Namık Kemal Abroad: A Centenary

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In 1857 Namık Kemal returned to Istanbul with his grandfather, Abdüllatif Paşa, who had, for the two preceding years, been district governor of Sofia. He was seventeen, already a poet, with a divan of verse on the traditional Persian pattern — and a husband, with a fourteen-year-old wife, the daughter of the kadi of Sofia, to whom he had been married earlier in the year. She had been chosen for him by his grandmother, Mahdume Hanım, who had brought him up (his mother had died when he was eight). A pretty girl, fair-haired, pink-cheeked, his young bride had also lost her mother when very young and had been given a deeply religious upbringing by an aunt in her father’s household. They were to make a devoted couple, though she remained to the end outside her husband’s expanding world of ideas.

Istanbul was full of bright young men in frock coats and fezzes, living in the great houses beyond the Golden Horn or in the yalıs along the shores of the Bosphorus. The pattern of life of the government classes was for a young man to be a part of the household of his father, or very often, of his father-in-law, until he had been launched in a career of the Sword or of the Pen and had acquired sufficient stature to set up a household of his own, with its complement of sons and grandsons to be reared and to be placed in the administration. In turn he would look after the older members of the family, who might by then have retired honourably, or else been simply cast aside, since appointments were largely a matter of the ruler’s whim. Thus when his grandfather died two years later, Kemal moved into the household of his father, Mustafa Asım Bey, who had remarried, and who was at that time Court Astrologer.
Neither of these households offered the advantages of wealth — Abdüllatif Paşa’s house was mortgaged, and was sold off by court order after his death. Mustafa Asım Bey did not even own a house, and his family lived in a succession of rented konaks. Though generations of a family might occupy high positions in the administration, it was not unusual for fortunes to be confiscated by the reigning sultan following the loss of office. When Namık Kemal’s ancestor, the ‘brave Topal Osman, one of the greatest of statesmen and generals, and a man of the greatest integrity in the Ottoman Empire’², was removed from the grand vizierate in 1732 all his ‘personal and movable’ effects were seized, while at the same time his son, Ahmed Ratip Paşa, who was married to a daughter of Ahmed III, was appointed beylerbey of Rumania. Ahmed Ratip’s son, Şemseddin Bey, who was chamberlain to Selim III,³ was expropriated in his turn, so that his son, Mustafa Asım Bey, inherited only the possibility of a position at the sultan’s court.

The tangible advantages of such a heredity were those that go with office, even when shorn of financial reward: a sense of tradition, of participation in events of importance, opportunities for the best available education, for travel to the farthest outposts of empire, and easy social access to all the people one might wish to know. In the selamlik of Mustafa Asım’s house there was a constant coming and going of visitors: pashas, governors, ministers, members of the traditionally liberal-minded Bektaşî sect and poets like Leskofçalı Galip Bey, who for some years acted as mentor to the young Namık Kemal. Soon Kemal had friends among his contemporaries in other big houses of Istanbul: Ayetullah, whose father, Subhi Paşa, gathered around him the last of the divan poets as well as the first of the pro-Western intellectuals; the romantic and impetuous Mehmed, son of a minister and nephew of the future grand vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa, who had been educated at the Ottoman School in Paris and was to become the leader of the New Ottomans; Reşad Kayazade, who was later to edit the first four numbers of the Hürriyet in London;⁴ Nuri Menapirzade, foster-brother to Abdülhamid II, who played the flute at the Imperial School of Music before he turned reformist.⁵ All these young men were employed in the Bureau of Translation attached to the department for foreign affairs, a
fashionable job requiring knowledge of French. Many of the statesmen and men of letters of the day served an apprenticeship at this Bureau, which was founded for the purpose of eliminating dealings through the ubiquitous dragomans of the foreign embassies.

Kemal had spent two years (1859-61) in the Customs administration as assistant to Leskofçah Galip. Through Galip Bey he joined a group of poets, for the most part older than himself, who met for discussion in the evening. The old-fashioned divan in the luggage from Sofia was tossed aside, but Kemal found it more difficult to rid himself of the mystical vocabulary of Galip Bey and his coterie. The Bureau of Translation, which brought him in contact with the precision and lucidity of the French writers, and his friendship with Şinasi helped him to find his own literary style. One day, when shopping for old divans in the book bazaars by the Mosque of Bayezid, a hawker pressed into his hand a poem of Şinasi’s inscribed in calligraphy upon a single sheet of paper. Şinasi, who was sixteen years older than Kemal, had been a government scholar in France and had returned in the early eighteen-fifties imbued with ideas about a new literature in a simpler language, freed from burdensome Persian and Arabic terminology. The poem showed Kemal what could be achieved by the use of such a language. It was a revelation, and unable to make his literary friends understand what it meant to him he sought the author himself. Soon he was writing for Şinasi’s Tasvir-i Efkâr, the most influential of the early newspapers, articles which quickly impressed his readers with their vigour and boldness. Şinasi, politically a moderate progressive, tried to keep him in check.

