

THE TURKISH AND PAN-TURKISH IDEAL

**BY
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CONSTANTINOPLE**

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INTRODUCTION

The defeat (1683) of the Ottoman army before the gates of Vienna rang the first serious danger signal for the Ottoman empire. Conquest was the *raison d'être* of the empire which had been created by border armed bands, the so-called "ghazi" (victorious), that combined pillage and the propagation of the Muslim faith in order to justify their existence and activities Bernard Lewis, the well-known turcologist, writes: "Europe had been the promised land of the Ottomans, the "House of War" par excellence, in which the power and the glory of Islam were to be advanced by victorious battle against the Infidel".

The defeat at Vienna signaled the beginning of the swift collapse of the Ottoman empire, first, under external attacks from neighbouring countries and, second, by independence movements of vassal peoples. The vast empire began to shrink by stages and its final disintegration ceased to depend on its own potential but was left to the good will of the European Powers whose quarrels concerning the inheri-

tance of the Great Patient, prolonged its life in an unnatural way.

Alarmed by this disintegrating process, the Ottoman establishment tried to react by the mass slaughter of subject peoples in order to discourage their aspirations. These notorious massacres constituted an outrageous breach of the unwritten "holy contract" between conquerors and conquered and put in question on behalf of the former (the latter had already reached this stage by putting forth their national claims) the legality of the Ottoman Empire as a common homeland shared by both.

The second attempt at avoiding disintegration was made through a series of reforms better known as "tanzimat", which were initiated by the Ottoman establishment itself with the view of the state less vulnerable to external threats by improving the fighting ability of the army or under the pressure of the European powers which were interminently interfering in the favour of the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte. The unwillingness of the Ottoman establishment to proceed to any sincere reforms for the improvement of the status of its Christian subjects is made quite evident to any student of the Eastern Question by the fact that all proclamations to that effect were issued without fail on the morrow of military setbacks.

The absence of any representative political body and the exclusion from power of the only social class (we are referring here to the Christian middle class) which could become the instrument of the reforms resulted in the paradox - common in autarchic regimes- that all reforms were initiated from above, without any previous manifestation of social un-

rest, as arbitrary initiatives of those in power.

The first attempt to initiate reforms was made by the throne. A number of Sultans, from Selim III (who was eliminated for his attempt to organize a regular army) to Mahmud II who annihilated the Janissaries, to Abdul Medjid and Abdul Aziz, tried to introduce certain improvements. Characteristically, almost the sole object of such reforms had been the army both for its role in averting external dangers as well as imposing the throne's power on the subject peoples.

After the failure of the reforms initiated by the throne, the task was assumed by the other prop of the empire, the civil service and army officers. The civil service, composed mainly of low-salaried officials, was patriotic and loyal to the state to which it owed its existence and therefore extremely sensitive to its decline. The Young Ottoman movement and, later, the Young Turks, who by the end of the 19th century began to proclaim the need for a radical renovation of the empire, emerged from this class.

The first generation of reform-minded officials were the Young Ottomans (Yeni Osmanlilar). Few in numbers, the representatives of this movement -mainly intellectuals who held government posts- were the proponents of patriotism and the liberalization of the regime. Meanwhile, these reformers who had been largely influenced by European ideals, had, according to Lewis, both a mechanistic as well as simplistic concept of the needed reforms. Thus, many of them, identifying reforms with persons and not institutions, hurried to reconcile themselves with the regime once vezir Ali Pasha, whom they considered as the source of all the ills that had befallen the empire, vanished from the scene.

Their task was assumed by the Young Turks (Yeni Turkler) whose antecedents may be traced to the group "Union and Progress" founded in 1887 by some students of the Military Medical School of Constantinople. Following the dissolution of the Constantinople nucleus in 1896-7, the hard core of the organization was transferred to a number of European capitals (chiefly to Paris) where a handful of political refugees were publishing anti-regime tracts. The Young Turks, the same as their predecessors the Young Ottomans, identified the ills of the empire with the person of the Sultan -in this case Abdul Hamid II- against whom they turned all their attacks.

In 1906, a Young Turk organization was established in Salonica under the name "Union and Progress". Despite the synonymity, this group does not appear to have had any connection with the exiles in Paris and other European capitals. What proved of particular importance was the fact that the Salonica group counted among its members officers of the Ottoman army in Macedonia, considering that it was the army which by means of a coup in July 1908 overturned the Sultan and took the power in its hands.

The "Young Turkish Revolution" was greeted with enthusiasm by the subject peoples who, viewing it with the same naivety as the Young Turks themselves, believed that the restoration of the Ottoman constitution of 1876 would automatically cure all their ills and that Ottomanism (the convergence of all nationalities to the common identity of Ottoman citizen) preached by the Young Turks would form a framework within which their fundamental ethnic rights and particular cultural features would be secured.

In practice however, Young Turks were a disappointment to all those who had believed that they were going to liberalize the regime and lead the country to a revival. On the international level, the new regime went through a series of crises with the result that a large part of the empire was lost in a very short time. At home, their rule, that was lacking any concrete programme (they did not even oust Sultan Abdul Hamid), soon degenerated to covert dictatorship. Finally, they failed to convince the subject peoples that they were able to put relations between the governing and the governed on a new basis.

In an effort to compensate for their weaknesses and overcome the looming crisis, the Young Turks resorted to Panturkism, that is the union of all peoples of Turkish origin under the patronage of the Ottoman Empire. It should be noted in this connection that Panislamism (the attempt at projecting the Ottoman Empire as the epicenter and protector of the Islamic world) had also been proposed by Sultan Abdul Hamid as a target of Ottoman policy.

Panturkism which had been born among peoples of Turkish origin of the Russian Empire implied at home the extermination or expulsion of all non-Turkish inhabitants of the Ottoman empire so that the population might become unadulterated. Abroad, Panturkism was equally aggressive since it aimed at extending the empire's borders, an ambition which implied military conflict with neighbouring states.

According to the Young Turks, their adoption of Panturkism was the result of their disappointment with the failure of Ottomanism, attributed both by themselves as well as their latter day apologists to the subject peoples. It remains how-

ever true that the Turkish establishment never showed a willingness to share power with the non-turcophone (either Christian or Muslim) elements of the empire. On the contrary, since the very beginning, both the declarations and the practice of the Young Turks inexorably showed that their sole aim was to maintain intact the monopoly of power by the turcophone element which, as observed by Alp himself, represented a minority among the total population of the empire.

In their efforts to achieve this objective, the Young Turks made use of the machinery of government turning it into an instrument of persecution and mass slaughter against the non-turcophone peoples of the empire. Armenians and Greeks in the first place but also, later on, Arabs and Kurds were massacred in masses in order to give the empire a pure Turkish consistence, a precursor of the policy adopted by Hitler some decades later.

In order to promote their expansionist plans, the Young Turks tried to take advantage of the World War by allying themselves with Germany.

It was at this period, during the First World War, that Te-kin Alp published his book which sets forth in brief the ideology and objectives of Panturkism. The author who was a "dönme" (a Jew convert to the Muslim religion) was born as Moses Cohen in Serres. Like many other "dönme", Alp became an adherent of the Turkish national movement and issued a number of publications. Alp's concise book sets forth the official tenets of the Young Turks and was translated into German (1915) in order to make it accessible to the public of the allied country.

What makes Alp's book of particular importance, however, is the fact that it was published at a rare historical conjunction, when the Turks were able to express themselves with complete freedom. Half of the Great Powers were in any case their adversaries so that there was nothing more to be feared from their side. For the remaining Powers, the Ottoman Empire was a valuable ally in the life and death struggle that was going on and there was no inclination on their part to provoke any displeasure. There are therefore good reasons to accept that Alp's work expresses the actual sentiments and true intentions and designs of the Turkish establishment thus constituting a historical document. Its immediate translation into English by the Counter-Intelligence Division of the Admiralty War Staff (1916) speaks in favour of such an evaluation.

Far from being a thorough political, social, economic or philosophical analysis, Alp's work tends to be shallow and is restricted to the enumeration of the author's arguments couched as slogans. Nevertheless, the reader may be led to a number of extremely interesting conclusions concerning the nature and character of Turkish nationalism. Let us examine some of them.

The first and truly shocking conclusion is that the Turks were not a nation, since they did not themselves possess such a feeling at the time the book was written. Alp repeatedly returns to this issue and admits at a certain point that very few Turks were proud of their origin whilst he mentions that "The Turks... never considered their nation as having a separate existence" or "They realized that in order to live they must become a nation..." or "The Turkish people... up to

two years ago were totally lacking in national consciousness" or "... The Turks have only today found their national consciousness..."

The second conclusion one arrives at is that the Turks were too few in the territories they claimed as their own. Alp is very clear on this point when he states: "... Their numbers in the Fatherland are too small and are thus constantly menaced by the danger of assimilation into their milieu." Here, Alp goes into the heart of the matter considering that the Turks did really face a problem of existence. This problem is related by the author not only to their restricted numbers but also to their cultural inferiority. Although conquerors, the Turks "... allowed themselves to be too greatly influenced by the mode of thought and conditions of life in their (sic) country and have lost many of their national qualities." How else can this be interpreted but as an acceptance of the fact that the Turkish conquest represented a retrogression in the course of history since what it was able to impose was might and not culture.

For those who might wonder how the Turks formed a minority in a country which foreigners and not themselves!-called Turkey, Alp has a ready answer. The Turks are emigrants, aliens in the region, they are "Mongols". Europe whose heritage is today claimed by the Turks (see the book by the president of the Turkish Republic Turgut Ozal "La Turquie en Europe") is foreign to them. As Alp writes, in order to awaken in their hearts a yearning for their roots, the Panturkist propagandists made projections in their meetings of pictures about everyday life in the Turks' real homeland "from Turkestan, Afghanistan, Hindustan..."

The author proceeds to another confession concerning the decadent and reactionary character of Panturkism. Alp is in no position to claim for the Turkish national movement any roots previous to the mid 19th century. Specifically as concerns Panturkism, Alp places its emergence immediately after the Balkan War. Thus, we are witnessing the birth of Turkish nationalism not at the glorious period of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire but at the lowest point of its decline. At the same time, Alp does not propose Panturkism as the only option to Turkish nationalists nor even as one of several but as a reaction imposed by the nationalisms of the other peoples of the empire who did have a national consciousness before the Turks. In consequence, even for its inventors, Panturkism was not something inherently good but a means in order to achieve certain objectives.

The intolerant character of Panturkism is also clearly revealed in the writings of Tekin Alp. The author refers with pride to the boycott of Greeks, Armenians and other Christian compatriots by the Turkish people and welcomes with enthusiasm the dismissal from the Young Turkish government of its only Christian minister. This intolerance -which by the way was a characteristic of the Ottoman establishment since its inception- was the starting point and inspiration for the repeated genocides committed since that time by the Turkish nationalists.

In addition to being intolerant, Panturkism is also racist. Such racism is insidiously expressed wherever the author considers Turkey as the de facto center of the Islamic world, without being able to invoke any support for such a claim, as well as at the point where he expresses the opinion that

Iran, with a civilization of thousands of years, should become Turkey's satellite. The racist character of Panturkism is also made evident by the choice of the tribe as the connecting link between the Asia Minor turchophones and their potential allies. Rejecting the supranational Islam which considers all its followers as belonging to "the nation of the faithful" (umet-i-muhamet), Panturkists choose tribal origin as the main element of differentiation or relationship between peoples.

From the point of view of timing, Panturkists came after the Pangermans and Panslavists whom they simply imitate as they do when the author considers certain civilisations as "degenerate". Where Panturkists are however pioneers, later to be followed by the Nazis, is in the field of theories concerning the racial improvement of their people, which they present as one of their aims.

Political developments in recent years bring Panturkism and, by extension, the work of Tekin Alp to the fore. History has proven that Panturkism never ceased to constitute the central political option of the Turkish establishment. In spite of Kemal's famous aphorism "Peace at home, peace in the world", the Turkish leadership is immutable wedded to an aggressive policy orientated at a) completing the turcification of the state and b) expanding its borders or its influence by using as a springboard the necessity of liberating the "subjected" Turks who are living in neighbouring countries.

To serve the first goal, the Turkish state is engaging in a systematic effort to annihilate any non-Turkish element by employing economic, moral, legal, psychological, political and any other sort of pressure against Christians dwelling in Tur-

key with the result of a steady flow of refugees who abandon for ever the land where their forefathers dwelt for thousands of years. Kurds constitute a special case since their numbers impose the adoption of an especially cruel policy which is tantamount to a genocide in progress.

As concerns the attainment of the second goal, Turkey proclaims first the need to protect its oppressed "brethren" and, as a second step, intervenes wherever possible in order to "offer them its protection". The invasion and occupation since 1974 of Cyprus is an apt example of Panturkist action and the method followed there is now applied also in the case of the Muslim minorities in Greece and Bulgaria.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc in general offers new opportunities to Panturkism which is now being referred to by Western publications as one of the most important political factors in the area from Central Asia to the Balkans. Thus, the study of the tenets and objectives of Panturkism becomes a *since qua non* prerequisite for the understanding of its nature and the evaluation of the dangers it presents in the area. From this viewpoint, the work of Tekin Alp acquires particular value for the approach and the interpretation of the Panturkist phenomenon and the consequences it may have on the destinies of the peoples which are kept on its sights.

FOREWORD

TEKIN ALP's *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal* contains rather valuable information as to the underlying forces in the Near and Middle East which in the recent past have been shaping the destinies of those regions, have been, perhaps, the main factors in bringing about the present "War for the East", and may in the future seriously affect the British and Russian positions in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, the Caucasus, Trans-Caucasia, Afghanistan, and India.

