

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE TRANSLATION OFFICE (*TERCÜME ODASI*)  
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1839-1876)

A Master's Thesis

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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE TRANSLATION OFFICE (*TERCÜME ODASI*)  
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1839-1876)

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in

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ANKARA

September 2012

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE TRANSLATION OFFICE (*TERCÜME ODASI*) IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1839-1876)**

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This study aims to situate the role of the public diplomacy conducted by the Foreign Ministry during the intensified foreign diplomacy of the 19th century Ottoman Empire. By looking at the archival documents of the Translation Office (*Tercüme Odası*) within the Foreign Ministry, this thesis shows how foreign newspapers became the tools of implementing public diplomacy. After discussing the transformation of the office of the *Reis-ül Küttab* to Foreign Ministry in correlation with the development and changing nature of Ottoman foreign affairs, the study focuses on the importance of the newly emerging bureaucratic system and the crucial role the new style bureaucrats played in the transformation of the Empire. The major focus of this study is on the role of the intelligence network between the Ottoman embassies, the Translation Office and the Foreign Ministry in conducting the public diplomacy through the monitoring of European newspapers. Ottoman diplomats and

agents proved competent in their effort to elevate their profession and integrate the Ottoman diplomacy into the European system by using new diplomatic tools such as public diplomacy.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, Ottoman Public Diplomacy, Foreign Ministry, Translation Office (*Tercüme Odası*), Tanzimat Period, Public Opinion, European Newspapers, Bureaucratic State.

## ÖZET

# OSMANLI DEVLETİ'NDE KAMU DİPLOMASİSİ VE ÇEVİRİ ODASI (*TERCÜME ODASI*) (1839-1876)

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Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yoğun dış diplomasisinde Hariciye Nezareti tarafından yürütülen kamu diplomasisinin önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, Tercüme Odası arşiv kaynaklarına dayanarak, yabancı gazetelerin kamu diplomasisinin yürütülmesinde nasıl araç olduklarını göstermiştir. *Reisülküttab* ofisinin Hariciye Nezaretine dönüşümünü Osmanlı dış diplomasisinin gelişimi ve değişen doğasıyla ilişkilendirerek anlattıktan sonra, bu çalışma yeni ortaya çıkan bürokratik sistemin ve yeni tip Osmanlı bürokratlarının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dönüşümünde oynadıkları önemli rol üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın ana odak noktası Osmanlı elçilikleri, Tercüme Odası ve Hariciye Nezareti arasındaki haberleşme teşkilatının Avrupa gazeteleri aracılığıyla kamu diplomasisi yürütmekteki önemi üzerindedir. Osmanlı diplomatları ve temsilcileri mesleklerinde yükselmede ve kamu diplomasisi gibi yeni diplomatic araçlar kullanarak Osmanlı diplomasisini Avrupa sistemine entegre etmede başarılı olduklarını kanıtlamışlardır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kamu Diplomasisi, Osmanlı Kamu Diplomasisi, Çeviri Odası (*Tercüme Odası*), Tanzimat Dönemi, Kamuoyu, Avrupa Gazeteleri, Bürokratik Devlet.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Subject

Recent revisions to the traditional studies of the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have turned previous explanations upside down. For generations, Ottoman period has been assessed as if the decline of the Empire was the expected path for the Ottoman Empire. However, recent literature on the 19<sup>th</sup> century transformation that has evaluated the attempts made by the Ottoman authorities to keep the Ottoman Empire intact suggests new interpretations regarding the bureaucratic reform.<sup>1</sup> The bureaucratic reform became the pinnacle of Ottoman modernization which enabled the Ottoman Empire to deal with its inner problems more efficiently and to adapt itself to the modern European institutions & the political system.

The conduct of foreign diplomacy was the main focus intended to integrate the Ottoman Empire into European system and it was correlated closely with the

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<sup>1</sup> Carter Findley, "The Legacy of Tradition to Reform: Origins of Ottoman Foreign Ministry," *IJMES*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, Oct., 1970), p. 334.

developments in the bureaucratic reforms.<sup>2</sup> Among all sections of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*), the Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*) became the most important institution to come into intense contact with Europe in the reform period. The increasing volume of official assignments required highly skilled bureaucrats who in time were trained from the cadre of the Foreign Ministry. Becoming competent in diplomacy and economics, these bureaucrats emerged as prominent figures (Reshid Pasha, Âlî Pasha, Fuad Pasha, among others) of the administration system during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. “Devoted exclusively to the secular interests of the state and free from formalism and the bonds of tradition,” they became the leading actors of the bureaucratic reform.<sup>3</sup>

A very critical section of the Foreign Ministry was the Translation Office (*Tercüme Odası*), which served as a place to train future statesmen. From the beginning of the reform period, officials of the Translation Office had the chance to get to know the modern world & Europe. Via the Ottoman embassies and diplomatic offices abroad, the Translation Office became the channel of the intelligence network to provide information to the attention of the Foreign Ministry and reinforced initiatives for Ottoman reforms.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, knowledge of foreign languages put the Translation Office officials in superior position, vis-a-vis other echelons of both the bureaucratic class and society.<sup>5</sup> Knowledge of French, in particular, was

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<sup>2</sup> Roderic Davison, “Environmental and Foreign Contributions: Turkey,” in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Halil Inalcık, “The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey,” in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Dumont, “Tanzimat Dönemi, (1839–1878),” in Robert Mantran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi II; Duraklamadan Yıkılışa*, trans. By Server Tanilli (Istanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought; A Study in the Modernization Of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 121.

considered as the gate to Western norms and systems, which served as a tool to observe and convey changes in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

The integration of the Ottoman Empire into the European system was considered by its diplomats to be the inevitable result of intensified foreign relations, along with “the legitimate right to existence as a recognized member of the Concert of Europe.”<sup>7</sup> The efforts assert a role for the Ottoman Empire in the European politics was in part an image problem that the Ottoman Empire had been unable to resolve. Existing prejudices among Europeans, including the tendency to regard the Ottoman Empire as “backward,” “oppressive” and “underdeveloped” had to be reversed, and the changed nature of the modern Ottoman Empire should be demonstrated to Europeans.<sup>8</sup> For both internal administration and foreign relations maintained abroad, officials of the Sublime Porte had to justify their actions and prove that the power of the Empire was intact. The nature of European relations with the Ottoman Empire changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, owing to the colonial aspirations of Europe over the Ottoman territories, the minority problems and separatist tendencies that caused problems in the provinces. The European powers manipulated these issues to justify their interventions into the internal affairs of the Empire. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire faced challenge of explaining itself to Europe as it attempted to cope with its internal problems.

The Sublime Porte had sufficient means to assert itself through public diplomacy; as Deringil argues, “the Ottoman State was better administered and more

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<sup>6</sup> Roderic Davison, “The French Language as a Vehicle for Ottoman Reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1997), pp. 433-434.

<sup>7</sup> Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London-New York; I.B.Tauris, 1998), p.9.

<sup>8</sup> Roderic Davison, “Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: How the Sublime Porte Tried to Influence European Public Opinion,” in *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1997 ), p.351.

powerful after the reforms of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century than in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>9</sup> The newly formed Ottoman bureaucracy developed efficient ways to reach the modern institutions of Europe. On the other hand, the Foreign Ministry manipulated the tools of public diplomacy to maintain stable foreign relation with Europe.

Foreign public diplomacy was conducted between the Ottoman embassies, the Translation Office and the higher authorities of the Foreign Ministry. Diplomats in the Ottoman embassies were just the servants applying the orders of the Foreign Ministry. Though they also involved in negotiations apart from the observing and making advocacy on the policies, these diplomats abroad mostly acted under the supervision of the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte.<sup>10</sup> The Translation Office was the main channel through which information that was addressed to the Foreign Ministry and the Sublime Porte was circulated. Relevant documents written in foreign languages were translated and stored in the archives of Translation Office in advance of going to the higher offices. The embassies and the Translation Office were intertwined. The career of a successful bureaucrat within the Foreign Ministry used to start at the Translation Office. Later, he was sent to embassy posts in Europe to gain experience in diplomatic affairs. The utmost level of his career ended up with the higher positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>11</sup>

The aim of this thesis is to situate the role and importance of public diplomacy adopted by the Ottoman Foreign Ministry in the maintenance of Ottoman foreign policy during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I specifically focus on the efforts of Ottoman diplomats (often unidentified names) to monitor and influence foreign newspapers. I

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<sup>9</sup> Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Davison, “Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: How the Sublime Porte Tried to influence European Public Opinion,” p. 352.

<sup>11</sup> Carter Findley, *Civil Officialdom* (Princeton-New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 280.



suggest that the Ottoman statesmen and the agents/channels of the Foreign Ministry exerted how the Sublime Porte bureaucracy developed modern methods for conducting public diplomacy in Europe. Tracing my materials from the archival documents of the Translation Office, I also point out that most of the correspondences concerning the foreign newspapers directly addressed the Foreign Ministry. Though, they first came to the Translation Office. The newspapers were not the only ones sent to be translated, but there was an interesting fact that all the correspondences written by the Ottoman officials in the embassies were also composed in French. That was the main reason why these reports and correspondences first came to the Translation Office.

By the early periods of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the officials of the Ottoman Empire realized the need to find ways to keep the empire intact, as years of exhaustive wars and other incidents threatened the integrity of the Empire. The urgent calls for change stemmed from the recognition of the internal problems of the Empire, as well as the foreign intervention into its domestic affairs. As a result, the order and harmony of the society was seen at stake, and they sought measures to remedy the problem. However, although “Tanzimat rhetoric and political terminology remained deeply embedded in the traditional Ottoman imagination of a perfect order and society,” the ways to ensure that order changed direction.<sup>12</sup> In the pre-modern period, violation of the established system was followed by an uprising that was suppressed. In the Tanzimat modernization period, maintenance of the state system after violation and uprising resulted in the establishment of a new order.<sup>13</sup> Reform attempts were considered by the officials of the Sublime Porte as likely to be

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<sup>12</sup> Maurus Reinkowski, “The State’s Security and the Subject’s Prosperity: Notions of Order in Ottoman Bureaucratic Correspondence (19<sup>th</sup> Century)” in Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, ed.; *Legitimizing the Order; the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden-Boston; Brill, 2005), p. 204.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 205-209.

effective and so undertaken mainly within the military and administrative systems. Unfortunately, the results were not sufficient to save the situation. According to Davison, the lack of enough reform attempts resulted in the emergence of new diplomatic policies.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of a Foreign Ministry under control of the Sublime Porte became the best way to ensure a diplomacy that would meet the requirements of the time and compete with the powers of Europe. To achieve that, the officials in the Ottoman Empire organized an intelligence network between the Sublime Porte, other parts of the Empire and Ottoman embassies to follow Europe. Within this intelligence network, the best instrument to understand Europe was the “foreign newspapers.” And so, following up the foreign newspapers therefore became an important tool in shaping and directing the public diplomacy of the Foreign Ministry.

Ottoman officials, especially the ones who worked in the Foreign Ministry used the tools of public diplomacy along with the help of other bureaucratic institutions. Through these reform attempts the Ottoman bureaucracy attuned themselves at the same time to a modern diplomacy system. In that respect, the Translation Office of the Foreign Ministry provided the most fertile atmosphere for training the future statesmen that would be the reform makers in the future. It became instrumental in transferring the news crucial to Ottoman politics from foreign newspapers and, via embassy correspondences, thus helping the Foreign Ministry to maintain more stable diplomacy.

By the 19th century, the Translation Office of the Imperial Council had been institutionalized as part of the newly forming bureaucratic apparatus. In the previous centuries, the dragomans maintained their missions more or less individually, not

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<sup>14</sup> Roderic Davison, “The Westernization of Ottoman Diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1999), p. 317.

depending on regular salary or strict written rules. With the establishment of the Translation Office under the Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*) in 1835, the dragomans became officials in the highly centralized bureaucratic system of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*). Henceforward, each task was completed in accordance with the regulations of an established organization.

The main innovation of the newly formed Translation Office was the use of Muslim officers rather than non-Muslim dragomans or Greek translators. Many of the new Muslim officials later moved of the office to become prominent statesmen of the Tanzimat bureaucracy. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman administrators did not find any need to manage the training in foreign affairs for its officials, simply organizing them as an office of the Foreign Ministry. After the establishment of the Translation Office, however, official state policy led to a slow transfer of duties so that the Ottoman Empire would cease relying on non-Muslim subjects as it began to train able and well-educated Muslim officers to take their place.

In the meantime, the foreign diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire changed in nature and in the way how it was conducted. During the pre-modern times, Ottoman diplomacy was more or less based on the will of the Sultan and realized by the irregular sending of the temporary ambassadors as *fevkalade elçi* to Europe. While the European powers already established their permanent embassies all around Europe and the Ottoman Empire; the transition from the unilateral to reciprocal Ottoman diplomacy was only gained after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), which forced Ottomans to alter their traditional perspective of diplomacy. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the initiatives of Selim III (r.1789–1807) resulted with the foundation of the permanent embassies. These embassies and the consulates were crucial attempts for commencing good contacts with European powers. They “represented the Empire

to Europe. They also represented Europe to the Ottomans by collecting information about the countries where they served.”<sup>15</sup>

In that respect, public diplomacy as part of the flow of that information became an important tool of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman diplomacy. Though, terminologically it was the product of the Cold War period, public diplomacy was actually used before. Applied mostly on the base of “monologue, dialogue and collaboration”<sup>16</sup> in its modern usage, the public diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire rather used vigilance, advice and negotiation as Davison observed.<sup>17</sup> According to Davison, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman foreign diplomacy was established on the base of certain policies. The very basic one was the efforts of establishing balance with the European powers and the second, in relation with the former one, was the policy to evade from attending the international conferences. Both of these strategies were stemmed from the aim of gaining time against the European powers and to prevent to some extent their motives of intervention. Other protocols like visit of a Sultan to Europe (Sultan Abdülaziz Han, r.1861–1876) or exhibitions; etc were all about establishing and maintaining a good image of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Yet there was another quite powerful tool to the Foreign Ministry used as an excuse to create a sphere for itself in the international arena; the public opinion and press.<sup>18</sup>

The Hatt-ı Sharif (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) of 1839 and Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856 (*Islahat Fermanı*) brought certain equalities and secular rights to tebaa and officials

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<sup>15</sup> Carter Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, Modernity*, (New Haven-London; Yale University Press, 2010), p. 34; and also look Thomas Naff, “Reform and Conduct of the Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807,” *JAOS*, Vol.83, No.3 (Aug.-Sep., 1963).

<sup>16</sup> Geoffrey Cowan and Amelia Arsenault, “Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy,” *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.616 (Mar.2008).

<sup>17</sup> See; Roderic Davison, “Vienna as a Major Ottoman Diplomatic Post in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,” in *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Press* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> For the diplomacy methods of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire see; Roderic Davison, “The Westernization of the Ottoman Diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms*.

of the Ottoman Empire. Along with the Crimean War (1854), the Ottoman Empire became allied itself with the two most powerful European powers of the time; France and England. In that respect, the Ottoman Empire adapted itself more or less as a secular monarchy resembling the European powers for the methods of diplomacy it conducted in the international arena.<sup>19</sup> These methods above were required to be applied. The use of press and the inspection over the public opinion became one of the most important responsibilities of the Ottoman embassies and agents abroad. The control of and influence over the foreign newspapers in Europe helped the Ottoman statesmen to attune their policy more easily to the policies of European powers.

Ottoman Empire's interest in influencing the public opinion increased with the outbreak of the Crimean War; dates of some archival documents assert that there were instances where the agents of the Foreign Ministry tried to control the information flow about the Ottoman Empire before that time, though.<sup>20</sup> The use of foreign press became the most useful tool to implement the public diplomacy of the Foreign Ministry and to control the pulse of the public opinion in Europe. All these attempts of public diplomacy were taken with the aim of providing "damage control" vis-a vis "crisis management"<sup>21</sup> of the foreign diplomacy.

In light of these developments, the first chapter evaluates the change of the nature of the Ottoman diplomacy from using the pre-modern methods to the 19<sup>th</sup> century modern tools, including public diplomacy. In correlating with that transformation, the conduct of the foreign affairs of the Ottoman administrative system through the transfer of *Reis-ül Küttab* ( Chief Scribe) of *Nişancı* (Chancery) before the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the *Reis-ül Küttab* as the servant of the Grand Vizier in the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 321.

<sup>20</sup> For instance; BOA, TO. 30/36 ( 14.7.1847), 408/29 (20.10.1847), 408/31 (30.10.1847).

<sup>21</sup> Davison, "Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: How the Sublime Porte Tried to Influence European Public Opinion," p. 358.

Sublime Porte of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is examined by taking into account the changes occurred in the structure and in the division of responsibilities. Then I show a picture of the substantial transformation the Translation Office underwent. I also highlight the shift in the importance of the career line from *Amedi Kalemi* to *Tercüme Odası*.

Although I briefly discuss modern day terminology of the public diplomacy, my study inspires in large part, on the three layers approach (vigilance, advice/advocacy, negotiation) to public diplomacy suggested earlier by Davison.<sup>22</sup> As the main agents of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, the important function of the Ottoman embassies is briefly addressed yet the weight was put more on the Translation Office. Being the first center of training for Ottoman bureaucrats, the Translation Office was the nascent place of the entire Foreign Ministry cadre. The officials working there shared the same mindset with their superiors and they became the channels for the flow of information to the Foreign Ministry after the effort of the embassy agents.

According to Davison, in the wake of reform attempts many requirements of the public diplomacy, contrary to expectations, were already realized in the Ottoman Empire. The transformation of the administrative system, the steps taken to enhance the economy, the changes made to education and the practice of law were already achieved by 1835 as part of the efforts to resolve internal problems.<sup>23</sup> However, change continued after that date, as more policies were adopted in alignment with Europe and get close to its modern state system. Hence the means of modern public diplomacy were sought as a supplement to diplomatic relations. In that respect, the best tool became foreign newspapers. According to Naff, control of the public opinion, as a part of Ottoman public diplomacy, was “an indication of the changes

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<sup>22</sup> See Roderic Davison, “Vienna as a Major Ottoman Diplomatic Post in the Nineteenth Century”.

<sup>23</sup> Davison, “Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” p. 351.

that were taking place, and a harbinger of changes that were on the way.”<sup>24</sup> The nascent Foreign Ministry functioning at the heart of the Sublime Porte followed that policy in two steps, first monitoring and then controlling information distributed in the foreign newspapers.

In the second chapter, I examine the monitoring of foreign newspapers conducted by the members of the Foreign Ministry. The Ottoman bureaucrats, aided by their embassy based intelligence network, monitored each newspaper for topics relevant to the inner problems of the Ottoman Empire or to the European politics that attracted the attention of the Sublime Porte. In the pre-modern era, the intelligence network consisted of diplomats who regularly went to and returned from Europe. They reported in vigilance on events taking place in Europe, provided their own advocacy and conducted negotiations on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though, observing European public opinion about the Ottoman Empire became the regularly established policy of the Foreign Ministry.<sup>25</sup> The flow of information to Istanbul via the intelligence network established in Europe, meant Ottoman statesmen were informed about everything happening in Europe, including negative news that would hurt the interests of the Empire. I explain why the Foreign Ministry chose monitoring foreign newspapers. Accordingly, I demonstrate the motives behind certain European press that led them to publish articles & news in accordance with the European politics of the time. Based on the aforementioned policies of monitoring, I set forth the political nature of these strategies, examining the public diplomacy of the Foreign Ministry. Lastly, I discuss the role of the Translation Office in dispersing and collecting certain newspaper clippings, and the

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<sup>24</sup> Thomas Naff, “Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807,” p. 311.

<sup>25</sup> Davison, “Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” p. 352.

ways that Office was instrumental in transacting the foreign and Ottoman embassy correspondences.

In the second step of the implementation of public diplomacy, the Foreign Ministry tried to influence the foreign newspapers through various controlling and prevention policies. In that way, the Sublime Porte statesmen planned to expose the capability and power of the Ottoman foreign diplomacy and so achieve an effective and successful level of public diplomacy within the European arena. The Ottoman Embassies and the Translation Office of the Foreign Ministry were the main channels of that policy. By training a newly-emerging Muslim translator (later to be bureaucrats), the Translation Office provided a means to the intelligence-based transformation experienced in Europe. By sending them to Europe as embassy agents, the Foreign Ministry cultivated its cadre with the first hand experience of Europe. In my third chapter, I explain the grounds for the Foreign Ministry's acquisition of methods of public diplomacy for promoting the foreign policies of the Tanzimat Period. By doing so, I also explain in detail the various strategies adopted by the Sublime Porte. Each apparatus vindicated the efforts and competence of the Ottoman bureaucrats in dealing with the European powers. I show the varying nature of the public diplomacies—persuasion policies, financial aids, decoration with medals, prevention polices and legal actions. Related to these, the advantages and disadvantages which the Ottoman bureaucracy faced through each policy were propounded. I also emphasize the importance of the intelligence network established around axis of the Ottoman agents, the Translation Office and the Foreign Ministry for maintaining a stable foreign policy. By doing that, its effectiveness for forming a public diplomacy is attained.



## 1.2. Survey of Literature

In his major studies of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman reforms, Roderic Davison explains in detail the efforts made in the path of westernization and the process of reformation correlated with that process. He regards the transformation of the system in the state and the diplomacy as the most effective tool and sign of the Ottoman modernization.<sup>26</sup> The meticulously written works of Carter Findley<sup>27</sup> points out the role and importance of the bureaucrats in the reorganization of the bureaucratic transformation and that reform in the whole government structure is believed to be consisted of small indispensable organs of the system. On the other hand, as a complementary, Ali Akyıldız<sup>28</sup> gives a detailed scheme of how the Ottoman bureaucratic system underwent changes as an institution and what kind of cadres and structures emerged as consequence of that transformation. The work of İlber Ortaylı shows the importance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century reforms conducted by Ottoman statesmen of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In his works, he highlights the struggle given by the bureaucratic and intellectual classes while showing how at the same time enormous problems of the state had to be taken care of. In that respect, Ortaylı regards the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire as the longest century.<sup>29</sup> Stanford Shaw's<sup>30</sup> works enables the researcher to visualize that transformation within a wider framework. Shaw

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<sup>26</sup> Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire; 1856–1876*, (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1963), and *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton-New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1980).

<sup>28</sup> Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836–1856)*, (Istanbul; Eren, 1993).

<sup>29</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul; İletişim Yayınları, 1999);

<sup>30</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey; Volume II* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1977).

evaluates the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the history of modernization in which the will of the power accounts and that will is applied to the system. Each of the state organs and their role in the system is regarded important to analyze. All these works draw a true and vivid picture of the transformation process that the Ottoman bureaucracy experienced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The organization concerning the inner structure of the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte resulted in an elaborate bureaucratic state institution that became pivotal in the conduct of Ottoman foreign diplomacy.

After analyzing modern literature on Ottoman bureaucratic transformation and diplomatic developments affiliated to it, I noticed that there had been relatively little archival research on the functions of the Foreign Ministry and its agents as modern state intermediaries providing a channel to strengthen and to conduct the public diplomacy. While the works of Roderic Davison provides the researcher with a valuable analysis of how and in what ways the Ottoman Empire managed to conduct its foreign diplomacy, there is not much research made specifically focusing on the public diplomacy through the lenses of the archival documents.<sup>31</sup>

The lacunae of the existing literature stimulated me to look the archival documents to set up the background of my research. There are voluminous documents in the Foreign Ministry, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman archival records are waiting to be explored on the issue. Yet for the limited size of my work, I carried out a small scale research by choosing to delve into the materials in the Translation Office which was the important yet invisible auxiliary of Foreign Ministry. Certain documents I found in the archives of the Translation Office helped me to generate arguments and led me to this research. In particular, documents from the Tanzimat

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<sup>31</sup> Sezai Balci, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası," Doktora Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı (Ankara; 2006).

Period (1839–1876) about the issues of foreign newspapers became main archival source for my research. These documents served as examples of the public diplomacy of the Foreign Ministry maintained through the channels of Translation Office and Ottoman embassies. By conducting research over the phenomena described in these documents and trying to analyze the documents based on their content, and, in parallel with the political conditions of the time, I believe that my research will contribute to a better understanding of Ottoman diplomacy during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The time frame of my research concerns only the Tanzimat Period (1839–1876). I begin with attempts to initiate reforms, followed by the revolts and the rebellions that occurred in subsequent decades, and then continue my focusing on the political and diplomatic concerns of the Sublime Porte, in both internal and external arenas. The 37 year period witnessed the many successes and occasional failures in attempts toward bureaucratic reform. An abundance of archival documents shed light on the inner functioning of the Ottoman bureaucratic system, especially of the Foreign Ministry, in the diplomatic affairs.

Most of the Ottoman Empire went through a thorough transformation process in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was mainly implemented in the area of bureaucracy. The internal problems based on the economic concerns, the revolts in the provinces and the restlessness of the non-Muslim population urged the need for a change. Considering also that some portion of these problems were aggravated by the provocations of Europe and the intensification of the foreign affairs already necessitated a direct contact with Europe; the Ottoman Empire took steps to get integrated into the European system. The exigency to explain itself to Europe compelled the Empire advance itself in the area of foreign diplomacy.

Simultaneously, a perception took hold gradually that “the earlier conception of reform as a reaffirmation and reinstatement of the Ottoman practices” should be left behind.<sup>32</sup> Instead, new solutions were to be sought. The resolution came with the emergence of a modern bureaucratic structure.

The newly installed Foreign Ministry was the cresset of the bureaucratic system in adapting itself to the norms of foreign diplomacy. The bureaucrat-statesmen that rose in that section got acquainted, from the very beginning of their career, with the European system. The Translation Office as a part of it, in that respect, was the pioneer of training these future statesmen.

My research is based on the archival documents of the Translation Office (*Tercüme Odası Evrakı*) at Prime Ministry’s Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*) in Istanbul. The documents that were specifically concerned with the foreign newspapers became the center of the analysis on which I constructed my thesis. The role of the Foreign Ministry in public diplomacy, and the richness and volume of the documents available meant that I could extend my research on the documents of the Foreign Ministry archives as well as other 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman documents. Nevertheless, as the size of my thesis requires, I started with a small yet quite important area of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry. The Translation Office was the most important yet rather invisible back kitchen of the Foreign Ministry. Becoming firstly as the center for the training of the future Ottoman bureaucrats, the Translation Office later on acquired the importance for providing the information circulation between the Foreign Ministry and its agents abroad. The documents about the foreign newspapers in the Translation Office archives provided me with enough sources to show the nature of that aspect of Ottoman foreign policy.

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<sup>32</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, p. 135.

The correspondence between the envoys of the Ottoman Empire stationed abroad, the Translation Office and lastly the Foreign Ministry made me better understand the nature of the intelligence network and the flow of information, and the ways public diplomacy functioned in the Foreign Ministry. In addition to these correspondences, Translation Office archives include reports by Ottoman representatives, based on their first-hand observation. These documents, in a way, provide an access to the mindset of 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman diplomats and bureaucrats. Their observations and assessments of events, and their competence to regard these evaluations within the context of the Ottoman foreign diplomacy, help researchers reconstruct the nature of 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman diplomacy.