The personality of the young man was beginning to emerge, a composite of the different influences he had been subjected to: unquestioning acceptance of the religion in which he was brought up, passionate love and admiration for the great deeds of his country’s past, but an equally passionate rebellion against the inefficiency and corruption of the present government and the conviction that change must be brought about. Respect for the Sultanate but criticism of individual sultans, to whom he held up reproachfully the achievements of their ancestors. At the Bureau of Translation he read Voltaire’s Dictionnaire philo-
Sophique and Montesquieu's *De la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* (sections of which he translated for the magazine *Mirat*). He met people who had studied in France and could give him a first-hand account of the enlightenment of the Western world, but he also noted disturbing signs of imperialism in the pressures put upon the government by the Western powers, and felt contempt for those statesmen of the Tanzimat period who, out of greed or stupidity, conspired in his view to accelerate their own country's decadence. The West was a model to be copied with discrimination and not slavishly.

Şinasi's aim was to 'describe ideas', as the name of his paper suggested. He intended the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* to enlighten public opinion on matters of general importance rather than to voice specific views leading to action. He was himself more interested in ideas than in action, as was to become more and more apparent in the future, and his targets for criticism were not members of the government but ignorance and fanaticism. He was determined to proceed with caution, and for this reason had severed his ties with an earlier paper, the *Tercüman-i Ahval*, the first twenty-six issues of which he and Agâh Efendi had edited jointly. For a newspaper to be effective it was necessary that it should remain in existence, and therefore the irritation it produced must be carefully dosed. Şinasi was a master of oblique reference, disguising his intended meaning in harmless-sounding phrases. He avoided the use of such words as freedom or parliament, never discussed religious reform or a change of regime. His editorials were on scientific, educational or municipal matters: assistance to the needy, the installation of street lights, how to deal with street beggars. He published the government's decision to evacuate the fortresses in Serbia (which, in 1862, was causing considerable bitterness in the capital) without any comment.

Under this careful guidance Kemal confined his early articles to similar subjects: the cholera epidemic, the language reform, education for girls, hospitals for women, the use of Turkish instead of French in the classrooms of the Faculty of Medicine, the setting up of assistance funds in the newly created Danubian vilayet of which Midhat Paşa was governor. Whether Şinasi was aware of the political
opinions of Kemal and the other young men on the paper
(Kemal had introduced to him his friend Ebüzziya Tevfik,
who shared his views) is not known. He may have had some
inking of their secret activities, since he knew Mustafa
Fazıl Paşa, the Egyptian prince who was to place himself
at the head of the New Ottomans and to finance them
abroad. At any rate his efforts to keep his paper uninvolved
proved of no avail. Already in 1863 he had been dismissed
from the Educational Council on the ground that the
Tasvir-i Efkâr was critical of affairs of state. In 1865 he
developed a suspicion that he was about to be implicated in
a project to assassinate Âli Paşa, and fearing possible arrest
he fled to Paris, with the help of his French colleague
Monsieur J. M. Giampietry, editor of the Courrier d’Orient.
Before leaving he entrusted his paper to Kemal, who thus
found himself, at the age of twenty-five, in full charge of an
important newspaper.

That same year his daughter Feride was born. And in
June took place the famous picnic in the Belgrade Forest
which was to result in the formation of the first political
party in Turkey, known as the Patriotic Alliance (İttifak-i
Hamiyyet), and later as the party of the New Ottomans.
Our source of information on this event is Ebüzziya Tevfik,
who soon after joined the party, and who in his last years
published his recollections of these early days in the Yeni
Tasvir-i Efkâr. Chief among the young conspirators was
Mehmed Bey, undoubtedly the most revolutionary member
of the group, followed by Nuri Menapirzade and Reşad
Kayazade. Kemal and these three young men were to
remain close friends through many vicissitudes. Of the
two others in the original group, Refik Bey, whose magazine
Mirat had been first to publish Kemal’s articles, was to die
of the cholera. Ayetullah Bey, a soft-hearted intellectual who
admired Napoleon but disliked violence of any kind, was
eventually to denounce Mehmed to the authorities.

Their aim was to establish constitutional government,
though the means by which this was to be achieved was not
clearly stated. Ayetullah produced some literature on the
organization of the Carbonari, and it was decided to form
a series of cells linked by their leaders so that no one knew
the names of more than seven members. Most of the new
recruits of the organization came from the higher levels of
bureaucracy. There were exceptions, however, among them Ali Suavi Efendi, a school-teacher of humble origin, who had lectured and preached against the government in the provinces and who was now editing a newspaper, the Muhbir, in Istanbul.