Tekin Alp styles the Pan-Turkish ideal and its workings as a "revolution whose very existence has been almost unsuspected by the world at large", and a study of the picture he portrays may be useful to those responsible for British, Russian, French, and Italian interests in the East. He would seem to be, perhaps, consciously inaccurate as to cause and effect when he describes the young Turks as driven from Ottomanism into Turkification and Pan-Turanianism by the hostility of the non-Turkish elements in the Ottoman Empire. The "Ottoman" idea as opposed to the "Turkish" idea, which

would correspond to the "British" as opposed to the "English" idea in the British Empire and to the "German" as opposed to the "Prussian" idea in Central Europe, was welcomed by the non-Turkish races in the Ottoman Empire as guaranteeing them their "Particularismus", but, at the outset of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, it was noticed that many purely Turanian agents from the Caucasus, Persia, &c., were in close touch with the inner circle of the Committee of Union and Progress, and when in 1909 the Committee began to Turkify the Albanians, Arabs, and others, the non-Turkish elements felt that their national existence was menaced by the new dispensation. The Albanians revolted and the Balkan States were driven into union by the common enemy, while the Arabs and Armenians took up a defensive attitude. Jemal Pasha's recent anti-Arab and Pan-Turkish policy has been the cause of the Hejaz rising, and the same policy and tendency were, doubtless, responsible in great part for the extermination of the Armenians who formed an Aryan race-wedge between the Asia Minor Turks and their Turanian brethren in NW. Persia and the Caucasus.

Whereas the old regime in Turkey under Sultan Abdul Hamid was mainly theocratic and based on the brotherhood of Islam, the new regime while still championing Islam, relegated Pan-Islamism to the second place and aimed at the reincarnation of the purely Turkish soul by grafting modern science and knowledge on the old Turanian traditions represented by Attila, Genghiz Khan, and Sultan Selim the Grim. The movement bears a certain analogy to the modernization of Japan with its Samurai and Bushido traditions-now some-

times styled the embryo Prussia of the Far East-but the analogy with Hungary and its Magyarization policy after 1830 and with Prussia after 1813 is much closer. In fact, when in 1913 the Jugendbund anniversary celebrations took place in Prussia, there was more than a sympathetic echo in Young Turk circles, and Turkey of the present day may well be looked upon as the Japan or Prussia of the Near East.

General Bernhardt said that "Turkey is German's natural ally", and, apart from "the anti-Slav brotherhood" of the two races, the Turkish concept of the Deity, called TENGHRI, is much more akin to the Prussian Thor, or War lord, than to the Arab, i. e. Semitic, Allah or to the Latin and Western God. The Prussian ideals of brute force are closely allied to those of the Turanian heroes like Genghiz Khan and Oghuz Khan now invoked by the Young Turks, who are now avowedly striving to revive the period when their "armies were the wonder and terror of the old world".

The Turkish ideal has indeed been already half accomplished. The Turkey of 1908 has gone not to return. The non-Turkish Armenians have been practically eliminated, while the Greek population outside the towns has been similarly dealt with. The Arab problem from the Turanian point of view is more difficult of solution. Jemal Pasha has hanged or deported hundreds of the Arab leaders with their families. According to reports, some 80,000 of the Christian Arabs of the Lebanon have been deliberately starved to death, while the mortality among the Arab divisions sent to the frigid highlands of Armenia must have been considerable. If, however, the Arab revolt aided by the Entente Powers is successful the Turanian idea will be a failure in Arabia.

The Turks feel that Arab culture is superior to the Turanian. In the past, it has swamped the Turk in the matters of religion and language. Tekin Alp and his Pan-Turanian coadjutors would remedy this by translating the Arabic Quran into Turkish, and are endeavouring to eliminate from Turkish the dispensable Arabic and Persian words. As literary Turkish contains more than 80 per cent. of Arabic and Persian, their task is more difficult than that of e. g. young Englishmen who would restore the language of King Alfred's day by eliminating all the dispensable Norman-French, Latin, and Greek words from English. The Young Turk effort in this respect resembles somewhat the action of their Mongolian brethren, the Hungarians, who, more than half a century ago, revived Magyar instead of Latin and have ever since caused endless friction by their forcible methods of inducing the other races of Hungary to use an idiom exotic to the Indo-European races within their borders, e. g. in Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania.

It would seem difficult, at first sight, to reconcile the realization of the Pan-Turkish ideal with the predominance of German influence connoted by the Berlin -Bagdad and Berlin-Cairo ideas. The Germans, while encouraging Pan-Turanianism as an anti-Russian and anti-British movement, hope also to be able to make the Pan-Turks "work for the King of Prussia", while the Turks, when entering the war against Russia and England, calculated that the European or Christian Powers would fight to exhaustion on the north-European fronts and that, in the end, Turkey would be relatively stronger and would have shaken herself free of all European tutelage. As a matter of fact, after two years of war

(November 1916), Turkey holds some 5,000 square miles of territory more than she has lost to Russia in Armenia and to England in the Basra region. For she occupies some 30,000 square miles of Western Persia and about 23,000 square miles in the Aden `Hinterland and in Siani. Moreover, she has a defensive treaty with Germany. It is, indeed, a moot point whether Turkey is more dependent on Germany or Germany on Turkey, who has secured to the Central Powers the enormous military asset of the practical isolation of the Russian armies by closing the Dardanelles. Tekin Alp and the Turanians hold that irredentism is a "political and social necessity for the Turks", i. e. that Turkey must carry on a propaganda in Turania Irredenta (the Caucasus, Astrakhan, Trans-Caucasia, Persia, Afghanistan, and India) with a view to giving a common soul to the Turkish populations of those countries. Persia, where they estimate there are three to four millions of Turks, "could be situated with regard to the Turkish Government as Bavaria is to Prussia, or Hungary to Austria". In the event of the victory of the Teutonic and Turkish armies, the Pan-Turkish estimate is "that 30 to 40 millions of Turks will become independent and, together with the 10 millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of 50 millions, advancing towards a great civilization (Kultur?) which may perhaps be compared to that of Germany in that it will have the strength and energy to rise even higher. In some ways it will be superior to the degenerate French and English civilizations".

It requires no great stretch of imagination to realize that if the European War were to end in a draw, and if Turkey is not defeated, that the unrest, which during the past eight

years has centred in Constantinople, will continue and be the cause of further wars in the Near and Middle East. With Persia in the same position towards Turkey "as Bavaria to Prussia", Afghanistan and India would be almost automatically affected. There is, too, a Turkish school which holds that Turkey in the past made a mistake in expending her energies on the conquest of Hungary, Poland, &c., and that, if the same energy had been directed eastwards, she could have founded an unassailable dominion in Persia and India with its Turanian Mogul rulers.

As Modern Prussia was the outcome of Napoleonism, so Turkey with its Turanian ideals and concepts hopes to emerge from the present pseudo-Napoleonism as the Prussia of the Near East. The Circular of the Committee of Union and Progress (Chap. IX, part I), issued when Turkey went to war with the Triple Entente, is particularly illuminating as to the Turanian ideal. It Talks of Turkey's participation in the world war as taking place not solely to defend herself against threatening ruin, but as representing something far nearer to her heart-"the vindication of her national ideal". Pan-Islam is an ally of the Pan-Turk and Pan-German ideal. "It is true that the Turks are striving for the union of all Turks under the banner of Osman, but They are nevertheless determined upholders of Pan-Islamism. "As long as the Turks have an ideal, as long as they remain conscious of their mission in the world, so long will their destiny be bound up with that of Pan-Germanism." The whole movement would seem to have a common and distinct interest for Russia and the British Empire.

PART I

NATURE AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I OTTOMANISM AND PAN-ISLAMISM

A close observer of the development of modern Turkey might have gained, during the last two years, an insight into the progress of a highly significant social revolution, whose very existence has been almost unsuspected by the world at large. This social revolution started with the awakening of Turkish Nationalism, which is now growing into a Pan-Turkish movement.

Three years ago, the Ottoman Turks regarded themselves simply as Mohammedans, and never considered their nation as one having a separate existence. The Anatolian peasant took the word "Turk" as synonymous with "Kisilbash" (Redhead: with red fez). Even among educated class-

es there were persons who did not know that members of the Turkish race were living outside Turkey. It was a very curious thing that the Turks should have realized the necessity for starting a national movement. Under the old regime, it is true, faint glimmers of awakening appeared from time to time, but were quickly quenched. Later, in Paris and also in Egypt, a few Young Turkish spirits became inspired with the fire of national aspirations and blazed into prominence, only to sink back in a moment, leaving little or no impression on the political structure. In Constantinople too, learned men such as Nejib Asim, Brussali Tahir Bey, and others occupied their minds from time to time with questions exclusively connected with the old Turkish civilization. The poet Mehmed Emin Bey conceived the idea of writing his poetry only in pure Turkish, without making use of the borrowed Arabic and Persian words which form 95 per cent. of the Turkish language. His poetry had to be published in small provincial papers because the important newspapers of the towns would not accept it.

These were, however, but isolated cases; there were no signs anywhere of a prepared or organized movement.

The Young Turks who belonged to the "Committee of Union and Progress", to whom Turkey owes her constitution, worked entirely as members of Ottoman Empire. Their leading idea was Ottomanism, which was also expressed in the word "Unity", meaning the unity of all Ottoman subjects regardless of differences of religion or nationality. Immediately after the establishment of the constitution, the Young Turks, true to their original plan, set about the foundation of a league, with other affiliated leagues, having the object of col-

lecting together all the Ottoman elements. This league has been much talked about and has created a great deal of disturbance, but it must be admitted that it has accomplished nothing definite.

The enthusiasm of the first inspired hours of newly-won freedom began to wear off. The Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians, who had laid down their arms and come down from the mountains in great exultation to celebrate the birth of the constitution with the young liberators in Salonica, began gradually, one by one, to return to their mountains and their arms, to resume their straggle against Turkish authority.

This was the Young Turks' first awakening from their dreams of Ottomanism, upon which all their best hopes and beliefs were based. The pillars of the proud building were shaken.

From time to time voices were heard advocating "Pan-Islamism". They preached the union of all the Mohammedan elements in the kingdom, which would form a strong and reliable power upon which the Government could unfailingly depend. But this was shortly followed by the rising of the Mohammedan Albanians, and the revolts in Yemen and Hauran. The upholders of Pan-Islamism did not, however, allow their faith to be so easily shaken by these revolutionary movements, opposed as they were to the whole Pan-Islamitic ideal. They, like the Ottomanists, would not admit defeat. Far from giving up their policy, they struggled with undiminished enthusiasm and unquenched zeal against the difficulties of the time, with the firm conviction that they were only dealing with passing opposition.

CHAPTER II

THE TURKISH MOVEMENT BEFORE THE BALKAN WAR

There were, however, a number of people who were anxious to believe that the political ideas of the Ottomanists and Pan-Islamists had proved themselves to be empty dreams; these people regarded the Turkish element as the saviour of the Ottoman Empire; the Turkish movement was considered as the one hope of the nation. The weak and still tentative voices of these "saviours" were, however, shouted down by their antagonists, though the seed of the Turkish movement continued to grow underground. Unknown to the people, the ideals of this movement spread even to the heart of the committee of Union and Progress, which was the supporter of the Government and at that time had its headquarters in Salonica.

The mainspring of the National movement must be sought in the Branch Committee of Union and Progress in Constantinople. The secretary of this branch (the Central Committee was still established in Salonica) was Kemal Bey, who was one of the delegates to the Committee congress in Salonica in 1909, and showed himself on that occasion most anxious to give the first impulse to the movement in the name of his Constantinople Association. During the debates he repeatedly attempted to make his opinions heard. His

words: "Gentlemen, we must first decide upon our ultimate goal, we must be quite clear about its real object-our national progress" -fell upon deaf ears, and he was unable once to give proper expression to his ideas, being continually shouted down with cries of "Our goal is organization and nothing else, we know our goal". In spite of his inability to play his ideas before the congress, he got privately into touch with a quite unassuming man, who proved to be a most energetic partisan of the national movement; this was Ziya Bey, who had been sent to Salonica as a delegate from the branch committee in Diarbekr. After the congress, Ziya Bey did not return to Diarbekr, but accompanied Kemal Bey to Constantinople in order to come into closer contact and communication with his adherents.

There he formed a separate Committee, which for months discussed the burning question of Turkish nationalism down to its smallest details, and finally drew up a strong carefully studied programme for the defence of their ideas. Ziya Bey was then chosen to be a member of the Central Committee, which, as we have already said, had its headquarters in Salonica at that time. Ziya Bey took up his position with the fix idea, which almost amounted to a monomania, of working to the end for the triumph of Turkish nationalism. This modest man, who had neither a conspicuous past to recommend him, nor an impressive demeanour, nor an eloquent tongue, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in clinging to his monomania, wonderful stubbornness in defending his principle, calmness in fighting his political opponents, and firmness of purpose in managing and championing his cause.

He first gathered round him a group of young people who devoted themselves zealously and enthusiastically to his cause. They started a paper in Salonica called *Genj Kalemlar* (Young Writer), which from the moment of its first appearance carried on a revolutionary and offensive policy.

The *Genj Kalemlar* heralded the foundation of a new language, a new literature, and a new and purely Turkish civilization. It promised that the language should be purified of the borrowed Arabic and Persian words, opened a campaign against the expressions and ideas taken from the old literature of these two languages, and proclaimed a new literature civilization which should be based entirely on the old Turkish traditions.

All the great and celebrated writers and poets, such as Tevfik Fikret, Halid Ziya, Abdul Hak Hamid, and others, were decried as "Dünkiler" (old-fashioned). Such men belonged to the past, and should be relegated to oblivion.

The new literature had, however, to be made. A carefully drawn up programme for the foundation of a new language was issued, and the union "Yeni Lisan" (New Language) was founded. This new language was to consist purely Turkish words, and those Arabic and Persian expressions which had already become part of the Turkish vocabulary.

Nearly the whole youth of Salonica took part of this movement. The "Yeni Lisan" group was soon followed by the "Yeni Hayat" (New Life), who took for their organ the "Yeni Felsefe" (New Philosophy). "Yeni Lisan" and "Yeni Hayat" soon amalgamated. They made sharp attacks in their papers on the youth of Constantinople, and addressed them

in somewhat unflattering terms, such as "Levantines" and "Supbe" (coxcomb) and "persons devoid of any ideals, who had merely taken from Western civilization a dusty veneer and manners of the demi-monde, under which they cloaked their own inanity".

