920 Çerkez Ethem çetesinin hiç bir karşılık görmezsizlikle sulh yoluyla Adapazarından Yıldırım'la Düzcü'yi basması ve Çerkez Ethem'i bir misafir gibi karşılamak isteyen Düzcü heyeti ile Düzcü'de bulunan Hacı Abdülvahap'ında Bolu heyetine dahil olması ve bu heyetlerin Çerkez Ethem tarafından tevkifi. 27

27 MAYIS 1920 tarihinde Sefer beyin 4000 kişilik çetesi ile Ankara emrine girmesi 1000 kişilik çete reisi olan Çerkez Ethem'in çekememiş olması ve aralarında eskiden kalma ailevi bir husumetten dolayı 29 Mayıs 1920 tarihinde Sefer bey ve arkadaşları asılmıştır.

29 MAYIS 1920 tarihinde de Bolu heyetinden ilk Mebus Hacı Abdülvahap Müftü Çerkez Ahmet İvranyalı Zade Cemil Hacı Hamdi, Komitacı Şubuk zade ve genç Avukat Mengenli Nuri Efendiler eski Düzcü Hükümet konağı önünde asılmışlardır.

Hacı Abdulvahap efendinin oğludur

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Bolu İli Tarih Araştırmacısı

D.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

شعبه
۲
توضیح
۹۰۵۰۰

اصیبت محمود میرزا

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اولاً طریقی کتبه ایله اوچونجه موعودده طریقی ماوراء النهر
ایله طریقی یاریندن سندی خالاقینه موعودده «ایچینده» کون روس ایمازک عدا بیلدیفیل
سایه- یازیه کورسک « سیزدنکی و سعید اوفد» دیک قلمینه هم بیره ک ژر زمان محفوظ اتوب
ایلدیه ایچیندن سندی بکده الهیت ویریه ایستیک بجه اردو قوما نه انقندن بیدرله اولغند
سبعاً ایضا ایجاب جا الوفا (ص)

تاریخ ۱۳۰۵

اختیارات شعبه میرزا
B. میرزا حسین

[Handwritten signature]