In addition to archival materials, I use many secondary sources to support my analysis and to provide historical context. These sources include recent works on the political and institutional modernization process of Tanzimat Period, the transformation of the Ottoman foreign policies from the post of *Reis-ül Küttab* to the transformation of it as Foreign Ministry. To understand the nature of conducting public diplomacy, I made use of some works related to the terminology of the public diplomacy. The biographical studies of individual dragomans and dragomanate business, the sources on the emergence of Translation Office and its actors are also examined briefly.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EMERGENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

#### 2.1. The Transformation of the Scribal Service and the Emergence of the

##### Foreign Ministry

In the pre-modern period of the Ottoman Empire, the Imperial Palace administration was the center of the government system, and there was the Sultan at the top of everything. The executive authority of the Sultan was carried out by the Grand Vizier (*Sadr-ı Azam*) and the Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*).<sup>33</sup> Yet, he was the sole decision-maker in the end. There were three main groups of power circle surrounding the Sultan. These were *askerîyye* (military), *ilmîyye* (religious establishment) and *Sadrızamlık Makamı* (Grand Veziarete). The *kalemîyye* (scribal service) came later as a group of officials with lesser impact on the politics of the pre-modern period. *Nişancı* (Chancery) being the head of that group was responsible

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<sup>33</sup> Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Divan-ı Hümayûn'dan Meclis-i Mebusan'a Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yasama," *Tanzimat; Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (İstanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), p. 374.

to deal with all the formal official works of the imperial administration. These works basically comprised of the government correspondences and the records on the land tenure. All these offices were situated in the Imperial Palace. Findley evaluates this pre-modern government system as the amalgamation of the authority and tradition closely associated with each other.<sup>34</sup> For concerning the decision-making process of the foreign diplomacy, these former groups were on the foreground till the 18th century when *kalemîyye* under *Reis-ül Küttab* (the Chief Scribe) gained importance.<sup>35</sup> Even at that point, according to Ortaylı, it was not possible to talk about an administration of a foreign diplomacy independent from the Palace.<sup>36</sup>

The tasks normally entitled to the responsibility of the foreign ministry were carried out by *Nişancı* in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire. This post was active since the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while during the reign of Mehmed II, it actually developed along with the increasing responsibilities.<sup>37</sup> Though taking care of all the diplomatic correspondences, *Nişancı* was not more than civil servant with the mere task of providing that communication. The person responsible for the foreign affairs was *Sadr-ı Azam*.<sup>38</sup> He had his own council of state known as *İkindi Divanı*. There *Sadr-ı Azam* with his subordinates gathered every Tuesday and Thursday to head the discussions on different problems of the administration.<sup>39</sup>

In the pre-modern Ottoman Empire, the voice of *Reis-ül Küttab* was not heard frequently, but his office started to be more visible during & after compared the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There is still no comprehensive study about the origins of the office of *Reis-*

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<sup>34</sup> Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, p.7.

<sup>35</sup> Recep Ahıskalı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatı'nda Reis-ül Küttablık (XVIII.)* (Istanbul; Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001), p. 201.

<sup>36</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Dışişleri Örgütü," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, V. 1 (Istanbul; İletişim Yayınları, 1985), p. 278.

<sup>37</sup> Sevgi Gül Akyılmaz, "Reis-ül Küttab ve Osmanlı Hariciye Nezareti'nin Doğuşu," Doktora Tezi (Konya; Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1990), p. 38.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, p. 76.

*ül Küttab*. While this office was clearly mentioned in *Fatih Kanunnamesi*, according to Akyıldız, it was still present even before that time. Working under *Nişancı* in the palace, he was the head of the scribes and *katibs* (clerks) that busied themselves with various correspondences. *Reis-ül Küttab* was usually selected from the *kalemmîyye* class and he remained standing during the Imperial Council meetings. He was only allowed to sit in the lesser consul meetings. All the correspondences, except the ones concerned with fiscal and military business, were checked and inspected by him.<sup>40</sup> With the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent his position slowly gained prominence. The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 became the milestone for the future of *Reis-ül Küttablık* (the institution Chief Scribary) as the following lines will describe.

Rami Mehmed Efendi (1655–1707) was serving in his second tenure as a *Reis-ül Küttab*<sup>41</sup> when he sat down to negotiate with Austria for Karlowitz Treaty. For previous career advantages of *Reis-ül Küttabs* already paved the way for the prospective rise of that office in 1699. Before Rami Mehmed Efendi's appointment, the previous chief scribes already had few occasions to affect the foreign policies of the Ottoman Empire. Of course, that only happened when they were given certain assurance of safety and courage.<sup>42</sup> For instance, they could take the initiative in their own hands concerning the negotiations that were in favor of the Ottoman Empire. In that case they were allowed to accept the provisions without consulting, albeit they had to wait for the directions from the Palace if the meeting was not going well.<sup>43</sup> The reason was that, there were still other top hierarchical echelons (*Sultan*, *Sadr-ı Azam* and to a much lesser extent *Nişancı*) to affect the decisions-making process before coming to the office of *Reis-ül Küttab*. As these previous examples will be

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<sup>40</sup> Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatı'nda Reform; (1836–1856)*, pp.70-71.

<sup>41</sup> Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî IV* (Istanbul; Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), p. 1348.

<sup>42</sup> Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The Reis-ül Küttab and Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz*, Ph.D (Princeton; Princeton University, 1963), p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Ahıskalı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatı'nda Reis-ül Küttablık (XVIII.)*, p. 218.



addressed in section on Ottoman diplomacy, the contribution the negotiation of Rami Mehmed Efendi made is briefly explained here to exert the changing nature and roles of the Ottoman administration in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries concerning the foreign affairs in international diplomacy.

*Ad Hoc* diplomacy in Europe was slowly abandoned by one European state after another starting from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Italian city states were the first ones which established and applied the permanent embassy system then. Venice sent his ambassador Bartelcini Marsello to the Ottoman Empire for a permanent embassy as early as 1453.<sup>44</sup> While the number of permanent embassies increased over time in the European continent, the Ottoman Empire still continued with its *Ahidnâme* tradition (kind of an imperial ferman given by the Sultan) as official agreement with the affairs of the other state powers. Before reaching to the reign of Selim III (1789–1807), there was not any state agency being constantly active in major European capitals.<sup>45</sup> For one reason; till the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire believed in its superiority over the other European powers. According to Ortaylı, apart from feeling superior in regard of neglecting the establishment of permanent embassies, there were other rational reasons behind it. Ortaylı argues that the connection provided by the merchants and religious men of European powers in other monarchies was not present in the Ottoman Empire, which in return added to the unilateralism of the Ottoman Empire’s foreign policy. When the conference system came into being in Europe with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, it was out of question for the Ottoman Empire to be a part of it at that time as it was still unconventional.<sup>46</sup> The increasingly complex nature of the political relations made it

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<sup>44</sup> Cahit Bilim, “Tercüme Odası” *OTAM* (Ankara, 1990), p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Ercüment Kuran, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1793–1821)*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları: 92 (Ankara; 1988), p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Dışişleri Örgütü”, p. 278.

hard to solve problems on mutual terms. That meant to be the emergence of multilateral diplomacy while the Ottoman Empire was still trying to establish the foreign relations on at least reciprocal basis if not always unilaterally.<sup>47</sup>

While these developments taking place in Europe, Ottoman Empire lost huge territories in Central Europe along with its reputation as an undefeatable military power in 1699. With this turn of events, Ottomans became aware that the diplomatic rules of the foreign policy should be adopted. However, accustomed to exert its own will against its opponents, the Ottoman Empire caught unprepared for the diplomatic policies of the international foreign affairs. There was not any advanced and prevailing education on the art of diplomacy, and not many people qualified to carry out that task in parallel with the norms of European diplomacy. In that case, the Ottoman statesmen preferred to make use of the best officials they had. *Reis-ül Küttab* Mehmed Rami Efendi and Chief Dragoman of the Imperial Palace Alexander Mavrakordato (Iskerletzade Alexander, 1641–1709) were chosen as chief delegates for the negotiation. While the former had the ability and capability to support the interests of the Ottoman Empire, the latter became quite helpful during the negotiations thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages and European ways.<sup>48</sup> This occasion manifested the importance of the Ottoman dragomans as prominent actors taking their place in the state affairs along with other Ottoman authorities, as would be discussed further in the upcoming parts of this study.

While *Reis-ül Küttablık* strengthened its power in the state administration as becoming the first official to learn all state affairs after the Sultan and Grand Vizir; correlating with that another development already took place to change the fate of both *Reis-ül Küttab* and Ottoman administration. The very first initiative to lay the

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<sup>47</sup> Alkım Uygunlar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modern Diplomasi ve Murahhaslık,” Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Osmangazi Üniversitesi (Eskişehir; 2007), p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Abou-El-Haj, *The Reis-ül Küttab and Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz*, p.135.

foundations of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*) was taken by the Grand Vizier Koca Derviş Mehmed Paşa (1653–54) during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648–1687). When Halil Paşa Palace was given to him as a residence, he furnished the place with his own money. That palace became the ‘Paşa Kapısı’ (*Porte of Pasha*), a new place of government administration to a certain extent.<sup>49</sup> With the start of Köprülü Period (1656–1683), the Grand Viziers belonging to that family became very powerful in the state affairs. During that period, the chamber of the Grand Vizierate was separated from the Palace and it became the main center of government business.<sup>50</sup> While *Nişancı* remained in the palace, *Reis-ül Küttab* moved to the chamber of Grand Vizierate. That shift from the Palace was the first step on the path of the bureaucratic transformation. Under the authority of the Grand Vizier, *Reis-ül Küttab* took a semi-independent position from the palace. All the business concerning the foreign policy of the Empire ran under his responsibility after the Peace of Karlowitz. Nevertheless, no matter how powerful he became in his post, *Reis-ül Küttab* still remained the obedient servant of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier in the decision-making process. In other words, his power could not be compared with the Foreign Minister of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup>

The second achievement in the way of bureaucratic transformation was realized when the new bureaucratic cadres were reorganized as a solution for the increasing volume of business. As a consequence of that, the rules of working conditions and appointments were rearranged systematically on the modern basis. *Bab-ı Ali* was established at last in 1718 when the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa (1718–1730) returned from the Peace of Passarowitz (21 July 1718) with the

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<sup>49</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara; TTK, 1984), p. 250.

<sup>50</sup> Akyılmaz, “Reis-ül Küttab ve Osmanlı Hariciye Nezaretinin Doğuşu,” p. 77.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 160.

Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730).<sup>52</sup> Along with that the office of *Reis-ül Küttab* was extended as a requirement of the increasing volume of official assignments. Before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that office included *Beylik Kalemi* (the Section of Beylik), *Tahvîl Kalemi* (Section of Assignment of Benefices in Land) and *Ruûs Kalemi* (Appointment Section). The first section conducted all the official government correspondences and kept the copies of the documents. The second one was accredited with the preparation of all *berats* and *fermans* while at the same time attending to the registration of *timar* and *zeamet* (land tenures). The last as could be deduced from its name was responsible with everything concerned about the appointment of the officials including their salaries. That picture clearly manifests the role of the *kalemiyye* group in the pre-modern time Ottoman Empire. *Amedî Kalemi* (Office of the Receiver), *Mektubî-i Sadr-ı Âli Kalemi* (Office of the Corresponding Secretary) and *Divan-ı Hûmayun Tercümanı* (Translator of the Imperial Divan) and lastly *Divan-ı Hûmayun Kalemi* (Office of the Imperial Divan) were added to the official sections of *Reis-ül Küttab*. That was the panorama of the office of *Reis-ül Küttab* functioning in the Sublime Porte by 1789. *Divan-ı Hûmayun Kalemi* incorporated all three traditional post of the chief scribe in his body as the lower echelons of the system.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the other sections were embellished with newly organized division of works.

*Amedî Kalemi* undertook all the previous responsibility of *Beylikci* and *Mektubî* on the foreign affairs. The section became like a secretary to *Reis-ül Küttab*. It gained the privileges of being acquainted with the secret state affairs while controlling the correspondences between the Sublime Porte and the Imperial Palace. Before, the recording of laws, the transactions applied to the conditions of the non-

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<sup>52</sup> Jean Deny, “Bab-ı Ali,” *EI*, Vol. 1 (Leiden; Brill, 1986), p. 836.

<sup>53</sup> Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 75.

Muslim communities within the Ottoman Empire, the negotiations carried out with the other foreign ministries and the capitulations given to them were all implemented by that *Beylikci* Office.<sup>54</sup> And these correspondences were usually in the knowledge of *Sadr-ı Azam* as *Nişancı* was providing the circulation of information. From 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there also appeared divisions of powers. The flow of information was maintained through different ranks of official posts. The bureaucrats working under a Grand Vizier acted more or less semi-independently from the Sultan. *Amedî Kalemî* also bore the task of performing many duties about the foreign policy. Every document that related to the foreign policy of the Grand Vizier was kept there. *Amedci* attended the foreign state meetings besides the Chief Scribe along with the Translator of the Imperial Divan. When the permanent embassies in Europe were established; *Amedî Kalemî* “assumed the duties of registering the reports from the ambassadors, writing the answers, decoding the ciphers, and other related business.”<sup>55</sup> He also collected the revenues of the Chief Scribe.<sup>56</sup> *Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanı* as will be analyzed in another section was the right-hand man of the chief scribe for the international negotiations.

Another interesting fact was about *Mektubî Sadr-ı Alî Kalemî* which was working under the Chief Scribe and was in the position of the secretary of the Grand Vizier. All the correspondence and intercommunication of *Sadaret* was going under its inspection.<sup>57</sup> The dual position of that section asserted the fact that the Grand Vizier was trying to hold the office of the Chief Scribe totally under his own control. For Ortaylı, that was also one very significant aspect of the later Foreign Ministry.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 74.

<sup>55</sup> Bernard A. Lalor, “Promotion Patterns of Ottoman Bureaucatic Statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat,” *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi I* (Istanbul Üniversitesi; Edebiyat Basımevi, 1972), p. 85.

<sup>56</sup> Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatı'nda Reform*, p. 71.

<sup>57</sup> Akyılmaz, p. 79.

He thinks that the Ottoman modernization kept the traditional organization of foreign affairs in the newly established Foreign Ministry. In the same way, the Grand Vizierate and Foreign Ministry were always intertwined to each other. Most outstanding parts of the Foreign Ministry documents that piled in the records of the Grand Vizierate, except for the embassy correspondences, could be given as evidence to that.<sup>58</sup> It could be inferred that the Grand Vizierate aimed at forming a power center on its own by bringing the important sections under its authority. In other words, the powerful Sublime Porte of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was more or less the reorganized and strengthened version of the Grand Vizierate and its *İkinci Divanı*.<sup>59</sup> That shift of power from the Palace to the Sublime Porte accelerated the pace of the modernization of the bureaucratic system and as a more secular institution eased the way for integration to the European system.

As a third step on the way of transformation; career lines and appointment patterns underwent a formidable change. Power control on politics shifted from *askerîyye* and *ilmiyye* class to *kalemiyye* class. With the rise of *kalemiyye* members to the office of Pasha, the tradition of “Efendi turned Paşa” began. For instance, *Reis-ül Küttabs* (*Reis Efendis* of earlier times) would become *Paşas*. The chief scribes were sent to the provinces as governors, the position which was filled usually by the military class people.<sup>60</sup> Till the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the main qualification for the appointment to higher posts was the literacy. That was a privilege cherished by few elite statesmen for a very long time. Then came “the

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<sup>58</sup> Ortaylı, “Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Dışişleri Örgütü,” p. 280.

<sup>59</sup> Seyitdanlıoğlu, “Divan-ı Hûmayun’dan Meclis-i Mebusan’a Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yasama,” p. 375.

<sup>60</sup> Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth Century Realities,” *Studia Islamica*, No. 16 (Maisonneuve&Larose, 1962), p. 86.

requirement to serve the state, the faith, and be in the Ottoman way.”<sup>61</sup> On many occasions, the elements of birth, wealth and back-up were also popular over the proficiency and capability of the candidates.<sup>62</sup> *Tarîk-i kalemiyye* (the bureaucratic career) started with the rank as *mülâzim*, *şakird* or *kâtib* (apprentice, student or scribe), and selections for higher ranks were made after a long time of training and sometimes by chance. Irregular payments prevented the well-functioning of the posts. Many inefficient people held the posts while bribery became a common practice. In the first step, with the reform of Selim III at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of bureaucratic personnel was limited according to the aim of enhancing the quality of the officials. As the secrecy of the state affairs were known all by the sections of *Amedi* and *Mektubî*, the standards and the selection process of government officials were highly demanding. Especially, the officials selected for the purpose should be capable in their professions and loyal to the Ottoman Empire. The edict of Selim III regarding this issue demanded that sensitivity in the selection procedure.<sup>63</sup>

At the lower echelons, real changes in the bureaucratic circles were completed by the centralization policies of Mahmud II (r.1808–1839). The Ottoman Empire underwent huge transformations during the reign of Mahmud II. The attempts of Mahmud II to establish a centralized government brought about the emergence of the civil bureaucracy.<sup>64</sup> Many of the old institutions were dismantled, new ones were established and others reconstructed.<sup>65</sup> By 1830s onwards, the

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<sup>61</sup> Walter Weiker, “The Ottoman Bureaucracy: Modernization and Reform,” *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Volume 13, No. 3 (December, 1968), p. 458.

<sup>62</sup> Lalor, “Promotion Patterns of Ottoman Bureaucratic Statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat,” p. 77.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 83.

<sup>64</sup> Akyılmaz, p. 221.

<sup>65</sup> Fatma Acun, “Osmanlı’dan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ne: Değişme ve Süreklilik,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşunun 700. Yılı Özel Sayısı (Ekim, 1999), p.159.

bureaucratic regulations reached their perfection close to the western ways. *Kalem Efendileri* (gentlemen bureaucrats) were replaced by the newly transformed civil officials of the state (*mülkiyye memurları*) who differed from their former colleagues by implementing state policies as well as carrying out the traditional tasks of keeping records and governing the administration system. Hierarchy of the civil ranks was regulated by discharging the annual reappointment system (*tevcihat*). Monthly salaries were put on a regular system of payment, disciplinary codes were established for the officials and the official's status as the slave of the Sultan was reduced.<sup>66</sup> The centralization policies of Mahmud II resulted in the enlargement of the scribal offices or with the term of Findley "civil officialdom." Findley asserts that there were 869 central *kalemiyye* offices in Istanbul between years 1777–1797. The officials working there reached to 1.500. The total was both low and their responsibilities were not that much qualified at the time. A century later, between the years 1877–1908, that number amounted to 92.137.<sup>67</sup>

In 1836, Foreign Ministry was established within the Sublime Porte as a separate organization. Within a year, the officials working in the Sublime Porte were divided into two groups; one group became the part of foreign ministry while the other worked for the ministry of interior.<sup>68</sup> By 1837, the Sublime Porte was organized in the following way; at the top of everything there was still the Sultan. Sultan Mahmud II accepted to share his power to certain extent with the new consultancy organizations. Under him came *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye* (Supreme Council of Judicial Organizations) and *Dar-ı Şura-yı Bab-ı Âli* (Consultative Assembly of the Sublime Porte). Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*), Ministry of Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) along with Ministry of Justice (*Divan-ı*

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<sup>66</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, Modernity*, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, p. 22.

<sup>68</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, p. 247.



*Deavi Nezareti*) were the sub-sections of the reorganized Sublime Porte. As being the centre of attention in this thesis, Foreign Ministry and its sections would be pictured henceforward on the base of Ottoman foreign policy. Other organizations and ministries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Sublime Porte would not be taken into consideration unless needed.

After the reorganization, the Foreign Ministry was divided into two main sections: the Foreign Affairs Section and the Imperial Council Departments (*Divan-ı Hümayun Kalemi* and *Mezahib-i Gayr-i Müslim Dairesi*). The latter section handled all aspects of the internal affairs. Foreign Affairs Section on the other hand incorporated all departments of diplomacy and foreign trade; such as, receiving foreign representatives, dealing with the arrangements of the ceremonies, monitoring the foreign press. Apart from those, the Translation Office and the Archival Department (*Hariciye Evrak Odası*) were integrated into the Foreign Ministry. Within those sections, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs controlled “the internal reform legislation, the regulations about and the status of the foreign subjects and non-Muslims in the Empire, and foreign commercial as well as political relations.”<sup>69</sup> According to Deringil, during the reign of Selim III, diplomacy was still more like a method for gaining time till being victorious in the military campaigns. Yet, the time Mahmud II embraced diplomacy as the sole weapon to use.<sup>70</sup> Classification of the documents and analysis of their contents along with the record registrations stored in the Sublime Porte brought out the result of a modern bureaucratic state functioning systematically. They were the bureaucratic renovations resembling after the

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<sup>69</sup> Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*; Vol:I (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 72.

<sup>70</sup> Selim Deringil, “II.Mahmud’un Dış Siyaseti ve Osmanlı Diplomasisi,” *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul; 1989), p. 62.

European administrative organizations. These developments provided the suitable atmosphere to work more efficiently for carrying out the foreign diplomacy.<sup>71</sup>

Ottoman Empire ceased to apply unilateral diplomacy and became a part of the European state system since the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>72</sup> With the establishment of permanent Ottoman embassies in 1834, the volume of work and the flow of foreign correspondence increased enormously. The evolvement of the government institutions in parallel to the intensified connection with the outside world conducted to the enhancement of the work volume in the Foreign Ministry. To ease the process of the flow of correspondence, the statesmen changed the formal traditional writing style of the documents. The *Rika* style was replaced by the *Nesih* style because it was harder and more time consuming to continue with *Rika*. One could write with the new style more quickly without raising his arm.<sup>73</sup> *Elkab* (the official style of address) was purified. Date, signature and seal were put on the official correspondence papers. *Bab-ı Alî Evrak Odası* (Records Office of the Sublime Porte) worked for keeping the registers of the correspondences of both the offices in Istanbul and also the provinces.<sup>74</sup> In his article on the transformation of Ottoman correspondence with regard to writing style and the pace of the correspondence flow, Ortaylı gives many examples from the provinces and Anatolia.<sup>75</sup> The elaboration of the Ottoman bureaucratic system and the redistribution & multiplication of tasks enabled the Foreign Ministry to get closer with European diplomacy and promoted a more stable yet intricate conduct of foreign diplomacy.

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<sup>71</sup> Davison, "The Westernization of the Ottoman Diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century," p. 328.

<sup>72</sup> İsmail Soysal, "Umûr-ı Hariciye Nezareti'nin Kurulması (1836)," *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul; 1989), p. 71.

<sup>73</sup> Ali Akyıldız, "Tanzimat Dönemi'nde Belgelerin Şekil, Dil ve Muhteva Yönünden Geçirdiği Bazı Değişiklikler (1839–1856)," *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), p. 410.

<sup>74</sup> Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatı'nda Reform (1836–1856)*, p. 36.

<sup>75</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Kaçılıryasında Reform: Tanzimat Devri Osmanlı Diplomatikasının Bazı Yönleri," *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), pp. 394-396.

## **2.2. The Development of Diplomatic Translation in the Ottoman Empire**

The translation business usually conducted by dragomans was always important and influential in the Ottoman Empire. The dragomans in the Ottoman Empire were of various ethnic backgrounds; a majority was Ottoman non-Muslim subjects but some were foreign nationals. Over time, some of them used their access to European diplomats as an instrument to gain power in Ottoman decision-making process. The Ottoman Empire, for the most part, overlooked or ignored the extent of the dragomans' role in foreign matters. Repeated cases of treason and disloyalty of some Greek dragomans in the 18th century served as the turning point for a need to reform the translation business within the bureaucratic reforms. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the officials of the Sublime Porte acknowledged the need to improve the functioning of the translation office within the structure of the newly established Foreign Ministry. The general bureaucratic transformation brought about the eventual replacement of non-Muslim disloyal officials/dragomans in the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*). As future statesmen, those newly recruited bureaucrats of the Foreign Ministry became the pioneers of the new Ottoman bureaucratic elite.

European states were the first to make serious attempts to create a praxis of translation and to give capable translators a role in the establishment of continuous diplomacy. The Italian states systematically used dragomans as part of their established diplomacy during the Renaissance. It was also the period when techniques of modern diplomacy emerged, that is, “of sending an ambassador,

endowed with certain power, to represent a prince or a nation abroad.”<sup>76</sup> Before that time, the use of Latin, the *lingua franca* in Europe, limited the need for translators between European states. Envoys of Western and Central Europe used Latin to carry out correspondence between each other.<sup>77</sup> By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, however use of Latin remained in favor only among the clerics. Communication, to “be heard or, at least to hear yourself on the other part,” became a problem, especially in trading relationships.<sup>78</sup> The primitive ruling system, limited powers of the sovereigns, lack of communication and the fact that geographical boundaries were not clearly defined and could be problematic to cross made it difficult to provide regular connection.<sup>79</sup> For that reason, the need for translators became evident only during the Renaissance, when the commercial network expanded overseas. The need for the translators increased along with the number of foreign missions. From the 17th century onward, many wealthy Christians sent their boys to university, especially in Italy, to receive a proper education. In general, this training included study of one European language and other skills in different fields.

With the expansion of diplomatic relations in the Ottoman Empire 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the dragomans of some European countries began to learn Eastern languages such as Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Venice, England, Austria, France and Russia founded permanent embassies in the Ottoman Empire. Afterwards, some European countries established their own institutions to train their translators. Those young functionaries (called *language boys*, *jeunes de langue* in

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<sup>76</sup> Timothy Hampton, “The Diplomatic Movement: Representing Negotiation in Early Modern Europe,” *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67:1 (Washington; University of Washington, March 2006), p. 82.

<sup>77</sup> Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth, ed., *Translators Through History* (John Benjamins’s Publishing Company-Unesco Publishing, 1995), p. 269.

<sup>78</sup> *Les Affaires Etrangères et Le Corps Diplomatique Français Tome I; de l’Ancien Regime Au Second Empire*, Editions Du Centre National De La Recherche Scientifique 15 (Anatole-France-Paris ; 1984), p. 117.

<sup>79</sup> Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy; its Evolution, Theory and Administration* (London-New York; Routledge, 1995), p. 22.

French, *enfants de langue* in French, *giovane della lingua* in Italian, and *sprackhnaben* in German depending on their origin) took on many positions in the embassies and consulates of their respective country. These future dragomans guaranteed the safety of the diplomatic relations between their embassies and the Ottoman Empire; being natives of the country they represented, there would not be any question of disloyalty, as was the case with Ottoman dragomans discussed earlier.

Before Mehmed II established the first translation office in the Ottoman Imperial Council, translations (into and out of Turkish or a local language) were made independently by dragomans working for foreign embassies. The work of these translators mostly concerned trade transactions between the Ottoman Empire and the other border principalities belonging to Genoa or Venice. The dragomans of the 15<sup>th</sup> century were usually Roman Catholic or members of some smaller Armenian groups.<sup>80</sup> Before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Byzantine Empire was a center of social, economic and diplomatic activity. When Mehmed II conquered the city, he wanted Istanbul to be the center of Mediterranean trade and an “entrepot between Muslim and Christian world.”<sup>81</sup> The subsequent growth of the Ottoman state (from a principality to an Empire) also had an impact on foreign relations of the time. At that time, the sultan relied on non-Muslim Ottoman subjects to conduct foreign trade. Toward the second half of the 15th century, translation became an independent occupation for individuals of Italian, Slavic, German, Serbian, Hungarian, Greek and Jewish backgrounds. One reason for the ethnic diversity among translators was the ways within which the trade was conducted which then extended to diplomatic

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<sup>80</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Majestelerinin Konsolosları, İngiliz Belgeleriyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki İngiliz Konsoloslukları:1580–1900* (Istanbul; İletişim, 2004), p. 190.