The leaders of the "Yeni Hayat" were more or less acquainted with Western literature through those books which seemed to share their political ideals: Alfred Fouillet, Gustav Lebon, Bergson, Durkheim, Gobineau, Nietzsche, and others. They probably built up their theories from these books, as may be seen from the following extract: "We must be ourselves, that is, we must build up our intellectual life on our national traditions, and cultivate our own talents. We must only borrow from Europe method and technique. Our whole literature, which is not Turkish in any respect, must be reformed and founded on a new basis, it must become purely national in character. Down with men such as Ahmet Midhat, who are merely blind followers, and wish to propagate a misunderstood and badly assimilated version of Western civilization!"

In this manner, the youth of Salonica encouraged and inspired each other, with loud and excited debates and bitter quarrels with every one who disagreed with them.

In Constantinople these young braggarts were simply laughed at at first, and the whole affair ridiculed, while no one even took the trouble to think of valid and logical arguments with which to ward off the Salonica attacks.

At the same time, the behaviour of the non-Turkish element in the kingdom became increasingly assertive; the other nations make no attempt to hide their own nationalism,

ambitions, and narrow-minded particularism. For this reason, the Central Committee was induced to attach itself to the Turkish national movement. It is true that the downfall of Ottomanism had not yet taken place on tactical grounds, but in reality the new movement received all possible support.

Everything was done to extend the Turkish national movement of Salonica to Constantinople, and the poet Mehmed Emin Bey was summoned, and entrusted with the mission of starting a source of propaganda for the new ideals in the capital. Mehmed Emin Bey ceased his activities after a considerable time with the conviction that the ground had been sufficiently prepared, and his place was filled by Enver Bey. This period saw the foundation of the review *Türk Yurdu*, Which, under the editorship of Yusuf Akshura, soon obtained a comparatively wide circulation, and was eagerly welcomed by an enthusiastic circle of readers.

Meanwhile the Central Committee for Unity and Progress moved its head-quarters from Salonica to Constantinople. Ziya Bey and his Salonican adherents followed with the firm purpose of bringing about the outbreak of a social revolution for the "Yeni Hayat". The efforts of this small group of intellectual pioneers succeeded in creating a circle deeply imbued with the ideas and principles of Turkish nationalism. But the social revolution did not come. The great public, the press, and the classical writers still remained indifferent and took no notice whatever of the new movement.

But the ground was prepared, the seed sown, and it was soon to bear fruit.

CHAPTER III

THE BALKAN WAR PERIOD

It was at this time that the Balkan War broke out.

The false friends tore the masks from their faces and revealed themselves in all their hateful ferocity.

The old attitude of the non-Turkish element, and the revolt of the Mohammedan Albanians, once and for all opened the Turks' eyes, which had hitherto been blinded by lies and deceptions, and showed them in crude and painful fact that they could count on no one's assistance but their own, and that their existence depended solely upon their political, social, intellectual, and economic power and unity.

While the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Greeks engaged the Turkish armies in strife, the revolt of the bad element among the people began, the revolt of former "friends", who now one by one left the poor desolated country and nation in the lurch.

Treachery was practised on all sides; many former Ottoman deputies and politicians suddenly went over to the enemy without the slightest qualms of conscience. The rats were leaving the sinking ship.

With a few insignificant exceptions the poor desolated nation had no trustworthy and sympathetic friend left, who would help her to endure this sudden overwhelming sorrow, or at least comfort her with words of friendship.

The only who united themselves with the hard-pressed Turks and tried to help them in these days of general mourn-

ing, bitter sorrow, and pitiable misfortune, were those of whose existence she had practically known nothing—her compatriots in Russia, in the Crimea, in the Caucasus and in Hindustan, &c. Besides large gifts of money, they sent missions from the Red Crescent who did much to heal the wounds inflicted by the war.

At this time of depression several important persons came from those districts, among whom were Ismail Gasparinski, Fatih Kerimoff, Arif Kerimoff, who was anxious to heal wounds with his own hand and personally relieve the oppressed. Among these sympathetic persons were also a number of highly cultivated women, including Gülsüm Khanum, Miriam Patatshova, and others.

While the brave Turkish soldiers were fighting with the courage of despair in front of Chatalja, to save at least military honour and the last remaining piece of their country, these compatriots were streaming in from all corners of the world to stand by their brothers in the hour of distress, and the unite and ally themselves with them, thus forming the basis of a future union of all the Turks in the world.

At that time Khalide Edib Khanum expressed the ideal of the aspiring people in the following words; "What I most wish to see is a powerful and independent union in political and intellectual matters of all the Turks in the world."

Enver Bey and other important Young Turks became closely allied to their compatriots from abroad. He was often to be seen among his Russian and Hindu brothers and friends, and even among the women, who, though Moham-medans, were no longer under the stern and repressive yoke of the harem life. The Society of "Turk Ojaghi", which

was founded during the crisis with the object of raising all the Turkish elements in the kingdom by all possible means, arranged a dinner at their club in honour of the foreign guests. It was on this occasion that Professor Yusuf Akshura, editor of the *Türk Yurdu*, spoke the inspired words, which rang with a note of invincible hope: "I no longer wish that I had never been born, since I have seen the first day of the national and religious renaissance of the Turkish and Tartar peoples."

During this crisis, too, came the first awaking of the Turkish women, who had hitherto led an unnoticed existence behind the impenetrable harem bars, and the yashmak which hides the eyes, the windows of the soul.

A great women's meeting was held in the University Hall at Stamboul. This was the first time that Turkish women appeared in public and gave a sign of life to the world at large. Many ladies of the aristocracy were present at this brilliantly-attended meeting, including the Princess Ni'met Khanum, wife of the former Grand Vizier Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, Fatima Alie Khanum,⁽¹⁾ a celebrated authoress, daughter of the great historian Jevdet Pasha, and many other ladies of rank and importance.

Many inspired speeches were given, which stirred the highly-strung hearts of the women and caused their tears to flow. Khalide Edib Khanum spoke among others, and gave a broad outline of the nature and principles of Turkish nationalism. Gülsüm Khanum spoke to the same effect as rep-

1- A novel by this National-Turkish poetess will be published by our *Deutsche Orient-Buchdruckerei*. It is entitled *The New Turania: The Destiny of a Turkish Woman*.

representative of the Turkish women in Russia.

This was the first shock of the great social earthquake, whose upheaval is still being felt; it was the inauguration of a great new period.

The short space of time during which the peace negotiations were being concluded was a really historic period, in which the social revolution, so eagerly desired by the small groups of intellectual pioneers, became an accomplished fact.

The youth of Constantinople flocked to join the movement. All those who had hitherto been branded as "Levantine" and "Supbe" became enthusiastic supporters of the nationalist idea. Even the classical authors, who had hitherto kept aloof, lent their eloquence to the steadily growing movement. Public opinion, the great public, the educated and even the learned classes, adopted the nationalist point of view. The Government, which had fallen into the hands of the Committee, through the *coup d'état* of Enver Bey and his supporters, no longer considered it necessary to veil the fact that its sympathies were with the nationalist movement.

Husein Jahid Bey, former editor of the *Tanin*, now Vice-President of the Chamber, has summed up the results of this crisis in the typical words: "The present war represents a great defeat for Turkey, but it has at least had the effect of rousing all the Turks and Mohammedans in the world from their lethargy. It has put clearly before them the dangers to which they are exposed."

CHAPTER IV

AFTER THE BALKAN WAR

The end of the Balkan War found Turkey a much reduced nation.

The Congress of London took away from her the larger part of her already diminished European territory, namely Macedonia and Albania, which for fifty years had been demanding the blood of Anatolia's noblest sons in long and bitter struggles. But the Turks gained through the war their ideal fatherland, their Turania, the cradle of their nation and home of their race. With a significant gesture the Turkish nation turned aside their gaze from the lost territory, from Salonica, Uskub, Monastir, Janina, and looked instead upon Turania, the ideal country of the future.

Ziya Gökalp, the great apostle of Turanianism, shows us this ideal in his rhythmic and poetically inspired verses; "The impressions which flow in my blood are the result of my history. I do not read the famous deeds of my ancestors in the dead faded dusty leaves of the history books, but in my own veins, in my own heart. My Attila, my Genghiz, these heroic figures, which stand for the proud fame of my race, appear in those dry pages to our malicious and slanderous age as covered with shame and disgrace, while in reality they are no less than Alexander and Caesar, Still better known to my heart is Oghuz Khan, a dark and enigmatic figure in history. In me he still lives in all his fame and greatness. Oghuz Khan delights and inspires my heart and causes me to sing psalms

of gladness. The fatherland of the Turks is not Turkey or Turkestan, but the broad eternal land of Turania."

Ziya Bey proves himself in these verses to be the true interpreter of the feelings of educated Turks.

So at last had come the final triumph of "Yeni Hayat". It was a complete return to the beginnings, traditions, and the cradle of the race. The Turks realized that in order to live they must become essentially Turkish, become a nation, be themselves. The "Yeni Hayat", which had hitherto been limited to the small circle of its own supporters, now won for itself a place among the great public, the press, and the educated and learned classes. After the great blow, which had finally put an end to Turkey's "Balkan troubles", the papers wrote of nothing but the awakening, the Renaissance, the rising and restoration, just as though the nation were a person who had been cured of a long chronic illness which had nearly proved fatal. Indeed, every one was filled with an indestructible hope in the future of Turanianism, and was firmly convinced that the Turkish nation had been restored by its own strength and effort.

Among others, Mehmed Ali Tevfik Bey, a young writer filled with the fiery spirit of exultation, showed himself in a long series of articles in the *Tanin*, entitled "Bir Turanlinin defteri" ("Diary of a Turanian"), to be the truest interpreter of the soul of his people. In one of his most brilliant articles, which has recently been published in book form, he expresses the belief of the nation in the following words: "Constantine Paleologus, who saw the downfall of the great Byzantine Empire, cried out to a group of friends, 'We need a long period of misfortune and trial in order to raise ourselves

again and behold the dawn of freedom,' and lo, four centuries later, another Constantine enters the capital of Macedonia; the Ottoman capital is still under the economic authority of Greece and the blue and white flag still flies in triumph over the waters of the Aegean Sea."

But after this period of trial, the time of restoration for the Turkish nation will surely come.

Khalide Edib Khanum, in a lecture delivered at the University to a large meeting of Turkish women, discoursed upon the same theme, and spoke of the decline and restoration of different nations in history, and of her firm confidence in the raising of her people.

For a few months the reawakening and return to Turanism formed the subject of open discussion. Professors, scholars, writers, and all who felt called upon to address the people, gave lectures and spoke at the meetings which took place once or twice a week in the University and the "Turk Ojaghi" Club, besides speaking daily in the theatres, &c. Nearly all the books published at this time treat of the same subject. An inspired literature aroused the national feelings of the people. From time to time huge processions, consisting of members of all classes, were seen passing through the streets of the capital with the appearance of indescribable rejoicing. What had happened? Had the Turks regained Macedonia?

It was only the anniversary of the taking of Constantinople, or some similar memorial day. The procession of demonstrators, thousands strong, would repair to the grave of Fatih, the great conqueror of Constantinople, in order to appeal to his sacred spirit and thus gain strength and inspi-

ration for the hard task of the future. The public seemed to believe that Constantinople had been conquered once more. They had never had an opportunity of remembering the names of their heroes, such as Fatih, Sultan Suleiman Kanoni, and others. It was not until this time that they began proudly to recall these heroes and celebrate their memories- this time, when the Turks first began to find themselves.

These demonstrations were far from being ordinary public gatherings; not only the people, but the Government took part in these memorial days, by issuing the proclamation that these festivals were in future to be observed in all schools, and that deputations of school-children and students were to take part in the various ceremonies.

These celebrations, "Ihtifal i milli" (national processions), as they were called in the official documents, were henceforward to be held every year, and were to be taken as an opportunity for a revival of hero-worship, in which the heroes, and the glorious episodes of Turkish history, might live again to be a strength and example to the nation, who had hitherto regarded its past with indifference, and remained in utter ignorance of its great men, made up for the past years, and made reparation for its omissions in erecting in its heart a Pantheon of all its national heroes.

CHAPTER V

THE OPPOSITION

It must be admitted that discords arose from time to time in the harmonious development of the national movement.

Opposing voices were heard protesting against its progress. These protests were often merely directed against a part of the "Yeni Hayat's" programme, but sometimes against its entire policy. A majority of writers declared themselves against the principles of the "Yeni Lisan", and would not consent to give up a technique and style which they had created in the course of a few decades. Well-known authors, such as Jenab Shehab-Eddin, Suleiman Nazif, and others, continued to use the customary Persian and Arabic phrases which were so bitterly attacked by the "Yeni Lisan".

For some time the partisans of the old school even attempted publicly to defend their theories. The loss of the great treasure of Arabic and Persian words would detract from the charm and poetry of the language, and literature would become a dead thing without attraction, power, or beauty. In spite of their former authority on literary subjects, the adherents of the old school were finally obliged to give way to the great majority of reformers, with the result that "Yeni Lisan" is to-day in possession of an unlimited and absolute authority. It is true that essays by Shehab-Eddin and his colleagues occasionally appear in some reviews, and are still admired by the public in spite of their old-fashioned style, but they are merely regarded as costly relics of a past age. Turkish poetry, too, was subjected to important changes. The highly complicated rhythm which had been taken from the Arab and Persian poets, and practised in Turkey, was unhesitatingly condemned as un-Turkish by the "Yeni Lisan" and replaced by the syllabic system.

The old rhythm was kept up for a time by a few poets,

but they too were unable to resist the vigorous strength of the new movement, and were obliged to follow the general trend of feeling.

The Turanians met with serious opposition from obstinate men such as Akif Bey, Suleiman Nazif, and others. The latter, especially, fought with extraordinary zeal against the Turkish movement and its principles.

He is a believer in a "political Trinity", and shows great stubbornness in the defence of his theory, which is that all three groups of ideas, Ottomanism, Islamism, and the Turkish movement, should work side by side and together.

He is by no means convinced of the correctness of the Turkish theory. According to him, Turkish history, from a national point of view, dates only from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire under the Sultan Osman, and from a religious standpoint from the foundation of Islam. He does not regard Attila, Genghiz, or Oghuz as national heroes, though the Nationalists celebrate their memory as the greatest figures in history. Turkish history, he claims, cannot be traced back further than that; all that comes before belongs to the realms of fancy.