According to Ebüzziya there were two-hundred and forty-five members of the organization, but, adds a more recent commentator, there were two-hundred and forty-five concepts of constitutional government as well, encompassing such diverse views as those of the deeply Moslem Suavi Efendi and the republican Mehmed Bey. Mustafa Asım Paşa, deputy minister of the gendarmerie, and Ömer Naili Paşa, a general of Magyar origin who as a young man had taken part in the revolution of 1848 in Hungary, were members. Even the Şeyhülislam, Refik Efendi, was known to be a sympathizer, as were also two future sultans, Murad and Adülhamid, and another prince of the Ottoman dynasty, Kemaleddin Efendi. Of the foreigners in Istanbul Monsieur Nicolas-Prosper Bourée, Napoleon III’s ambassador in Turkey, and the radical Giampietry were actively involved with the New Ottomans. ‘Monsieur Giampietry and I discussed constitutionalism the other day,’ said Kemal to a friend. ‘The fellow talked steadily for two hours and finally convinced me that it would work in our country.’

Kemal continued the policy of ‘describing ideas’ so as to create a current of public opinion favourable to change. But he rapidly enlarged the scope of his articles, now taking up questions of foreign policy and such problems as the equality of all Ottomans before the law—he did not recognize the minorities as such, but thought of the empire as a vast community in which all races should share duties as well as rights. At first he was on relatively good terms with the government, even receiving the secret felicitations of Fuad Paşa for an article praising the parliamentary experiment in Egypt. Earlier he had been given the rank of mütemayız (distinguished) by Ali Paşa for an article on fire hazards in Istanbul. These efforts to placate the brilliant young writer made not the slightest difference to his attitude towards the two pashas, whose Tanzimat policies he attacked with an eloquence increasingly admired by his readers. The pashas’ ideas of reform, pressed upon them
by foreign ambassadors, were quite different from those of the Patriotic Alliance.

A first warning was the government's rebuttal of an article concerning certain 'melodies of war' sung by the Greek subjects of the empire in their cafés in Pera. A communiqué from the ministry of police, which Kemal was obliged to publish in his paper, stated that the incident in question had been caused by a few drunken persons and had been properly taken care of, and it was therefore wrong of the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* to accuse the sultan's loyal Greek subjects of bellicose intentions. The end was precipitated by a more important skirmish with the authorities, following the publication of Mustafa Fazıl's letter to *le Nord*.

Mustafa Fazıl Paşa was an ambitious prince whose 'sole crime was to have been born forty days too late'. He and Ismail, governor of Egypt, were sons by different mothers of Ibrahim Paşa, and grandsons of the founder of the line, Mehmed Ali. As the next oldest male of the family Mustafa Fazıl was Ismail's heir, but Ismail also was ambitious and his plans for Egypt's future did not include his brother. By judicious gifts to the sultan and his more important ministers he managed first to have himself appointed Khedive and finally to obtain a ferman changing the Egyptian law of succession in favour of his son. At the same time he bought Mustafa Fazıl's vast land holdings and sent him in settlement four and a half million pounds sterling, a sum which, though substantial, was said to represent only a portion of the value of the land.

Mustafa Fazıl had never spent much time on his estates. He lived in Istanbul, and when he travelled it was to France rather than Egypt, for he spoke excellent French and enjoyed the attractions of Parisian society, where he was a well-known figure. Realizing that his brother's position in Egypt was strong and his own claims rather precarious, he gave his thoughts to a career in Ottoman politics, hoping eventually to become grand vizier. This was not an unnatural ambition since he received his first appointment at the Porte at the age of sixteen and rose in time to occupy a number of high posts. He was minister of education in 1862, and of finance in 1864. In 1865, following a first unsuccessful attempt by Ismail to change the line of succession he was appointed chairman of the newly-created
Council of the Treasury. But he did not get on with Fuad Paşa, who was responsible for this appointment. The dislike was mutual and Fuad had in this instance merely used him as a pawn against Ismail. The two men had frequent disagreements on financial matters and intrigued against each other at court. At last Mustafa Fazıl became so critical of the government that he was dismissed from his post, and in April 1866 was asked to leave the country in twenty-four hours, a temporary victory for Fuad and a more permanent one for Ismail in Egypt.

Installed in suitable magnificence on the Boulevard Malesherbes the prince now began to prepare for his return. The following January the *Journal des Débats* in Paris published the news that Mustafa Fazıl was assuming the leadership of the ‘Young Turkey’ movement and was engaged on the preparation of a project for far-reaching reform to be presented to the Sultan himself. This led to an attack on Mustafa Fazıl by the pro-Russian Belgian newspaper *le Nord*, which questioned the idealism of his motives. In reply Mustafa Fazıl sent *le Nord* a letter published on February 7 in which he defended himself as ‘a man of progress and a good patriot’ and reiterated that he was, indeed, the ‘representative’ of Young Turkey.17