<sup>81</sup> Salahi Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History Publications of Turkish Historical Society, VII-No:129 (Ankara; Turkish Historical Society Printing Press, 1993), p. 21.

correspondence between the Western and Eastern powers. The importance of dragomans accelerated along with that development. By this time, the word “dragoman” meant interpreters as mediators between the two sides.<sup>82</sup>

In the first half of the 16th century, the Ottoman State encouraged Muslim officers and tried to educate some as translators in return for *timar* as a living. This attempt was not a long-term success. Indeed there were many Muslim officials with great skills in Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic, called the *elsine-i selase* (three languages), as these languages were widely used in the Ottoman Empire. Few Muslim officials saw an urgent need to learn and use the spoken languages of Europe because of the superiority they felt over the European powers.<sup>83</sup> The system was maintained as it had been the non-Muslim dragoman groups as before. *Divan-ı Hümayun Tercüme Odası* (Translation Office of the Imperial Council) was under *Reisü'l-Küttab* (the Chief Scribe), who was “officially the only head of the Chancery of the Imperial Council beneath the orders of the Grand Vizier and equal to the Chief Treasurer and the *Ağas* of the military corps.”<sup>84</sup> The assignments given to the translators consisted of a set of different tasks. A dragoman working under that office was expected to translate everything coming to the Porte in various languages and about different topics concerning foreign affairs:

In formal audiences, he translated the addresses of the European minister to the Sultan or the Grand vizier. In working sessions he translated the statements of the chief scribe, the foreign diplomats answering through their embassy translators. He also prepared the written accounts of these meetings. He was the only Ottoman Official to pay formal calls on European diplomats. In sum, he was the most important official after the Chief Scribe in the conduct of foreign affairs.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, *Drogmans and Diplomates Européens Aupres de la Porte Ottomane* (ANALECTA ISISIANA LXXI Les Editions ISI; Istanbul-2003), p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire; the Sublime Porte 1789–1922*, p. 91.

<sup>84</sup> Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey; Vol. I*, p. 280.

<sup>85</sup> Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p. 77.

Besides, the dragomans were seen as representing Western civilization in some respects regarding the education they had.

The dragomans of the Imperial Council under *Reisü'l Küttab* (Chief Scribe) were still of many nationalities in the 16th century, but the election was made mostly among the converted subjects of the Empire.<sup>86</sup> The first known one among this group was Yunus Bey, of Greek origin. According to sources, he was captured as a young boy from Modon during the siege of the city by Bayazıd II (r. 1481–1512) in 1500. While in Venetian sources he was known to be the son of one Taroniti Zorzi, Ottoman sources gave his father's name as Abdul- Rahman.<sup>87</sup> Yunus Bey became the chief dragoman of the Imperial Divan during the reign of Selim the Grim (1512–1520). He was sent to Venice a few times and conducted several successful foreign correspondence with French diplomats. Hitzel also writes of another famous translator, Murad Bey. Of Hungarian origin, Murad Bey was educated in Vienna and could speak Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Croatian besides his mother tongue.<sup>88</sup> Ali Ufki Bey was the last of the converted dragomans. He lived in the second half of the 17th century and his Christian name appeared in the following formats in the sources; Albert Bobowski, Albertus Bobovius or Alberto Bobovio. There is no certain knowledge about his origin, but he was taken as a captive in Crimea by the Tatars and was brought to Istanbul.<sup>89</sup> Apart from his position as a senior translator, he was known in Europe for his translated works on different aspects of music.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> C.E. Bosworth, "Tardjuman," *EI II*, V. 10 (Leiden; Brill, 2000), p. 237.

<sup>87</sup> Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "A Propos de Yûnus Beg, Baş Tercüman de Soliman Le Magnifique," *Istanbul et Les Langues Orientales* (Varia Turcica XXXI: L'Harmattan, 1997), p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> Frederic Hitzel, *Enfants de Langue et Drogmans- Dil Oğlanları ve Tercümanlar* (Istanbul; Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), p. 17.

<sup>89</sup> The date of his capture was not known.

<sup>90</sup> Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası*, p. 56.

The rich Jewish population formed another majority group among the 15th and 16th centuries' translators. Banished from their homeland, particularly Spain and Portugal in 1492, many Jews were accepted within the Ottoman Empire. These new arrivals formed a unique group with the Jewish refugees of Sicily.<sup>91</sup> Discovering the significance of European languages in the Ottoman Empire, the exiled Jews used their skills in many areas of the Ottoman Empire. Up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they were influential in trade, banking and international diplomacy. As the dragomans of the Imperial Council and European Embassies, they expanded their network through many channels. In some occasions, they also took role of mediating between the local residents and foreign elements.<sup>92</sup> One outstanding figure of many was Moşe Hamon, physician doctor to Selim the Grim (1512–1520) and Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566).<sup>93</sup> Able to operate both as court doctors and as translators for state affairs, Hamon and his fellows consolidated their place in high offices. The Jewish population in the capital kept their positions as translators and doctors throughout the 17th century, as well; but they became less important as another group, Greek Phanariots, rose to prominence.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the translation profession passed into the hands of the Greek *tebaa* of the Ottoman Empire. The *tebaa* resided in the Fener (Phanar) district of Istanbul and were known generally as the Phanariote. They gained privileged positions as translators over time, and systematically opened the way for the professionalization of the translation occupation. The Phanariote were first exempted from the head tax (*cizye*) and since there was no regulation for monthly payment, they were granted as state officials with the collection of the head tax of the Greek

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<sup>91</sup> Stanford Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York; New York University Press, 1991), p. 55.

<sup>92</sup> *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World; Vol. II* ed. by Norman A. Stillman, (Leiden; Brill, 2010), p. 94.

<sup>93</sup> Balcı, p. 53.



people living in the *Aynaroz* region (Mount Athos; Athonite; Agiorite)<sup>94</sup>. Osman Ergin bases this information on an archival document dated to 1819.<sup>95</sup> The *Kuruçeşme Rum School (Kuruçeşme Rum Mektebi)* was founded in 1805 by Dimitraşko Moroz Beyzade as a training center (*talimgah*) for Greek students.<sup>96</sup> The school followed the standards of European education, and it functioned in three languages; Ottoman Turkish, Greek and French.<sup>97</sup> After attending *Kuruçeşme Rum Mektebi*, many Phanariote went to the University of Padua for further education. Before appointment as the dragomans of the Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanları*), many Phanariots worked first as translators for the Ottoman naval forces.<sup>98</sup> Each of the dragomans who belonged to a prominent family such as Mavragordatos, Kallimachis, Ghikas, and Hypsilantis was assigned many important posts when a foreign correspondence had to be carried out.<sup>99</sup>

Within two centuries, these Phanariote dragomans rose to high positions in the Ottoman administrative system and they consolidated their powers by handing them down from father to son. They had a background of good education compared to other populations of the Ottoman Empire. Wealthy Phanariote families also had experience in trading activities with other countries. In addition to studies undertaken at the *Patriarchal Academy* in Istanbul, members of this group also attended academies established in Eastern Europe.

One of the best examples of the Phanariote influence in the Ottoman foreign policy was Panayot Nikoussios (1613–1673) of Chios, considered the first

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<sup>94</sup> Aynaroz is a peninsula located in Macedonia and Greece today. The capital of it is Karyes and the religious leader of it is the Patriarchate in Istanbul.

<sup>95</sup> Cited in Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye, San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısıyla Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (Istanbul; Osman Bey Matbaası, 1939), p. 56. “Sarayı cedide-i amire Pazar başlığı mesarifi için cibayeti Divan-ı Hümayun tercümanına meşrut ola Aynaroz cizyesi malından ber vechi ocaklık 6300 kuruş verilegeldiği mukayyed olub.” Muallim Cevdet Saray Defteri, No: 2249.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, p. 56

<sup>97</sup> Bilim, “Tercüme Odası,” p. 30.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>99</sup> Bosworth, “Tardjuman,” p. 237.

representative of the “Age of Great Rum Translators.”<sup>100</sup> Nicousios was the Grand Dragoman of the Imperial Palace between. As holder of this position he was the second most-powerful Christian in the Ottoman administration, after the hospodarship of Wallachia-Moldavia and the Orthodox Patriarchate.<sup>101</sup> Nikoussios had been educated at the Kuruçeşme Rum School under the supervision of the Patriarchate Church elder Meletios Syrigos: While there, he learned Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and philosophy. Then he went to the University of Padua to study medicine, Latin, mathematics and astronomy. After his return to Istanbul, he served the Austrian embassy for 25 years as a translator until the War of Kandiye broke out in 1669. This became the turning point in his career. During the war period he helped the Ottoman Empire to translate a letter coming from the king of Sweden, which led to his appointment as translator of the Imperial Council.

Another Phanariote whose career followed a similar trajectory was Alexander Mavrakordato (1641–1709). He was also from Chios and he too educated cultivating himself as his predecessor Nikoussios had. Mavrakordato was first educated in philosophy and theology at St. Athanasius College in Rome, later he studied medicine at Padua and Bologna. Mavrakordato worked as a translator in the Sublime Porte for 25 years, from 1673. In addition to Italian and Latin, he also knew Arabic, Ottoman and Persian languages. Since he showed remarkable success in his career, Mavrakordato attended the conference of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 with Rami Mehmed Pasha (1696–1703), *Reisü'l-Küttab* of the time. Being acquainted with Christian world and European court practices, he was qualified as one of the best

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<sup>100</sup> Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, p. 57.

<sup>101</sup> Damien Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavracordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of the Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> C.,” *Archivum Ottomanicum*, No. 23 (2005–2006), p. 183.

promoters of the Western political culture during his service in the Ottoman Imperial Council.<sup>102</sup>

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Phanariote dragomans held the monopoly on translation by obtaining *fermans* (Imperial decrees) directly from the Sultan. The Ottoman State's confidence in the Phanariote was just perfect. In 1709, the Head of the Translation Office in the Imperial Council, *Terdjüman Başı* (The Chief Dragoman) Iskerletzade Nicholos was first appointed as voivode of Boğdan (Moldavia) and Eflak (Wallachia) regions of the Empire.<sup>103</sup> After 1711, appointing Greek people to hospodarship became a tradition.

Toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, activities of the Phanariote against the Ottoman Empire began to be noticed more frequently. In 1740 Alexander Gika, in 1769 Nikola Drako, in 1812 Dimitrashko who attended the Treaty of Bucharest were blamed for spying on behalf of Russia and all were executed. Another was the case of Panayoti Kodrika. When Morean es-Seyyid Ali Efendi was the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Paris between 179 –1802, he took Kodrika along with him to France as the embassy translator. But Kodrika turned out to be working on behalf of France; he gave correspondence between Ali Efendi and Istanbul to the French diplomat Talleyrand (1754–1838). He was also rumored to have offered a plan to Napoleon regarding how to split up the Ottoman Empire.<sup>104</sup>

The modernization process along with the disloyalty of the Phanariote in the field drove officials of the Ottoman Empire to establish a professional translation office as part of a bureaucratic institution. That office should be first stripped of the Phanariote dragomans who held a monopoly on translation; it was to be reorganized

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<sup>102</sup> Janos , 193 and also Balcı, pp. 60-61.

<sup>103</sup> Bilim, "Tercüme Odası," p. 31.

<sup>104</sup> Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (Istanbul; Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), p. 110. What kind of sentence was given to him as a punishment is not mentioned in the work.

as a division of the Foreign Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*). The effort to establish a modern translation office was only realized in 1821. Before that time, Selim III (r.1789–1807) had suggested hiring dragomans from among the Muslim population. Yet the Imperial Council was still full of Phanariote dragomans, owing to the lack of education among the Muslim officers in the field. They could not compete with their Orthodox-Christian peers.<sup>105</sup> The Greek Revolt of 1821 ended the Greek dragoman tradition, when, owing to rumors that he had joined the rebellion, the Chief Dragoman of the Imperial Council, Constantin Mourouzi, was executed.<sup>106</sup> Serving as charge d'affaires of ambassadors, Phanariote were accused of misinterpreting information to the Empire.<sup>107</sup> The dismissal and execution of Mourouzi left the Ottoman State to depend on the Muslim officials instead.

By 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Muslim students began to receive training that used the latest European educational methods. These young attendees were also “exposed to European patterns of thought and behavior.”<sup>108</sup> The first personnel of the Translation Office in 1821 came from among the ranks of newly founded military schools. Among those schools the most famous were the Army Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayun*), the Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun*) and the Civilian Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye-i Şahane*). The first of the Muslim translators with a military education was Yahya Naci Efendi, a convert of Bulgarian origin. After graduating from the Army Engineering School, Yahya Naci Efendi became a teacher there. His first job in the Translation Office was to translate some important papers in Greek and French. Yet, Yahya Efendi had not mastered those languages. Out of necessity, Mahmud II

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 199.

<sup>106</sup> Bosworth, “Tardjuman,” p. 237.

<sup>107</sup> Namık Sinan Turan, “Osmanlı Diplomasisinde Batı İmgesinin Değişimi ve Elçilerin Etkisi (18.ve 19yy.),” *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol.5 (December, 2004), p. 62.

<sup>108</sup> Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey; Vol.I*, p. 265.

accepted the appointment of Stavraki Aristarchi, another Phanariote, in the former's position. However, despite all precautions, in 1822 it was realized that Aristarchi was collaborating with Greek rebels against the Empire.<sup>109</sup> He was immediately dismissed from his position and no Phanariote was formally hired by the Translation Office after this incident. Aristarchi case forced the officials of the Empire to generate solutions to train Muslim field officers in foreign diplomacy. Student missions were regularly sent to Europe 1830s onwards to receive the education needed for foreign affairs, along with the technical fields. Mahmud II was interested in training Muslim bureaucratic cadres. With the death of Yahya Efendi, Hoca Ishak Efendi (a Jewish convert) took over his position. He was proficient in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew along with Turkish, Persian and Arabic.<sup>110</sup> Through his scientific studies, the terminology of western modern science for the first time entered into the Ottoman education curriculum.<sup>111</sup>

During Hoca Ishak Efendi's office in 1824, the Translation Office underwent a structural change and it was re-organized as two sections; *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Office) and *Dil Odası* (Language Office). While the former section dealt with the task of translation related to the foreign diplomacy, the latter served to teach European languages to officials from different departments of the state. The officials training there practiced French between each other during their leisure hours. Ishak Efendi's rivalry with *Reisü'l- Küttab* Pertev Paşa in 1830 resulted in the latter's dismissal from the post. He was replaced by Halil Esrar Efendi, the assistant and son-in-law of Ishak Efendi, and two other officers: Mehmet Namık Paşa and Sir James Redhouse. Mehmet Namık Paşa was a reformist figure who had the leading role in the establishment of the Army Engineering School and Sir James Redhouse was the

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<sup>109</sup> Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, p. 83.

<sup>110</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Turkey* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 88.

<sup>111</sup> Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, p. 233.

famous Turkish lexicographer who was also a member of the Academy of Knowledge (*Encümen-i Daniş*).<sup>112</sup> After decades of gradual changes, the Translation Office took its final form in 1833.

The decade following 1833 was significant in modern Ottoman history because of the many internal and external crises faced by the Ottoman Empire. Foreign diplomacy entwined with inner problems, and the Ottoman State had to take protective steps to cope with such disturbances as revolts in the provinces. The Ottoman Army was defeated by Mehmed Ali, the Khedive of Egypt (1805–1848).<sup>113</sup> The Treaty of Hünkâr Iskelesi signed after that incident could be regarded as a breakpoint from the military policies to diplomacy.<sup>114</sup> According to Findley, the Egyptian Crisis was the reason for those civil officials in favor of European ideology to become the most effective actors in state affairs. For him, being away from the palace control, they tried to rebuild the imperial system with innovative legislations and policies.<sup>115</sup>

The intensity of foreign relations as a result of foreign politics necessitated the emergence of the translator-statesmen. The Translation Office established in 1833 “became the training ground for Ottoman diplomats, and also for the new intelligentsia who played a major role in ideological developments during the 19th century.”<sup>116</sup> While it had been a small section of the Imperial Council, the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası*) as a division of

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<sup>112</sup> Bilim, “Tercüme Odası,” p. 37.

<sup>113</sup> For more detailed historical schema look at; Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and the Modern Turkey; Volume:II*.

<sup>114</sup> Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, p. 94.

<sup>115</sup> Carter Findley, “19.yy’da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bürokratik Gelişme”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türk Ansiklopedisi I* (Istanbul; İletişim Yayınları, 1985 ), p. 260.

<sup>116</sup> Fatma Acun, “Osmanlı’dan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ne: Değişme ve Süreklilik,” p. 159; Sinan Kunalalp, “Evolution de la Charge de Drogman du Divan Impérial Durant le XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle,” in *Istanbul et Les Langues Orientales* (Varia Turcica XXXI: L’Harmattan, 1997), pp. 479–483 draws a chronological outline of the developments the Translation Office underwent after its establishment within Foreign Ministry in 1833.

the Foreign Ministry was a place of political importance and a channel for the intelligence network. Highly educated statesmen who came out of that office proved to be effective in both internal and foreign diplomacy issues of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman agenda. Knowledge of French especially became a criterion to advance in position, thus the Translation Office became an inevitable stop for that education and an indispensable channel.<sup>117</sup> Most of the embassy correspondences addressed to the Foreign Ministry had to stop first in the Translation. That's because the fact that they were all written in French and had to be translated first. In that respect the Translation Office had the chance keep up with the foreign diplomacy by the Foreign Ministry via the Ottoman embassies. In that way, they also increased their experience in the conduct of foreign diplomacy.

To reorganize the Translation Office, Reshid Pasha (1800–1858) after three years decided to incorporate it into the newly founded Foreign Ministry in 1836. He came out of *Amedi* office and was sent to Europe both to obtain an education and to re-establish the permanent embassies in Paris, London and Vienna. Upon his return home, Reshid Pasha first became the Head of the Foreign Ministry; in later years his position frequently approximated that of the Grand Vizierate.<sup>118</sup> The Translation Office after 1836 consisted of two sections; the first class (*sinif-ı evvel*) and the second class (*sinif-ı sani*). The officials in the first class who proved their skills in translation and rhetoric gained the right to pass to the second class.

During the Crimean War (1853–1856), foreign correspondence with Europe increased to a great extent. As a consequence, special clerks (*mümeyyiz*) were appointed in the Translation Office. These clerks were responsible for carrying out

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<sup>117</sup>Donal Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 81.

<sup>118</sup>Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.3, No.3 (July 1972), p.255.

correspondence with the legations of the strong European powers, such as France and Britain.<sup>119</sup> In 1856, a Section of Foreign Correspondence (*Tahrirat-ı Ecnebiyye Odası*) was opened, working directly for the Foreign Ministry. *Tahrirat-ı Ecnebiyye Odası* organized the documents, kept records, distributed them to the relevant departments of the Foreign Ministry and stored copies in its archives.<sup>120</sup> This expansion “implied another shift in the old *cursus honorum*, for the Translation Office now began to take precedence even over the Amedi Office.”<sup>121</sup>

The main task of the Translation Office was the translation of many documents. These were all the reports in Arabic, Persian, French coming from the provinces, various laws and regulation exemplars of the outside world, the documents of the Ottoman embassies in Austria, Greece, England, France, Russia and Prussia, and the news published in the foreign press, and all the other documents coming from different sections of The Sublime Porte. As for the foreign press, one archival document revealed by Balcı reveals out that the Translation Office sometimes became the conductor of the public diplomacy. According to the document, one embassy official named Nolinski asked from the Chief Dragoman the permission of publishing news for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>122</sup>

In the Translation Office of the Tanzimat Period, considerable importance was given to the education of Ottoman officials. Along with French, lessons of history, geography, calculation, *belles lettres*, French Law and International Law were taught. With the outbreak of the Crimean War, the intensity of the relations

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<sup>119</sup> Akyıldız, p. 77.

<sup>120</sup> Balcı, pp.101-102.

<sup>121</sup> Carter Findley, “The Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry: The Beginnings of the Bureaucratic Reform under Selim III and Mahmud II,” in *IJMES*, Vol.3, No.4 (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, October-1972), p.404.

<sup>122</sup> Balcı, p. 120.



with Britain also necessitated training in English language.<sup>123</sup> These rearrangements in the Translation Office brought about a reinvigorated cadre. The statesmen belonged to the new system continued their careers by cultivating themselves on various subjects. Those who were sent to Europe had their first training in the Translation Office. They found themselves in privileged positions in the administrative system when they turned back home.

Ali and Fuad Pashas could be counted as among the best examples of these capable, well bred statesmen of the Tanzimat Period. Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1815–1871) was the son of an Istanbul shopkeeper and he began his education by attending the *medrese*. Ali Pasha then entered the scribal service of the Porte. He learned French in the Translation Office and was sent to Vienna (1835–1836) and St. Petersburg (1837) as a clerk. His experiences in Europe advanced his knowledge of foreign politics. He proved himself through his service to Reshid Pasha, acting as the latter’s personal scribe and translator during his tenure in London. Ali Pasha became a leading member of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) and he became the Foreign Minister during Mustafa Reshid’s two terms Grand-Veziarete.<sup>124</sup>

Keçecizade Mehmed Fuat Pasha (1814–1868) was another outstanding figure first trained in the Translation Office. He was a statesman known for his intelligence, his rich knowledge in French, medicine and diplomacy aside from his generosity, well-rhetoric and courageous attitude.<sup>125</sup> As a son of the poet Izzet Molla, Mehmed Fuad was born in 1814 in Istanbul. Mehmed Fuad completed his education at the medical school and between 1834–1835 went to Tripoli as an army doctor. After his return to Istanbul, he entered the Translation Office and in 1839 he became the chief

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<sup>123</sup>Ibid, p. 105.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, pp. 62-63.

<sup>125</sup> Süreyya, *Sicilli-Osmani II*, p. 540.

dragoman of the Sublime Porte. In 1849, Fuad Pasha (Mehmed Fuad) negotiated the Hungarian refugee problem in St. Petersburg. In 1858, he represented the Sublime Porte at the Paris Conference on the problem of Danubian Principalities. He represented the Ottoman Empire at the Paris Peace Conference of 1858. Fuad Pasha served as the Foreign Minister of the Porte for five terms. He died in 1869 in Nice.<sup>126</sup>

Both of these great statesmen are early examples of the importance of the Translation Office and the education and vision they gained through that affiliation. Their careers show that the Translation Office put the first seeds of the bureaucratic reform by bringing up people who were capable of carrying out these reforms.

It is obvious that the process for the foreign diplomacy was not only the development of the translation business. It was part of an overall transformation of the Ottoman state system and its substantial integration into European diplomacy. Initially the Translation Office was regarded as instrumental only to conveying foreign correspondence; it gradually became an integral part of foreign diplomacy and modern bureaucratic state system. The officers were trained in the Translation Office were not merely dragomans but they later became outstanding statesmen in the Ottoman bureaucratic cadre.

### **2.3. Public Diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Empire**

The term public diplomacy is actually a newly established word that gained importance at the end of the Cold War. Firstly used in 1960s, that specific field of the international diplomacy became the target of the statesmen for affecting international

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<sup>126</sup> Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire; 1856–1876*, p. 89. And the other resource of the same author see; Roderic Davison, “Fuad Pasha,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Volume II (Leiden; E.J.Brill, 1991), pp. 934-36.

diplomacy and interacting with foreign publics. Through public diplomacy; political and social connections could be established which in return would provide mutual understanding between different states and societies.<sup>127</sup> While public diplomacy is most effective when appeals to the trust of the foreign publics,<sup>128</sup> it is a field with wide-range of tools asserting its power both on the foreign public and international politics. In another words; public diplomacy could be considered as prerequisite to the establishment of successful foreign policy if applied successfully.

Though started to be used as a new term, public diplomacy was indeed an old policy applied by many civilizations in different ways. As Nicholas Cull puts: “its constituent parts are old; as old as statecraft.”<sup>129</sup> Listening others, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting are regarded the most effective tools of today’s public diplomacy. The most effective and early examples of these constituent parts of public diplomacy were seen in the policies of foreign relations conducted by the ambassadors and envoys. The ambassadors in old times were entitled with three basic tasks; to represent their countries in foreign lands, to negotiate international agreements and to provide the flow of information from the countries they were serving in, to their own countries. To achieve these, ambassadors became the key center of a network which was basically established by “international communication in a formally specified setting.”<sup>130</sup>

The Ottoman Empire applied some forms of public diplomacy earlier by sending its temporary ambassadors to abroad. The main aim of these visits in the pre-modern Ottoman Empire was to inform the outside world about the Empire.

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<sup>127</sup> Cowen and Arsenault, “Moving from Monologue to Dialogue and to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy,” p. 12.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>129</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.616 (Mar., 2008), p.31.

<sup>130</sup> Suzan Keller, “Diplomacy and Communication,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), 177.

Enthronement of a Sultan or a birth of *şehzade* (prince), declarations of war and peace, and the offer of an alliance to another country or friendship were among the reasons why temporary ambassadors, entitled as *fevkalâde elçi* (exceptional ambassador), were sent abroad. As the different *sefaretnames* revealed, that was a common practice of how the Ottoman Empire gained information about events abroad. Besides these ambassadors; province governors of the borders in the East, Crimean Khans in the North, hospodars of Moldova and Wallachia in the West, the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Kingdom of Transylvania as well as the networks of the Ottoman and foreign merchants were the indispensable official information (and intelligence) networks of the Ottoman Empire. Phanariote dragomans joined the list later. Thanks to their close acquaintanceship with the foreign embassy translators they became the ears and eyes of the Ottoman Empire in Europe up to the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>131</sup>

The early examples of the public diplomacy based its success on three methods; vigilance, advice/advocacy and negotiation. These methods then left their place to more elaborated policies of dialogue, monologue and collaboration of the modern times. The Ottoman Empire adapted itself the public diplomacy by making use of vigilance, advocacy/advice and negotiation step by step before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Vigilance meant the keeping up with everything going on in Europe and reporting each occasion to Istanbul. It sometimes bore the nature “managing the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions overseas and using that data to redirect its wider public diplomacy.”<sup>132</sup> That was the part of the conventional diplomacy and intelligence network. Advocacy meant that giving of some reasonable opinions to the Foreign Ministry in Istanbul

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<sup>131</sup> Kuran, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri* (179–1821), p. 9.

<sup>132</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories,” p. 32

about certain cases while waiting for the instructions. It also included the agent's effort to promote certain ideas and policies.<sup>133</sup> Lastly, negotiation was usually unilateral and informal way of expressing the thoughts of the Sublime Porte to the statesmen of other countries. There were also many other famous examples accrued by the personal drive of the permanent ambassadors of the earlier times (the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.)

It seems that, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, for this respect, did a great job in his one year post to France (1720–21). His success during his stay contributed a lot to the good relations between the Ottoman Empire and France. His public policy campaign filled the minds of many French people with sympathy towards the Ottoman Empire.<sup>134</sup> After the attempt to establish permanent embassies in 1791, some of the first ambassadors tried their best in conducting public policy. The ambassador of France Seyyid Abdurrahim Muhip Efendi for instance reported to Istanbul all the details of the French administration system during his ambassadorship in Austria (1791–1792). In his *Sefaretname*, he wrote many things about the administrative, fiscal and military aspect of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>135</sup>

By 1790s, the most powerful weapon of Europe, the press got also the attention of the Ottoman ambassadors and statesmen. Even though that print capitalism was established many centuries before in Europe, according to Findley, it gained that much importance only towards the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of rising nationalist movements.<sup>136</sup> In that respect, the Ottoman officials were on time for catching up with the pace of that public tool of Europe. The press awareness obliged

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara; TTK, 1992), p. 56.

<sup>135</sup> Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatı'nda Reform*, p. 292.