On account of his views, he carried on a bitter feud with Oghlu Ahmed (Ahmed Agayeff), who may be regarded as one of the Apostles of Turanianism. The unequal contest did not last long. While Suleiman Nazif and his followers had taken up the challenge from purely conservative motives, and without any set programme or organization, his opponents attacked the defenders of the old ideas with all the energy and power of convinced revolutionaries, who had a firm organization and countless resources at their disposal. It was

therefore no difficult task for them to silence the "relics of the past".

Still more serious opposition was encountered from the clerical party. This party has no position in Turkish politics, but exerts considerable influence in literature and intellectual life. The "Islamji" would have nothing to do with Nationalism; the religion of Islam is the only thing they consider. Because it is written in the Koran that Islam knows no nation but only believers, they thought that to occupy one's self with national question was to act against the interests and principles of Islam itself.

The clerical party is a dangerous foe, for it has at its disposal an organization and newspapers whose influence must not be underrated. The *Surat-i-Mustakim* and the *Sebil-ul-Reshad* are widely-read reviews, which offer a steady and determined opposition to the Turkish movement. The last named is an especially powerful enemy because it is the organ of the "Mellami" sect, which is one of the largest Mohammedan brotherhoods, with an organization somewhat similar to that of the Freemasons.

The Nationalists fought against the "Islamji", but wisely took care to avoid any appearance of anti-clerical views.

According to them, the Koran's declaration that only Mohammedans would be recognized was directed exclusively against the very frequent dissensions of the clans and parties in the various Arab races. Although they (the Turkish Nationalists) proclaim themselves the most zealous followers of Mohammed, they do not nevertheless conceal the fact that their interpretation of Islam is not the same as that of the Arabs. They maintain that the Turks cannot interpret the Koran

in the same manner as the Arabs, for instance, and they support their assertion with the well-known principle of the Koran, "Wa'mur bil'urf" (... live each according to this customs). According to this, the national customs, or national spirit, should be the moral judge of right and wrong.

As the national life of the Turks is not only identical with, but even extremely dissimilar from that of the Arabs, it follows that the same interpretation of the religion of Islam cannot be accepted by both nations. It is quite clear that profound differences naturally exist between the social life of the Semitic Arabs and that of the Mongolian Turks.

The Nationalist theologians are most anxious to insist on the great difference existing between the philosophies of the different sects and brotherhoods, which were founded, some by the Arabs and some by the Turks. While the Arab sects carry humble submission to the extent of physical self-denial, indeed almost to asceticism, the Turkish sects are chiefly characterized by a contemplative piety. The "Mevlevi" and "Mellami", the two largest Dervish sects in Turkey, have nothing of asceticism in their point of view, and in this they present a contrast to the Arab sects and brotherhoods. Their philosophy, on the contrary, is not far removed from Epicureanism.

The Turks' idea of God is also different from that of the Arabs.

The latter think of God in the same way as their ancestors the Jews; He is a God of Vengeance,⁽¹⁾ and worshipped because He is feared.

(1) Actually, the fear of God.

"Makhafat Allah", or God of Vengeance, is He whom the Arabs worship.

The God of the Turks is the God of love, "Muhabbet Allah"; He is worshipped because He is loved.

This difference in the idea of God is probably based on race differences.

The Turkish nationalists made great efforts to nationalize religion itself, and give it the impress of the Turkish national spirit.

This idea was zealously supported by the fortnightly *Islam Majmu'asi*, which has a wide circulation in the Turkey and will be a great help to the Nationalists in attaining this end. It has many times been bitterly attacked by its opponents, the *Sebil-ul-Reshad* and the *Surat-i-Mustakim*, but every attack causes an increase in its popularity. One of the noblest tasks undertaken by the *Islam Majmu'asi* is the translation of the Koran into Turkish; this is a reform of the greatest importance. It is well known that the translation of the Koran has hitherto been considered as a sin. The Nationalists have cut themselves off from this superstitious prejudice, and have had three translations made, the above-mentioned and two others.

Another recently instituted reform is the reading of the "khutba" (Prayer for the Caliph) in the Turkish language instead of in Arabic, of which all hearers and believers are ignorant.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TURKISH MOVEMENT

The various movements which attained a certain importance in Turkey during the last few years have all either disappeared entirely or almost completely lost their influence on the mind of the people.

We may perhaps mention "Ottomanism", which was supreme after the setting up of the constitution. At that time Greeks and Bulgarians embraced one another in the streets, stirring speeches were made on every side, and the lasting brotherhood of all nations in Turkey was celebrated. All should form together one body, one single inseparable nation. It is well known how this "Unity" ended.

During the Tripoli War, "Pan-Islamism" was the cry; this outlasted the Balkan War, but is still far removed from playing an important part in internal politics.

The Turkish National movement does not exhibit the failings of the earlier movements. It is in every way adapted to the intellectual standard and feelings of the nation. It also keeps pace with the ideas of the age, which have for some decades centred round the principle of Nationality.

In adopting Turkish Nationalism as the basis of their national policy, the Turks have only abandoned an abnormal state of affairs and thereby placed themselves on a level with modern nations. The basis of the movement is so sound and firm, the movement itself is so widely spread and so

much a part of the people, that it cannot now be eradicated even by force.

The movement has also a good, all-embracing organization, which takes into consideration the different branches of the physical and psychical development of the race.

We may first mention the "Turk Ojaghi", whose work is the education of all classes, and the "Turk Bilgi Derneyi", whose aim is the creation of a new language, literature, and civilization on a national basis. The most important of the organizations for raising the physical strength of the nation are the "Turk Güji" and "Izji".

The "Turk Ojaghi" (The Home of the Turks) was founded on March 25, 1912, in Constantinople. This society, which is only open to Turks, and even excludes foreign Mohammedans, expresses its aims in the following statute, which has received the approval of the Government: "To work for the national education of the Turkish people which forms the most important division of Islam; to work for the raising of her intellectual, social, and economic standard, and for the perfection of the Turkish language and race," The same statute declares that the means of action is to be the foundation of clubs, the institution of evening schools, public lectures, literary and artistic evenings, the foundation of schools, the publication of books and periodicals. In order to increase and protect the national wealth, the proper authorities will be approached with a view to encouraging those interested in social and economic questions, showing them the best way to work, and if necessary supporting them; all pains will be taken to make the suitable arrangements for the carrying on of this work. It is easily understood that the "Turks Oja-

ghi's" activities were very limited during the first year of its production, but in the second it increased to an extraordinary extent.

The Union numbers to-day 1,800 members in Constantinople alone, among whom are 1,600 student and former university men. It has a large and fairly well-appointed meeting club in the centre of Stamboul, which is very well attended. The Turkish papers published abroad may be read here, and there is a well-stocked library which already boasts a large collection of volumes, although the Union is only two years old. There is, moreover, a huge lecture-hall, seating several thousand people, with arrangements for lantern-slide illustrations. A lecture evening is held every Thursday, devoted to Literature and Nationalist propaganda. University professors and other influential persons speak at these evenings, either on interesting episodes in Turkish history, the Turkish heroes, ancient arts, such as Architecture and the art of Enamelling, now unhappily forgotten, or else on the life of the Turks abroad, and numerous other interesting subjects. The lectures are illustrated with lantern slides. Pictures are shown illustrating the old Turkish civilization; for instance, the ancient mosques built by Turkish architects, country pictures from Hindustan, Afghanistan, Turkestan, &c. The "Turk Ojaghi" has a rich and interesting collection, consisting of several thousand of these pictures.

These literary meetings are repeated every Friday for the Turkish women, who are most frequent in their attendance. The "Turk Ojaghi" helps the women's movement in Turkey in every possible way. Not only do men give lectures to women, but the women, too, mount the platform and ad-

dress the men. In spite of the very strict harem laws in Turkey, the non-observance of which may give rise to police interference, there are women, such as Khalide Edib Khanum, for instance, who may frequently be seen lecturing to an audience composed entirely of men.

She has her face covered with a yashmak, but the mere appearance of a Khanum in a company consisting of men, many of whom are Khoja (priests), constitutes an historical event of the greatest importance. At one of these lecture evenings, after Khalide Edib Khanum's lecture, Turkish ladies belonging to the most aristocratic circles sat down at the piano, still hidden under the yashmak, of course, and played and sang national and patriotic airs.

At the Friday meetings every opportunity is taken of declaring that the Turks will never be a truly modern nation until their women are no longer hidden behind the bars of the harem and the folds of the yashmak. The "Turk Ojaghi" loses no occasion of preaching women's emancipation, which forms an important part of the Nationalists' social revolutionary programme. The general opinion is that the liberation of women will take place in a comparatively short time.

The "Turk Ojaghi" works hard for the enlightenment of the scholars in the Medresse and clerical seminaries.

The pupils of these seminaries, who are called Softas, number a few thousands in Constantinople, and formed an important body of reactionaries in the time of Abdul Hamid. They now are either members of the Union or visitors to the regular meetings. An important philanthropic task undertaken by the "Turk Ojaghi" is that of receiving poor students in the Union's home, procuring them free medical attendance,

and generally looking after their welfare in every way. The national principles advocated by the Union are thus carried out in practice, by awakening and strengthening the sense of firm reliability.

The "Turk Ojaghi" has sixteen branches in the Turkish towns of the Empire; these are managed quite independently of the central body.

The provincial "Turk Ojaghis" are animated by the same spirit as that of the metropolitan centre.

Turkish students in France, Germany, Switzerland, &c., have founded a Union called "Turk Yurdu" (Turkish home). This Union has no great influence on the people, but is nevertheless preparing for the future. It is occupied in convincing the hundreds of Turkish students in Europe, who will surely become in a few years the leaders of Turkish intellectual life, of the truth of the Nationalist beliefs. This success will certainly make itself felt in the near future.

A most excellent Union is the "Turk Bilgi Derneyi" (Academy of Turkish Science). It is semi-official in character, being supported by the Government and under the patronage of the Central Committee for Union and Progress. Although but recently founded (Summer 1913) this union is clearly destined to lay the foundation of the intellectual revival and civilization of the Turkish nation. Emrullah Effendi, former Minister of Education, who was himself engaged in the production of a Turkish encyclopaedia, is president of the Dernek, which counts among its members nearly all the famous scholars of Turkey. The "Dernek" publishes a large well-got-up monthly review, the *Bilgi Mejmu'asi*, which contains articles by all the important members on questions connected with

the nation. This is the only scientific review in Turkey.

The "Dernek" is divided into different sections, of which the following may be noted:

1. The "Turkiat" (Turkological section). The president of this section is Nejib Asim, one of the oldest Turkish historical students and philologists. The members include the following: Brusali Tahir Bey, the well-known historian, Akshura Oghlu Jusuff, Ahmed Refik, &c.

2. The "Islamiat" (section for the study of Islam). President: Musa Kazim Effendi, former Sheikh-ul-Islam; most important members, Riza Tevfik Bey, the great philosopher, and Sheikh Mahmud, the famous theologian.

3. The "Hayatlat" (section for the biological sciences), among whose members are the greatest medical authorities in the capital, including Suleiman Numan Pasha, Director of Medical Services in the War Ministry, Kadir Rashid Pasha and Adnan Bey, who are all well known in European circles.

4. The "Felsefe ve Ishtimaiat" (philosophical and sociological section), under Emrullah Effendi, whom we have mentioned before. Its members include the following men, also well known in Europe: Javid Bey, former Minister of Finance, Lutfi Fikri Bey, the famous leader of the Opposition, &c.

5. The "Rayaziyat ve Madiat" (section for the mathematical and natural sciences), under Salih Zeki, the Director of the Polytechnic High School in Stamboul.

6. The "Turkjilik" (Executive Council), to which is entrusted the study of the practical means of carrying out the plans of the different sections, the study of the encouragement of all scientific, social, and economic movements which might as-

sist the progress of Nationalism.

This Council consists of the most zealous Nationalists and authorities on every subject, including Philology, Poetry, Architecture, Aesthetics, Pedagogy, Economics, Politics, Hygiene, &c.

All the sections are carrying out their work with the greatest enthusiasm.

One of the national unions for the raising of the physical standard of the Turkish nation is the Constantinople Sports Club, the "Turk Güji", which is endeavouring to make a strong robust nation, like that of ancient times, out of the physically degenerate Turkish peoples.

An important union, which is capable of great development, is the "Boys' Club", "İzji", which is organized after the European pattern, but in purely Turkish form. The "Scouts' Club" was founded by Enver Pasha the president, or rather by the Ministries for War and Education, and is protected and managed by the authorities, being thus of an entirely official character. The different members assume ancient Turkish names; the union is, indeed, organized on purely ancient Turkish principles, adapted to modern life. The Scout movement was eagerly welcomed upon its introduction and immediately became popular. Deputies from the provinces are sent to the capital to fraternize with their comrades there. A great deal has already been accomplished. For instance, the "İzjis" performed on foot the journey from Smyrna to Constantinople. This organization will completely revolutionize the former position of youth in Turkey. The boys, who were almost entirely inactive in their young days, and only grew up to a still more inactive manhood, will now receive

new life and happiness, strength, and movement. The leaders will therefore sow the seeds of national thought in the hearts of the young people, whose life is becoming daily fresher and stronger, and we may be certain that in that impressionable soil those seeds will quickly take root and be tended with loving care.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The leaders of the Turkish movement realized at the very start that the first national reforms must be in the direction of improving Turkey's economic position.

They never lost an opportunity of declaring that as long as the Turks remained poor and allowed the people of other nations to swallow up their trade, industries, and indeed all the economic resources of the country, as long as they preferred to live by officialdom to engaging in trade or any free career, so long would they remain weak, and foreigners be the masters in Turkey.

The Nationalists devoted their efforts from the very first moment to raising the economic life of the country. It is, however, interesting to note that they wisely refrained from lending the banner of pure Nationalism to economic agitators.

They sought after a judicious mingling of the religious and national impulses. They realized only too clearly that the still abstract ideals of Nationalism could not be expected to attract the masses, the lower classes, composed of uneducated and illiterate people. It was found more expedient to reach these classes under the flag of religion. Religion has a universal appeal, whereas Nationalism is a finer instrument which requires good training if it is to be properly handled.