The expression ‘Young Turkey’ had been in use for some time. It embraced a vast and disparate group of progressives of whom the secret Patriotic Alliance formed merely a part. Kemal, in an unpublished ‘reply to the *Gazette du Levant* (the *Gazette* was a French weekly published in Istanbul and had attacked both Young Turkey and Mustafa Fazıl in an editorial) attempted, among other things, to define the term. He takes care to point out that ‘our party’ is not a society with a systematic organization and a statute of rules and regulations, but consists of ‘those who, as more recent arrivals on the scene, have had the luck to profit more than did their fathers and older brothers from the benefits of a Western education.’18 There are no ties to hold them together other than those of ‘the brotherhood of ideas and the affinity of the heart’. He uses the expression ‘Türkistanin erbabi şebabi’, the young intelligenzia of Turkey.19 A group of such a nature can surely have no president, and while it is an honour that so exalted a person as the Paşa should share their ideals none re-
cognize him as such, and few are acquainted with him at all. The primary instrument for the spread of progress is the written word, and certain of the erbabi şebab are in charge of journals which have indeed brought about change. ‘If they can now win that support of patrons of civilization which is enjoyed by European journals, then many auspicious developments might follow for the country.’

Kemal’s first cautious reaction to Mustafa Fazıl was to change as the latter intensified his campaign and his actual views became known in Turkey. His letter to le Nord was reprinted by Giampietry, who was in close touch with him. A translation appeared on February 21 in Ali Suavi’s Muhbir, and two days later in the Tasvir-i Efkâr, where Kemal added his own favourable comments.

The Muhbir had further goaded the Porte with articles on the Cretan and Serbian questions and the mounting foreign debt, and on March 9 Âli Paşa suspended the paper for a month. Suavi, whose inflammatory remarks in the mosques and coffee-houses of the city had been an added provocation, was escorted on board a ship bound for the Black Sea and ordered to take up residence in the town of Kastamonu.

The Tasvir-i Efkâr lasted only a fortnight longer. A hint from Âli Paşa that he would do well to resign from the paper had already been passed on to Kemal. The young editor, however, was only just getting into his stride. On March 10 he published, with comments, a statement by Philip Efendi (financial backer of the Muhbir) protesting the suspension of his paper, and his own famous article on the Eastern Question, in which he criticized the government for allowing the Western powers to interfere in the Cretan affair. The time had come for decisive action, and Âli Paşa assumed, by special edict, the right to deal with the insurgent press in defiance of the provisions of the press law of 1865. While Suavi had been summarily exiled, Kemal was appointed deputy governor of Erzurum with promotion to the rank of ‘honourable’. At the same time Ziya Bey, who, although a civil servant of some standing, had censured Âli Paşa and Fuad Paşa in the Muhbir (and who was rightly suspected of being a member of the Patriotic Alliance) was appointed mutasarrif of Cyprus. The official announce-
ment was published in the last issue of the *Tasvir-i Efkár* before it was suspended, on March 24.

While the press was thus being silenced, a translation of Mustafa Fazil’s letter to Sultan Abdülabaziz, which no paper would have dared publish in any case, was in clandestine circulation in the capital. A copy of the letter had reached Kemal and his friends in early March and they had been impressed with the similarity between his projected reforms and their own ideals for the country. Kemal wished to translate it himself, but the others felt that his unmistakable style would give him away, and it was decided that another member of the Bureau of Translation, Sadullah Bey, should be entrusted with it. The two friends met in conspiratorial fashion at the home of a third, the text was completed by midnight, copied in invisible ink and rushed to Cayol, the French printer, with orders to print 50,000 copies. Ebüzziya undertook the distribution, with the help of a stationer, a Hungarian bookseller on the Grand’Rue de Pera and one or two of the typesetters of the *Tasvir-i Efkár*. Mustafa Fazil, in his Parisian mansion, was aware of these activities, while he was taking steps to make the text of his letter known in Europe generally.

Kemal delayed his departure to his post of exile with a series of pretexts, the most plausible being that he must first settle his debts. (Except for the years abroad there was hardly a time in his adult life when he was not in debt). He was invited to the homes of Fuad Paşa, foreign minister, and Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, ex-grand vizier, who politely urged him to lose no further time in taking up his appointment. Erzurum began to seem inevitable. But early in April he received an invitation of another sort: a letter from Mustafa Fazil’s steward, Sakakini asking him to attend a secret meeting at the offices of the *Courrier d’Orient*.

When he arrived there, he found he had been preceded by Ziya Bey, who had received a similar invitation. The two men of letters, of whom Ziya was much the older, had never met, but were familiar with each other’s writings. They listened while Sakakini read aloud a letter in French from Mustafa Fazil, asking them to join him in Paris in order to fight for the common cause and bring with them those of their friends who could reinforce them on the editorial staff of a newspaper. The two men conferred with
each other and decided at once to accept. To accompany them they chose two experienced journalists, Agâh and Ali Suavi, whom Mr. Giampietry undertook to sound out by sending his chief printer to the Black Sea. Type for the new newspaper, or papers, had already been purchased in Istanbul and dispatched to Paris. Trained type-setters would be on their way soon.24

Only one or two trusted friends were told of this momentous decision. But Kemal and Ziya decided to seek Midhat Paşa’s blessing before they left. They visited the great statesman on the very evening when he was suddenly called to the Palace to be informed of his reappointment as governor of the vilayet of the Danube. The Porte was pursuing its tactics of scattering the opposition, and Midhat, returning with the news of his own exile, could not but approve of the young men’s decision.