<sup>136</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, Modernity*, p. 10.

them to focus on what was published and circulated around Europe.<sup>137</sup> The first Ottoman ambassador to London, Yusuf Agah Efendi (1793–1796) sent all the translation of the news published in there and reported the rumors he heard on political affairs.<sup>138</sup> Moralı Seyyid Ali Efendi as an ambassador to France (1796–1802) had an interview with Foreign Minister Talleyrand (1754–1838) about the rumors that General Bonaparte was going to invade Egypt. He requested the journalists to be charged and the news to be contradicted.<sup>139</sup> In similar way, Halet Efendi (1802–1806) took precautions to prevent the bad-intentions of some newspapers in France about the Ottoman Empire.<sup>140</sup>

Nevertheless, these efforts were not enough to satisfy Selim III. He wanted to establish better relations with European states. The breakup of the French Revolution in 1789 made him to think that the establishment of permanent embassies was an urgent necessity.<sup>141</sup> Regarding the expenditure allocated for the embassies, Selim III expected too much from his agents.<sup>142</sup> By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, public policy campaigns were usually conducted for the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire like the amendments in economy, education, westernization and changes in the law system. Vigilance, advice/advocacy and negotiation of internal

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<sup>137</sup> Roderic Davison, “How the Ottoman Government Adjusted to a New Institution; the Newspaper Press,” *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul; the Isis Press, 1997), p. 362.

<sup>138</sup> Kuran, *Osmanlı İkamet Elçilikleri*, p. 20.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

<sup>140</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Halet Efendi'nin Paris Büyükelçiliği* (Istanbul; Kenan Basımevi, 1940), p. 37. “Bir müddetten beri, gazetelerde aralık aralık Devlet-i Aliyye hakkında iradı ekâzip olunub ancak bu defa vukubulan maddede Devlet-i Aliyye henüz Françelu aleyhinde olan düvel ile müttefikane hareket ederek bi taraflıktan nükül eylediği yokken, gazetelerde bu mertebe vükelayı Devlet-i Aliyye hakkında istira ve isnada malemyükten olunduğunu, bir veçhile şanı saltanatı seniyyeye layık olmadığı ve ehli İslamdan be ane kadar düvel-i saireye meyl suretini kimesne Kabul eylediği mesmu değil iken, Devlet-i Aliyye gibi bir azimüşşan devlet hakkında gazetecilerin bu mertebe eracif tahrir etmelerini Fransa Devleti dahi münasip görmeyüp ve kabul etmiyecekleri nümayan olmağla gazetecilere fimabât bu makule şey tahrir etmemeleri tenbih ve te’kid olunmak hususu Françe devleti tarafından dostane iltimas olunur.”

<sup>141</sup> Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, p. 20.

<sup>142</sup> Kuran, p. 25.

administration were not enough by themselves.<sup>143</sup> More elaborate modern bureaucratic organization was required for foreign diplomacy. At that point, embassies were the most important channel to pursue a healthy public diplomacy.

Findley thinks that;

“By nature, an embassy is a microcosm of the society it represents. The problems that might be manageable at home assume enlarged importance in a small exile community duty bound to keep up appearance and play a representational role.”<sup>144</sup>

The embassies of Selim III accelerated the pace of the process for entering the European politics. Many Muslim officials became proficient in foreign languages. Though they were not influential in affecting and controlling the European newspapers, they achieved to monitor and supply with the flow of information with their limited efforts.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, the experiences and capabilities of the embassy officials were still far away from being competent. There was lack of network channels at the time and the brigandage events in the hospodarship of Wallachia and Moldova worsened the flow of correct information to the center. Besides, the Egyptian occupation (1798–1801) of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) put the Empire in difficult political position.<sup>146</sup>

The attempt of Mahmud II for the reestablishment of embassies improved the structure of the embassies to a great extent. Though the pre-Tanzimat period was not stable, the Reform Era was unlike that. The Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte acquired the well-educated officials of the *Amedi Kalemi* who trained themselves in the Translation Office from now on. The bureaucrats of these bureaus became the interlocutors of the foreign relations by advancing their experience in the Ottoman

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<sup>143</sup> Davison, “Ottoman Public Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: How the Sublime Porte Tried to Influence European Public Opinion,” p. 351.

<sup>144</sup> Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>145</sup> Akyılmaz, p. 204.

<sup>146</sup> Kuran, p. 64.

embassies after completing their education in the Translation Office.<sup>147</sup> The Translation Office which was founded to train Muslim officials in foreign languages and to breed trustworthy statesmen to establish a communication and correspondence network attained its goal in a short while.<sup>148</sup> The embassy agents that grew out of the Translation Office as learned men of art of modern diplomacy did their best to carry the public diplomacy along with other duties.<sup>149</sup> The officials Ottoman embassies followed up each development through wide circulation of various European newspapers. The Translation Office became the second instrumental agent for transacting the correspondences written about these newspapers. They first came there as not only the newspaper clippings but also the official correspondences to Porte were written in French, the official language of the 19<sup>th</sup> century international diplomacy. They were translated and recorded there (by giving number and date) and sent to the other high sections.<sup>150</sup>

## **2.4. Conclusion**

The transformation of the Foreign Ministry and the Translation Office as a sub-section of it were part of a general shift to carry out the state's diplomatic expectations in cooperation with the modern military, administrative and educational systems of the Ottoman Empire. In that respect, it was not just a process in which the Ottoman state planned its formation according to nationalist concerns and dismissed

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<sup>147</sup> Lalor, "Promotion Patterns," p. 92.

<sup>148</sup> Akyıldız, p. 78.

<sup>149</sup> Uğurhan Karaarslan, "Osmanlı Dış Politikasında Değişim ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası," Yüksek Lisans Tezi (İstanbul; Marmara Üniversitesi, 1999), p. 33.

<sup>150</sup> Balcı, p. 116.



non-Muslim officials/ dragomans. The turn of the 18th century into the 19th was a transition period, during which the bureaucratic class emerged as a vital part of the Ottoman administrative system. The first step of modernization process was the training of well-educated statesmen to serve in bureaucracy. The interest in adapting European systems to the Ottoman situation was not the result of admiration of Europe. It was precisely because of the exigencies which resulted from inner problems.<sup>151</sup> Still, the shift of power from the Imperial Palace to the Sublime Porte cannot be analyzed only through the dynamics of the inner system. The shift was also related to the Ottoman Empire's essential integration into international diplomacy. Officials of the Ottoman Empire felt an urgent need to establish a place in international politics. Therefore, institutional reforms in general, and the foundation of the Foreign Ministry as part of the Sublime Porte, should be regarded in this wider context. The Foreign Ministry as a bureaucratic institution was a natural result of the transformation attempts and it grew in parallel to those efforts, serving the cause of increased effectiveness in the international arena those activities were becoming more intensified. It became the pinnacle along with its offices for the conduct and maintenance of the 19<sup>th</sup> public diplomacy.

The path towards the latest form of Foreign Ministry from the office of *Reisülküttablık* was closely correlated to the foreign policies of the Ottoman Empire mainly intensified 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. That transformation process brought along with it the natural development concerning the development/conversion of dragomanate business. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, foreign policies and international diplomacy carried with them the emergence of well-educated Ottoman elite whom both have the qualification of diplomats and dragomans in the same package. When

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<sup>151</sup> Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, pp. 24-25.

the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte grew in maturity with its above-mentioned Tanzimat-elite, the elaborate system of public diplomacy was conducted with much more ease. The public diplomacy of the pre-modern period became intricate and more fruitful when there was occurred a foreign diplomacy platform in which its conductors were more capable and its facilities were more accessible.

Monitoring and closely watching over the foreign newspapers in that way became the most influential and effective trend of the 19<sup>th</sup> century public diplomacy of Europe. As will be mentioned in the next coming chapter, the Ottoman Empire was conscious enough to catch up with that trend and availed itself of the very similar public diplomacy policies to be kept well-informed of the others.

**CHAPTER III**

**THE EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND MONITORING  
OF FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman authorities were well aware of the emerging and highly significant role of the newspaper as an arbiter of public opinion. Each government attempted to use the press to bolster its own interests and to monitor interpretations of the daily political agenda around the world. In 1805 Metternich described the effect of newspapers on the changing relationship between governmental policy and society quite well:

“The daily published bulletins of the French army with which Germany and all Europe are flooded are a new invention and deserve the most serious attention. The gazettes are worth an army of 300,000 men to Napoleon. Public opinion is the most powerful of weapons.”<sup>152</sup>

In the Ottoman Empire, according to Davison, the first awareness of the European press occurred in the late eighteenth century, during the reign of Abdülhamid I (1774–1789). The Grand Vizier Seyyid Mehmed Pasha (1779–1781) created an office in his chamber to obtain and translate certain European newspapers; the

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<sup>152</sup> M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy: 1450–1919* (London-New York; Longman, 1993), p. 137.

purpose was to inform himself and other divan members of the latest developments in Europe. During the 1790s, that awareness became widespread among officials, influenced by regular reports on the local press made by the ambassadors Selim III sent to Europe. Reports from these ambassadors often included posting sheets and clippings from the important newspapers.<sup>153</sup>

As the patterns for acquisitions of intelligence and the information systems of the state changed, public press became a significant player in determining official policies. Print culture in Europe was the most effective means to learn about political developments in European countries. Monitoring European newspapers meant that Ottoman bureaucrats of the reform period could fine-tune the state's relationship with its European interlocutors. Ottoman officers in the Foreign Ministry were taught to evaluate the articles that appeared in European newspapers. And the Translation Office of that ministry became the invisible yet quite effective channel behind the kitchen. So when, in the 1820s, the first local newspapers appeared in the Empire, such as *Spectateur Oriental*, *Le Smyrneen*, *Le Courrier de Smyrne* and *Journal de Smyrne*, the policy to monitor the European press was already well established.<sup>154</sup>

In this chapter, I explore the monitoring of foreign newspapers by the Translation Office during the Tanzimat period. In the first part, my point is to show what European political news was deemed by officials of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry important to watch. By doing so, I also intend to figure out whether there was any reason why the Ottoman officials became interested in certain issues of European politics and the conflicts between European governments. The subject matter of interest included the parliamentary debates in England, the conflict between the French and Belgian Governments over the freedom of Belgian press, the

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<sup>153</sup> Davison, "How the Ottoman Government Adjusted to a New Institution: The Newspaper Press," p. 362.

<sup>154</sup> Davison, "How the Ottoman Government Adjusted to a New Institution," p. 362.

expansionist policies of England overseas, and the unification of Germany, among other topics. In the second part, I present the newspapers monitored by the Sublime Porte, which for the most part contained articles about the problems of the Ottoman Government and the provinces under its rule. These articles were mostly about the minority groups and revolts in the provinces, but others discussed the internal administration of the Empire such as finance or reform attempts. Based on these data, I explain why foreign press was interested in those issues and I show how the Ottoman Empire reacted toward these news items. All the data used here were based on the content of the official correspondences occurred between the Ottoman embassies abroad and the Foreign Ministry that conduit by the Translation Office.

In this regard, I also aim to emphasize the role of the Translation Office in transmitting the embassy correspondence and newspaper translations. Since nineteenth century the bureaucratic documents were not required to follow the formal rules for writing and composing used elsewhere, correspondence coming to the Porte from the embassies serve as good examples of “the Ottoman political idiom and rhetoric of power” within routine Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>155</sup> Even though there was a “codex of representations and formulating argumentations,”<sup>156</sup> officials of the Foreign Ministry and sometimes Translation Office appear to have been comfortable expressing their ideas in the documents they wrote. As the main training center of bureaucrats, the Translation Office of the Foreign Ministry was a first stop for all documents, where each was inspected before transfer to higher echelons of the Sublime Porte. The officials serving in the Foreign Ministry were the men that made the decisions. Aware of the importance of their positions as statesmen, they did not hesitate to influence directly the politics of the Sublime Porte during the Tanzimat

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<sup>155</sup> Maurus Reinkowski, “The State’s Security and the Subject’s Prosperity: Notions of Order in Ottoman Bureaucratic Correspondence (19<sup>th</sup> Century),” p. 195.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197.

Era. And as a section filled with most educated and able statesmen of the time, the Translation Office helped to promote the discursive hegemony of that bureaucratic class on the Ottoman politics.

### **3.1. Monitoring of the European Political Affairs in the Foreign Newspapers**

Most of the newspaper clippings and embassy letters arriving at the Foreign Ministry via the Translation Office related to internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Still, there was some interest in news that reflected circumstances in Europe and these items came to the attention of ambassadors through the well-established intelligence network of the Sublime Porte. Related correspondence gives some clues about in what ways the Ottoman Empire tried to understand Europe.

#### **3.1.1. The Parliamentary Debates in the British Cabinet**

I came across two documents that concerned the parliamentary debates in England regarding the establishment of a new ministerial cabinet in 1851. It seems that the Ottoman statesmen were curious about this kind of developments taking place in Europe. In this context, Reshid Pasha was the first bureaucratic official to be directly influenced by Europe. He was affected by the Revolution of 1830 and other movements of liberalism, which occurred during his tenure as Ambassador to England and France. He was in favor of Louis Philippe's the July monarchy in

France and he was engrossed by the election reforms in England.<sup>157</sup> The documents reveal that Ali Pasha as a progenitor of Reshid Pasha continued these interests when he took over the latter's positions.

Since 1683, there had been an ongoing conflict between two parties in the English Parliament. The ascendancy of the house of Stuart family, on the death of Oliver Cromwell, instigated a fight between Parliament and the King. The Stuarts wanted an absolute monarchy, and in this they were supported by the right-wing, Tory party. The opposition, the Whig (Liberal) party wanted to increase the rights of the Parliament against the King. That fight lasted until 1689, with the crowning of William and Mary (William of Orange and his wife). When William agreed to accept the Declaration of Rights in 1689, the Parliament gained more extensive rights.<sup>158</sup> Although the Whigs had triumphed over the Tories in this instance, the power competition lasted until 1830.<sup>159</sup> With the liberal air of the Revolution, the power passed to the hands of the Whig party, although documents made it clear that the conflict was still going on in 1851. According to the Ottoman embassy agent Vinter Morpuzo, the British cabinet was working on forming a new ministry which would have no majority, but would be under the authority of Lord John Russell (1792–1878) and Lord Palmerstone (1784–1865). The problem was that the Whig party took the example of the right wing French party, Orléanists in the way that both supported the constitutional monarchy with limited powers of a king. Aroused as a production of French Revolution, the Orléanist were regarded as a threat by the Tories. And that legitimacy of the Orléanists above the Whig Cabinet became an issue of hot debate between the two opposite parties in the parliament. Morpuzo

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<sup>157</sup> Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi (1879–1914)* (Ankara; TTK, 1997), p. 223.

<sup>158</sup> Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (London; Pimlico, 1997), pp. 629–631; for a more detailed information see John Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform 1640–1832* (Cambridge; the Cambridge University Press, 1972).

<sup>159</sup> For this process see; Ian Newbould, *Whiggery and Reform, 1830–1841* (Macmillan, 1990).

described how that traditional order of a French party still had an effect on today English Whig party by using a metaphor; “les morts appellent les morts du tombeau!”<sup>160</sup> (The dead call the dead from the grave). In Paris two months later (March 17, 1851), other Ottoman embassy official Rıza reported on the latest developments in the British Cabinet. A consequence of the previous problem, the British Ministry was still shaken, and the difficulties faced by the opposite parties were burdensome. Yet the Whig Party managed to retain power and Rıza estimated that it was unlikely that they would lose it soon. Both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerstone, as had been expected, became the politicians who maintained both the internal and external policies. Rıza commented that threats to dissolve the House of Commons were unpopular, and following that route could in turn further strengthen the power of the Whig Party.<sup>161</sup>

Both of the writers of these reports, the embassy agents, took on the task of vigilance and advocacy of the public diplomacy. They just watched and reported the atmosphere with their own analyses. Yet no sign of negotiation was in question. It just reveals that the Ottoman Empire was not in a state of oblivion. They wanted to be aware of the things going on around the world. As for the echo of the developments of the English Parliamentary system, not much could be discerned from these documents. It is unclear to what extent the Ottoman officials were affected by these liberal movements. Even though it could be said that *Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye* (The Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances) and *Dar-ı Şura-yı Bab-ı Ali* (the Deliberative Council of the Sublime Porte) both resembled to the parliamentary system of Europe in functioning, they were of a different nature in reality.

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<sup>160</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 312, 414/42. Dated on February 25, 1851.

<sup>161</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 312,414/59.



### **3.1.2. Political Crisis between France and Belgium on the Freedom of Belgian**

#### **Press**

In May 1856, a political crisis involving the Belgian and French Governments was brought to the attention of the Foreign Minister, Fuad Pasha.<sup>162</sup> In the report, the author observed that the Belgian press was waging propaganda against the French Government, and that this increased the tension between authorities of the two governments. Even though it seemed to be a small scale conflict, Ottoman officials had another goal for observing it. After recounting the matter in detail, the reporter related the events to the foreign policies of the Ottoman Empire.

For a long time, the French Government had been offended by the violent language of the Belgian press. The attacks on the French Republic came mostly from French refugees who had been welcomed by the Belgian Government. The reporter claimed that a sensible and farsighted observer would realize the contradiction between the attitude held by the Belgian press and the principle of the neutrality which was central to the existence of Belgium as a nation. He was aware of the hypocrisy of one group of men in Belgian government, who were hostile to France and “laugh up their sleeves at what happens”<sup>163</sup> while pretending to regret their inability to stop the abuses of the press. The reason for this attitude, according to the Ottoman official, was the fact that Belgium was a country of freedom, and its constitution did not give the executive the right to punish such behaviors. The other group, on the other hand, could not wait to get rid of those refugees, not out of

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<sup>162</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ;1174, 36/77. Three dispatches in the report dated on May 2/9//16, 1856.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, “ rien sous cape de ce qui se passé.”

sympathy for France but for the fear of adverse consequences. However, they too were afraid of liberal reaction if Belgium moved the refugees back to France. Before the Revolution of the 1830, the King of Belgium-Holland already put all his efforts to censor the press and harassed the independency of its Belgian parliament. Yet the air of revolution coming from France resulted in the separation of Belgium from Holland and the establishment of independent constitutional government.<sup>164</sup> It is obvious that even 26 years after 1830 Revolution, its effects were still vigorous and the free Belgium did struggle through its parliament not to return back to these times again. Ottoman official had the opportunity to witness it in the parliament.

The Ottoman official who made this report then commenced on the power of the press in Belgium. He thought that it was the third power in the state after the King and the Chambers. He presented a few questions for consideration: How did the Belgian Government dare to enter into combat with the press? How did they try to reduce its power? His answer was harsh and realistic: “you would better jump in head first in the midst of a troop of hungry wolves!” Rather than trying to control the Belgian press,<sup>165</sup> the reporter concluded his argument by noting that such an effort would require men of courage and eloquence, and the Belgian state had none. Later in 1856, the Ottoman official sent to Fuad Pasha a speech made to the Belgian Congress by a M. le Jlaewsky in April of that year. In the speech, le Jlaewsky assessed the subject of press conflict in a way related to France, though the real interest was in all European powers. He knew that the Emperor’s (French) government wished to preserve the best relations with Belgium. He gave the message that if the representatives of the Great Powers of Europe would issue their opinion of the problem on the freedom of press, the Belgian government would act according to

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<sup>164</sup> Hayreddin Nedim Göçen, *Vesaik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye: Belgelerin Dilinden Osmanlı ve Avrupa* (Istanbul; Selis Kitaplar, 2008), p. 173.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. ; “ Autant voudrait se jeter la tête la première au milieu d’une troupe de loupes affamés.”

the majority of the countries. Mr. le Jalewsky stated that he knew it was a duty of the international community to not tolerate a same problem at home in order to undermine peace in neighboring states. Thus, the problem between the France and Belgium was drawn into the international arena and the Ottoman official also saw himself fit to be a part of that debate.

The official first evaluated reactions in Belgium toward le Jalewsky's speech. While some politicians, particularly the Ministers of Justice and Finance, insisted on the need to apply law enforcement to the press, another group claimed that it would be disgraceful to "sacrifice our liberties to national requirements of a foreign sovereign."<sup>166</sup> The reporter criticized the second group by arguing that if a country had the right to ask that no one interfered its internal affairs; it also had the duty to act in the same way towards its neighbors. The Belgians frequently evoked the principles of neutrality. Nevertheless, according to the reporting official, neutrality was respectable if serious and sincere. Neutrality of a country should not only lead to avoidance of acts of war against other people, but also avoid any demonstrations of agitation; whether in the disputes between the nations or in the domestic politics of the others. At that point, the official revealed his own intentions, deploring the conflict between France and Belgium. He related the ongoing debate over the Belgian press to debates over the Eastern Question. On the Eastern Question, like the establishment of the Empire in France, Belgium showed the same degree of serious demonstrations, he argued. Yet, the reporter assured Fuad Pasha that the Turkish Legation in Brussels knew well what to expect in that regard. Besides, the malicious role played by the representative of Belgium in Pera, the Duke of Brabant, the position he took during the war (probably the Crimean War) and even

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid. ; "de sacrifier nos libertés nationales aux exigences d'un souverain étranger."

before against Turkey, and his anti-Turkish stance were known and acknowledged by all Belgians. Likewise, the writer recognized that the Belgian government had sympathies towards Russia against the French. That was also proved by the marked coldness of Duke of Brabant during the (Crimean) war. While the officers of Belgian army published provocative writings against the Western powers of the war, they showed great favor to the agents of Russia. Concerning all those facts, the official became confident that Belgium overlooked the duties of neutrality. For that reason, the time came to remind them of their duties, he exclaimed. In the report, the Ottoman official gave a series of lessons addressed to the Belgian Government for a resolution. He argued that if the system in place did not suit the Belgian authorities, they should cease to be neutral however unpleasant that may seem. It would be better to reduce the country's level of importance and be content with small claims. The author pointed to Switzerland as a role model in this respect, and predicted that they could work, sell, buy, get rich in the way Switzerland did. Hereafter, he assured the Belgians, they could debate democracy and aristocracy, the progressive liberalism and conservatism as they pleased. In the end he did not abstain from warning them that if they continued to interfere in the affair of others, they had to expect the same to happen against their own internal politics. Thus the Ottoman official represented the Empire as a part of the European system by finding the authority in himself to suggest policies that would resolve their problems. The Empire in return obtained the intelligence through modern means of network, necessary for understanding and competing with the exterior powers.

That same official compared the current attitude of Belgium to the “bat” fable of La Fontaine. He wrote that whenever they warned politicians of that country about the requirements of neutrality, Belgian authorities would assert they were proudly

independent. On the other hand, when the neighboring countries raised their voices and prepared to act, Belgium clamored that they were neutral. The Belgian authorities were like the bat, saying to one group “Look at my wings, I am a bird” and to other group “You see my body? I am a mouse.” The Ottoman official was unable to understand this hypocrisy. He observed that France was losing patience and, if this attitude among the Belgians continued, it would be only a matter of days before France would close the borders to the passage of people and goods into Belgium. He thought that Belgium would kneel before the French Emperor in the end.

Moreover, the Ottoman official recounted the latest developments over the debates in the Belgian Press. Apparently, a left-wing member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Orts, addressed the Ministries of the Government regarding a couple of questions on the issue: Should or did the Cabinet respond to the French government or any other government in the Congress? Had any other European government asked Belgium to propose a constitutional amendment? If such a request were made, would the Congress be willing to consent? The Ottoman official described how sharp and negative the answers were given to those queries. He emphasized the democratic atmosphere in the Congress by pointing to the debates, and to the freedom of expression held by the Belgian people. He observed that about two thousand people went into the streets under the Belgian flag, and cheered for the answers made by the Ministries in the Congress. The Ottoman reporter witnessed people on the street freely expressing their reaction to every issue on parliamentary politics.

He revealed that in the end Belgian government had to take steps to change the press law to satisfy the claims of France. Because new elections were on the way

it seemed the wisest way to give respite to the Cabinet of Brussels until the next meeting of the Congress. The Ottoman official concluded his reports by presenting his ideas concerning the press debate of Belgium:

You have the freedom of the press, keep it there if you want, and make use of all as you please but for you and your business. When you have made your constitution, you have stipulated that the press would be free, completely free; this stipulation binds you to each other, people and government, but it cannot bind foreign governments and peoples, who have not taken part in your contract. Thus; write, print and tackle each other, it is your right and your duty to bear it. But nothing gives you this right for France, or Turkey, or any other people, and these in turn have no duty to suffer the infamy of your journalists.<sup>167</sup>

The way the correspondence was transmitted and the evaluation of the crisis provided by the Ottoman representative are outstanding evidence that the Ottoman Empire made efforts to understand Europe and to generate policies considering the exterior developments. There may be additional reasons why the Ottoman official paid so much attention to an ongoing debate over press conflict. First, the Ottoman Empire continued its close relationship with France after the Crimean War. As the document points out, the other powers of Europe were obviously aware of that relationship. Russia was the enemy of the both powers at the time and Belgium was sympathetic to Russia. For that reason, the political attitude of the Belgian press against France in the long term could threaten the Ottoman Empire as well. As the Empire took steps in foreign matters together with its allied power, it was no longer possible to evade the effects of the problems in Europe. For that reason, the official might attempt to warn the Foreign Ministry of the possible dangers. After all, the Ottoman Empire also became a political asylum for many Hungarian refugees

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<sup>167</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1174, 36/77. “vous avez la liberté de la presse, gardez là si cela vous convient, et usez en tout qu’il vous plaira, mais pour vous, pour vos affaires. Quand vous avez fait votre constitution, vous avez stipulé que la presse serait libre, complètement libre; cette stipulation vous lie les uns les autres, peuple et gouvernement, mais elle ne saurait lier les gouvernements et les peuples étrangers, qui n’ont pas pris part à votre contrat. Ainsi, écrivez, imprimez, attaquez-vous les uns les autres, c’est votre droit entre vous et votre devoir de le supporter; mais ce droit, rien ne vous le donne envers la France, ou la Turquie, ou tout autre peuple, et ceux-ci à leur tour n’ont aucun devoir de subir les infamies de vos journalistes.”

escaping as a result of the 1848 Revolution. In face of all threats came from Austria and Russia, the Empire refused to send them back. While that generosity gained the sympathy of France and England who in short time became the allies of the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War, the other powers were quite unpleasant with the situation.<sup>168</sup> In that respect, having experienced a similar case, the Ottoman Empire might also be afraid of the growing power of press as that there might come a time when the foreign press threatened the integrity of the Empire.

### 3.1.3. The Colonial Aspirations of Britain

Another noteworthy document is dated October, 1857. The Ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in London, Constantin Musurus (1851–1885) conveyed a message to the Foreign Ministry that from the Foreign Office by Lord Clarendon (1800–1870). Clarendon enclosed an announcement, inserted in the *London Gazette*, indicating that Rear Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, commander of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in China, established a blockade of the harbor of River Canton. Clarendon specifically requested his message to be brought to the attention of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abd-ül Mecid Han, indicating that he was aware the development in China would interest His Majesty.<sup>169</sup> Up to 1757, when contact with foreigners was forbidden, the entrance point for the Empire of China was Canton Harbor and Macao Island. Initially, contact evolved around trade affiliations. When the trade network was followed by flow of Christian missionaries into China, the

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<sup>168</sup> Şahabettin Tekindağ, "Türk-Macar Münasebetlerine Toplu Bir Bakış (Başlangıçtan II. Abdülhamid'e Kadar)," *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rakoczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul ; 1976), p. 152.

<sup>169</sup> BOA, HR.TO., 333, 52/155.

Manchu dynasty limited foreign contact and trade to the city of Canton. Until 1842, the trade with Europe was carried out by merchants known as “merchants of the Emperor.” Europeans had no direct access to Chinese merchants or to authorities.<sup>170</sup> Those circumstances most naturally agitated the European powers that were pursuing colonial desires.

In 1857, Britain was the biggest sea power and it had claimed many overseas colonies since the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the other hand, the closeness of the Ottoman Empire to Britain was still on its pike, and it seems that the British Government desired its ally to keep track of its own foreign policies. It is also probable that, Britain would like to induce both China and the Ottoman Empire to contemplate coordination of overseas policies, and to take steps together with Britain. As one important agent of the intelligence network of the Foreign Ministry at that period, Constantin Musurus carried out the negotiation policy of Ottoman public diplomacy.