When the right moment arrives, and the masses come to believe in the national idea, there need be no hesitation in making use of the more delicate appeal of Nationalism, without, however, entirely discarding the religious element.

The economic organization created by the leaders of the movement is widely spreading, but is not yet perfect.

We must first mention the Esnaf (the Corporations). Those of the Kaikji (boatman), Arabaji (cab-drivers), Hammals (porters), Bakkals (grocers), Kasab (butchers), &c., &c., are inseparable bodies, whose members are bound by perfect discipline.

Each Corporation has its own rules, laws, and customs, which unite the hundreds and thousands of men. The "Kehaya" (superintendent) has complete control over his people, and the leaders of the National movement use the influence of these "Kehayas" for the good of the nation.

The Corporation Union is very old, but its adaptation for idealistic aims and purposes is modern. The National leaders, who are themselves under the control of the Committee, have reorganized all the Corporations on a new basis, taken them under their leadership and added to them hitherto non-existent Corporations. Thus these Corporations form

to-day a powerful tool in the hands of the Turkish Nationalists.

Besides the Corporations, which only include artisans and small tradesman, the merchants have recently founded a Union of Turkish Merchants. This forms the so-called "intellectual party" among the merchants, and is concerned with Export and Import, Industry, &c. This Union is also the work of the Turkish Nationalist leaders. It is Mohammedan in spirit, and also admits foreign Mohammedans to its membership. There are various Consumers' Unions (Milli Istihlak), which unite and group together the Turkish Consumers. These form a further source of power to the Nationalists. There is even a Consumers' Union for women, which is managed and conducted by Turkish ladies.

The results of these efforts and organizations can easily be seen. In the course of a few months hundreds of new Turkish shops sprang up in the different parts and quarters of the town, the suburbs, and provinces, where formerly all the trade had been in the hands of Greeks and Armenians. This applies equally to the purely Turkish quarters. Nearly all these new shops bore Turkish signs. Here a restaurant called "Turania", there a draper's shop called "Mussulman" Bazaar, or a barber claiming to be a "Turkish Barber", or a tailor declaring that he employs exclusively "Turkish labour". Some signs have their inscriptions borrowed from Turkish literature and poetry. Ziya Gök Alp's famous book *Kızıl Elma* (The Red Apple) has given its name to a hotel. Stamboul is full of such inscriptions.

The awakening of Turkey and her economic restoration began with a great upheaval, the shock of which was even

felt, to a small degree, in European economic circles, which either directly or indirectly took a certain interest in Turkish affairs. During the period of negotiations between Turkey and Greece on the subjects of the Islands, the Turks declared a boycott on the Greek element. The Turkish press openly advocated this boycott, which was pursued with obstinacy and endurance. The unaccommodating attitude of the Greek Government towards the Island question and the Greeks' persecution of the Turks in Macedonia were sufficient excuse; the real motive was, however, the longing of the Turkish nation for economic independence in their own country. The boycott, which was the first solely directed against the Greeks, was then extended on the Armenians and other non-Mohammedan circles, and was carried out with undiminished energy.

This movement, which lasted in all its vigour for a few months, caused the ruin of hundreds of small Greek and Armenian tradesmen who had been living on Turkish custom and were entirely dependent upon it.

The systematic and rigorous boycott is now at an end, but the spirit it created in the people still persists. There are Turks who will not set foot in foreign shops unless they are certain that the same articles cannot be purchased under the same conditions in the shops of men of their own race, or at least of their own religion. This feeling of brotherhood has taken firm root in the hearts of the people all over the Empire.

In various important centers in Anatolia, special banks have been founded to support Turkish retail tradesmen. The National Bank of Aidin With a capital of 50,000 Turkish

pounds, and that of Konia, with an equally large capital, are flourishing concerns, in spite of certain faults of management.

It can now be asserted that the movement for restoring the economic life of Turkey is on the right road, and that, under better management, it will most probably develop still more widely and favourably. There are, too, many Turks who have large capital lying idle in European banks. A larger proportion of the real property, such as land and real estates, is in the hands of the Turks. The Government, too, does not withhold its support, and is indeed a powerful agent of the whole movement. It is true that the Turkish character is usually lacking in the qualities most essential to trade or economic undertakings, but these may be acquired by a reasonable and methodical training and organization.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOVERNMENT'S PART

The Government has also adopted the Turkish Nationalist principles, and proves this fact in most of its dealings, without, however, doing anything to infringe upon the legal rights of its non-Turkish subjects. On the contrary, the National policy is strongly opposed to narrow-mindedness on the part of the Government, which is highly to its credit. One of the most powerful motives for the preservation of the absolute independence of the Arabs in their provinces, the recognition of their language as official, and the nomination

of Arab officials to their provinces, is precisely that principle of nationality which the Government applies to the Turkish nation. A principle which is recognized as applicable to the Turks must also be acted upon in the case of other non-Turkish nationalities.

In nearly every Government Ministry traces can be seen of the working of this principle in different actions which all tend towards the same goal.

The Ministry for Education must be given the first place. A large proportion of the professors for the higher-grade schools are chosen from among the leader of the Nationalist movement.

The various higher-grade schools have adopted a programme of education in the new branches of learning, such as Turkology, Turkish Sociology, &c. A special effort is being made to keep the system of education on a level with the development of the National question, in order that the National awakening may thus be encouraged in every phase of its growth.

The same idea is followed with varying enthusiasm by the all the other schools, and is shown either in the programme of education, the choice of professors, or the composition of the school books.

The Ministry of Education, under the National movement, has founded various new institutions, as, for instance, the "Istilah Enjumeni" (Academy of Terminology). Hitherto no one had troubled about the creation of technical expressions, but always made use of those current in Europe. Occasionally a few technical words were adapted from the Arabic, being expressly borrowed from one writer or another. The "Istilah

Enjumeni" creates the proper terms for every branch of science and art, as well as for literature, taking great care to adhere as far as possible to the "Yeni Lisan's" principle of employing only pure Turkish words. This is one of the most important anticipations of an emphatically Turkish intellectual life and civilization.

The latest institution, that of the "Dar Elbedai" (conservatoire), is based on the same principle.

The Ministry has also just nominated a "Teelif we Terjume Enjumeni" (Writing and Translation Committee) which is to undertake the translation or composition of books essential to the development of Turkish intellectual culture.

We spoke further back of the "Izji" or Scouts. These organizations have gradually been introduced by the Ministry of Education into all the schools under its control; this step will do much towards building up a strong, healthy, and at the same time Nationalist spirit in the youth of Turkey.

The Ministry of the Interior is directed by Talaat Bey, the leading spirit of the Committee, who devotes all his influence and power to the progress of the Turkish movement. This spirit, this national tendency, is the chief factor in the nominations of town Perfects and Mayors, who in their turn carry out the ministerial duties and orders with the same idea,

Most interesting of all is the work of the Evkaf Ministry (Ministry of Religious Institutions), into whose treasury millions flow from the various pious foundations. The Ministry has now started to use these millions for the economic restoration of the nation.

It has just begun the foundation of a National Bank with a capital of one million Turkish pounds. Part of the huge, hith-

erto untouched, fortune of the Religious Institutions Ministry is in future to be devoted to the education of the Turkish people.

In future, therefore, besides the more or less "Ottoman" schools managed by the Education Ministry, Evkaf schools will be founded, which will work on the lines of our Christian national schools, and provide the elementary education in Turkey.

The Evkaf Ministry has lately turned its attention to a thorough reform of the Medresses (clerical seminaries) which have hitherto been hotbeds of religious fanaticism. Hundreds of these seminaries, which have never taught anything but the most unenlightened scholastic divinity and the most hair-splitting sophistry, and were entirely out of touch with the requirements of modern life, have now been transformed into well-organized theological colleges. Profane sciences have been introduced, such as sociology, history and other studies, which are all taught by professors or, better still, by leaders of the Turkish movement.

These reforms are not nearly completed, but in a few years the hundreds of Medresses will become theological schools in the modern sense of the word, and the "Khojas" who leave them will form a new progressive element in Turkey.

The Evkaf Ministry has also laid the basis of a new Turkish architecture, and has caused a large number of buildings to be erected in ancient Turkish style, and after old designs. The head of this branch is Chief Engineer Kemaleddin Bey, who studied in Germany and is recognized as an authority in Turkey. The Ministry's initiative is therefore bringing about

the revival of the forgotten architecture of ancient Turkey, which is daily winning for itself new supporters and a wider popularity.

The Evkaf Ministry is also occupied with the foundation of a large general library of books dealing with Turkish life. The library of the late Russian Orientalist Katanoff has already passed into the hands of the Ministry, whose new collection consist of thousands of volumes, part of which are devoted to Turkology. An attempt is being made to unite all the valuable and neglected Turkish libraries which lie forgotten in different parts of the capital.

These are to be collected in a magnificent library building in the centre of Stamboul, and rendered accessible to the public.

Nearly all the Ministers declare their Nationalist sympathies. The Minister of Marine, Jemal Pasha, Talaat Bey, and others have declared at the "Turk Ojaghi" meetings before thousands of people that "Biz da Ojakhjis" ("We too are supporters of the 'Turk Ojaghi'").

The portfolio of the Minister of Trade and Agriculture, which has been in the hands of Greeks and Armenians since the time of the constitution, and was lately given to a Christian Arab, has at last been handed over to the Constantinople deputy, Ahmed Nesimi Bey, who joined with Ziya Gök Alp in laying the foundations of the Turkish movement immediately after the proclamation of the constitution. With one exception the members of the cabinet are all imbued with same ideas and principles.

CHAPTER IX

THE PAN-TURKISH IDEAL AND GERMANISM

The fact that the Turks are to-day the allies of Germany is no mere whim of destiny, but the conscious expression of an unconscious brotherhood in arms which has existed between the two nations for a thousand years. For ten centuries both nations have had one common enemy- the Slavs.

The Turkish conquerors from the East crushed the Slav peoples under their horses' hoof; the German races from the West pressed the same nation back into her old territory with mailed fist. The Slavs then fought in century-long wars to prevent the union of the two dangerous powers, which in unconscious agreement were striving in opposite directions towards the same goal. This unsuspected community of purpose represents an alliance exacted by the very nature of things and events; it is an historical and geographical necessity. It bore rich fruit. A Russian historian writes as follows; "It is this unconscious Germano-Turkish alliance which prevents the development of the Slav Union in the Carpathians, the Danube Country and the Balkans."

The Turkish race of the Magyars is placed like a wedge between the Northern and Southern Slavs, which remain separated still after the efforts of a thousand years.

Ten centuries of history have brought about no change in the position of the Germans and Turks towards the Slavs. The two nations have always remained the common foe of the Slav power, and must both protect themselves from the

menace of the Muscovite Empire. As long as the Russian colossus remains, Germanism is threatened with isolation, on account of her geographical position and ethnographical formation. In the same way, the Pan-Turkish aspirations cannot come to their full development and realization until the Muscovite monster is crushed, because the very districts which form the object of the Turkish Irredenta, such as Siberia, Caucasus, the Crimea, Afghanistan, &c., are still directly or indirectly under Russian rule. Russia, who hinders the natural expansion of Germany and Turkey, is for her part stopped in her expansion by two strong nations, the Germans and the Turks: the Germans, who have prevented the union between the Northern and Southern Slavs for which the Russians have striven in vain for ten centuries; the Turks, who bar the way to the Mediterranean for Russia, and therefore for Pan-Slavism, and keep her shut up in the Black Sea. Russia, who is unable to overcome both these obstacles at once, first directed her attention to the smaller of the two, and chose to make her first attacks against the weaker and presumably more easily overcome of her two enemies.

Then began a period extending over hundreds of year, during which the Turks were obliged to resist endless attacks of every different kind. In spite of her great conquests, victories, and successes, Turkey has never been able to remain strong outside, and was therefore not absolutely successful in repelling these long, stubborn attacks of the Russian tyrants, and the world saw the Russian bear gradually devouring one limp after another from its victim's body. So were lost the northern frontier provinces, and so, gradually, in the course of many terrible battles, the provinces on the

northern, eastern, and western coast of the Black Sea. The Russians attempted at the same time to free the Southern Slav races from the Turkish dominion and give the separate nations their independence, thus forming in Turkey's very territory a number of small, but no less dangerous foes. In this they were successful, and the small, Balkan kingdoms were founded. The last blow to the Turks, and not the least disastrous, was the Balkan Union and consequent Balkan War, which was the grim and terrible forerunner of the present world war.

The Turks were almost entirely overwhelmed by Europe, and had it not been for the irony of fate which brought about the horrible discords among the Southern Slavs, causing them to attack each other like hungry wolves around their stolen prey, the Russian ideal would have approached realizations more quickly. Russia would have been able to protect her free exit into the Mediterranean by means of the Southern Slav puppet states.

Immediately after the Balkan War, Russia began to make preparation for a new blow, the reforms in Eastern Anatolia.

If Russia had been able then to realize her first ideal of free exit into the Mediterranean, her efforts would have immediately been directed against Germany in order to attain her second goal-union with the southern seas.

In her work of destruction Russia found an unnatural ally, a degenerate branch of the Teuton race-England. Two monsters were united in the same purpose, the colossus of darkest barbarism and the cruellest oppression joined with the colossus of a degenerate civilization and shameless exploita-

tion of his people. This England, whose Mohammedan subjects possessed a dangerous centre of attraction in the Caliphate, which might well wrest from her her authority over them, wished for this very reason to get possession of Arabia, and the coast of the Persian Gulf as far as Bombay, thus realizing her dream of making the India Ocean an English ocean and setting up the well-known Gibraltar-Singapore line, which would give her the monopoly of the trade of the Old World.

"Treacherous Albion's" policy of robbery and her petty commercial spirit brought her into opposition with Germany on two points:

1. Germany's ideal,(1) which she has followed since the time of Friedrich List, has been the creation of German expansion lines, starting from Hamburg and ending at Bagdad, or perhaps Bassora; this scheme is seriously crippled by the above-mentioned English line.

2. By Germany's rise as a colonial and commercial power, whose irresistible expansion threatened seriously to damage English trade, and endangered England's command of the world by its ever-increasing development.