The French ship _le Bosphore_ was due to leave for Messina on May 17, 1867. On the evening before Kemal and Ziya met at the Volori Restaurant in Pera, directly opposite the steep little side-street on which the French embassy was located. At a given moment Ziya left the restaurant, followed after a suitable interval by Kemal. A short while later they were being welcomed in his residence by Mr. Bourée. After dinner they changed their clothes, and leaving by the garden exit were escorted to a rowboat waiting below the hill at Tophane. They were rowed across the water to the _Bosphore_, waiting for them near Seraglio Point. Early the next morning they were on their way.

Suavi and Agâh had already arrived in Messina. The small group proceeded to Marseilles and from there by train to Paris. They went straight to the Boulevard Malesherbes, where Mustafa Fazıl welcomed them warmly. At his request Şinasi, who was installed in the Rue Pépinière, found them lodgings at Number 4 of the same street.

These details were not known in Istanbul, where the sudden disappearance of Kemal and Ziya gave rise to all sorts of speculation. Meanwhile the police dossier on the Patriotic Alliance was growing. A few tentative arrests were made, and a group of members, led by Mehmed Bey, felt that now was the time for some decisive act leading to the replacement of the hated Âli Paşa by another grand vizier. Some forty of them met once again at a famous
picnic spot, the Veli Efendi meadow, probably in the first days of June. It may be that they plotted the assassination of Ali Paşa — such, at least, was the version which Ayetullah gave his father who, shocked at the thought of bloodshed, informed one of the ministers. The police now began arrests in earnest. Kemal's friends, Mehmed, Nuri and Reşad, managed to conceal themselves, then to join the others in France. The group was further reinforced by the admission of a local recruit, Kâni Paşa Zade Rifat Bey. This handsome young man, another graduate of the Bureau of Translation, had been promoted a pasha and a division general upon his marriage to a granddaughter of Mahmud II, but these honours vanished when the princess decided, within a few months, to divorce him. He was now a secretary at the embassy in Paris, with not much to do and, at twenty-two, in the mood for adventurous and romantic activities.

The feelings of the ambassador, Mehmed Cemil Paşa, were quite different. It is true that the New Ottomans in Paris were, with the exception of Ali Suavi, men of good breeding. But their intentions were not known, and one of them, Mehmed Bey, was on trial in Istanbul for his life. Further, their arrival had preceded by a matter of weeks a most unusual event, a state visit to Paris by His Majesty Sultan Abdülaziz, which was to last from June 30 to July 10. A discreet request was made to the French government and the members of the group were courteously asked to leave France for the duration of the visit. Kemal chose to go to London, with Ziya, Suavi and Agâh. Mehmed, Nuri and Reşad went to the Isle of Jersey. Rifat went to Brussels.

Kemal's group found rooms at 13 Lower Regent Street, and having been assured by one of the embassy secretaries that no steps would be taken to force their departure from London when Abdülaziz arrived there after his visit to Paris, prepared themselves to wait until the Sultan was on his way back to Turkey.

For his part Mustafa Fazıl considered the Sultan's presence in Europe as an unhoped-for opportunity, and when the imperial yacht Sultaniye (a gift from the Khedive Ismail) dropped anchor in Toulon on June 29, he was among those waiting to welcome Abdülaziz. The Sultan
was not displeased to find on these unfamiliar shores someone waiting to be of service to him who was thoroughly familiar both with the usages of his own court and with those of the courts whose guest he was about to be. In consequence Mustafa Fazıl travelled with him much of the time and was present at many of the functions on his programme.

Kemal occupied his time with visits to the Reading Room of the British Museum, and with gathering the impressions which, five years later, were embodied in his famous article on London called ‘Progress’. He disliked aristocracy, but the freedom provided by long-established institutions, and the magnificence of England’s material progress, seemed to him dazzling.

The arrival of the Sultan produced a first fissure, one of many to follow, in the little group of New Ottomans. Ziya went to Brighton, ostensibly because, having been for many years in the personal service of the monarch, he wished to avoid the possibility of a meeting with him. But in reality he had secretly sent Abdülaziz a long petition in which he defended himself for his defection, claiming reasons of health. The other three could not resist the temptation of taking a look from a distance at Abdülaziz. Their red fezzes singled them out so plainly from the crowd at the Crystal Palace during the fireworks in honour of the Sultan that he asked his foreign minister, Fuad Paşa, who they were.