### **3.1.4. German Unification (1871) and the Anniversary of the Revolution in**

#### **France**

Apart from correspondence relating to items of specific concern, officials of the Ottoman Empire wanted to learn of other daily occurrences taking place in different parts of Europe. A report, dated February 24, 1851, related to the

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<sup>170</sup> Armaoğlu, p. 739.



anniversary commemoration of the Revolution<sup>171</sup> in Paris (Bastille Day)<sup>172</sup> and the Ottoman official described the atmosphere vividly. According to him, one thousand people from all classes of society attended the ceremonies. Plans for religious ceremonies were also made for that day, and opinions regarding a pilgrimage to the Bastille were expressed. Many people left bouquets of everlasting flowers in the streets. In the morning, Napoleon III began to sell his horses. As could be discerned from the description, every little detail going on in Europe, regardless of their relatedness to the Ottoman Empire, was brought to the attention of the Foreign Ministry.

The Sublime Porte was also curious about the formation of the German Unification, created after the Vienna Congress in 1815 to form an economic union of the German-speaking countries of Central Europe, to counterbalance Prussia and Austria.<sup>173</sup> According to Rıza Efendi, official of the Paris Embassy, all the states or principalities of the Austrian Empire joined the Unification.<sup>174</sup> Both Prussia and Austria, and additionally Russia, had a major interest in the formation of the Unification. Prussia consented, after resisting for a long time, when it realized that the smaller German states would not withstand for a long time on their own. The creation of the Unification divided France internally but, while maintaining some reluctance, France did in the end decided to recognize it through diplomatic policies. Berlin then declared that a confirmation by Palmerstone indicated that England would follow France in the same way.<sup>175</sup> Rıza Efendi informed his superior that the

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<sup>171</sup> BOA, HR. TO. ; 312, 414/42. The Revolution mentioned in the document is the French Revolution.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, Bastille Day is a French National Day celebrated on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July each year. It commemorated the storming of the city, Bastille in the 14<sup>th</sup> of July in 1789 during the French Revolution.

<sup>173</sup> Davies, *Europe: A History*, p. 762.

<sup>174</sup> BOA, HR. TO. ; 312, 414/59. Dated on March 17, 1851.

<sup>175</sup> For more detail in the process see; Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire* (George Allen & Unwin LTD., 1958), pp. 174-186.

Unification hoped to give the rulers of Europe a means to combat the revolts of the nationalities and to maintain their Constitutional freedom. Rıza Efendi further commented that it was unlikely to expect any German Revolution to evolve in the same way French Revolution had. The constitutional reform in Germany seemed impossible by any legal means, and the popularity of the President did not seem sufficient to overcome the obstacles. He concluded his report by adding that the issue of the executive power in the Unification was still a problem to be taken care of.

Sometimes, the latest developments in Europe were delivered to the Porte in telegram-like reports. Most developments were mentioned only briefly. The importance of those news reports lies in the fact that, it demonstrates a steady information flow to the Foreign Ministry via the Translation Office. Before, there was also flow information which was yet based on irregular and unproductive channels. Improvement in the structure of the Foreign Ministry bore a standardized bureaucratic system. The sub-section Translation Office as the beginning point for high career helped that system to function in a more elaborate way. It appears that the Ottoman Empire strove to become a part of Europe by adapting itself to the modern means of communication and information network. Each piece of news brought, by any means, to the attention of the Foreign Ministry was first passed through the chamber of Translation Office. The Ottoman officials of the Foreign Ministry as a whole had an urge to be aware of anything happening around the world, especially Europe.

### **3.2. Monitoring of the Ottoman Political Affairs in the Foreign Newspapers**

During the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire became the target of many European powers (Russia, Britain, Austria and France), it had to deal with many internal problems instigated mostly by those powers. Most of those problems resulted from the effects of the nationalist ideas first triggered by the French Revolution and intensified by the later Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in Europe. In that respect, news from the foreign press about events in the Ottoman Empire was also of concern. Such events included nationalist riots in the Ottoman Empire—the Serbian Revolts of 1804–1813, the Greek Rebellion in 1821, crises in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro in 1858–1869—the conflicts of certain European powers, such as the one occurred between Russia and France over the Holy Places of the Empire, the Pan-Slav politics of Russia and its so-called protectorate of the Orthodox millet of the Empire. And state policies generated by the European powers with the aim of interfering the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire. The European news tended to contradict the cordial decisions of the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) regarding the integrity and neutrality of the Empire.

The Congress of Vienna, hosted by the Austrian statesman Metternich met from September 1814 to June 1815. The aim of the Congress was to deal with problems stemming from the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802), the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) and the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire (1806). The military campaigns waged by Napoleon Bonaparte, got the attention of the other European powers. For that reason, when the Congress was held; delegates from Russia, France, Britain, Prussia and Austria as well as some of the smaller duchies attended. Each had their own reasons for doing so. The British Empire did not want the balance of power in Europe to be destroyed. It was especially afraid that Russia and Austria would become more powerful. Austria, similarly, was cautious

about the expansion of Prussia and Russia. Though the Ottoman Empire was also invited to the Congress its representatives did not attend. According to Davison, it was one of the policies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman diplomacy to evade from attending the international conferences. The Ottoman statesmen were aware that whenever they met with the Great Powers of Europe in a conference they found the way in the disguise of reform demands for instance to push their wants on the Ottoman Empire. As a gained experience, the Ottoman Empire became faced with the interference of its integrity under these demands. As a precaution, the Ottoman statesmen were reluctant to attend.<sup>176</sup>

In the Concert of Europe following the Congress, general decisions were made about maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and the integration of the Ottoman Empire was also guaranteed in that respect.<sup>177</sup> Reports about the European press on the issues of the Ottoman Empire show the conflict between decisions taken in those two gatherings and European politics regarding the Ottoman Empire. As a modern device of the 19th century, the European press was the finest instrument to check the pulse of the real European public opinion.

### **3.2.1. The Problem of Greece**

Documents concerning the monitoring of the European press in its attitude toward the Ottoman problems with Greece were also explored. The first group of reports in this series related to the Greek Revolt and the issues of Greece. On January

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<sup>176</sup> Davison, "The Westernization of the Ottoman Diplomacy," p. 326.

<sup>177</sup> For detailed information also look; Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812–1822* (New York ; Groove Press, 1946), and Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace, 1812–22* (Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

14, 1847, a polemic between the British and Greek Governments was reported to the Sublime Porte.<sup>178</sup> It was sent to the Chairman of the Board of the Foreign Ministry Mr. J. Coletus by Edmund Lyons (1790–1858), a British diplomat and naval commander who had a distinguished career in the Crimean War. According to Lyons, the Athenian Ministerial Newspaper *Zephyr* alleged that there would be an assassination attempt by the Ottoman Empire against the Athenian Minister. On the instructions of Palmerstone, Lyons communicated with General Travellas (?) on the issue and as the patronage and protection of the newspaper belonged to that Mr. Coletus, Lyons also informed him of the great surprise this news was to Her Majesty's Government. Coletus, in a prior letter to Lyons, had implied that British newspapers were the first to publish this news. In reaction, Lyons defended his government in his report. He concluded that not a single English newspaper would threaten a Foreign Minister in London with assassination. When Mahmud II sent Ottoman and Egyptian forces to Greece to suppress the rebels in 1827, Britain was forced to sign the London Treaty with Russia and France in the same year. This treaty assured joint intervention if either the Ottoman Empire or Russia refused to reconcile. After the defeat of Muhammed Ali's forces in Navarino, the Ottoman Empire lost control of Greece.<sup>179</sup> Britain became a supporter of the independent Greece from that point. According to Lyons, thinking of those policies of Britain towards the Empire, it was quite natural for the British Government to be interested in "the welfare of a Kingdom which it so materially contributed to bring into existence."<sup>180</sup> For that reason, Her Majesty's Government warned that the Greek Government could not fail to take proper measures on such an occasion. Otherwise it

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<sup>178</sup> BOA. HR.TO.; 299, 307/36.

<sup>179</sup> Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol.II*, p. 30.

<sup>180</sup> BOA. HR.TO.; 299, 307/36.

might give rise to disagreeable questions between the Government of Greece and the British Government. Lyons insisted that the false news was not of English origin, and he requested the demands of Her Majesty's Government be taken seriously. One newspaper article created an international conflict out of which Britain was able to have a word regarding Ottoman and Greek internal politics.

Another report concerned an article published in the Greek journals *l'Independant* and *l'Elpis* about the activities of a person, Lear Zacha in 1856. The legation of Athens, G. Cornemenos, denounced that, in recent days the Hellenic press threw itself into a view where the Excellency (Fuad Pacha) would not have expected to see any time soon, after especially the lessons that the Allied troops had given.<sup>181</sup> According to the newspapers, Lear Zacha had tried to organize in the last May a band opening the doors to prisoners, yet it seemed that the conspiracy was prevented and it failed to be set. For Cornemenos, the problem was that the articles showed a spirit too fitted and flattering and made clear the dreams which Greece had never ceased to deceive.<sup>182</sup> That attitude of the articles, published in different organs of the press, also aroused the attention of the Ministers of France and England, about which Cornemenos implied that they had to be on attention. Notwithstanding the fact that those newspapers were not actually hostile to the present Ministry, he advised to be precautionous about the rumor. As the Hellenic authorities predicted, if that plot became successful, 150 prisoners kept there would be thrown in robbery and they would produce the most disastrous problems against the inhabitants of the border

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<sup>181</sup> BOA. HR.TO.; 311, 2/86. Dated on February 3, 1856. "Depuis quelques jours la Presse Hellenique s'est jetée dans une void où on ne s'attend ait pas de la voir de sitot, après, surtout les leçons que la présence Des Troupes Alliés lui avaient données."

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., "Ce articles, qui nous concernent surtout, montrent un esprit par trop monté, et flattent des idées et des rêves dont la Grèce n'a jamais cesse de se faire illusion."

provinces of the Empire. To prevent any possibility of those plots, Preza Beg (?) advised the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece to ordain the removal of the frontiers of suspected men like Zacha. And the authority in charge, Mr. Pottis, promised to do what was required of.

In another case, the consulate of the Sublime Porte in Toscana found some news serious enough to report it immediately to His Highness, Ali Pasha. In the morning of December 7 1861, receptions were held both in Toscana and Turin in honor of Garibaldi's birthday. Garibaldi did not attend the ceremonies as expected but continued on his journey to Caprera, after meeting one of his aides-de-camp, a Greek conspiratorial exile. That Greek started a rumor that, within thirty days, Garibaldi would issue to him and his adherents a call to arms for active duty. When the affairs of Italy were settled, he would set off against the Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Government. For that reason, the consulate requested that the Porte take precautionary measures against a possible intervention.<sup>183</sup>

### **3.2.2. The Desires of Russia**

The Ottoman Empire was also quite interested in the ongoing internal debates among the big powers of Europe. The main concerns were the Pan-Slavic politics of Russia and its desire to get close to the Orthodox millet, Eastern politics of each power (Russia, Hungary, France, England, etc.), the problem of Principalities (Moldavia-Wallachia), disputes over Holy Places and nationalist movements in the provinces. The Foreign Ministry meticulously followed European policies regarding

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<sup>183</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1477, 321/66. Dated on July 12, 1861.

the Empire. For that reason, most of the documents in the archive that are related to these problems contain considerable detail.

Many of the documents were about the various policies of the European powers regarding the issues of the Ottoman Empire. For example, a news item taken from the English newspaper *The Times*, dated April 12, 1853 describes the monetary fluctuations in the stock exchanges of Paris and relates this to the latest news coming from the East. The French Government panicked, and quickly sent Admiral Pausse with his squadron to the Levant. Details of the news that created the panic were not clearly indicated however. By implication, the problem concerned was the moves made by the Emperor of Russia against the Ottoman Empire. The *Times* article described the policies as obviously exaggerated, not giving value to the possibility that Russia would break its engagements with the other powers of Europe. Unfortunately, the coming of the Crimean War proved that nothing about Russian desires were exaggerated. The newspaper also foresaw the possible alliances of the Ottoman Empire with the other powers against Russia, if such a conflict occurred between them. The reason given was that the internal weakness of the Empire would not permit it to attack Russia directly. The newspaper also mentioned reasons for collaboration between Austria and Russia. The Ottoman official wrote that the relation between Austrian Count Leiningen<sup>184</sup> and Russian Prince Metchnikoff was not actually an arrangement between Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, It was rather owing to fears of Russia among Austrians. The intervention of Russia in the affairs of Montenegro made Metchnikoff get close to Russia. The newspaper generated a reaction to these policies by alleging that in reality all these rumors were exaggerated by the Russian press. Russia was not at all in a state of preparation for a

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<sup>184</sup> There was a line of descents coming from the Leiningen family. In the report, it was not made clear which Count exactly was he.



companion, Prince Metchnikoff actually had no authority to order Russian army in motion or order a fleet to leave Sevastopol. By adding that Austria and France became anxious about those rumors, the English newspaper *The Times* gave the message that it was the one big power that would generate solutions for those problems. According to the news, the British Government would be ready to combine its influence and diplomatic efforts with the French Government, on the matter of Holy Places. It concluded by warning the other powers of Europe about their mistakes in supporting Russia and Austria. The reason was that these two powers had too much interest in the border provinces of the Ottoman Empire to share them with the other European powers.<sup>185</sup> That *The Times* article revealed the great importance of the press as a means to transmit and manipulate the policy making activities of governments. Apparently, the article predetermined what was coming up. Examining each report with much detail, it is probable that the Empire was also affected by the articles while defining its own policies.

In 1860 several issues of a Russian newspaper, *Gazette Russienne*, translated thoroughly by the Translation Office and analyzed by the Foreign Ministry. Disappointed by the Crimean War (1853–1856), Russia intended to take new actions against the Ottoman Empire. The issue of May 25 offers a good example of the propaganda for those policies. According to the article, Prince Metchnikoff declaimed passionately that Russia would not sulk but it would collect. His manifesto was addressed to Europe, when Russia after the war seemed to deal with its own affairs at the expense of having a passive attitude in the political events of Europe. The article explained what the Prince meant by crying: “Russia will collect!” It expounded on the idea that Russia was still resolute regarding its plans in the East.

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<sup>185</sup> BOA, HR.TO.; 418/118.

After resting for a while it would advance in its moves. The article also came up with a bold idea that, the old conflict over the Holy Places between France and Russia made them get close to each other. It said that the dispute between Latin and Greek Christians in Jerusalem became a bone of connection between France and Russia, both of whom followed zeal equal to the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire. Referring to the decision of the Paris Conference (1856) regarding the immunity of Turkey in its internal affairs, Russia expressed annoyance that the fate of Christians was left to the arbitrary will of the Sultan. Though the Article 2 made it clear that any violation of that draft would be considered a “casus belli”, the *Gazette Russienne* article supported the idea of Russian interference.<sup>186</sup> In that way, the article tried to justify the mischief-making policies of its government, something of which the Ottoman Empire became well aware.

### **3.2.3. The Issue of Principalities and the Revolts in the Provinces**

The Ottoman Empire had to be quite sensitive to questions regarding the Principalities, Moldavia-Wallachia. Although The Paris Peace Conference (1856) kept the Empire safe from open attack, it did not conceal the bad intentions of the Great powers over the Ottoman lands. The first assault came from the Principalities where, with the provocations of Russia, a group of residents tried to spark the idea of Romanian nationality. It was opposed by Britain and having a similar system of monarchy Austria also felt itself under threat. Still, according to the Treaty of Paris, a referendum, independent constitutions and national assembly were already provided.

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<sup>186</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1463, 434/1.

Furthermore, while Moldavia and Wallachia were still under the nominal suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, the above-mentioned developments would function under the supervision of the other powers, France, England, Russia, Austria and later Italy. After some debate, an agreement was reached between the Ottoman Empire and the other powers, to reconcile on a single, united region of Moldavia and Wallachia with the appointment of the boyar Alexander Cuza (1820–1873) as the prince of both Principalities.<sup>187</sup> Despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire had nominal rule over the Principalities, there must have been a feeling of resentment that remained as a result of the reality that the European powers still had a say in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The issue of *l'Ost-Deutsch Post* from August 1, 1864 brought to the attention of the Sublime Porte.<sup>188</sup> The importance of the news in it lays in the manner in which it distorted the attitude of the Empire over the issue. It drew a picture suggesting that the Porte would be happy to reconcile with Alexander Cuza. Since the Empire was so happy, the authorities saw no need to care about the number of voters who elect the House of members. The Ottoman officials of the Foreign Ministry probably realized the mischief in the language of the article as it sharpened its tone. The main argument implied was that, owing to a lack of interest, the Empire deserved that treatment of intervention. It is not clear what reaction the Sublime Porte or the Foreign Ministry made to those malicious charges. It is perhaps, the officials made some inquiries and as a requirement of advocacy wanted to warn the Porte about the hostile attitudes and be cautious in the diplomatic ground against its enemies.

From the very beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire had to deal with nationalist rebellions in the provinces. The Greek riots in 1821 and the Serbian

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<sup>187</sup> Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol.II*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>188</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 507, 48/30

revolt in 1804–1813 became serious headaches for the Empire. While the debates over the union of the Principalities came to a resolution (to some degree), problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina resulting from the restlessness of the population and exterior provocations took time to settle down. Bosnia and Herzegovina became the subject of international conflict with, as might be predicted, Russia involved on behalf of Serbia. From the start, the large landowners did not obey the Tanzimat Reforms because they called for a direct tax collection system and stricter inspection by the government and so were against their own economic interests. As a result, the large landowners were easy targets of agitation, especially by Russia. Not only did they did not comply with the direct tax collection, they also did not contribute their proper share to the treasury. Muslims were left aside as their voice was not heard. Britain, France and proponents of Pan-Slavism instigated revolts between 1858 and 1861 that caused much trouble to the Empire.<sup>189</sup> The revolts were suppressed during the governorship of Omer Lutfi Pasha (1860–61), but unfortunately this remained an international problem and the crisis lasted till the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Fed up with the demands of the tax collectors, the peasants of Bosnia-Herzegovina revolted one more time in 1874. As a result, the courts of Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg came to an agreement, issued as a dispatch known as the *Andrassy Note* as it was prepared by Count Julius Andrassy, then Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary. The dispatch was an ultimatum presented to the Porte regarding its promises over Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>190</sup> The real intent, though, was to pave the way for foreign intervention in Ottoman affairs. The authorities at the Porte had the wit to understand the purpose of the so-called efforts made by the Great Powers of Europe. Proof of it was some reports sent to the Translation Office for forwarding to the necessary authorities.

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<sup>189</sup> Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, p. 149.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, 158/159.

Each publication that came up in the reports was about the intervention policies of Europe.

A report from the Embassy, addressed to Foreign Minister Rashid Pasha in 1873, was about the newspaper *Jagblett*. It was sent as a simple information item, yet it was written that the content was composed of “hypothetically powerful arguments.”<sup>191</sup> It brought the Vienna World Exhibition, in 1873, to the attention of the Empire. In this exhibition the policies of each power could be deduced. The repeated visits of Emperor Francis Joseph to St. Petersburg caused suspicions in Istanbul: the only reason could be the political aims of the Eastern policy, as the *Andrassy Note* made clear the following year. Sultan cancelled his visit to the exhibition. According to the article, the rumors were that the Sultan was afraid of the cholera epidemics. However, considering that Khedive Ismail Pasha also cancelled his trip to Vienna following the decision of His Majesty, it became unequivocal that a diplomatic means was assumed to be a reaction or a precaution. The submissive attitude of the Khedive was related to the hopelessness of regaining what his predecessor, Khedive Mehemmed Ali, had lost years ago. The meaning of the *Andrassy Note* was also hinted at in the article. Even though the European powers were aware that Pan-Slav policies would not gain them anything in the East, still the policies of Count Andrassy must be evaluated carefully. As the Ottoman Embassy Official who submitted that report emphasized the hypothetically powerful arguments, those to whom it was addressed must also have shown the necessary awareness of developments.

Russian newspapers had also a hostile attitude towards the Ottoman Empire. Press Office of the Foreign Ministry sent the news published in *Golos* dated August

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<sup>191</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 261, 107/94. Dated on July 31, 1873. “Hypothitique que puissant être les arguments du dit article, ...”

25, 1875, to the Translation Office to be translated. This brings out another function of the Translation Office: Russian language translation. Knowledge of French by Ottoman officials, as the only foreign language needed for diplomatic correspondence at the time, was not the sole language the Translation officials were settled with. It is interesting to realize in that respect that there were people capable in other languages, such as Russian. The concerned article must have come to the attention of the Porte and Mahmud Nedim Pasha, twice Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire (1871–1872 and 1875–1876).<sup>192</sup> The reason was that the article implied a change of Grand Vizierate would be to the benefit of the Empire. In addition to the problems of the provinces and especially Bosnia-Herzegovina, the article alleged that there would be polarization between England and with its allies on one side and Russia on the other. Even with a conclusion that Russia should not meddle with the natural course of the politics in the Ottoman Empire, it was daunting for the Empire to consider the possible consequences of its political decisions. The news article suggests that the Empire was free to choose between the offer made by Russia and the humiliation caused by the Western Powers. Even if the Porte made the right decision (!), still it would not be enough. Only when the Porte replaced the Grand Vizier Serasker Hussein Avni Pasha (1874–1875) with someone close to Russian politics, would Baron Werther, the Ambassador of Germany to the Ottoman Empire, would act in the way to lower down the tension between the Porte and Russia. The sympathy of Mahmud Nedim Pasha towards the policies of Russia is a known fact in the history. The officials sending that report either were acting according to his instructions or else they shared his same feelings about Russia.

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<sup>192</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 314, 515/44.

### 3.2.4. Economy, Trade, Communication and Transportation

The pattern of economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe changed during the 19th century. New means of communication and interaction led to wider opportunities to maintain contact with Europe for economic reasons. Economic interactions increased and trade companies mostly replaced the individual merchants. Through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, inventions such as steamships and railroads made transportation across long distances much easier. Increasing use of foreign currencies in the Empire created a more complicated financial system. These developments in the commercial and financial networks were monitored closely by Ottoman officials, and specific events relating to the commercial affairs debated in the European Press were reported back to the Empire.

In 1874, some newspapers in Vienna covered news of the trade relations between the Ottoman Empire and Spain. This coverage was directly reported by the Translation Office, as there was no translation made from another source.<sup>193</sup> According to the note, the Ottoman shipmaster Faik Beg would be expecting receipt of 700 pounds in the Kadikas Harbor (Kathikas in Cyprus) to buy a load of coal from Spain. For that reason, he requested the amount to be paid by the Ottoman Imperial Bank (*Banka-ı Osmani*).

The building of the railroads became a springboard for the transportation and commercial transaction within and beyond the Ottoman Empire. The first plans were made soon after the Crimean War, though laying track over long distances was not

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<sup>193</sup> BOA, HR.TO; 419, 120/116. Dated on December 29, 1874.

completed until the reign of Abdulhamit II (1876–1909).<sup>194</sup> The reckless expenditures of Abdülaziz (1861–1876) damaged the Imperial budget needed for that investment. The European world, too, was concerned that economic interests in the Empire, as in all other matters, would create opportunities to meddle with its affairs. In 1875, both the Russian newspaper *Golos* and Belgian *Independence Belge* made the harmful effects of the Sultan's expenses on state budget and on the building of railroads the subject of their criticism.<sup>195</sup> *Golos* debated whether the Sultan would give up some part of his immense property to create a balanced budget. *Independence Belge*, in a contradictory manner to the stance of *Golos*, argued that the deficit in the financial budget would not blemish the image of the Sultan. For the business carried out by the Empire and Austria-Hungary regarding the railroads, the Imperial Ottoman Bank (*Banka-ı Osmani*) was not able to meet the expenses. In addition to taking measures to decrease the expenses, the Sultan became angry and insisted on payment of the expenditures. The article suggested that the luxuries of the Imperial Harem be cut down. The officials assigned to inspect and translate these documents just pursued the vigilance policy and maintained their neutrality. The Foreign Ministry, in that way became aware of the assessments in the articles, both the poor financial situation and also the image of the private life of the Sultan.

### **3.2.5. The Individual Cases**

The problems created by foreign citizens visiting or living within the Ottoman Empire were obviously troublesome for the Sublime Porte. A few, such as the

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<sup>194</sup> Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, p. 226.

<sup>195</sup> BOA, HR.TO; 314, 515/44 dated on September, 1875 and 330, 515/24 dated on June 1, 1875.



murder of the Dixon family, US citizens, in the Ottoman city of Jaffa, and the imprisonment of an Austrian journalist by Ottoman officials were brought to the attention of the Foreign Ministry. Both events included both press activity and legal issues. In 1858, the Resident Minister of the United States of America, James Mirillians, addressed a report to the Ottoman Foreign Minister, Fuad Pasha (1814–1868).<sup>196</sup> He was annoyed about news carried in the *Journal Constantinople* regarding the murder of Mr. Dixon's family, US citizens residing in Jaffa. According to the news, three of the murderers were released on government order. As the outrageous nature of the killing was obvious, the author did not understand the injustice of the decision. Afraid that language in the article would lead to provocations in US, he warned about the possible harmful consequences.

The second instance involved a report asking a favor of the Sublime Porte.<sup>197</sup> An employee of the Austrian newspaper *Marod Nilesti* (?), one Mr. Haukmann, was imprisoned in the war of Trebinje (Trebin Savaşı). The owner of the newspaper demanded Haukmann's protection on behalf of the Austrian envoys to the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, another report following it shows that the envoy abandoned his claim of protecting and releasing the journalist as he understood that he was not of a trustworthy character. The official wanted to warn the Foreign Ministry to be aware of that situation.

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<sup>196</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 240, 315/50. Dated December 11, 1858

<sup>197</sup> BOA, HR.TO; 274, 121/43. Dated on September 1, 1875.

### 3.3. Conclusion

From the adoption of Ottoman Grand Strategy<sup>198</sup> in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the intelligence network of 19<sup>th</sup>, the nature of intelligence-gathering changed remarkably. Suleiman the Magnificent initiated his Grand Strategy with a universalist vision. As much as events of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, his attempts in that direction helped the Ottoman Empire to take a place in the European system by “the elaboration of a foreign policy and propaganda based partly on knowledge acquired through the channels of Ottoman intelligence gathering.”<sup>199</sup> Yet, the means and ways of intelligence gathering were transformed in this time. Sixteenth-century methods were not hard to implement and they were not so complex in nature. Nor, significantly, was there much intensified foreign contact with Europe, particularly compared to the 19<sup>th</sup> century diplomatic atmosphere.

On the other hand, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire required intricate foreign relations which meant many internal problems that threatened the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. For these reasons, the Sublime Porte had to develop an elaborate bureaucratic system and modern intelligence network that was unlike the ways of knowledge-gathering of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Monitoring the European press through Ottoman agents, representatives, and ambassadors was fundamental to keeping pace with Europe. Both the European political agendas and the news distorting/reflecting the problems of the Ottoman Empire aroused the interests of the bureaucrats in the same way.

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<sup>198</sup> Gábor Agoston, “Information, Ideology, and the Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry,” in *The Early Modern Ottoman; Remapping the Empire* ed. By Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.79.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, p. 79.

Translation Office became, in this respect, the most helpful yet invisible channel between the embassy agents and the Foreign Ministry. All the documents found in the Translation Office archive about the monitoring were addressed to the Foreign Ministry. However, Ottoman statesmen attuned themselves in every aspect to the European conduct of diplomacy. Use of the international language of the time, French was also wholly adopted by them. Most of the official correspondences to the Sublime Porte were in French in that respect. That's why the reports first came to the Translation Office and their copies were kept there. As the language center which employed the educated state officials, the Translation Office became an indispensable back kitchen of the Foreign Ministry.