This war is merely the natural and expected conflict between the two different groups. Since Germany has always shown herself to be the natural protector of Islam, and therefore of Turkey, who recognized her (unfortunately somewhat late) as her one true friend, it was therefore only

(1)This prophecy of Friedrich List's has been rediscovered and given to the world for the first time by his Swabian countryman, Ernst Jackh, in a study entitled "Friedrich List as an Oriental Prophet", which is now included in his book, *The Rising Crescent*.

logical and consistent that Turkey should place herself openly on the side of Germany against two common foes.

Nothing shows better or more clearly the community of interests between the Pan-Turkish ideal and Pan-Germanism than the following extracts from a circular sent by the "Committee of Unity and Progress" to its branches in Turkey. This circular was sent out on the day following the declaration of war between Turkey and the Triple Entente powers:

"For two centuries the outer powers of Europe have directed their expansion on land and sea against the Turkish and neighbouring Mohammedan countries. The Central powers, who were being shut in and isolated by the outer nations, were obliged to confine their natural desire for expansion to themselves, being careful of course to watch the circle which was hemming them in. In consequence of this an enmity, having its origin in the very nature of things, grew up between the two groups of powers. This natural hostility of the Germanic, Turkish, and Mohammedan nations towards the outer powers brought about a sort of moral alliance between the two first-named nations.

"In accordance with the last will of 'Deli Peter' (Peter the lunatic, i.e, Peter the Great) the Russians have been always attempting to bring about the destruction of Turkey. England and France, who until recent times thought it to their interest to allow Turkey to continue her existence, now see it as their duty to work with Russia for the downfall of Turkey, so that they may thus enjoy uninterrupted possession of Mohammedan countries such as India, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, &c., which they have grabbed with unexampled greed.

These three powers have united against the Central Powers and the world of Islam and formed a Triple Entente, which is nothing less than a twentieth-century crusade. The first successes in this devilish crusade have been the conquest and snatching of Persia, Morocco, and Turkish Rume-
lia. In order to seduce Italy from the Triple Alliance the outer powers gave her Tripoli.

"If we seek the causes of all our misfortunes, both at home and abroad during the past century, we see clearly on every side the traces of the cruel and blood-stained hand of our greatest enemy-the Triple Entente. This Entente has led us into so much misery already, and now its predatory form rises once more before us to bar our road. With a dictatorial 'Halt!' it tried to stand in our way when our troops were advancing to our beloved Adrianople with cries of 'Allah! Allah!' It was this evil and pitiless Entente who recently forced us to give a special form to the East Anatolian provinces. When these wretches attempted to impose the same fate upon Germany and Austro-Hungary as had been meted out to us, and to lay the same trap for the two Central Powers, the great war broke out. In order that their atrocious crime against the Central Powers should be successful, they decided upon a plan by means of which the Dardanelles should be forced from the Mediterranean side and the Bosphorus from the Black Sea side simultaneously. The robbery by England of our two dreadnoughts, the *Reshadie* and *Sultan Osman*, is nothing but a direct result of this plan. It is quite obvious that if the Russians and English had gained possessions of the straits, which are the key to the Caliphate, they would have forced us to take up arms against the Central Powers.

Thus would the weapon for suicide have been forced into our hand. Fortunately our Government acted with the greatest wisdom, by ordering mobilization at the right moment and taking over the *Yavuz* and *Midilli* from Germany. In this way our authority in the Black Sea and our possession of the straits were assured, and our position became one of armed neutrality. But are we to remain idle while our natural allies are at war with Russia-our sworn, irreconcilable, and eternal enemy? Will not victory for the Triple Entente be to us a sentence of death? Were it not madness if we refrain now from devoting all our moral and physical energy to meeting this danger?

"We must not forget that our participation in the world war would not take place solely to defend ourselves against threatened ruin; it would also represent something far nearer to our hearts-the vindication of our national ideal.

"The national ideal of our nation and people leads us, on the one hand, towards the destruction of the Muscovite enemy, in order to obtain thereby a natural frontier to our empire, which should include and unite all branches of our race.

"On the other hand, our religious principles urge us to free the Mohammedan world from the power of the unbelievers, and to give independence to the followers of Mahomet. For these reasons we must sooner or later become involved in the world war. The enemy has already forced the obligation upon us by trying to mine the entrance to the Black Sea and to surround or disperse our fleet. Now we know why we are fighting. The goal shines before us and we can take up our arms with zeal and enthusiasm.

"We are fighting for our nation, our religion, and our na-

tional ideal!"

This document, which is of great historical value, speaks for itself. It forms a convincing and concrete definition of the Pan-Turkish ideal. It shows still more clearly the close intimate bond which unites this ideal to that of Pan-Germanism.

Of especial importance is this sentence in the circular:

"On the other hand, our religious principles urge us to free the Mohammedan world, from the power of the unbelievers, and to give independence to the followers of Mahomet."

A third ally is added to the Pan-Turkish and Pan-German ideas that of Pan-Islam. It is true that the Turks are striving for the union of all Turks under the banner of Osman, but they are nevertheless determined upholders of Pan-Islamism.

The United Turks, they say, should form the centre of gravity of the world of Islam. The Arabs of Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia, the Persians and Afghans, &c., must enjoy complete independence in their own affairs, but outwardly the world of Islam must present a perfectly united front.

This conception of Pan-Islamism expressed by the upholders of the Pan-Turkish movement applies perfectly to Germany's policy towards Islam. Germany, whose sovereign declares himself the friend of Islam, is also anxious to preserve the complete independence of the Mohammedan world, in order to bring about her own economic expansion.

We need only add that as long as the Turks have an ideal, as long as they remain conscious of their mission in the world, so long will their destiny be bound up with that of Pan-Germanism.

We must not believe that the Russian, i.e. the Slav peril will cease after the war. The defeat which the Russians will suffer in this war cannot render them harmless for ever. It may, on the other hand, cause an awakening, an intellectual and moral renaissance of the Slav world. The Pan-Turkish and Pan-German ideals will therefore be united in their aims at least so long as the Slav peril exists.

The two powers, Germany and Turkey, complete one another in a marvellous way. Turkey, as leader of the Mohammedan world, most urgently requires European science and the modern developments of European civilization and intellectual life in all branches of human activity, in intellectual, social, administrative, and especially in economic spheres. Germany is the only country to whom she can apply for this without endangering her national independence and territorial integrity. Germany's national ideal is economic expansion. Who could suggest a wider field for this than the inexhaustible regions of Anatolia, Asia Minor, and all Turkish territory both before and after the war?

No power on earth can destroy such a bond which is welded out of a community of such precious solid and substantial interests!

PART II

THOUGHTS ON THE NATURE AND PLAN OF A GREATER TURKEY

(TRANSLATED FROM A TURKISH WORK OF THE AUTHOR'S)

CHAPTER I

THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The Turkish army's defeat in the Balkan War was regarded with justifiable surprise throughout Europe. Various writers have taken pains to discover the causes of the complete overthrow of those armies which were once the wonder and terror of the Old World.

One of these essays interested me very much. "The Turkish soldier in that war was unable to see before him the figures of his ancient heroes. The noble cause of the other days was lacking, and he had nothing to call forth his bravery. Once the feeling for 'Jihad' (Holy War) was firmly en-

grained in him. The soldier marching to war knew that he would either return as 'ghazi' (victor), covered with glory, or die, and enter the happy realms of Paradise as 'Shahid'.

"The nineteenth century brought with it the wholesale destruction of the religious ideal, and placed in its stead the national idea.

"This took place in Turkey also, where the old 'Jihad' spirit was to be supplanted by nationalism. The old regime tended to crush all the interests and every manifestation of a national spirit in the people. The new regime at first placed the Turkish people in a vague and ill-defined position. Which aims should they follow? They hesitated between an unrealizable 'Ottomanism'- the union of all the nations in the kingdom into one body-and 'Pan-Islamism'. Turkish national consciousness was not yet awakened. But a soldier who goes into battle without this national ideal cannot fight well."

I do not know to what extent this opinion is correct, but the final sentence seems to me most remarkable, in that it contains a bitter truth.

If the Turks had possessed a national consciousness in the Balkan War they might perhaps have been spared many trials, not only in their war against their neighbours but also in the "struggle for existence"-in their inner development.

Even before the Balkan War this state of affairs had attracted the attention of European observers. I should like to draw attention to the following extracts from an article in the *Mercure de France* of August 16, 1912:

"The Ottoman Turks -the real owners of the Empire- form an element in the population which is ignored and forgotten

in its own country. The Turks, who belong to the Turkoman race, have remarkably good traits of character, including uprightness, honesty, industry, modesty, and patience. They struggle in vain with the hard soil of Anatolia, and do not even succeed in making enough to live on. They are everlasting slaves and prisoners, who waste their best strength in hard compulsory labour, while their very blood is sucked dry by the tax farmers. No one protects them. They form the one element of the people which has filled the barracks and garrisons of the Empire for centuries past. Its blood has watered the furrows of the Macedonian fields, and has drenched the trackless plains of Hauran and Yemen. A pitiless despotism snatches the sons of this race, while still almost children, from their native soil, and banishes them to the distant barracks and garrisons on the frontiers of the Empire. They are left there forgotten- five, ten, fifteen years pass, and the discharge order never comes. If the poor man who has become a stranger to his work has the good fortune to be sent home he has no more energy or strength left to work. His father and mother have probably died in his absence, and he sees poverty staring him in the face. The field his father left him has been sold by the hard-hearted tax farmers. Misery such as this is common in the villages on the Anatolian plain and in the gorges of Rumelia. Every kind of misfortune assails them- poverty, pestilence, and the greatest evil of ancient Turkey, the horrors of spying and suspicion. The best sons of the race are in prison or banished. There are no newspapers worth mentioning, no clubs or unions. The schools only exist to teach devotion to the authorities. The Turkish people seem doomed to everlasting

slavery.

"On the other hand, the Christian population of Turkey has been consistently progressing, partly by means of privileges too easily granted, and partly by their own initiative, and they are ousting the real owners of the country more and more from their heritage. Two nations, pressing upon them from either side, have succeeded in driving the old 'conquerors' more and more into the interior of the country. The Greeks from the sea and the islands have taken possession of the harbours and coast towns of Anatolia, and pressed the Turks further and further back into the salt steppes of the interior. The Armenians, who, thanks to their friendly relations with England, have become very rich, have cut off their retreat. The Turks is such a miserable wretch that he has long forgotten the plains of Turania, without even having been able to assure his footing in the country he has conquered. He was so convinced of his own power that he omitted to build bridges between his old and new homes, bridges between the different conquered territories. For centuries the conquerors have lived scattered over huge districts without any communication joining the separate settlements, and without any internal unity, which is of such vital necessity. Separated by enormous distances, they lived isolated lives, and were lacking in community of spirit, and therefore in any national civilization. The Turks have always lived like an organism without a head or a brain. . . ."

This description applies of course to the old regime, and the coming of the new regime has not yet brought about any material improvement. The causes of this national evil have not yet disappeared, precisely because the Turks have not

yet come to their national consciousness.

The efforts to awaken a national spirit have met with loud protests and violent opposition. People laboured at first under the delusion that a national movement meant opposition to religion. The few liberal minded spirits who dared to identify themselves more closely with the movement, were silenced. The true awakening of national consciousness did not take place until after the Balkan Wars.

CHAPTER II

THE AWAKENING

It is a well-established historical fact that great political or social crises usually produce great social movements. The awakening of the German nation came at the time of its greatest misfortune. A large part of Germany was groaning under the Corsican's yoke, and her very existence was menaced. At that time, great poets, philosophers, and orators rose, summoned the youth of the nation to resist, and rallied the national thought by word and deed. The foreign yoke of France was shaken off in fierce battles, Germany's political independence was won, and the influence of the French language, literature, and civilization was weakened and dispelled. The spirit of the German people received new life. When therefore, French arrogance once more threatened the frontiers of Germany, the nation rose in a body against her hereditary foe. Sedan and other names bear witness to the successes of Germany's combined forces. Men such as

Bismarck, Moltke, and others were the sons of this German national spirit. Forty-four years of peace, of quiet development outside, and consistent progress inside the country, followed on this period. In a few decades Germany reached the front rank of the civilized nations, and the cowardly fear of being outstripped gave "faithless Albion" no peace until she could vent upon us the rage which is the heritage of the great German-hater, Edward VII, and raise all Europe in a furious blow against the dangerous strength of Germany. This war is a brilliant proof of Germany's highly developed national consciousness. The number of her volunteers, who can be counted by millions, bears eloquent witness to her spirit. We are now seeing the results of organization and national strength.

The present awakening of Turkey may well be compared to that of Germany exactly a hundred years before, in that it followed upon a critical and unhappy period.

The Turkish national spirit has changed very greatly in a wonderfully short time. It is almost a miracle. It may be asserted without hesitation that the Turkish people, who up to two years ago were totally lacking in national consciousness, are now imbued with it. This new spirit filters like beneficent life-giving rain through all the strata of the nation, restoring the whole people. The great men in whose hands is placed the nation's destiny to-day are imbued with this spirit and are solving the national problems by its light. The newly-awakened consciousness inspires in every part of the nation the will to gain for their Fatherland a strong and favourable position among the nations. The "Academy of Turkish Sciences" (Turk bilgi Derneyi) strives to create an individual in-

tellectual life. The National Union" (Turk Ojaghlari) works at the awakening of a national idea and the union of all Turks by a strong bond of nationality. The sports Unions do their best to give the nation a physical development equal to that of the old "Conquerors". The Turkish "Scout" movement provides a modern and patriotic education for the youth of the country, and attempts, by bringing boys into direct contact with nature in their expeditions, to rouse in their impressionable hearts a love for their Homeland and their nation. The economic leagues and societies are founding firms and business houses in Stamboul and all over Anatolia, and are confident of fruitful development.

The word "Turk" has now taken on a new and improved significance. Two years ago, even liberal-minded Turks interpreted this word in the European sense, i. e. as meaning raw, anti-social, anti-national, uncivilized, reactionary. The number of Turks who were proud of their nationality was shamefully small. Now, however, "Turk" connotes honest, industrious, enduring, persevering, self-sacrificing, and progressive. The dictionary of nations is obliged to accept this change of meaning. When the word "Turk" is mentioned now, it does not express the calumny so current in Western Literature, but brings back the memory of the famous days of ancient Turkey, of noble help given freely to oppressed nations and toleration to foreign religions. To this is added a fine shade of meaning, implying the modern progressive and newly awakened spirit of Turkey.