Back in Paris Kemal moved to an apartment at 1 Avenue de Messine. ‘Ah, Paris,’ he wrote to his father, ‘the expense is exorbitant. If you always stay at home and have your meals cooked for you there, then it is not so bad. For instance, my own rent and household expenses come to fifteen or sixteen hundred piastres a month. But should one walk out into the street for one reason or another, as I feel impelled to do, then for such things as cab fares, a pause somewhere along the way, a sip of water, one will have spent at the very least a French gold coin. The houses are of stone, the buildings narrow, comfortable enough but not cheerful. Let alone acquaintances, even the jinns do not pay me a visit. The custom here is that one does not retire until three or four hours past midnight; the evening meal is at about the time of the last call to prayer. To remain indoors for eight or nine hours is not possible, so one goes
to the theatre and such. I return at midnight, then read a book or begin to write. In the daytime we look after our affairs.'

On the 10th of August 1867 the New Ottomans finally met, at the residence of Mustafa Fazıl Paşa and under his chairmanship, to decide on a course of action. As a first step Suavi was to resume publication of the Muhbir, this time in London. Ziya was placed in charge of a trust fund of 250,000 francs created by Mustafa Fazıl, who, in addition, paid regular salaries to all but Rifat. At subsequent meetings statutes were drawn up for the organization, with some help from two foreign revolutionaries, the Polish nationalist Wladyslaw Plater and the Austrian socialist Simon Deutsch.

A few days later Mustafa Fazıl invited Kemal to Baden-Baden, and there informed him that he was returning to Istanbul. He had been given assurances that constitutional government would be introduced, and he might be able to play a role, perhaps as grand vizier, in bringing this change about. Meanwhile the work abroad would continue. Kemal relayed this startling news to his father, adding that the prince had asked him to return with him, but this he refused to do, for if Mustafa Fazıl did not become grand vizier within a month or so he would doubtless rejoin the New Ottomans abroad. ‘The time is near, whatever is to happen will happen in these coming days.’

Mustafa Fazıl left Paris on September 12. By then the first few issues of the Muhbir had already filled the New Ottomans with apprehension. Suavi spoke in vague terms of an ‘Islamic’ Society temporarily abroad and devoted his first important article to a puritanic reform of the medreses. Kemal was later to say of Suavi that he has never been in favour of anyone, or of any idea, but only of himself, but at this stage he was anxious, above all, that the small group of reformists should appear united in the eyes of the Sublime Porte. He paid several visits to Suavi in London, attempting each time to give the Muhbir more of a partisan character, while in Paris he urged the others to be patient.

Things were not going well with Mustafa Fazıl, meanwhile. Âli Paşa continued as grand vizier and there was no sign of a chamber of deputies. Finally, in the spring of 1868, a reorganization of the Grand Council created in 1839
by Mustafa Resid Paşa took place, splitting it into a judiciary body and a Council of State. Fazil now hoped to become chairman of the latter, but the Muhbir scoffed at the efficacy of a non-elective organ of reform. The paper, which daily grew more violent, had become a source of embarrassment, and Kemal and Ziya received instructions to start another, the Hürriyet, at the same time that the Muhbir's funds were stopped.

The New Ottoman headquarters now moved to London, with a printing-press on Rupert Street for the new paper. Kemal settled in a flat at 15 Fitzroy Square. 'It is magnificent,' he wrote to a friend. 'It has an excellent living-room, three fine bedrooms and a kitchen. One hundred and ten francs a month, but the furniture belongs to the landlady. You would be impressed if you saw it. We have grown very genteel! My lessons in law are progressing...'

The lessons were from a Mr. A. Fanton, secretary of the Société Française de Secours with offices around the corner at 28 Grafton Street. How Kemal met this Frenchman, who was part journalist, part businessman, is not clear, but he is one of the rare friends of this period about whom something is known, for his subsequent letters to Kemal have been preserved. He was married, with two small daughters, and Kemal met a number of people in his home, among them Holman Hunt, who was about to pay a second visit to the Holy Land. There were other contacts, and Kemal later mentioned a mysterious 'companion of the soul' with whom he walked in Hyde Park. He 'almost fell in love', but this was only because discord among his New Ottoman friends made his work difficult. 'London is a big garden,' he wrote his father, 'full of fruit. But its very abundance makes it less desirable, at least to me. My friends will confirm this, I live like an angel. A very chaste, a very constant fellow indeed.'

To Kemal London was 'that city where, without need for further travel, all the miracles of civilization can be observed in their bewildering profusion'. But above all, it was a place where a man could think freely and do his work without interference, and this was the sole reason for his presence in London. Here as at home he devoted most of his time to reading and writing. 'Writing is what I like best in the world,' he was fond of saying, 'except that it
interferes with reading. Ah, if only one could do both at once! In his letters to his father he asked for some of his books and papers to be forwarded to him, 'also this year's budget, any published stock exchange statements, any laws'. He maintained a tremendous correspondence with a number of people in Turkey. Much of his energy, too, went into trying to keep the group together. Whatever their differences of opinion most of them were his personal friends and remained on good terms with him. Even Suavi, who resented the eclipse of his Muhbir and disliked the thought of being merely an accessory on the new paper, showed no sign as yet of the animosity which he was to display in print soon after, and produced a few articles for the *Hürriyet*. Kemal's early plans were that Suavi and himself should edit the paper jointly, but this suggestion was turned down flatly by the others.