## CHAPTER IV

### FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS AND THE CONDUCT OF THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

One of the most important tools in the implementation of Ottoman foreign policy was the adoption of public diplomacy. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were various means available. In addition to maintenance of the balancing policy between the European powers, they included participation in international meetings, the Sultan's courtesy visits to other countries, and the use of public opinion (which, according to Davison, was used "as an excuse" to cope with the European powers).<sup>200</sup> Manipulation of public opinion in other countries through the press became one of the most important tools of the Ottoman Empire in foreign relations.<sup>201</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the use of public diplomacy in Europe was the responsibility of the Ottoman representatives abroad. As diplomats engaging in public relations, the Ottoman representatives frequently reported on the agenda of the European country in which they resided, by advocacy stated their ideas on certain

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<sup>200</sup> Naff, "Reform and Conduct of the Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807," p. 311.

<sup>201</sup> Davison, "The Westernization of the Ottoman Diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century," pp.325-326.

problems and became the channel between the Ottoman Empire and its European counterparts. This last duty surpassed the others in importance.<sup>202</sup> Influencing public opinion by different means was the explicit policy of Reshid Pasha during his tenure as Foreign Minister and Grand Vizier. Realizing that it was not acceptable to have only one embassy, in Paris, to control and influence the European press, Reshid Pasha promoted the reestablishment of embassies in Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg 1830s onward. He also made sure bureaucrats at the Ottoman Embassies in Europe knew how to do this. His incentive to breed well-educated embassy officials capable of generating public diplomacy attained its goal in a short time. London Ambassador Constantin Musurus (1851–1885) is a good example for that. He arranged a wide-scale campaign against the malicious policies of certain British newspapers. Not satisfied with barely contradicting the news, Musurus also published many articles and books to fight against the bad propaganda.<sup>203</sup> To mobilize against the European newspapers, for instance, Reshid Pasha also ordered many French language copies of the official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* to be provided to different regions of Europe. In that way, he was able to announce the reform attempts he was implementing to the European public.<sup>204</sup>

Henceforward, the Ottoman Empire followed many strategies to influence public opinion through the European press more frequently. As the vigilance and advocacy policies had already been the main use Ottoman officials, negotiation policy was became indispensable over the others. Negotiation techniques of public diplomacy included giving subsidies to the newspapers, buying journalist to write in their favor, licensing, censorship, persuasion, legal action and honoring with medals.

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<sup>202</sup> Davison, "Ottoman Public Relations in the Nineteenth Century: How the Sublime Porte Tried to Influence European Public Opinion," pp. 351-352.

<sup>203</sup> Sinan Kunalalp, "Bir Osmanlı Diplomatu Kostaki Musurus Paşa; 1807–1891," *Belleten*, Cilt: XXXIV, Sayı: 133-136 (Ankara; TTK, 1970), p. 435.

<sup>204</sup> Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat* (Ankara; TTK, 1985), p.67.

During the reign of Abdülmecid, it was quite common to prohibit the entrance of certain publications. Sometimes with the order of the Sultan the foreign post offices prevented the circulation of these publications.<sup>205</sup> While the diplomats and representatives of the Ottoman Empire became the primary channel for implementing the public diplomacy by the order of Foreign Ministry, the Translation Office was the second most important channel for transmitting that intelligence to the attention of the Foreign Ministry which in that way more easily held the track on the flow of information. That network around these offices accelerated the process of policy making of the Sublime Porte and keeping up in tune with the pace of events in Europe.

In this chapter, I investigate the process of public diplomacy developed as part of the Tanzimat Foreign Ministry. I also explain the reasons that necessitated the use of public diplomacy in the international arena. Second, I illustrate the ways of public diplomacy adopted by the Foreign Ministry and its agents that serving these ends. Some policies were much easier to apply such as persuasion strategies, financial aids and awarding of medals. Others, like the prevention diplomacies such as prohibitions and censorship efforts, and legal action were not as easy to carry out; they could cause conflictions between the European governments and Ottoman authorities. Yet they were quite effective in their results on behalf of the Ottoman image if propagated successfully. By speaking about all these apparatus, I stress the flexible and multifaceted nature of the Ottoman public diplomacy. The Sublime Porte formed the axis around which its agents and journalists asserted a fluid and complex relationship. Lastly, I emphasize the role of the Translation Office and

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<sup>205</sup> Hayreddin Nedim Göçen, *Vesaik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye: Belgelerin Dilinden Osmanlı ve Avrupa*, p. 65.

Ottoman embassies as the main channels of public diplomacy and foreign correspondence.

The Ottoman Empire began to pursue policies of public diplomacy in Europe as early as the 1840s. Reshid Pasha was well aware of the importance played by the intelligence network in his diplomatic dealings with Europe. He knew that public diplomacy was pursued through “actions, relationships, images and words.”<sup>206</sup> Indoctrinated by his reasoning and foresight, Ottoman representatives and hired foreign agents abroad acknowledged the need to assert the Ottoman identity and legitimize its power. For instance, a report sent to the Porte on April 30, 1846 by Mr. Fokes<sup>207</sup>, an Ottoman agent in Paris, laid out the advocacy of a plan for a project concerning European newspapers that would be followed by the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*) for many years after.<sup>208</sup> Using the French press as a model, Fokes manifested the intervention and prevention strategies the Sublime Porte was to adopt to control the European newspapers in its favor.

Fokes showed the ways that the French press asserted its hostility to the Ottoman Empire. He evaluated the reasons why it became so. His evaluation covered an implicit criticism against the deficiencies of the policies propagated by the Sublime Porte. According to the document, French newspapers had no correspondents in the Empire at the time. That’s why the Ottoman Empire missed the chance of enticing the press companies just for two dollars of a line, as the British Government often applied to the foreign correspondences working in its country. The bold argument of the Ottoman representative was that the official’s lack of interest in the power wielded by foreign newspapers created problems for the Empire. He

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<sup>206</sup> Bruce Gregory, “Sunrise of an Academic Power,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 616 (Mar., 2008), p. 275.

<sup>207</sup> Like many of the other agents and representatives of the Ottoman Empire abroad, who were reporting to the Porte, not any information was given about the identity and background of Mr. Fokes.

<sup>208</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 129, 406/73.

thought that the foreign press had a considerable amount of impact on the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. His estimation was that the articles published by French newspapers and journals led to the Greek Revolution in 1821 and encouraged Mehemmet Ali (1805–1848) to revolt against his legitimate sovereign; they would stir up problems in the future with Syria and with the rayas (*reaya*), i.e. the Christian population in the provinces. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, each government in Europe sought to have the good opinion of both their country and foreign powers. The Ottoman Empire failed to join the trend in time and so faced a propaganda war waged against its integrity. Fokes called for generating a public diplomacy of intervention in the foreign press.

Developments taking place in the Ottoman Empire attracted the curiosity of the European population, Fokes argued. Organizing a service to distribute information would be the best way to counter the negative representation of the Ottoman Empire in foreign newspapers; it would be without extra expense, as well. To create such network, Fokes proposed to hire two influential journalists. Mr. Soguer and Mr. Frédéric Lacroix would work in both the Ottoman Empire and abroad to counter the ill will of the European press. They would show the European powers how the Ottoman Empire took steps for its own development and strove to maintain its independence. Without this, Mr. Fokes claimed, European newspapers would continue to distort facts and even invent malicious news if necessary. Thus, the Ottoman Empire could respond to the power of foreign newspapers by making use of them on its own behalf. It is almost certain that the Ottoman officials in the Foreign Ministry agreed as Soguer and Lacroix were hired and started publishing.



Mr. Soguer wrote articles for *Le Journal de Constantinople*, published in Turkey, while Mr. Lacroix<sup>209</sup> became editor-in-chief of *Guide du Voyageur a Constantinople* (1839) and a main contributor to the important Paris newspapers. Mr. Lacroix used all his connections for the Ottoman legitimatization. As well as *Journal du Peuple*, publications such as *La Journal Des Debats*, *La Presse*, *La Siécle*, *L'Epoque*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Démonstre Pacifique*, *Revue des deux Mondes* and *Revue de l'Orient* benefited from Lacroix's expertise in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. All of these newspapers carried articles about all issues relevant to the Ottoman Empire: history, literature, the condition of the men, and the progress of reform attempts. The articles portrayed a true image of the Empire that asserted the strength through which the welfare of the population would be safe-guarded. Additionally, European powers would find it difficult to create reasonable excuses to interfere with the internal problems of the Ottoman Empire. That process of placing articles was mainly carried out by Lacroix and Soguer; the former would be informed of subjects to cover by the authorities and transmit the orders to the latter. Soguer would then distribute them to certain European newspapers. That detailed report of Fokes which was in short time promulgated as a public diplomacy of the Foreign Ministry appears to be one of the very first and best examples serving as a representative agenda for the Ottoman foreign diplomacy.

Public diplomacy conducted by the Ottoman Empire through the European press in the 1840s was managed by the embassy officials and hired agents responsible for protecting the image of the Empire abroad. In the following decades, official documents suggest, the Sublime Porte further advanced its intervention policies *à propos* the foreign press. While representatives of the Ottoman embassies

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<sup>209</sup> Lacroix also had a book entitled as *Question d'Orient*.

in Europe undertook the major responsibility for the intelligence network by gathering the news around Europe, the Translation Office of the Foreign Ministry became the second stop through which the reports about foreign newspapers distributed to the necessary places of the Foreign Ministry in a format ready to be read and evaluated. Since that was the second channel for the foreign bureaucratic network its importance, not only as the place for translation but also as the main center of education about foreign diplomacy, each report first came under the supervision of the Translation Office. Thus, the Translation Office became instrumental in helping the functioning system of the newspaper propaganda waged by the Foreign Ministry through its agents in Europe.

#### **4.1. Persuasion Policies**

One policy technique frequently used to control the content of foreign newspapers was persuasion. Rather than taking harsh measures, the Sublime Porte appointed Ottoman officials and agents as mediators to reconcile with the hostile newspapers, or articles, or editors in the first place. According to Godkin, getting what you want without causing conflict is also an art of diplomacy.<sup>210</sup> At the first level of its public diplomacy, the agents of Foreign Ministry tried to achieve that. As a reference, the report from the Ottoman embassy in Athens dated December 2, 1856 protested the malicious news of *l'Esperiance*, a Greek newspaper.<sup>211</sup> An article alleged that the Ottoman Empire would be unable to replace the Albanian troops,

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<sup>210</sup> E.L.Godkin, "Diplomacy and the Newspaper," *The North American Review*, Vol.160, No.462 (May, 1895), p. 573.

<sup>211</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 311, 2/76.

deployed at the frontiers with the regular Ottoman troops to suppress looting. The Ottoman official in Athens was baffled by this news since Mr. Comnenos, of the Imperial Legation had recently received a message from Fuad Pasha that declared the Sultan would never fail to fulfill his commitment. Suppression of the brigandage would be executed in a short time. Even so, publishing that kind of news calumny of that newspaper. Observing the diplomatic protocols of Europe, Comnenos was aware that a plain statement and refutation would not be enough to assert the stance and power of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the explanation made by Fuad Pasha, the Ottoman representative believed he needed to protest the bad faith shown by the newspaper. He convinced Mr. Prangabe, possibly the editor of *l'Esperiance* to stand aside *Moniteur Grec*, the official newspaper of Athens by abandoning its policies and following on the way of that official newspaper. In that way, *l'Esperiance* would prove its frankness towards the Ottoman Empire and the Sultan. Thus the Foreign Ministry would save the image and power of the Ottoman Empire.

Likewise, the careless language used in some Parisian newspapers against measures taken by the Ottoman Ministry of Finance was covered by a report dated October 9, 1875.<sup>212</sup> The Ottoman embassy agent in Paris informed the Foreign Ministry that he negotiated with many of the significant journalists working in these newspapers and won their hearts in that way.<sup>213</sup> He explained to them the reasons why the Ottoman Empire took the measures they had. The representative also engaged in many activities that he believed would to gain the support of the newspapers. As a fruit of these efforts, journalists promised to be friendly towards the policies of the Sublime Porte. A similar case, reported on December 3, 1874, informed the Porte about the malicious writings of Mr. Aneyh, the editor in chief of

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<sup>212</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 275, 121/113.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid; "Gazetecilerden bir çok zevat ile görüşüp kendilerini celb-i say eyledim."

*Progress d'Orient*. The journalist was propagandizing against the Sublime Porte and the character of the Grand Vizier (*Sadrizam*). The Foreign Ministry requested that the Ottoman Embassy in London dissuade Mr. Aneyh of his opinions by reaching an understanding through conversant

## 4.2. Financial Aids

Sometimes diplomatic methods of persuasion were not enough to suppress or soften the anti-Ottoman propaganda of the foreign newspapers. The power of the press was acknowledged everywhere in Europe and competition was encouraged by means of awards and rewards. The spread of knowledge was not always maintained through ethical journalism and factual reporting. Distortion of the reality, defamation policies and the invention of fictitious realities became wide-spread, encouraged by financial aids. Whenever attempts to reconcile with the newspapers/their editors fell short, the Sublime Porte also appealed to financial means to win over a newspaper. This financial support would be distributed to the editor of the newspaper and the journalist. For instance, a letter dated August 12, 1853 and sent to the Porte demanded the appropriate salary be paid to the journalist and agent Mr. de Chaun (Şan?), for services rendered.<sup>214</sup> In addition, the letter also asked that expenditures de Chaun had made while gathering news favorable to the Ottoman Empire for foreign newspapers be covered. In other cases, a newspaper (for example, the *Courrier de Paris*) received an annual payment to present a stable and consistent policy towards

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<sup>214</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1002, 418/148.

the Ottoman Government.<sup>215</sup> A report from the Paris representative proved how well and effective the policy of financial aid proved. Dated December 11, 1867 the report described about a plan submitted by Eugène Rolland, the director of the Paris newspaper *Le Messager*.<sup>216</sup> Fuad Pasha (1814–1868) had asked him to create an agency to serve the press in Paris. The instructions by the Foreign Ministry were already given for the facilities of the agency for controlling and monitoring the European press and especially on the matters concerning Russian-Ottoman relations; a rationale was expected on these matters by the Sublime Porte. For the assignment, 25,000 francs were to be paid by the Imperial Ottoman Bank (*Banka-yı Osmanî*) in Paris. On learning the price, Rolland expressed his willingness to report on public opinions that would be useful and favorable to the Ottoman Empire. In consequence, he submitted a plan to defend the interests of the Imperial Government in most organs of the French newspapers.

The Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte was arbitrary stipulator of the prices to establish a network for its public diplomacy. Sometimes, the journalists interested in agitation set the price of the favor they expected. A dispatch sent from the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna on January 25, 1872 noted that *La Gazette de Dentranje* previously produced articles in favor of the Ottoman Government. However, it seems that the favor was not acknowledged by the Sublime Porte and that annoyed the editor in chief of the newspaper. In order to maintain the desired performance, the editor demanded a financial contribution. He believed that this aid would foster the pro-Ottoman attitude of the newspaper in Eastern affairs. The representative sent his dispatch requesting action by the Foreign Ministry to be in remuneration for his services.

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<sup>215</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1934, 429/25. The report dated on May 5, 1858 and the reporter demanded the proper amount of money to be annually paid to *Courriere de Paris* for its assignments.

<sup>216</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 442, 495/23.

In the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the financial assistance was sometimes distributed as payment to underwrite the journals. This way of public diplomacy actually killed two birds with one stone. Ottoman authorities provided the newspapers with the necessary support and at the same time the Sublime Porte intimidated the journalists by suggesting that they would be constantly watched. That made the journals concerned to feel bounded by a kind of a contract. The Foreign Minister Reshid Pasha first used this technique in 1845 and it gave good results.<sup>217</sup> Charles Baron de Venito sent a letter to the Foreign Minister from Germany. In it, de Venito expressed his regret regarding the shipment of his subscribed journal, *Augnot Osterreich*. According to his statements, de Venito already notified the First Dragoman of the Sublime Porte (Fuad Pasha) of his difficulties, but he also found it necessary to inform the person in charge of the assignment, Foreign Minister Rechid Pasha. The concerned *Augnot Osterreich* was requested to be sent by a subscription regularly, yet the charges of shipment made them impossible to send them periodically. As much as de Venito appreciated the payments from Shekib Pasha, the financier of the Sultan, he still expected a way out of his difficult situation. De Venito assured the Foreign Minister of his devotion to his duty, adding that his political journals always monitored the well-being of the Ottoman Empire. Still he presumed that the new directives to come would lead his way more easily.

Similarly, on August 20, 1857 Amédée de Céséna, the former editor of *Constitutionnel* expressed a wish to the Ottoman representative in Paris, Mehemmed Jemil.<sup>218</sup> De Céséna wrote that he recently started publishing another journal, *La Semaine Politique et Littéraire de Paris*. Ever at the disposal of the Imperial Embassy, he was eager to support the interests of the Ottoman Empire as he had in

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<sup>217</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 142, 406/33. On 30<sup>th</sup> November 1845.

<sup>218</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 303, 71/69.

*Constitutionnel*. In exchange for his services, de Céséna asked for an encouragement by demanding the underwriting of his new journal. Mehemmed Jemil was aware of de Céséna's reputation as a publicist and, after evaluating the importance of the paper, he informed the Foreign Minister, Ali Pasha, of the request. Jemil noted that the cost would be only 16 francs for a year and good policies could be easily maintained in this way.

Encouraging journalists through financial assistance sometimes took the form of outright hiring. If there was considerable amount of money involved, the journalists paid close attention to the policies of the Sublime Porte and were not distracted by the promising prices offered by other powers. One such agent of the Ottoman Empire was a Mr. Sefels, Paris. Sefels described progress of his assignment to the Sublime Porte in a letter dated August 27, 1850.<sup>219</sup> Referring to a letter by the Foreign Ministry dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of that month, Mr. Sefels wrote many articles for several newspapers about the political agenda of the Ottoman Empire. However, Sefels described a predicament that concerned an article by another journalist, which appeared in *Journal des Débats*. The journalis, Mr. Ronet, treated the journey (?) of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdülmecid in a manner that did not reflect reality. Mr. Sefels claimed in his report that he corrected the comments of Mr. Ronet on the issue. How Sefel did this was not clarified, but it seems he had some power and prerogative in his efforts to promote the policies of the Foreign Ministry. Even though his duties were drawn strictly by the Ottoman Government, Mr. Sefel had enough influence that he could ask for official assistance from the Sublime Porte. He believed access to an official would ease his task by sending bulletins on regular basis. This official could also guide his work and tell him how to treat common

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<sup>219</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 69, 412/62.

questions concerning the Ottoman Empire. As he had a “sincere desire to make himself as useful as possible to the Ottoman Empire”<sup>220</sup>, Mr. Sefels demanded that best guidance possible be provided to him. That correspondence ascertains that the public diplomacy carried out by the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte was not primitive, but rather engaged an intricate communications network as part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century modern foreign policy.

### 4.3. Decoration of Medals

Aside from hiring journalists and editors, or supporting them with regular payments, the Sublime Porte used another means to win over individual journalists or other agents honoring them with Ottoman medals in return for their favorable services. Interestingly enough, many of the agents and journalists hoped for decorations rather than money. The Foreign Ministry was aware of this, and so did not hesitate to satisfy such expectations. These medals were flattering and the contentment they provided returned as a good service.<sup>221</sup> When money ceased to flow, an author’s attitude could shift. In the case of decorations, the effect of the eulogy lasted much longer. A letter sent by ambassador Safvet Pasha (1814–1883) from Paris to the Foreign Minister Ali Pasha reflects that relationship of indulgence by the Sublime Porte toward the journalists.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 69, 412/62: “ Le désir sincere de rendre le plus utile aux interets de la Turquie...”

<sup>221</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 103, 70/103 ( 1851.04.17): about medals given by His Majesty the Sultan to the journalists of the newspaper *Constituonnel Patria*; 588,75/87 (1867.02.23): About honoring the editor of *Constituonnel* Mr. Kespe (?) with medal; 699, 77/13 (1867.01.25): About decorating the director of *Patrie* Mr. Sharl Lebi (?) with Medjdie Medal; 516, 57/11 (1867.04.11): About giving the rank of prefecture to the brother of the author of *Morning Post*.

<sup>222</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 260, 75/67.



As reported on December 30, 1865, Safvet Pasha informed the Foreign Minister of a request made for receipt of the 3<sup>rd</sup> class of Medjidie Medal from the Sultan. The individuals seeking the decoration had the good manners to not ask directly. There was a hierarchy within the intelligence network and requests came to the Ottoman authorities through the foreign agents of the Foreign Ministry. In this case, Ottoman agent Mr. Rogués<sup>223</sup> was the channel for the appeal, and he spoke on behalf of Ernest Dréolle, the editor of *La Patrie*. Mr. Rogués explained that *La Patrie* had long been hostile to the Ottoman Empire. Dréolle was, in contrast, fair in his approach to the Ottoman Empire: he was useful and devoted to the interests of the Sublime Porte. Dréolle's position was already recognized with a 4<sup>th</sup> class Medjidie Order. Mr. Rogués made clear that, in their last meeting the editor talked about how anxious he was to receive the Order of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Class. Attributing to himself the complete change of attitude of the newspaper toward the Ottoman Empire, Mr. Dréolle believed it his right to make such a demand. By adding he would be quite satisfied and happy forever, Mr. Dréolle also promoted a favorable approach by his newspaper in the future. For these justifications, Mr. Rogués requested his demands be met. As *La Patrie* was one of the largest newspapers in Paris and it had many semi-official ties to other publications, Safvet Pasha maintained that it was a chance for the Foreign Ministry to endorse good service and good monitoring. It may well be that an Imperial Order of Medjidie medal became one of the most effective and powerful tools of the Sublime Porte in their campaign to earn the respect and trust of foreign journalists and newspapers. That situation also suggests that, in a period when speculations were made all over Europe regarding the decline and weakness of the Ottoman Empire, there was still a certain number of people who were aware of

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<sup>223</sup> The report did not give any bibliographic entry about the life of the Ottoman agent, Mr. Rogués.

the real situation, and they continued to esteem the Sultan and to expect to be honored with His Majesty's medals.

In some cases, there was no need to offer or seek favors. As noted above, when the Foreign Ministry found someone who was aware of the real situation of the Ottoman Empire and who strove to disseminate that reality abroad, the rewards came without petitions. The Duke de Vlani was one such person chosen for the blessing of the Ottoman Empire. As indicated in a report<sup>224</sup> by Kalimaki Beg, the ambassador of Paris in 1850, de Vlani was the member of the French Parliament and had in previous years served as a clerk in the French Embassy in Istanbul. As he was acquainted with life in the Ottoman capital and used to the administrative system in the Ottoman Empire, Duke de Vlani was one of the people in France who best knew the situation of the Empire. Whatever his network relations with the officials and subjects of the Ottoman Empire may have been, it is obvious that relations and his treatment were good enough to earn his sympathy. Kalimaki, in his letter, mentioned that he was transmitting a copy of a book written by de Vlani, remarking further that it had been published in the newspapers. Although the report does not make this clear, the book was probably about the Ottoman Empire as the ambassador noted he met with the author to discuss some issues in the book. Duke's favorable activities toward the Ottoman Empire, both in the French Parliament and in the press, required a prize in return. With that purpose in mind, Kalimaki Beg demanded the Duke be honored with a medal and that he be treated well.

At least twice, the Foreign Ministry was generous toward good assessments of its policies and good behavior toward the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, if there was any lack of service that far from fulfilling the needs of the

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<sup>224</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 103, 70/33. Dated on December 17, 1850.

public diplomacy the Foreign Ministry aimed at, the agents were not rewarded. The *chargé d'affaires* for the Ottoman Empire based in Brussels, one Mr. Diran complained about the latest behavior of M. Biraderi(?), a journalist for *l'Independence*.<sup>225</sup> While he had received a medal by Imperial Order, Mr. Diran observed that Biraderi was no longer writing articles that were so favorable, and he gave up the idea of flattering the journalist. Instead, he advised the Ottoman authorities to seek someone else who would be more useful and so worthy of the decoration granted by the Sultan.

As was true for all other administrative mechanisms of the modern bureaucratic system, the public diplomacy efforts of the Foreign Ministry at home and abroad were maintained through a hierarchy. The representatives of the Ottoman Empire in the embassies abroad did not hesitate to make decisions they believed would resolve their problems, but the decisions were always implemented with the direction and guidance of the Foreign Ministry. Furthermore, each concession necessitated a service in return. If a person honored with medals of the Sultan, he must work harder or fall from favor.

#### **4.4. Manipulation and Prevention Policies**

Within a decade of the installation of the Tazimat reforms, the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte had developed an elaborate network system, as a report dated July 12, 1861 asserted.<sup>226</sup> Mr. Vilos, *ad interim* in charge of the functions of the Foreign Ministry in Paris, addressed Ali Pasha about his activities with the foreign newspapers, especially *l'Opinion Nationale*, concerning the

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<sup>225</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 123, 37/62. Dated on November 10, 1859.

<sup>226</sup> BOA, HR.TO.; 96, 72/51.

accession of the new Sultan Abdulaziz Han (r. 1861–1876). Vilos was grateful to hear that the Sublime Porte would appoint an employee to be responsible for sending detailed correspondence to the various embassies regarding current issues in the capital and provinces of the Empire. In this way, it would be easier to supply newspapers with numerous items of interesting and reliable information.

After expressing his gratitude to the Sublime Porte, Mr. Vilos assessed the attitude of *l'Opinion Nationale*. Mr. Chauvenel was previously in charge of the position Mr. Vilos now held. During his tenure, Mr. Chauvenel had diplomatic intimacy with Count Persigney[?] of London and had the latter's cooperation regarding protection of the Empire's interest in foreign newspapers. Vilos continued, noting that the journal already attracted the attention of the Ottoman Government with a few items it had published. In one of his dispatches attached to the Vilos report, Mr. Chauvenel informed the Foreign Ministry of initiatives taken by Count Persigney to influence the policy of *l'Opinion Nationale* to favor the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Count had also the attention of the Minister of the Interior and, in that way, desired to strengthen the diplomatic relations between the Sublime Porte and the British Government. Persigney also made strong comments to the editor of the newspaper, and pledged to bring more consideration of Turkish affairs to him, to ensure that his writing would draw more attention in the future observations of the Ottoman Empire.

Promises such as those made by Vilos were never ignored by the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte. At the right moment, came, Ottoman officials were reminded of the duties of their agents. In the case of *l'Opinion Nationale*, the opportunity arose with the accession of Sultan Abdülaziz Han. Mr. Vilos announced his pleasure at receiving from the Grand Vizier a copy and translation of the Imperial

Decree (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*) of the Sultan concerning his accession and the future of his realm. In return, Mr. Vilos conversed with Mr. Guerolt about the issue as Count Persigney had before. He first asked the editor of this and other journals to insert the copy of the new Imperial Decree into their publication. Then, Mr. Vilos assured the editor that the earlier reforms of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) would be continued by the new Sultan more vigorously than they had in the past. He showed the example of Guerolt, a journalist who changed French opinion about the Ottoman Empire to a considerable degree. Mr. Vilos further suggested that, if His Highness the Sultan managed to keep his promises and prove that he was really keen on introducing innovations, public opinion in Europe would grow daily rather than weaken. Therefore, the cooperation between the Sublime Porte and its agents and representatives proved that the authorities were not issuing unilateral orders and then waiting for them to be executed. There was an intricate system of cooperation among the agents of the Ottoman Empire, the journalists and the Ottoman authorities. Moreover, the agents standing at the active side of the intelligence network had greater opportunities to closely observe the atmosphere and attitudes toward the Ottoman Empire in Europe. For this reason, they had more advice to offer the Sublime Porte than the idea of a robotic taking of orders suggests.