People have also become accustomed to the fact that the words "Turk" and "Mohammedan" are not identical, and are aware that now "Turk" is the expression of national and

"Mohammedan" that of religious citizenship, just as Arabs and Albanians, for instance, must be called Arabs and Albanians in spite of their religious brotherhood, and not be designated under the common title of Mohammedans.

To-day there is a Turkish nation; her subjects feel a Turkish heart beat in their breast, Turkish blood flow through their veins, and Turkish feelings and ideas rule their life.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEAL

The awakening of the national consciousness, in itself a cause for rejoicing, is only a beginning, a preparation for the real goal. The way is clear, but the end is still far away. What great distances must be covered by the people in order to reach this end! What developments from their good beginning! An ideal is needed to make the national consciousness bear fruit. A spur or a goad must urge on the nation, lest it weary before the goal is reached. Every class, every individual in the country should, through his consciousness of self, see this ideal shine before him, forming the end of all his desires, and making the goal still more worth striving for.

Every nation under the sun possesses such an ideal, be it great or small, powerful or uninspiring.

The Germans proclaim their ideal in their national songs: "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles..." Every German knows this song from his childhood, all through his life it rings in his ears, and with those words on his lips he dies-

"Deutschland, Deutschland über alles", and in very truth every German longs with his whole soul and will to see his nation "über alles". In striving for this ideal the Germans have become so great and powerful a nation that they are now able to defy a whole world of assailants and defeat them all.

The English have also an ideal, and as it is precisely identical with Germany's, the conflict between the two nations became inevitable.

The French ideal is in contradiction to the needs and conditions of the age.

Since the great Revolution, the nation has striven towards "liberty, equality, fraternity".

The French philosophers have created a special term for this: "Humanitarianism". Gustav Lebon says:

"France's greatest misfortune is that humanitarianism has become her national ideal. Italy was created through this ideal, and she has always been among the enemies of France.

"In short, the training of a Frenchman is not national, but anti-national."

The Balkan peoples, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and even populations who till yesterday were under the dominion of Turkey, all possess a national ideal. From the statesman who is concerned with the hard questions of political and social life, down to the simple peasant who knows about nothing but his cow and his sickle, all long to see a powerful Greece, Bulgaria, or Serbia. As the Turks have only to-day found their national consciousness, they can not be expected to have a very well-defined ideal yet, and, indeed, they have not got it. In order to imbue a people with such an

ideal, and make it take firm root, much time is needed.

To avoid misinterpretation, let us hasten to add that although the Turks had no such ideal up to quite recent times, there were nevertheless a large number of idealists in the country, who brought about the revolution of July 23, and warded off the danger of April 23; they, too, raised Turkey from the Balkan disaster. Had Turkey not possessed men such as Enver, Talaat, Jemal, and others, during those hard and disastrous times, the Ottoman Empire would have disappeared entirely by to-day.

But even if a number of idealists are living and working in a country, it does not follow that the nation itself has its ideal.

It only proves that nation is capable of developing ideals. In this fruitful soil the seeds of an ideal should be sown with loving care, and the young shoots carefully tended.

CHAPTER IV

THE TURKISH IDEAL

What is to be the ideal of the Turkish nation? What aims should it embrace? What feelings and desires should be inculcated in the babies in the kindergartens, the children in the schools, the young men at the universities, and the full-grown men in their working life? Of course desires and feelings cannot be forced on a nation unless they are in harmony with its soul and individuality. A nation's ideals must rise

from the spirit of tradition.

The thinkers who led the new movement in Turkey never lost this point of view for a moment.

They went back to the origins of the nation and laid bare the Turanian question.

The adherents of the "Yeni Lisan" (new language), who undertook to reform the Turkish language, confine themselves to the ancient Turkish treasury of words, and strive to purify the language from the foreign, i. e. Persian and Arab, elements.

In their literary reforms they advocate the pure national impulse, and give preference to old national themes and subjects which express the genuine Turkish spirit.

Old, forgotten Turkish songs and tales are revived, and it is hoped and believed that the soul of the ancient people will be found in the old traditions.

All these efforts only show what method is being pursued and on what lines the founding of an ideal for Turkey is being based. Turanianism itself, which lately received frequent mention in the newspapers, cannot form the true substance of this ideal, as far as it connotes the Turkish race.

Community of race is of extremely small importance in this modern age. The English and the Germans are of the same race, and yet they are the bitterest enemies in the world. The same thing may be noticed in our near neighbourhood; community of race does not prevent the Serbians and Bulgarians from nourishing the deepest hatred against each other; each longs for nothing more heartily than the downfall of the other.

Russia, of course, proclaims her hypocritical Pan-

Slavism, but her policy is not really directed towards the union of all Slav nations, but the extension and glorification of Russian despotism by means of the Slav nations.

The only nation which is a true member of the "Order of the Knout" is Serbia, who has had to realize the bitter truth that as far as she is concerned "Slav" is synonymous with "Slave", and that the "Brother of Russia" comes to the same as the "Servant of Russia". Poles and Ukrainians, who live too near to their Russian "brother" to be taken in by "Pan-Slavism", hate the Russian authority with a whole-hearted and bitter hatred, and regard it as their greatest, worst, and most dangerous enemy.

The Czech, Ruthenian, Polish, Slovenian, and other Slav soldiers who are fighting in the Austrian Army are specially bitter against their "brothers" the Russians.

This affords sufficient proof of the fact that the bond of racial relationship is nowadays a very slight one. If, therefore, an attempt is made to give to the Turks a national ideal based on the principle of the brotherhood of all Turkish nations, the attempt will certainly fail. This does not imply that the feeling of racial community is to be discouraged or opposed. This feeling is, on the contrary, of great value, and it is a matter of congratulation that the *rapprochement* between Magyars and Turks is being so well received here.

Yet once again: The Turks' national ideal cannot be the race theory, because the latter is really nothing but a Utopian dream.

The natural ideal of the Turkish nation can only grow out of the national movement. Could anything be more worth striving after, more beautiful than the union of all the Turks in

the world, and the ardent desire to give all these Turks a common soul, a common consciousness, and a common civilization? It must not be forgotten that the Ottoman Turks, who already possess a national consciousness, now only represent a tenth of the whole nation. There are now sixty to seventy million Turkish subjects, who should succeed in giving the nation an important place among the other powers. Unfortunately there is no relationship between the separate groups, which are distributed over great tracts of land. Their aspirations and national institutions still divide them.

The Turks who live under foreign rule have one hope and strength- the Ottoman Turks- but, not yet being come to national consciousness, they do not realize the great danger to which they and their brothers have been exposed: now that the Ottoman Turks have awakened from their sleep of centuries they do not only think of themselves, but hasten to save the other parts of their race who are living in slavery or ignorance.

CHAPTER V

THE IDEALS OF THE NEW NATION

The history of recent times shows us that all nations on awakening to national consciousness think first of their brothers in neighbouring lands. This thought has then gradually risen to become their national ideal. This is seen for the first time in the case of Italy. Hardly she won her national unity when she became eager to help her compatriots

abroad. This movement to free her brothers in Southern Tyrol and neighbouring districts gave rise to the Irredenta. Political consideration induced Italy to enter into an alliance with Austria, but the Irredenta never lost sight of its goal for a moment. The reason for the fact that public opinion is against Austria in spite of the alliance is to be found only in the Irredenta. In spite of the community of interests between Italy and Austria, a real friendship has never existed between the two States. They were even obliged to strengthen their common frontiers. Even in this war public opinion in Italy is against her Allies. If this reaction were not heavily counterbalanced by the wise statesmanship of the leading personalities, the Italians too would have fallen into the clutches of hypocritical and self-seeking Albion at the beginning of the war.

The Irredenta policy, which has its origin in Italy, is today one of the strongest and most remarkable factors in the policy of nations.

Roumania has long been regarded as the satellite of the Triple Alliance, or rather of Austria-Hungary. She is almost completely surrounded by Slav nations and has her only natural *point d'appui* in the Monarchy. It was, therefore, to be expected that she would openly declare herself to be the partisan of Austria and promptly fall upon Russia, the enemy of civilization. The latest events have unfortunately proved the contrary. Immediately after the outbreak of war, public opinion ranged against Austria and demanded that the Government should take the favourable opportunity of joining forces with Russia against Austria. An explanation of this strange and certainly unexpected fact is not far to seek. The

Irredenta movement has recently spread to Roumania, and has taken a firm hold on the nation. Its object is to free the Roumanians in Transylvania from the Austrian authority, and unite them with their Fatherland. This movement has also extended to the Roumanians in Hungary, and the Hungarian Government found itself obliged to take the necessary steps. Russian money and intrigues could only have had so surprising an effect in Roumania for this reason, that the ground was amply prepared by the Irredenta. Thus the Irredenta, regarded as a national ideal, almost succeeded in perverting Roumania to the extent of inducing her to take up arms against Austria in this great war.

The Roumanian Irredenta is not only directed towards Transylvania but also to Macedonia, although Roumania has no common frontier with Macedonia, which is the home of a few hundreds of thousands of Kutzovlachs of Roumanian blood.

Innumerable unions were founded in Roumania for the purpose of protecting these people from Greece's efforts to Hellenize them, and the Roumanian Government grants them a yearly subsidy of 700,000-900,000 francs. Up to the time of the Balkan War the position of the Kutzovlachs was an important factor in Roumania's foreign policy. By this policy Roumania became a friend of Turkey, broke off her relations with Greece for some time, and drove thousands of Greeks out of the country.

The small Balkan States of Bulgaria, Serbia, &c., whose foundation dates from the last century, were also willing and eager to receive Irredenta ideas. Hardly had their independence been won, when they began to think of their brothers

in the frontier lands. Even their Governments were obliged to support this national ideal.

Bulgaria had hardly become a principality before it took up the Eastern Roumelian question, and by dint of revolutions, robber bands, and other well-known Balkan methods, succeeded in annexing this province. After this lucky start Bulgaria used exactly the same means to bring the Bulgarians in Macedonia under her rule. It is only too well known what was the result of this policy in Macedonia.

Serbia likewise made use of the customary methods of murder and robbery for the same purpose in Macedonia, thus finally turning the poor country into a terrestrial hell.

Macedonia is soaked in blood. Atrocities were committed there, the mere thought of which makes one's hair stand on end. Nevertheless, the leaders of robber bands and members of the terrible Irredenta were not regarded by the public as wild robbers, but as heroes fighting for the unity of the nation.

The Balkan peoples, who have fought in this terrible and grisly manner, but with all their best strength, for many years for the union of their compatriots, have really attained their ideal in their victory over Turkey in the last war.

CHAPTER VI

THE TURKISH IRREDENTA

The ideal of the new nations, and the policy of their Governments as interpreters of the national ideal, show a

strong tendency towards the liberation of their compatriots abroad from the foreign yoke, or at least the awakening of their national consciousness.

The newly-awakened Turks can have no other aim. The Turkish Irredenta may be directed towards material or moral reforms according to circumstances. If the geographical position favours the venture, the Turks can free their brothers from foreign rule. In the other case they can, like the Roumanians in Macedonia, carry on their Irredenta on moral or intellectual lines.

While the Irredenta did not come to the Italians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, and Serbians at the bidding of actual necessity, it formed for Turkey an inevitable policy. The Italians and other nations could easily have carried on their national development without the help of an Irredenta, because they have in their own country sufficient political, social, and economic resources to give them the upper hand over any possible alien element. Their national integrity is therefore unthreatened.

This is unfortunately not the case in Turkey. The Turks have not got the actual mastery in their own country. If Turkish civilization, the Turkish spirit, the Turkish national aspirations, were to be confined solely to Turkey, they could only be ephemeral in their influence, because they would be continually exposed to strong opposing influences. The Ottoman Turks are indeed the only strength of their brothers abroad, but they themselves are dependent on the co-operation of the different parts of their nation in foreign lands, because their numbers in the Fatherland are too small, and they are thus constantly menaced by the danger of assimilation into

their *milieu*.

The Irredenta, which other nations may regard as a luxury- though often very terrible and costly- is a political and social necessity for the Turks. The motive of the Turkish Irredenta is not, as with other nations, greed for conquest, because Turkey has no need of increased territory or conquests. The fruitful land of Anatolia would provide good homes and food for a population three times greater than the present number. The Turkish element at home not only requires material but moral expansion and strengthening. The Ottoman Turks have allowed themselves to be too greatly influenced by the mode of thought and conditions of life in their country, and have lost many of their national qualities, while Turks living abroad under different conditions have been better able to retain them. The Ottoman Turks have not, for instance, been able to preserve in all its strength the well-known warlike spirit of their forefathers. But the Kashkai peoples in Persia, the Afghans, and other Turkish elements have retained this martial spirit to the full. The Ottoman Turks who have been under a political rule for centuries have always regarded officialdom and a bureaucratic career as the highest possible aim. The spirit of enterprise no longer lives within them. On the contrary, the Turks of Azerbaijan and in Russia have this quality to a very high degree.

The Ottoman Turks have, however, many other good and useful qualities to a greater extent than other Turks.

If all the Turks in the world were welded into one huge community, a strong nation would be formed, worthy to take an important place among the other nations of the world.

CHAPTER VII

THE IDEALISTS

It is indeed no easy (but therefore all the more noble) task to give a common spirit and common national soul to all Turks. An ideal is an idea which may come to fulfilment at any moment. The ideal is the most distant point on the mental horizon of a nation, and every step taken towards it means a very real progress.

The raising of a nation depends not only upon the presence of an ideal, but also upon the co-operation of idealists who are ready to devote all their strength, and even their lives and fortunes, to its attainment. As we have seen before, the Turkish nation is in no wise lacking in such idealists. A convincing proof of this may be gained by a close study of the persons holding the highest positions in the Government. These men have never ceased for a moment to work with utter self-abnegation for the good of the nation. The life of these men is a shining and encouraging example to the youth of the country. Observers who, like myself, are Macedonians, and, like myself, had ample opportunity of gaining an intimate knowledge of the Irredentist propaganda of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians, and Vlachs, are able to judge the significance of this striving after a national ideal, and how sweet and inspiring it is to go through the greatest dangers for such a cause. This is best illustrated by a few living examples.