The first number of the *Hürriyet* appeared on June 29, 1868. A rift immediately occurred with Rifat in Paris, who found an article by Ziya too critical of Âli Paşa's government. A few months later he severed his ties with the group. Mehmed, on the other hand, did not find the *Hürriyet* critical enough and decided to publish a periodical called *İttihad* in Paris, with articles in Greek, Armenian and Arabic as well as Turkish. This was short-lived, as was the even more radical *Inkilab* which he later edited in Geneva.

Reşad was listed as editor of the first four issues of the *Hürriyet*. But with the fifth Kemal assumed charge, with the co-operation of Ziya. The article in the first issue by Ziya had also displeased Fazıl Paşa, and it may be that he suggested the change. That he was not altogether happy with his opposition paper was increasingly apparent. Kemal wrote to his father in August, complaining of threats to suspend the paper's funds unless Ziya changed his tone, and defending the latter: 'As for ceasing publication of the *Hürriyet*, how could I? How can one abandon a task once undertaken? I have sent at least twenty-five letters to Istanbul alone, asking for information. The world has heard that the *Hürriyet* is to be published. I have had ten to fifteen letters merely from Cyprus, before publication, with requests for the paper. What could I say to them all?'

Undeterred by difficulties Kemal went on for another year. The *Hürriyet* was smuggled regularly into Turkey
and copies were purchased, sometimes at high cost, by eager readers. Undoubtedly Kemal’s articles were the main attraction. He raised his readers’ morale and made them believe in themselves again. Long years of misrule and corruption were responsible for the political and economic morass in which the country foundered. ‘Why should we attribute our weaknesses entirely to foreign interference? Has Russia made our laws? Has Prussia looted our treasury? Have we been prevented by France from founding schools? No, no, these abuses, these evil practices are but the well-known activities of the Sublime Porte.’

It was the Porte that had negotiated and signed the disastrous commercial treaties with the West which were ruining commerce and industry: ‘Once we were as self-sufficient in industry as we were in agriculture. Our own looms met our every need. Yet in twenty to thirty years these have almost all been destroyed. There is no doubt that the reason lies in the freedom of commerce granted to Europe by these notorious treaties.’ Love of country (hub-ül vatan) and love of Islam were the foundations on which rested his ideal state, together with recognition of the rights of the individual to share in the government. But his specific suggestions for reform ranged over a wide field: equitable redistribution of taxation, regularity in the payment of salaries, military service from urban populations (why should the citizens of Istanbul be exempt?) a balanced budget, the abolition of special privileges for foreigners, proper exploitation of the nation’s resources, control over internal trade routes, reorganization of the provincial and municipal administrations, and first and foremost, more schools.

As proof of the fact that the Hürriyet was read in Turkey, a strange offer came from the Porte: it would take out two thousand subscriptions provided the paper toned down its criticism. The New Ottomans were not averse to having the Porte finance its own fall, and an article signed by Ziya and entitled ‘Long Live Sultan Aziz, bravo to the Porte!’ was published on December 21, 1868, in order to hasten the arrival of the promised sum. ‘When it comes we shall keep it as an ultimate reserve,’ wrote Kemal to his father. But whether the Porte saw through the manoeuvre or whether it had been merely trying to temporize, no funds were forthcoming.

As long as Kemal and Ziya were more or less agreed on
policy the *Hürriyet* went on, in spite of uncertain finances. (On principle the emergency reserve of 250,000 francs was never touched, and it was eventually returned to Mustafa Fazıl Paşa). But the two editors came to a parting of the roads when Fazıl's half-brother offered to buy an interest in the paper, to further his own plans.³⁷ In the spring of 1869 the Khedive Ismail visited a number of European capitals, to deliver personal invitations to the opening of the Suez Canal. As a further demonstration of his growing independence from the Porte he ordered armaments for Egypt and started negotiations for yet another loan. Suitable publicity was needed to counteract the general indignation which these actions roused in Turkey, and the *Hürriyet*, he thought, might be induced to alter its attitude towards Egyptian affairs. According to Ebüzziya, Kemal, while on holiday with Ziya in Ostend in July 1869, was approached by an emissary, a Polish refugee who went by the name of Efşatun Paşa, with an offer of forty-thousand guineas. Kemal showed him the door and later exposed the attempt in the *Hürriyet*. But Ziya, then or earlier, accepted a subsidy and to please the Khedive intensified his attacks on Âli Paşa. 'Ziya Pasa,' wrote Kemal years later, 'believed that with the Khedive behind him it would be easier to crush Âli Paşa. I was of the contrary belief. We found ourselves mentally at odds. The evidence is in the *Hürriyet*.³⁸

In August another emissary arrived in Ostend, Mustafa Fazıl's Sakakini. Fazıl had at last been invited to join the Ottoman cabinet, and he wished the *Hürriyet* to cease publication. Kemal felt that he could not go on, but Ziya reminded Sakakini that the *Hürriyet* was a New Ottoman organ and the printing-press was registered in the name of Agâh Efendi. He would continue to publish.