While maintaining its public diplomacy schemes, the Sublime Porte and its representatives abroad were always careful not to upset the honor of the agents or journalists they hired. Abdolynme Ubcini (1818–1884) was a French historian and journalist, famous for his outstanding study on the Ottoman Empire, *Lettres sur La Turquie* (1853). He received a share of the public largess from the Ottoman Empire and had to keep his writing within certain limits, as evident from the report to Rıza Efendi. Rıza Efendi informed the Foreign Ministry in 1851 that Mr. Ubcini had

inserted an article on Aleppo, as Rıza had instigated, into *l'Revue d'Orient*, a journal Ubicini himself had founded.<sup>227</sup> Nevertheless, the French journalist gave the impression that he was not content with his position, and the need to play according to the rules of the Sublime Porte.

Successful public diplomacy required strategic planning for communication rather than mere suppression and intimidation. Rıza Efendi was a reasonable agreeing on the point that some policies should be carried out on mutual basis for the benefit of both sides. He took the liberty to add a letter from Ubicini to the journal to solve the problem of his distress. In the letter, Ubicini claimed authorship of the article, implying that could restrain him to write from the way he did. Thus Rıza Efendi granted to Ubicini the merit that famous journalist deserved. Using a conciliatory manner, he both won Ubicini's confidence and oversaw the interest of the Ottoman Empire. As also happened with many of the European powers, the Ottoman Empire developed an elaborate foreign policy. The officials of the Sublime Porte incorporated the Ottoman Empire into European state system by playing the rules of the international public diplomacy and pleasing the both sides.

Diplomatic correspondence and dialogue did not always work to the benefit of the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes money and intimidation were not enough to divert the principles of the journalists; sometimes a hostile attitude was part of a campaign by other European powers that the Foreign Ministry could not handle easily. In such circumstances, the Ottoman Empire was merciless toward foreign newspapers. In such cases, the Ottoman authorities relied on censorship or prevention diplomacies, forbidding the import of the newspapers into Ottoman lands and border provinces. On November 3, 1847 the Ottoman representative Constantin

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<sup>227</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 312, 414/53. Dated on March, 1851.

Seraphius sent a report from Tuscany asking for orders from the Porte without delay in order to punish Mr. Chiellini for his disobedience.<sup>228</sup> Mr. Chiellini was the editor of the journal *Giurisprudenza Bisontina* and, for the reasons not made clear, he was forbidden to distribute the journal. In the defiance of the orders of the Ottoman Legation in Tuscany, Chiellini did not suspend publication. The result of the conflict was not stated in the document. Perhaps it was solved through the efforts of the Ottoman officials in Tuscany or perhaps the problem was debated in the higher echelons of the Foreign Ministry. However, it is clear that the first step for representatives of the Empire abroad was to use their own network to resolve any kind of crisis. If this was unsuccessful, the Foreign Ministry, as center of the Ottoman foreign policy, took the case in its own hands.

At the behest of the Sublime Porte, Ottoman officials in Europe occasionally attempted to involve the governments of the countries in which the newspapers were published. This was a part of the overall strategy of defensive diplomacy. Intercession by European officials in the attitudes of the foreign newspapers totally secured the position of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, that kind of public diplomacy became a good excuse for Ottoman diplomats and their European counterparts to form a modern diplomatic relationship. The peaceful effect of censorship and prevention is best seen in the relationship with Austria-Hungary in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In a letter dated May 6, 1869 the Austrian Legation was notified of a response to the Sublime Porte via Translation Office regarding two Austrian newspapers (*Imera* and *Felyo*); they would not be delivered to the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>229</sup> Until this order changed, the Austrian Postal Administration would suspend circulation of these publications. Despite the

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<sup>228</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 749, 306/37.

<sup>229</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1465, 164/60.

clarity of the message, there was also ambiguity regarding why Austria was willing to protect the Empire. In the alliance of the Ottoman Empire with Austria regarding the policies toward foreign newspapers, the Prime Minister of Austria, Count Andrassy, acted as the guardian of the Empire in 1870s. During his tenure, Andrassy developed a relationship with Germany that counteracted the power of Russia. His defense of the integrity of the Empire was a part of that strategy; too, as Andrassy feared that a reversal would result in considerable weight in favor of Russia and Slav Powers in Germany.<sup>230</sup> The first report from Vienna, in 1873, was addressed to the Foreign Minister Khalil Sherif Pasha (1872–73).<sup>231</sup> As informed by Perschof Efendi (?), the Ottoman representative Arif Beg described the newspaper *Chezernagratz*. A weekly journal published in Chetinje, Austria-Hungarian authorities prohibited its entrance into the Dalmatian region. Perschof Efendi consulted with Count Andrassy, who confirmed that prohibition was necessary owing to the seditious and subversive language of the newspaper. Count Andrassy sincerely hoped that, for the good of the Ottoman Empire, the newspaper would not be available in the neighboring provinces either. Although the content of the articles was not recounted in the report, this indicates a sense of menace against the Ottoman Empire. Thus, retaining a peaceful policy with the Sublime Porte, Count Andrassy considered it necessary to warn the Ottoman authorities.

The second report was sent from Vienna as particular and confidential by Caloux to Foreign Minister Mehmed Rachid Pasha (1873–74; 1875–76).<sup>232</sup> Dated December 11, 1869, the report discussed a request to Count Andrassy by the Sublime Porte that the director of *Osservateur Triestino* be removed. The incident took place

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<sup>230</sup> “Gyula, Count Andrassy.” *Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 16 Aug. 2012.

<sup>231</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1465, 107/81. Dated on March 6, 1873.

<sup>232</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1465, 107/103.



as follows. The Department of Interior of the Austrian Government sent to the Government of Trieste a strongly-worded note: The Austrian Government blamed the newspaper for its lack of oversight and was unable to understand how such articles hostile to a friend and ally of the Austria-Hungarian Government could be published in an official newspaper. It is likely that the agent and proponent of the Austrian Government and mediator between the two sides, Mr. Caloux, wanted to draw the attention of the Ottoman authorities to the sentiments that drove the Austria-Hungarian Government towards the Sublime Porte. Unlike conventional assumptions that associate the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire with weakness, an Empire in need of Europe, the documents refute such an image. It was not only that the Ottoman Empire needed the tools of public diplomacy to be part of the European system. In most cases the European powers themselves also saw the necessity to apply the same methods in order to obtain the support of the Ottoman Empire.

However, when the Foreign Ministry exceeded the limits of its prevention policies, the aggrieved side was able to adjust the situation. On occasion, the editors of the newspapers that were suspended or censored were obstinately opposed to following the directives. Before waiting for the worst to come, they challenged the Ottoman authorities via diplomatic correspondence. So, on November 29, 1857 Balgot Begne sent a letter to the Sublime Porte that attempted to make his position clear.<sup>233</sup> As the editor of the newspaper *Press d'Orient*, Begne complained about the censor imposed by the Sublime Porte. In place of direct conflicts with the Ottoman authorities, Begne chose to defend his cause. He found the censorship of the article unjust, since the sentence given to the censor was a translation taken from the *Observatore Triestino*. Moreover, there had not been enough time to check each line

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<sup>233</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 312, 428/20.

of the newspaper as other formalities already occupied all their time. Begne wrote of the difficulty of working with the news that was sent Trieste. His employees had to line the strips for hours, translate the news, write the articles, composing and checking the type, all of which took several hours to complete. For that reason, he argued, it was impossible to find a censor in time as they had to rush new arrivals for the coming days. Whenever a French boat was sent to ship the newspapers, they waited for 2 days for its return. It would not be possible to provide new summaries if he spent so much time on censorship. At the end of his report, Balgot Begne gave an implicit warning to the Sublime Porte. He maintained that if the Ottoman authorities insisted on that attitude toward censorship, his response would be a total silence. As it is seen, public diplomacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not always to the advantage of the big powers. From time to time, smaller actors within the system also stood against unjust and immoderate threats coming from above.

Other small actors on the 19<sup>th</sup> century international diplomacy scene occasionally abandoned the diplomatic protocols and fought for their own interests. Zaffan Hanly, the director of *Levant Time & Shipping Gazette*, was one who used every means possible to save his newspaper from the clutches of the Ottoman Empire. In 1874, during the brief Grand Vizierate of Hussein Avni Pasha, Hanly became a victim of the Grand Vizier and his newspaper had to halt publication. Once the tenure of Serasker Hussein Avni Pasha ended, Hanly reclaimed his rights to publish. He sent a letter on October 25, 1875 demanding from Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha (1875–1876) and Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–1876) that justice be rendered to him.<sup>234</sup> Hanly claimed that the reasons for his harassment by Hussein

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<sup>234</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 439, 515/69.

Avni Pasha were entirely personal, and that they caused his ruin. He described the course of events in a way that did not permit argument.

As he describes it, on August 9, 1874 the Office of the Press of the Imperial Government had issued a decree blaming Hanly for the false impressions the articles contained. The Sublime Porte asserted that the offending news was produced by one financial institution and this was not made clear in the report. The impression was counter to the interests of the Ottoman Empire and its officials considered the accusations without foundation. As the Imperial Government could not tolerate such strong language, *Levant Times & Shipping Gazette* was stopped publishing from that day onwards. The decree, conveyed by the Dragoman of the Imperial Divan under a special order of Hussein Avni Pasha, was not based on any article of the Law of Press ratified in 1864 by the Sublime Porte. According to the 9<sup>th</sup> article of that law; the kind of materials published in foreign countries would be forbidden to enter to the Ottoman land and to be distributed within if they had the contents threatening the well-being of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>235</sup> There was no inscription claiming the prevention of the publication. Thus, Hanly was smart enough to circumvent the Sublime Porte by exploiting the deficiencies in its laws. He also did not exclude agitation as a means to justify his motives. Hussein Avni Pasha charged the editor with a criminal offense and clarified the duties of Hanly. The editor argued that he had fully complied with the conditions imposed by the Grand Vizier but still his newspaper was shut down. For that reason, he suffered serious financial damage. The publishing industry abandoned him and his mental anguish exacerbated that situation. Having no hope of change for his situation as long as Hussein Avni Pasha was in power, Hanly waited until another person became Grand Vizier. He first

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<sup>235</sup> Server Rifat Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri-Tahlil ve Tarihçe*, (Istanbul; Tan Matbaası, 1938), p. 20.

presented his complaint to the Minister of Justice and to the President of the State Council but they were unwilling to take on the cause: each alleged that the case was not within their jurisdiction. Then, Hanly appealed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Safvet Pasha. It seems that Safvet Pasha was of no help and Hanly transmitted the appeal to the Grand Vizier Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, hoping that his case would be brought to the Sultan. Throughout the episode, the editor Zaffan Hanly, saw it his natural right to pursue his case and he demanded 10,000 pounds sterling to cover the damages to his newspaper. That report does not indicate how that case was resolved. However, as there was nothing negative attached in the end of the report by the Ottoman authorities, it is likely that it was the outcome favored Hanly. Believing that the problem stemmed from personal hostility, the editor claimed that he had done his best to comply with orders, and he hoped the Sublime Porte would evaluate the crisis as justifiable and would cause no more pain to the desperate Zaffan Hanly.

The Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte was not always merciful in its public diplomacy. Accusations and attacks about the internal administration systems and about minority groups were always vulnerable points for the Empire. As issues that were not open to discussion, the Sublime Porte took harsh measures without chance for reconciliation, when such attacks came. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the rights of the Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire became the means through which European powers expressed their wishes regarding the Empire. Even though the edict of 1856 granted non-Muslim populations equal rights to their Muslim counterparts, the process of carrying out reforms became a toy in international politics. Russia was most successful in its exploitation of the religious minority problem, as the Orthodoxy was a main tool to entice the Slavic peoples in the Balkans. In that case, the correspondence on various news items coming to the

Translation Office on these issues gives interesting clues of the public diplomacy Foreign Ministry employed. A newspaper that serves as a model for this kind of situation was *Suctovide*, published in Belgrade. An informative letter about that newspaper was sent on April 11, 1865 at the request of an unanimous Ottoman official.<sup>236</sup>

A correspondent of *Suctovide* published an article in Moscow under the headline of “Russia and Turkey.” In the article, the author advised Russia to make preparations concerning the Eastern Question<sup>237</sup> and to solve it in accordance with its own interest. The language of the article was provocative and aimed at activating the religious fervor of the Russian Government. The journalist suggested that Russia was ready to shed its blood and sacrifice its entire fortune to emancipate its co-religionists.<sup>238</sup> He argued that though the conflict between Russia and the Ottoman Empire gave Serbia, Romania and Greece new life there were still millions of Christians groaning with pain despite the treaties made by the Empire. Moreover, the friendly policy of Russia toward the Sublime Porte with regard to Egypt, Candia and Epirus of Bulgarians manifested no happy results. For these reasons, he thought that it was in the interest of Russia to assist the emancipation of Slavs in the Ottoman Empire. The author blamed Britain for its hypocritical attitude, claiming that if it was not for the business policies of the merchants, the British Government would not strive to safeguard the welfare and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The correspondent added that the domination of the clergy was an obstacle to the development of national life and political progress of the Slavs of Turkey. He argued that, for many years, the Slavs made efforts to establish an independent national

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<sup>236</sup> BOA, HR.TO.; 340, 507/79.

<sup>237</sup> The term “Eastern Question” was actually used in the report as part of the translation of the newspaper *Suctovide* as “La Question d’Orient.”

<sup>238</sup> Ibid; “La Russie seta prête a verser tout son sang et a sacrifier toute sa fortune au profit de l’affranchissement de ses corréligionnaires.”

church of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Since Britain did not give any thought to the situation of the Slavs, it was the duty of Russia to defend the rights of his co-religionists. Among the rash challenges of the correspondent was a proposal that Russian conquest of the Caucasus would be another solution for the Eastern Question.

These remarks and proposals were direct threats to Ottoman sovereignty. In these occasions, the Sublime Porte was reluctant to step back and reconcile. The accusations were not acceptable and, as the center of foreign policy, the Foreign Ministry had to act as the decision-maker in accordance with the regulations of the modern diplomacy. The Ottoman representative warned the authorities that this was the language of people who were determined to harm the peaceful atmosphere of the Empire. He requested that the Foreign Minister address the subject and prohibit the introduction of these malicious sheets into the provinces. Fearing that the precautions against this kind of menace would not be sufficient, he also proposed that the Ottoman Board of Press inform opinion in France of these intrigues of Slavic propaganda. As early as the 1840s, when the Ottoman representative sent his report from Paris to Reshid Pasha<sup>239</sup> assessing the hostility of the French press against the Ottoman Empire, the Foreign Ministry used the French press as its main example to carry out public diplomacy abroad. The first Law of Press in 1864 was even translated after the example of the 1852 French Press Law.<sup>240</sup> On those grounds, the public opinion in French newspaper as an ally power was a helpful tool for foreign diplomacy.

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<sup>239</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 129, 406/73.

<sup>240</sup> Iskit, Türkiye’de Matbuat Rejimleri, p. 19.

#### 4.5. Legal Actions

While conducting public diplomacy, the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte and its representatives abroad did not fail to search for gaps in the legal system of the countries that might permit damage to the image of the Ottoman Empire through publishing. Using their legal rights against enemies was one of the most effective weapons that the Foreign Ministry employed. In this way, Ottoman authorities could send a message to their rivals and allies alike, that they had an elaborate intelligence network through which they obtained knowledge of everything occupying the international political agenda and law system. Furthermore, it also asserted their ability to pursue modern public diplomacy. The easiest means to carry out legal action against foreign newspapers was through the Press Law (*Matbuat Nizamnamesi*) of the foreign countries in which these newspapers were published. For instance on November 3, 1865 the Viennese newspaper *Nationale* was reported to have included malicious writings about His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdülaziz.<sup>241</sup> The Governor of Bosnia and the Ottoman delegate in Ragusa both complained. The Ottoman delegate assured the Porte that he had already taken precautions according to the Press Law of Vienna before informing the authorities.

Other cases required more careful attention while searching for appropriate legal action. For example, the Ottoman Imperial Legation in Athens sent a correspondence to the Sublime Porte on January 26, 1857 addressed to the Foreign

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<sup>241</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 1465, 105/60.

Minister Ethem Pasha (1818–1893).<sup>242</sup> The author of the letter, Khalil, complained about an attack on the Imperial Government, the courts of the Ottoman Empire and the legal case of Salih Pasha (1813–1861) made by the Greek newspaper *l'Espérance*. The main argument and attack concerned the acquittal of Salih Pasha, and his being found innocent by the courts. The crisis apparently developed around the prosecution of Salih Pasha but nothing was made clear in the report about the legal case. The Ottoman representative Khalil waged a war of wits against the editor of *l'Espérance*, based on the certain acts of Hellenic Penal Law. Article 10 and 13 gave the necessary rationale to the Ottoman authorities to act against accusatory publications. Nevertheless, Hellenic Penal Law also contained tricky passages that forced the representative to think twice before acting. On the surface, both of these articles permitted the Foreign Ministry to take legal steps easily. In Article 10 of that law it was written that “the one who insults any rulers of foreign countries by words or writing or a symbolic representation is punished by imprisonment of six months to two years.”<sup>243</sup> Article 13 stated that “he who insults governments or authorities in Foreign Countries, in interviews published or in writing delivered to the advertising of symbolic representations or, by mocking blasphemy and defamatory of any kind or, causing by the same means, the inhabitants to revolt from Foreign Countries is punished by imprisonment up to six months.”<sup>244</sup>

In that regard, everything seems to favor the Sublime Porte. The Ottoman officials did not have to work hard to resolve the problem; the crisis could be transferred easily to the courts of the Hellenic Government. However, Hellenic

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<sup>242</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 146, 3/4.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid ; “qui il est puni par emprisonnement de six mois à deux ans, celui qui ou calomnie par des paroles par écrit ou par une représentation symbolique quelconque les souverains de Pays Etrangers.”

<sup>244</sup> Ibid ; “qu’il est puni par emprisonnement jusqu’à six mois celui qui, dans des entretiens publics, ou dans des écrits livrés à la publicité, ou dans des représentations symboliques, insulte les gouvernement ou les autorités des Pays Etrangers, par de raillerie de blasphèmes ou diffamatoires quelconques, ou qui provoque, par les mêmes moyens, à la révolte les habitants des Pays Etrangers.”



authorities did not fail to observe to Khalil that their law system was not that open to manipulation, and that there were indications making the process more complicated. According to its authorities, the Hellenic Penal Law also related that, in the case of a complaint made by the representative of the country insulted, the same rights were granted to the representatives of Greece regarding that foreign country. Even though a law system of a country should not address the legal system in other countries, the Greek Government was not so foolish as to give concessions to foreign powers without earning some benefits in return. The Ottoman representative was surprised by this ruling, and he had to give up his complaint. Instead, he requested that the Foreign Minister Ethem Pasha act again in accordance with Article 13, which also stated that in the case of the Greek representatives a criminal prosecution could not take place without a formal denunciation on the part of the offense. Khalil added that Salih Pasha also had the right, by virtue of the same article, to submit a complaint to the Hellenic Legation in Constantinople through the office of the Imperial Minister of the Foreign Affairs. Even when the Ottoman authorities found themselves in a difficult position with no way out, as in the case of Khalil, they generated policies to turn the situation to the advantage of the Ottoman Empire. Through the methods of public diplomacy, each division of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry functioned in compliance with one another.

The power of the press in some cases became self-destructive and then the Foreign Ministry discreetly used it to channel excuses for legal actions. As mentioned many time before, if there was a menace to the security of Ottoman integrity the response could be severe. The late 1850s and 1860s was a period of general discontent and uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The region was one of the last holdouts against the tax farming reforms imposed by the Ottoman

administration. Wealthy landowners both rejected their share of the tax to the Ottoman Government and did not consent to any concessions given to Christian minorities. At the same time, the peasant population suffered much because of the oppressions of the landowners. Nevertheless, only the Christian populations attracted the attention and benefits of the European powers and, as result there were frequent uprisings. Between 1871 and 1876, the Ottoman government attempted further reforms, based on the 1864 *Vilayet* Provincial System. It was of no help and in the end, foreign agitation on behalf of the Christian peasants created riots against the landlords of Herzegovina.<sup>245</sup>

On the eve of the hot debates over that international crisis, the Ottoman ambassador to London Constantin Musurus (1807–1891) sent a report to the Foreign Minister Safvet Pasha.<sup>246</sup> His letter called the attention of the Foreign Minister to the provoking activities of a former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of London, Lord Russell (1792–1878). Musurus claimed that, on the issue of Herzegovina, the English press generally remained favorable toward the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, he argued that in recent days the language of the English newspaper *The Times of London* had to be amended. His reason was that the newspaper supported the idea of making certain administrative concessions to the insurgents without any means of their pacification. This idea was mainly that of Lord Russell, who declared himself ready to offer 50 pounds in favor of the insurgents against the misrule of the Ottoman Empire. Russell was also eager to organize a meeting concerning the fate of Herzegovina.

Apparently the attitude of Lord Russell surprised the political world and he became the target of harsh criticisms. The aim of Musurus was to transmit that

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<sup>245</sup> Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol.II*, p. 149, p.154, p.158.

<sup>246</sup> BOA, HR.TO. ; 239, 58/73. Dated on September 2, 1875.

criticism exactly to the Sublime Porte so that the Ottoman officials could maintain their public diplomacy much more efficiently. During the Tanzimat Period, there were dozens of news items published in foreign newspapers that argued against the welfare of the Ottoman Empire. The Foreign Ministry closely analyzed only those which provided an opportunity for defense and exploitation of the Ottoman Empire and which could become the tools of Ottoman public diplomacy. In the case of Lord Russell, three outstanding newspapers of Britain, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* took the side of the Ottoman Empire. The agents of the Sublime Porte abroad, who did their best to find leaks on their behalf, used these newspapers as instruments of propaganda to counter the hostility of *Times*. Lord Russell had written many years ago about attending a meeting, at Lord Fitzwilliams in Grosvenor Square, in support of the Greek insurgents and there too he subscribed 50 pounds to their cause.<sup>247</sup> As a response to the statement of Lord Russell, *The Morning Post* accused him of not having “much character for wisdom to lose” and also claimed that his “mania for letter-writing appeared to be incurable.”<sup>248</sup> The newspaper argued that the issue of Herzegovina required the most delicate conduct and could only be treated at the discretion of the high Ottoman authorities. The next day, the *Morning Post* published a note written by someone named Hassan. While his nationality was not indicated in the letter, his name suggests that he was either the subject of the Ottoman Empire probably residing in Herzegovina or he was otherwise of Arab origin. His note stated:

I remember many years ago insurrections against the British misrule in India and Ireland. I did not subscribe on behalf of them, I did not think it right. Earl Russell convinced me that I was mistaken. It is too early for a meeting in Constantinople. But I give notice that whenever there is another insurrection

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<sup>247</sup> *Times*, August 28, 1875.

<sup>248</sup> *Morning Post*, August 30, 1875.

against British misrule I will subscribe 50 pounds on behalf of the insurgents.  
Your obedient servant.<sup>249</sup>

The letter from Hassan assured the Ottoman officials that they could vanquish the propaganda of Lord Russell with another propaganda weapon that would cause much suffering to the British Government. Further pain was borne by Lord Russell, when he became the target of his government's fury as well as that of the Ottoman Empire.

Musurus also claimed that *ThePall Mall Gazette* offered a more certain solution to Russell's provocation. According to the opinion of the great English jurists Lord Russell's subscription, against a friendly power and in favor of the insurgents, was an offense for which he could be prosecuted. Having found an opportunity to use British Law to their advantage, the Sublime Porte became more interested in the second way to resolve the problem of Lord Russell's provocative statements.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

Public diplomacy, the interaction between the Ottoman Empire and foreign powers to establish a mutual dialogue to inform and influence, became the main tool of Ottoman foreign policy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottoman Empire was no longer a super power, and the changing face of the administrative systems in Europe also had an effect on the Empire. Along with the internal problems caused by external factors, the emergence of the modern state system in Europe compelled the Sublime Porte to assert its position in the international arena. Its policies were carried out through the

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<sup>249</sup> *Morning Post*, September 1, 1875.

rules of diplomacy. In becoming acquainted with diplomatic means of communication, the Ottoman Empire also became acquainted with the significance of public diplomacy.

The ill-intentioned desires of Europe regarding the Ottoman Empire encouraged certain European organs to use such modern means as provocation, defamation and attrition campaigns. The best way to accomplish their policy goals was through the use of newspapers. As the main tool of propaganda, European newspapers campaigned vigorously against the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, capturing the public opinion through the press was not a simple question of recognition; it was also necessary to protect the image of the Empire.<sup>250</sup> The Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte, the heart of the Ottoman foreign diplomacy, and the newly formed bureaucratic class working there were conscious of this need, and learned to make provisions for these malicious weapons. The Foreign Ministry used the tools of public diplomacy to control and manipulate the flow of intelligence within and to foreign newspapers. Adopting the strategies of persuasion, financial aid, and distribution of medals, prevention and legal action, the Ottoman officials proved the capability of its intelligence network along with the well-organized and complex structure of its bureaucracy.

While the Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte was at the core of that public diplomacy, the embassy agents in Europe and Translation Office in Istanbul became its main channels to promote the flow of information and ease the way for their bureaucratic transactions. The Translation Office of the Sublime Porte was the first training center of foreign diplomacy and “the seedbed of the Tanzimat elite”<sup>251</sup> whereas the Ottoman embassies were the locations where the officials of the

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<sup>250</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 77.

<sup>251</sup> Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom*, p. 263.

Translation Office gained experience in the field. As a last stop Foreign Ministry became the place for the seniors and decision-makers of all these sub-sections following their order. In that way, the public diplomacy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire was established around these three important axis of the Ottoman bureaucracy.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Starting with the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman administrators realized the changing nature of international relations. With the Westphalia Treaty of 1648, European powers adopted a new style of international diplomacy based on the conference system where the meetings were held on multilateral ways. The Ottoman Empire did not feel the urgency to adopt the new diplomacy in Europe until the Karlowitz Treaty in 1699, which was the first in a series of events to change the Ottoman conduct of diplomacy. Since then, the Ottoman administration concentrated on a transformation mainly focused on the enhancement of the bureaucracy and the development of Ottoman diplomatic relations.

*Kalemiyye* class, grew out of the office of *Reis-ül Küttab* especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, became the pioneer of the reforms initiated during the Tanzimat Reform Period (1839–1876). Though they were implemented mainly to solve the inner problems of the Empire, reforms in Ottoman bureaucratic system became a good opportunity to integrate Ottoman diplomacy with Europe. Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte, founded in 1836, was the place where the policies concerning the foreign diplomacy were generated and applied. The intelligence network established

between the Ottoman embassies in Europe, the Translation Office and the Foreign Ministry provided the flow of information necessary for the conduct of public diplomacy.

As the content of the archival correspondences kept in the Translation Office demonstrate, the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a close observer of daily political and social agenda in different European countries. However, a century earlier, there was not even a permanent embassy establishment in any major European capital and the Ottoman authorities had to rely on irregular reports coming from temporary visits of Ottoman officials to Europe. Though the *Sefaretnames* became more or less the first-hand sources reliable in the way that they usually include observations in detail, that infrequent circulation of knowledge could not be comparable to the stable and systematic information flow provided by the 19<sup>th</sup> century bureaucratic system, especially of, Foreign Ministry.

The influence of the public opinion via the newspapers was one of the most effective tools of the 19<sup>th</sup> century foreign diplomacy. The public diplomacy with the use of foreign newspapers in that respect prepared the best way for the Ottoman bureaucrats to form an international sphere where they could affect the public opinion in Europe directly. The circulation of knowledge channeled around the axis of the Ottoman embassies, the Translation Office and the Foreign Ministry was the most important communication network. By following and monitoring the political agenda and daily occasions happening in Europe through the foreign newspapers, the Ottoman Empire became fully equipped with the knowledge concerning different aspects of countries in Europe that they were observing. That flow of information predominantly helped the promotion of Ottoman foreign diplomacy and its implementation abroad.