First let us take the case of a young Bulgarian. He came

of a wealthy family and was therefore pampered and indulged in every possible way by his parents. Up to the age of 30 he studies at the University. Does he then move to a luxuriously appointed lawyer's office in Salonica, surrounded by all the most modern comforts? No! His office is in the mountains, his desk a rock, his pen a gun and dagger, and his clients Turkish gendarmes and Greek robber bands upon whom he passes sentence of death without much ceremony.

Another illustration. The young man has studied medicine in a European University, and returns home with his doctor's degree. Will he now declare war on the microbes and the thousands of diseases which assail human life? No, indeed! He wanders, armed to the teeth, from village to village, from mountain to mountain, dispensing out his only medicine, those death-dealing blue pills, to all the opponents of his ideal, and even to those of his own countrymen who do not share his ideas.

A third picture is afforded by a professor of the highest philosophical attainments. Does he establish a centre of training in Athens, Bucharest, Sofia, or Belgrade? No, again! In secluded villages such as Grebena and Dikvesh, &c., he instils the Irredenta principles into the minds of the village children, and prepares them to sacrifice life and fortune for this ideal.

During the last few years the prisons of Salonica and Monastir have been filled with a curious class of men. The dark dungeon cells do not hide thieves or ordinary criminals, but chiefly doctors, lawyers, professors, and similar idealists.

The mountains and fields of Macedonia hold hundreds of graves of such men as these. The rivers Vardar and Struma

have been reddened by the blood of thousands of these idealists. The men may die, but the ideal is immortal. It is ever brought closer to realization by the death of these men.

Will the Young Turks emulate the self-sacrifice of these men? Or will they rather, on leaving the University, seek as their one object in life an official or similar position in Constantinople or Smyrna or one of the larger towns in the kingdom, without troubling about the needs of their Fatherland, which demands so many young lives? They know the road, and the goal towards which it leads. They know also that these goal cannot be reached but by sacrifice of blood and fortune. But they know best of all that the Fatherland needs them and that the nation is calling.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TURKS OF AZERBAIJAN

THERE are many different kinds of countries which form a fruitful ground for the development of the national ideal. In some places ordinary propaganda is sufficient, but in hotly contested territory recourse is made to the more violent measures which were used in Macedonia.

The neighbouring land of Persia is without doubt the best of all countries with Turkish population for spreading the new ideas, and it has been found that simple propaganda is amply sufficient to produce a satisfactory effect on this fruitful soil. One-third of the whole population of about ten millions is of

Turkish blood.

It can quite clearly be seen to-day that the destiny of the Persian State is closely bound up with that of Turkey. Russia and England, who saw the decline of Turkey, and tried to bring about her final downfall as quickly as possible, were also united on the subject of the complete partition of Persia. They did not even take the trouble to hide this intention. A victory for the Triple Entente would seal Turkey's fate, and the inevitable result would be the fall of Persia.

The material interests of these two countries, which are exposed to the same danger, are therefore closely bound together; indeed, they are almost identical. The maintenance of Turkey is a guarantee for that of Persia, just as, in the opposite case, the strengthening of Persia is a protection against a Russian invasion of Turkey.

These two Mohammedan States are obliged to defend their lives against Russian attack. It is true that this natural, and indeed necessary, *rapprochement* for purpose of resisting a common danger and of mutual protection is not yet an accomplished fact. Turkey has hitherto been far too occupied with internal and external disturbances, wars, and crises, while Persia was cowering under the knout of the notorious Liakoff's Cossacks, and those of his playmates. There is, however, no reason for postponing or hindering this *rapprochement* and union now. As soon as Iran is freed from Russian despotism, efforts will be made to form a strong and binding union between Turkey and Persia.

For this reason, the Turkish propaganda in Persia is by no means hostile to that nation, but will, on the contrary, be a strong factor in the internal and external progress of the

country, especially as the Turks in Persia form the progressive element in the population.

The province of Azerbaijan, which is the richest, most active, and most enlightened in Persia, is almost entirely inhabited by Turks. Two and a half millions are of pure Turkish blood, and think, speak, and pray in Turkish.

The Turcoman and Kashkai population, who live outside this province, are also of pure Turkish descent. Even in the other parts of Persia, the progressive and internal power is mostly in the hands of the Turks. The national wealth of Persia belongs to the Turks, who in their turn fill the Persian Government's treasury. The warlike families in Persia are also Turks; they form the national army of the Government, whose one strong support they are.

The Kajar dynasty, which has ruled over Persia for centuries, is also of Turkish origin. Of the same descent are the Grand Vizier and other State dignitaries, in whose hands has hitherto been placed the welfare of the State. The majority of Persia's thinking men are Turks. The spirit of the administration is Turkish, as also the leading spirit of Persian civilization, even though these be clothed in Persian guise.

Unfortunately all these services rendered by Turks to Persia have been wasted for the former, because all those Turkish warriors and heroes, Shahs and Grand Viziers, thinkers and scholars, have lost their Turkish consciousness and have become assimilated with the Persians in writing, speech, and literature.

It has also been proved historically that Turks have always rendered great services to science, and especially to intellectual life; never, indeed, under Turkish names and des-

ignations, but under names taken from those nations with whom they are living. This is shown in the case of the Arabs, for instance. Men such as Farabi and Ibn Sina, who are famous as the protagonists of Arab civilization, belong to the Turkish race.

We needed, however, research students and historians such as Tahir Bey and Leon Kahun to enlighten us about the nationality of those heroes of civilization, and to show the world, even the Turkish world, that it is absolutely false to believe that Turks had never cared for or helped civilization at any time or in any place.

First, these historical students had to fill many blank leaves of Turkish history books with the fame of their nation. It may be taken for granted that, if only the Turks' national consciousness had dawned upon them at an earlier period of their historical development, they could have looked back on an individual civilization in the same way as other nations, such as the Romans, Greeks, Arabs, &c.

The lack of a national idea as hitherto caused the Turks, even in the independent Ottoman Empire, to clothe all their scientific and intellectual work in Persian guise. The Turkish spirit feels itself too weak to dispense with the borrowed foreign cloak.

If the Ottoman Turks do not become assimilated like their Persian brothers, the reason lies in the fact that in many places they form the majority of the population. Another reason is that a high barrier has been formed between the Turks and the Christian nations by various privileges granted by the different Sultans to the Patriarchs. Close intercourse between the Turkish subjects and those of other faith

was practically impossible.

On the other hand, the Turks who poured into Persia and subdued her had once been subdued themselves. The Turkish subjects in Persia were therefore placed in a very curious position. They speak Turkish, but always use Persian when writing, as though Turkish were forbidden. Even the simplest letter is always written in Persian. Although efforts have recently been made to introduce the use of Turkish in writing they have not been very favourably received. An attempt was even made to publish newspapers printed in Turkish. The journals *Forad* and *Suhbet* both had a very limited circulation and a very short life.

In spite of all this, it does not seem too hard a task to win the Turks in Persia over to the national interest, and give them all a Turkish soul. It is sufficient that a few obstinate and persevering idealists should undertake this beneficent task.

To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to glance at the situation of the Kutzovlachs in Macedonia. The few hundreds of thousands of Vlachs in Macedonia have, until recent days, been in a far worse situation than the Turks in Persia. They are Roumanians, and write and speak Roumanian. From a national point of view they regarded themselves, nevertheless, as Greeks, and never imagined that they could belong to any other nation than Greece. Their religious services were performed in the Greek church and they always made use of Greek priests. At the same time, the language, race, customs, mode of life, and even dress of the Greeks were different. And these Vlachs did not confine themselves to the mere consciousness of being Greeks, but

they also opposed Greek propaganda to that of the Bulgarians.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the first signs of a national awakening were seen- not among the Vlachs in Macedonia, but among those living in Roumania and Hungary. Not until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Roumanians themselves rose to the occasion and started the arousing of the Vlach element, was there any real awakening. At that time, however, Vlach Nationalists started to build Vlach churches and schools, and the Roumanians organized an extensive propaganda. The Greeks tried, indeed, by robber bands and all kinds of forcible means, to put down the new and unexpected movement; but the leaders who were sent from Roumania took up the challenge with the greatest decision, and simply opposed the Greek gangs with Vlachs.

With the financial help of the Roumanian Government, just one decade saw the creation of a combined Vlach element of a few hundred thousand people.

It may be understood that a movement which was so successfully started by a few Roumanian idealists could also be conducted in Persia, and would have an assured success, in that the difficulties encountered by the Roumanian Nationalists would not have to be overcome by the Turkish idealists in Persia. There is no power in Persia to put down such a movement, it could not do harm to any one. The nationalization of the Persian Turks would even be a great and unexpected help to the Persian Government, because an enlightened element of from three to four millions, thinking and acting in unison, would thus be formed in Persia. If the

standard of civilization were raised on Persia by this movement, a strong internal union would thus be possible between the two countries.

Persia could be situated with regard to the Turkish Government as Bavaria towards Prussia, or Hungary towards Austria, i. e., Persia can live her internal life in absolute independence and liberty, while outwardly forming with Turkey one body and soul, one great united nation.

The idea that in helping the Turks in Persia, Turkey will lay hands on the country, is foolish and unfounded. It has always been maintained that Turkey has no desire for territorial expansion. No one can be a better judge than the Turks themselves of the difficulties and disadvantages of ruling over heterogeneous elements of population. The future of Turkey lies only in the extension of her economic and progressive scope, and in an increased number of hands and brains to work for the progress and development of the Turkish nation.

If Persia, as a Mohammedan power, accepts the idea of a Union, the Turkish population will be increased by three to four millions, but the Turkish Empire by about ten million souls.

It is without doubt that many Turks in Persia are eager for a Union, and would not hesitate to devote their lives to the realization of the project. For among the Persian Turks, too, the idealists and "Fedai" (Zealots) are numerous. They have repeatedly proved that they are willing to lay down their lives for an ideal. The Persian revolution, which was crushed under the heel of the Cossacks, and put down by the knout, was started by the Turks in Azerbaijan. The he-

roes who sacrificed their lives for the realization of their plan were mostly Turks, as also were the martyrs of the reaction. The parts played in the Turkish revolution by heroes such as Enver, Niazi, and others, were played in Persia by men such as Sadar Chau, Bakir Chau, &c.

Those brave men who, during the reaction, made an heroic resistance for a year at the siege of Tabris, and went through the most terrible privations, were also Turks. That is to say that there is no lack in Persia of Turks who are worthy of fighting for an ideal, and even of dying.

If, therefore, a part of these many self-sacrificing idealists could be won for the Turkish national movement in Persia, the cause is assured.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAUCASIAN TURKS

The greater part of the Turkish nation is in Russia, who is now at war with Turkey.

The Caucasus, the present goal of our doughty troops, is the home of a large number of these Turks. The country south of the Caucasus Range may really be regarded as Turkish territory. The Turkish element forms the chief part of the population (50 per cent.): in some provinces this figure is increased even to 80 per cent. of the whole population.

The alluvial plains of the Volga and the Kama, in European Russia, are inhabited by four or five million Turks, who are closely allied to the Ottoman Turks in language, institu-

tions, and civilization.

These, and their brothers in the Crimea and Caucasus, lead an independent life, cut off from one another, especially in the provinces of Kazan and Ufa, where the Turks are in the majority. The Northern Turks are not indeed superior to the Ottoman Turks, but must not therefore be underrated: they are indeed in the proud position of having come to national consciousness before the Ottoman Turks. Their progressive, economic, and social organization is in every way a great help to the national movement.

The Ottoman Turks owe to their earlier despotic system of Government the peculiarity of being always Hukümetji, i. e. that they are always too much tied to their "mother" Government's apron-strings and will not be independent. If anything is to be done for the good of the people, the Government must start it. The Government, who has so much to bear, so many dangers to avert, so many cares assailing it, cannot always find time to deal with all the details, which are really the people's business.

A people must make a future for itself; the government can only help and advise, for the whole question is one of natural development. The Ottoman Turks have not yet obtained a common organization like that of the non-Mohammedan peoples.

This is not the case with the Northern and Caucasian Turks, all progress among whom is the result of their own efforts. The Russian Government has given them no support, but, on the contrary, suppressed them as much as possible. In spite of this, the schools, for instance, in these Turkish communities, are in no wise inferior to those in Turkey prop-

er. The scholars leaving these schools are equal to pupils of the Russian schools and are even superior to them to a certain extent. The Russian Turks have an absolutely independent common organization. In each district or community the people all rally round the Imam, who is regarded as their teacher and guide. These Imams are usually very enlightened and wise men, possessing a wide general knowledge which is naturally a great help to the progress of the community.

A sort of common council is formed under the presidency of the Imam, which deals with schools and other national institutions. The work, which, among the Ottoman Turks, is given out by the Patriarchates to the different Mejlis, is here carried out by the common council. The management and upkeep of the schools and national institutions have never been entrusted to the Government by the Russian Turks. The generosity of the community, whose munificent gifts are ample for the upkeep of the various public institutions, has entirely obviated the need for a Government subsidy.

The Russian Turks have their own civilization and speech. They boast many writers, such as Tokai, Ajas, Fateh, and others, who are also intellectual leaders. The press does not discuss the political situation, but only questions directly connected with the national interests. In short, the intellectual standard and moral attainments of these Russian Turks is so high that are in no need of the leadership of the Ottoman Turks. They only demand one thing of the Ottoman Empire- the strengthening and progress of the Turkish Government and the Turkish nation, for therein they see the one support of the whole Turkish people.

The development of national intellectual life and national civilization needs a strong and independent Government.

If the Russian Despotism is, as we hope, to be destroyed by the brave German, Austrian, and Turkish armies which oppose it, thirty to forty million Turks will receive their independence. Together with the ten million Ottoman Turks, this will form a nation of fifty millions, advancing towards a great civilization, which may perhaps be compared to that of Germany, in that it will have the strength and energy to rise ever higher. In some ways it will be even superior to the degenerate French and English civilizations.

All the desires of the Turkish nation are fixed on this goal- the building up of a new, national Turkish civilization, founded on the basis of the old sacred traditions.

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