Kemal gave up his administrative tasks on the paper on September 6, 1869,³⁹ and Ziya was sole editor from the sixty-fourth issue and on. The *Hürriyet* was now a journal of personal polemic rather than one advocating the ideas of a group. To make his own position clear, Kemal sent the *Hürriyet* a letter for publication, in which he stated that he was in no way connected with the paper any longer. Ziya refused to publish this, and Kemal had his letter printed and distributed at private expense (January 1870).

Within a few weeks the *Hürriyet* was in serious trouble.
Ziya, now reconciled with Suavi, published an article by the latter suggesting that one way of removing Âli Paşa from office might be to assassinate him. Âli Paşa protested to the British government, and Ziya found himself involved in a lawsuit. On the advice of his solicitor he left London in February before the case came up.

In Geneva, where he resumed publication of the *Hürriyet* with further assistance from the Khedive, there was already another New Ottoman journal, the *Inkilab*, published by Mehmed Bey and the newly-arrived Hüseyin Vasfi Paşa. Suavi was bringing out *Ulum* in Paris and Rifat had already expressed his ideas on the need for a legal basis for reform in a pamphlet published in Paris, *Hakikat-i Hal, der Def-i Ihtiyal*. The *Hürriyet*’s new line was one of attack on the *Inkilab*, while Suavi attacked everyone. The Franco-Prussian war put an end to all these publications, though Suavi moved his paper to Lyons for a few issues.

Kemal lingered on in London for a few months, occupied with the printing of a special edition of the Koran, one of Mustafa Fazîl’s numerous business ventures. (From Lyons Suavi denounced this publication, claiming that pig-grease was used for the printing-press). In July, after the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war, he moved to Belgium. In Anvers he received a letter from the general in command of the Turkish police forces, Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşa, promising him complete immunity in return for a guarantee that he would stop writing against the government. This letter was returned to the sender, but within a fortnight further letters arrived in Brussels from the private secretary of Âli Paşa and from Halil Şerif Paşa, son-in-law of Mustafa Fazîl and ambassador in Vienna. Both assured him that he could return to Turkey in safety, and Halil Paşa invited him to spend some time at the embassy in Vienna on his way back.

By October, having wound up his affairs in Europe, Kemal was in Vienna and on the 22nd of November he arrived by train in Istanbul, where his small son, born while he was in exile, was among those who met him at the Sirkeci station.

Rifat had preceded him. The others drifted back in time, Suavi being the last. Âli Paşa died in 1871, but Mustafa Fazîl did not become grand vizier. His Open Letter to the
Sultan was not forgotten. Abülaziz chose Mahmud Nedim Paşa, a safe man for absolutism.

The influence of the years abroad on Kemal’s work and on his personality remains to be assessed. The systematic publication of his available correspondence (many letters were destroyed by police officials or by his friends in fear of a police raid) will throw a new light on these years. But for students of his political and social philosophy, ‘the evidence is in the Hürriyet’; the articles written in London were the first expression of many ideas developed more fully later. Indeed, his eight ‘Letters on the Constitutional System’ published in the Hürriyet during September-November 1868 are ‘the first attempt to explain to Turkish readers the theory underlying liberalism and constitutionalism’. Kemal was a member of the commission which drew up the short-lived constitution of 1876. He did not live to see the revolution of 1908, when the words linked with his name became the slogans of the Young Turks.

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See Mardin, pp. 284-5.  
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6 On this incident, see Kuntay, Ch. V; Tanpinar, XIX Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, p. 324.  
7 Kuntay, Ch. IV; Sungu, Namık Kemal, p. 4; Tanpinar, p. 157.  
8 Tanpinar, p. 172, p. 176.  
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10 Kuntay, note on p. 360; for spelling of ‘Giampietry,’ see Mardin, note on p. 33.  
12 Ibid., p. 360.  
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14 See texts of article in Tasvir-i Efkar and government communiqué quoted in Kuntay, pp. 59-63.  
15 Ibid., p. 313.  
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18 Quoted in Kuntay, p. 290.  
19 Mardin translates this term as ‘Young Turks’, Davison as ‘the youthful ones of Turkey’. The dictionary meaning of erbab is ‘experts, connaisseurs’, (Vahit Moran) or ‘masters, experts’, (H. G. Hony).  
20 Quoted in Kuntay, p. 185.  
21 See Davison, p. 207.  
22 March 7 according to Davison, p. 207; March 8 according to Mardin, p. 39.  
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26 Kuntay, p. 546.  
27 Ibid., p. 436.  
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37 On this episode, see Kuntay, pp. 442-44, 555, 572-75; Mardin, pp. 53-54.  
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