The substantial bureaucratic transformation undertaken within the body of Sublime Porte resulted in an elaborate state administration that embellished with the modern organizational apparatus effective both inside and abroad. Especially the Translation Office as a sub-division and training center of future bureaucrats was the exemplar of how the Ottoman state attuned itself to European diplomacy. The embassy correspondences addressed to the Foreign Ministry firstly came to the Translation Office because they were mainly written in French, which became the *lingua franca* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century international politics.

On the other hand, following the internal reforms, the Ottoman Empire was also well aware and conscious of the political trends prevalent in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. One of these trends was the public opinion. The Ottoman officials realized the importance of public opinion immediately after its popularization in Europe. Beyond that, the Ottoman bureaucrats controlled the pulse of the public opinion in Europe as part of its public diplomacy through the manipulation of the foreign newspapers. In that respect, this study also emphasized the importance of the public diplomacy as a modern tool of foreign policy which the Ottoman bureaucrats adopted.

This study demonstrated the transformation of Ottoman foreign diplomacy by looking at the conduct of public diplomacy. I wanted to show how Ottoman bureaucrats of the Tanzimat period were able to adapt themselves to the new requirements of international politics in Europe. In the second chapter, I displayed the development of the foreign politics of the Ottoman Empire by correlating it to the transformation from the office of *Reis-ül Küttab* to the Foreign Ministry of 19<sup>th</sup> century Sublime Porte. I also showed the importance of the public diplomacy within the framework of foreign politics by relating it to the transformation of Foreign

Ministry. The third and fourth chapters analyze Ottoman's conduct of public diplomacy. As seen clearly from the archival documents, foreign newspapers became instrumental of the 19 century public diplomacy. These bureaucrats at the first step observed and monitored the major European powers France, England, Austria and Russia. The political and social events in these countries were important for the Ottoman Empire because of its intense relations with these powers. They monitored the pulse of the socio-political conditions of these European countries by supplying a steady flow of information from press to the Sublime Porte. With the high qualifications in western languages, especially French, the Ottoman bureaucrats accomplished the conduct of public diplomacy propitiously as the archival documents of the Translation Office clearly demonstrate.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: Reports about the Parliamentary Debates in Britain

BOA, HR.TO., 414/42

Paris ce 25 février 1

Excellence

Le cabinet anglais a donné sa démission et la reine s'apprête de composer un ministère choisi dans la manne Peel, ce ministère n'aura pas la majorité et je suis convaincu que lord John et Palmerston reviendront dans quelques jours plus forts que jamais. Les légitimistes et les orléanistes ont poussé un cri de joie à la chute de cabinet Whig. Ils espèrent voir Aberdeen au timon des affaires étrangères: les morts appellent les morts du tombeau! Le parti tory est mort en Angleterre, bien mort, la lutte n'est possible qu'entre Whigs et radicaux.

Don Excellence  
Arli Colles  
ministre des affaires étrangères etc. etc. etc.

Les projets de l'Autriche en Allemagne  
n'aboutiront pas, ils auront même un  
effet diamétralement opposé à des  
espérances.

Plus amicale de la République  
plus de cent mille personnes ap-  
partenant à toutes les classes de  
la société ont assisté aux cérémonies  
religieuses dans les églises ou sont  
allés en pèlerinage à la place  
de la Bastille, un plus grand  
nombre encore portait sur la  
poitrine un bouquet d'immortelles  
tout: c'est peut-être avec cela  
et le soin pour de réception  
à l'église, le Président n'a  
pas vu. Hier matin M<sup>r</sup>  
Bonaparte a commencé à rendre  
ses devoirs.

La lettre de M<sup>r</sup> le comte de  
Chambard à M<sup>r</sup> Bernier n'a



eu aucun retentissement dans le  
public, tout au plus n'été à l'occasion  
quelque tapage dans les  
parmi les maisons du parlement  
fermé.

Notre Excellence continue à m'oublier  
et moi je continue à l'aimer  
j'espère toujours un mot de vous  
de sa part et ce mot n'arrive  
jamais: il paraît que c'est écrit!  
Veuillez Excellence après les  
honneurs respectueux de  
notre tout dévoué serviteur  
Victor Rogey



Paris le 17 Mars 1851.

Excellence,

Je prends la liberté de vous adresser quelques lignes sur la politique générale de la France et de l'Europe; non pas avec l'idée de vous donner des renseignements qui doivent vous arriver de tant côtés; mais pour vous donner la preuve, en vous envoyant mes appréciations, pour lesquelles je sollicite toute votre indulgence que je m'occupe activement à Paris de l'étude de la politique à laquelle me destine les fonctions dont Votre Excellence a bien voulu m'honorer.

Le ministère anglais est toujours ébranlé mais après les efforts infructueux tentés par les Tories pour former un cabinet, il semble hors de doute que les Whigs ne conservent le pouvoir malgré la difficulté qu'ils rencontrent à l'exercer maintenant. L'exposition de l'industrie rendrait très impopulaire la dissolution de la chambre des communes et il est probable que cette dissolution même ne changerait pas la majorité.

Il est donc plus que probable malgré tous les obstacles secondaires, que le pouvoir ne sortira pas des mains des wighs; ce que implique un ministère où ils se trouveront toujours par Lord John Russell et Lord Palmerston, ce qui veut dire maintenant de la politique intérieure et extérieure de l'Angleterre.

Pour les nouvelles d'Allemagne, l'entrée de l'Autriche avec tous ses états dans la confédération germanique est vraisemblable malgré <sup>la répugnance</sup> de la France. La Russie et l'Autriche ont un intérêt majeur à cette combinaison, la Prusse y a consenti après des résistances directes et indirectes, enfin le ministère prussien a complètement changé sa politique; les petits états allemands ne peuvent résister seuls long temps, et la France trop divisée à l'intérieur, ne pourra intervenir autrement que par des notes diplomatiques, d'une effet très médiocre. Les nouvelles d'aujourd'hui de Berlin affirment que, « la présomption que l'Angleterre marcherait sur la même ligne que la France dans cette question » est confirmée par une note de Lord Palmerston qui vient d'arriver à Berlin; si cela est la France aura plus de force, à condition que Lord Palmerston



restat au pouvoir; car on ne sait quelle sera la <sup>2</sup>  
politique d'un ministère tant sur ce sujet. Les  
souverains de centre et du nord de l'Europe espèrent  
que cette vaste confédération leur donnera le  
moyen de combattre à la fois les ressorts des nati-  
onalités et les progrès de l'esprit de liberté constitu-  
tionnelle. Ils peuvent obtenir dans le premier mo-  
ments mais ils préparent évidemment, par cette  
méthode de compression exagérée, les éléments  
d'une révolution en Allemagne dans le cas d'une  
révolution nouvelle à Paris. En France la position  
des partis n'a pas changée. La réforme de la  
constitution semble impossible par la voie légale,  
~~et~~ la popularité du Président ne paraît pas  
suffisante pour vaincre les obstacles. La question  
du pouvoir exécutif reste donc un problème  
qui ne s'éclaircira qu'en approchant de 1852:

Voilà les événements les plus importants qui  
occupent en ce moment l'attention publique.

Je n'ose entrer dans de plus longs détails  
de peur d'abuser des moments précieux de Votre  
Excellence dont je suis,

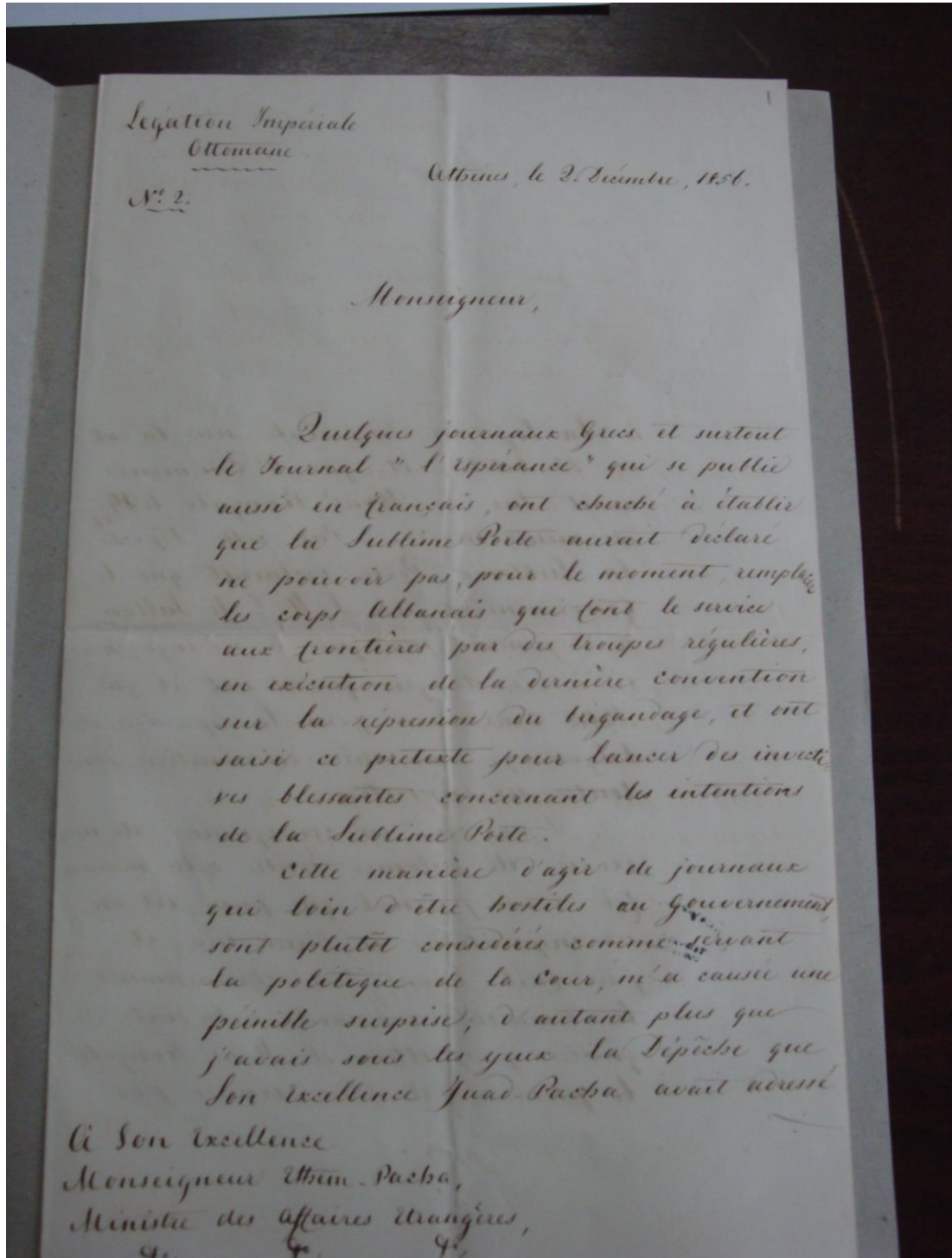
le très humble, très fidèle et très  
obéissant serviteur

Riza



APPENDIX B: A report as an Example for Persuasion Policies Concerning the  
Greek Newspaper *L'Esperance*

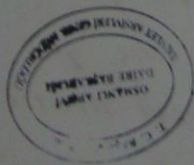
BOA, HR.TO., 2/76





à la Légation Impériale sous la date  
du 23. octobre, et que M. Coniminos  
avait lue à Mons.<sup>r</sup> Rangabé le 29<sup>u</sup>  
du même mois. Par cette dépêche  
la Sublime Porte déclarait que le  
gouvernement de S. M. T. le Sultan  
n'a jamais manqué à ses engagements  
vis-à-vis de qui que ce soit et que  
Notre convention pour la répression du  
brigandage sera mise en exécution dans  
toutes ses dispositions.

J'ai cru, en conséquence, de mon  
devoir de réclamer contre cette mauvaise  
foi d'un journal qui puise, dit-on,  
ses inspirations en haut lieu, et  
j'ai fait, avant hier, officiellement,  
les démarches nécessaires à la suite des  
quelles j'ai obtenu de Mons.<sup>r</sup> Rangabé  
la promesse de faire donner par





le "Revue des" organes officiels du  
gouvernement, qui paraît demain, le  
document que j'ai volé, sous le  
journal susmentionné.

J'ai le honneur d'être, Messieurs,  
avec le plus profond respect.

Je suis, Monsieur  
le Duc de Nemours et de Broglie  
votre  
très dévoué  
serviteur  
M. de Nemours



فانك انك معتبره ليه كذا وكذا...  
فانك انك معتبره ليه كذا وكذا...  
فانك انك معتبره ليه كذا وكذا...

يايه افكار ابديتلك ايجوه سازه دو باي نام غنة ملك مبري موسو رولا طرفه تكليف اوله صوت

مخاضك جوع كورنكده بجهل الجوع اجماعك...  
مخاضك جوع كورنكده بجهل الجوع اجماعك...  
مخاضك جوع كورنكده بجهل الجوع اجماعك...

موافق مامول برغمه حاصل اوتيني تقديره هره وقت مراد اولو ايه ترك اوله يملك شرطه جوع جليل

جوعك ايجوه مورالم موسو رولاه...  
جوعك ايجوه مورالم موسو رولاه...  
جوعك ايجوه مورالم موسو رولاه...

اوله بنده اعتبارا وادج ايله اوج ايه بنيا ناره فلفله اوزه بكمين بريك فانوه ففص قلمه اولفله

اشوبنك بارسه ابفا اوتني ايجوه دولت علم بانقسه اولر لازم...  
اشوبنك بارسه ابفا اوتني ايجوه دولت علم بانقسه اولر لازم...  
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طرفه ناره اولفله اوزه...  
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طرفه ناره اولفله اوزه...

فانقلوه بر كويل اعطا وتليم...  
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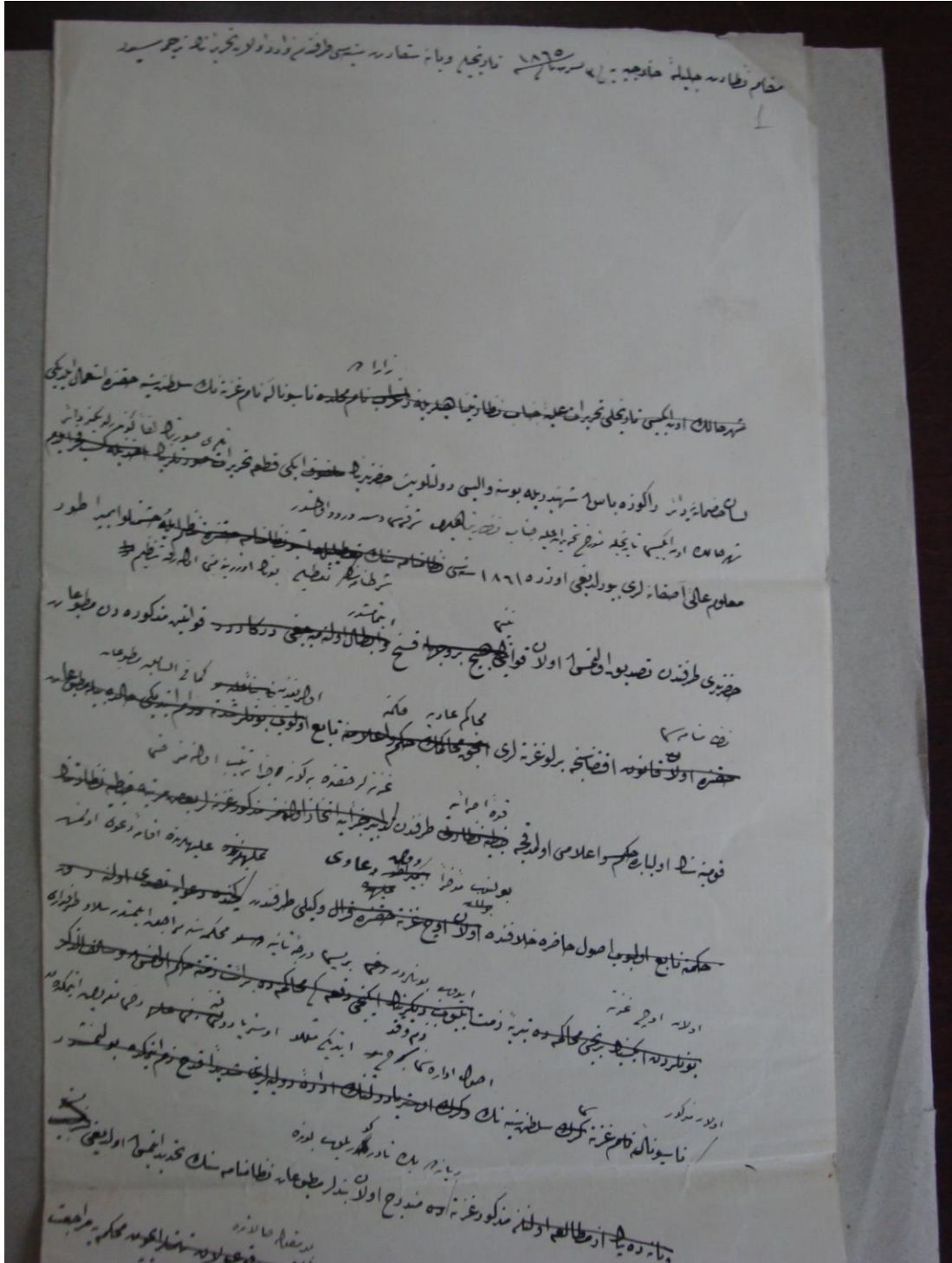
سجده لى متا در



APPENDIX D: A report as an Example for Legal Actions on the Initiative

Taken According to Consular Press Law

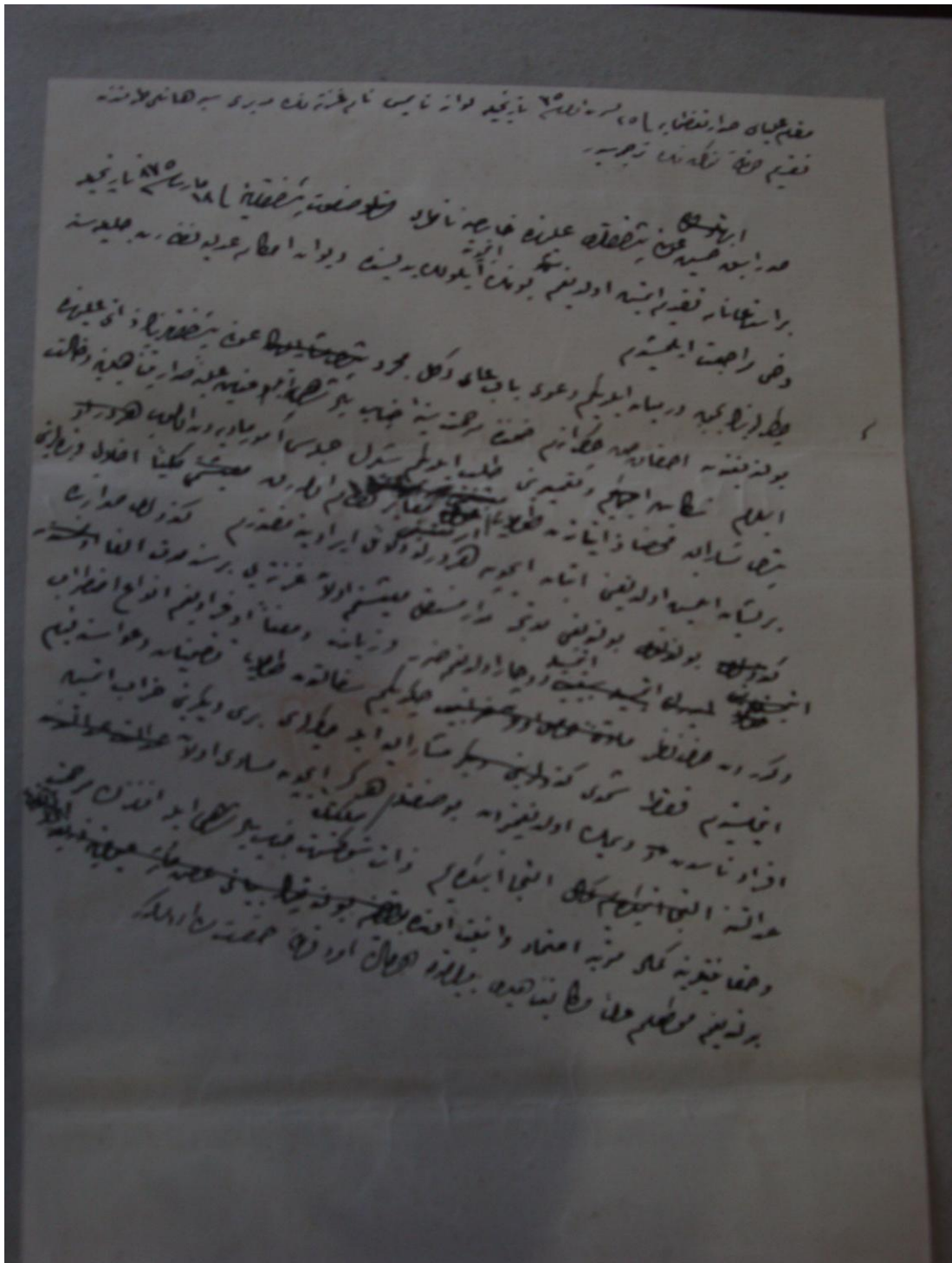
BOA, HR.TO., 105/60





APPENDIX E: A Report as an Example for Manipulation-Prevention Policies  
on the Cause of Laffan Hanly, the Director of *Levant Times & Shipping Gazette*,  
against Hussein Avni Pacha

BOA, HR.TO., 515/69







Constantinople, le 18/25 Octobre 1876.  
Son Altesse Mahmoud Neddim Pacha,  
Grand Vézir.

Monsieur,

A la date du 18 mars 1876, j'ai remis à S. E. Eléfant Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, une réclamation contre S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha laquelle avait déjà été présentée par moi le 7 Septembre précédent au Ministre de la Justice.

Je viens aujourd'hui mettre cette réclamation qui ne met aucunement en cause le gouvernement impérial, mais uniquement la personne de S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha, sous la sauvegarde de l'honneur de Votre Altesse et la haute protection de S. M. I. le Sultan, ne doutant pas que justice ne me soit rendue.

Les faits dont je me plains et pour lesquels je demande satisfaction sont matériels, j'en puis fournir toutes les preuves d'où il résulte que, pour des motifs exclusivement personnels, S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha m'a atteint grièvement, contrairement aux lois, dans mon existence même et a causé ma ruine.

Tant que S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha a été au pouvoir

gouvernement  
Avni Pacha, sous la sauvegarde de l'honneur de Votre  
Altesse et la haute protection de S. M. V. le Sultan, ne  
doutant pas que justice ne me soit rendue.

Les faits dont je me plains et pour lesquels je  
demande satisfaction sont matériels, j'en puis fournir  
toutes les preuves dont il résulte que, pour des motifs ex-  
clusivement personnels, S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha m'a traité  
grièvement, contrairement aux lois, dans mon existence  
même et a causé ma ruine.

Tant que S. A. Hussein Avni Pacha a été au pouvoir  
je me suis abstenue de poursuivre ma réclamation en  
réparation des dommages graves dont j'ai souffert par  
la suppression pendant un an, de l'industrie qui me  
fait seule vivre et la misère qui en est résultée, sans  
compter les douleurs morales qui ont encore aggravé cette  
cruelle situation.

Actuellement on ne peut plus douter qu'en justice  
ant je m'adresse simplement comme un particulier privé  
par un autre particulier duquel il veut obtenir réparation  
à la justice du pays, égale pour tous.

Sans une entière confiance en Votre Altesse et  
Son Auguste souverain, j'ose me dire, avec le plus  
profond respect

de Votre Altesse,

le très humble et très dévoué serviteur

Jaffar Hanly

Directeur-propriétaire du journal  
'Levant Times & Shipping Gazette.'



(Copie)

The Levant Times

Constantinople, le 18 mars 1875

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha,  
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères  
du gouvernement Impérial Ottoman

Excellence,

Je viens prier Votre Excellence de prendre acte de la réclamation suivante que j'ai déjà présentée le mois de Septembre passé à Son Excellence le ministre de la Justice et ensuite à Son Altesse le Président du Conseil d'Etat, mais que ces Ministres n'ont pas voulu accepter alléguant que l'affaire n'était pas de leur compétence:

Je, sousigné, J. Laffan Hanly,  
Directeur - propriétaire du journal le  
"Levant Times and Shipping Gazette" ai l'honneur de vous exposer ce qui suit:

Sous la date du 9 août, le Bureau de la Presse du gouvernement Impérial m'a communiqué le décret suivant:

Sublime Porte  
Ministère des Affaires Etrangères,

Le "Levant Times" dans son numéro du 1<sup>er</sup> août a publié un bulletin financier où il est question, entre autres, des agissements qui se seraient produits de la part d'un grand Etablissement financier dans un sens opposé aux intérêts du gouvernement impérial;

Attendu que ces assertions sont  
dénies

depuis de tout fondement;

Qui'en les mettant en avant, l'auteur  
ne peut avoir en vue que d'attacher  
gratuitement l'honorabilité de l'  
établissement en question;

Attendu que le gouvernement impérial  
ne saurait tolérer de tels écarts de  
langage pouvant porter atteinte à  
bien des intérêts;

Le journal le "Levant Times" est sup-  
primé à partir de ce jour.

Le drogman du Divan Impérial  
(signé) Munir.

Le 9 août 1874

Ce décret a été rendu par ordre spécial  
et direct de Son Altesse le Grand Vizir, Hussein  
Arni Pacha.

Attendu que la cause de la suppression  
du "Levant Times" invoquée dans le susdit  
décret ne repose sur aucune clause de l'  
arrêt du 12 mars 1867 concernant la loi  
sur la Presse, lequel précite et limite les cas  
où le gouvernement impérial se réserve  
d'agir par voie administrative et indépendan-  
ment de la loi sur la Presse, en vigueur  
et sauf par le pousseigné à faire valoir  
en sa faveur d'autres motifs légitimes en  
tun temps et lieu;

Attendu que Son Altesse Hussein  
Arni Pacha n'avait fait mettre en  
demeure de produire la lettre dont on  
extrait



2  
extrait publié dans le "Levant Times" contestait  
l'incrimination, et m'avait assuré que  
par mon exécution ma responsabilité serait  
dégagee;

Attenda que je me suis pleinement  
conformé à la condition susdite imposée par  
le Grand Vézir Hussein Aouï Pacha, et que,  
malgré cela, le Grand Vézir a fait supprimer  
mon journal;

Considérant cet acte du Grand Vézir  
Hussein Aouï Pacha comme un acte arbit-  
raire et illicite avec infraction à la  
bonne foi;

Je viens solennellement protester  
contre Son Altesse le Grand Vézir Hussein  
Aouï Pacha et contre le gouvernement  
impérial pour la dite suppression du  
"Levant Times";

Je demande et j'exige comme  
dommages etc, pour la susdite suppres-  
sion la somme de £10,000 (dix mille  
livres sterlings) jusqu'à ce jour - le 7  
Sept 1874 - plus tous les dommages  
qui suivront la présente date.

En priant Votre Excellence de  
donner suite à la présente réclamation

J'ai l'honneur d'être

de Votre Excellence

le plus humble serviteur

(signé) J. Laffan Hanly



APPENDIX F: Reports on the Decoration of Medals

BOA, HR.TO., 37/62

