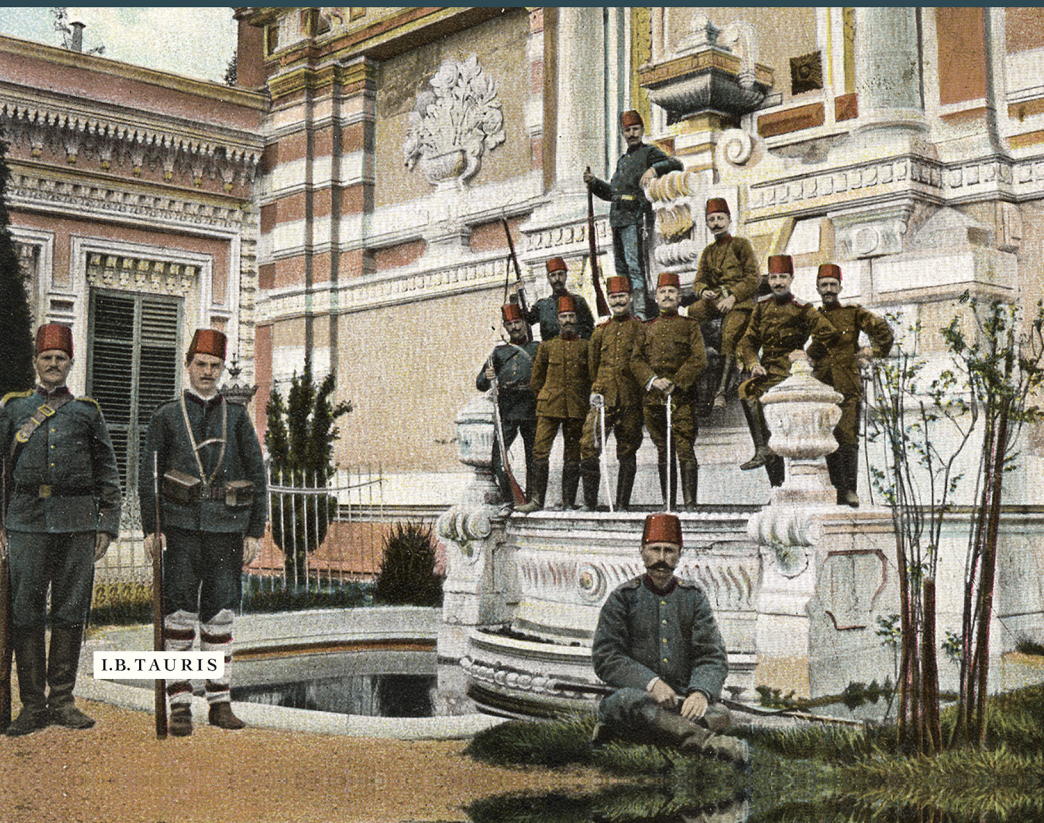
THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Aftermath of 1908

EDITED BY
NOÉMI LÉVY-AKSU AND
FRANÇOIS GEORGEON



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To the memory of Vangelis Kechriotis

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CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENERAL PARDON AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE REACTIONS IN THE PRISONS

Fatmagül Demirel[1]

Introduction

Much has been written about the way the people in the streets celebrated their freedom after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. The celebrations were followed up by the newspapers of the time, and attention was drawn to the differences among those called the heroes of the Constitutional Period. In the papers published in the Rumelian provinces these were the members of the Committee of Union and Progresss while in the Istanbul newspapers, naturally, it was Abdülhamid II who was the hero. In proclaimimg the new Constitution it was mentioned as though it was a gracious gift from the sultan. The *İkdam* newspaper kept Abdülhamid in the headlines for days. According to *İkdam* 'Thirty three years ago our generous sultan favoured us with the gift of freedom. If we had known or been able to understand its value we would have kept it.' Again according to *İkdam* the thousands of people gathered in front of Yıldız Palace wished to see him in order to give him their thanks. When the sultan appeared at the window, the people all shouted at the top of

their voices: 'Oh, our Sultan, for thirty three years, traitors have prevented you from showing us your face but, thanks to God, we now see you. Long live Our sultan!'[2] The Istanbul press made frequent mention of their gratitude to the sultan for having once more put into practice the new constitution called the Kanun-ı Esasi. Although it caused a great crisis and confusion as well as much bloodshed, this great change in the law, called in Ottoman 'padişahın marifeti' and advertised as an example to the statesmen of the world, was seen as being due to the ability of the sultan.[3]

In spite of the sultan being shown by the Istanbul press as the champion of liberty, during the first days of the Constitutional Period, demonstrations in the Rumelian provinces, in particular in the towns of Salonica and Monastir, showed the names they considered foremost to be members of the Committee of Union and Progress.[4] The Committee of Union and Progress was not happy that the sultan was seen as the hero of the Constitution. They thus distributed handbills in Istanbul on 27 July to explain that the Constitution was not the work of the sultan but of the Committee of Union and Progress. The next day the famous declaration[5] of the Committee of Union and Progress dated 28 July, 1908, beginning with the words, 'let everyone busy themselves heart and soul,' which brought the public to the foreground, was published in the Istanbul newspapers.[6] In the first weeks of the Constitution the name of the Committee was to be found only between the lines in the Istanbul newspapers. A short while later, on 1 August, the Committee began to publish itself in the *Tanin* newspaper which became its mouth piece in Istanbul. Naturally in *Tanin*, the Committe of Union and Progress and its work had pride of place. In the celebratory articles for the Constitution published in the newspapers of the time we can observe interesting interpretations and polemics. In brief, we know a lot about the views and perceptions of those outside but we know little about the points of view and perceptions of prisoners on the freedom brought by the Constitution. This work will take up the expectations of the Constitution on the part of those inside, 'those wronged by the authority of the State'.

Pardon for Political Prisoners after the Proclamation of the Second Constitution

The winds of liberty swept through the prisons, too, after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. The people who took to

the streets rejoicing in their liberty did not forget those in prison in voicing their expectations of the new regime. They were loud and vociferous in asking for all those convicted or detained to be released.[7] While the people were making this request, a telegram sent to the Palace by the Committee of Union and Progress demanded pardon for all political prisoners, runaways or exiles, at home or abroad, regardless of gender or creed.[8] The Committee declared in this telegram sent on 25 July, 1908, that if its demands were not met within 24 hours all groups of people as well as the Army would be forced to take action.[9] Newspapers and publications supported the public desire for prisoners to be released. *İkdam*, which had regarded the Constitution as a gracious gift of the sultan, gave its views of the pardon in these words:

> Kanun-ı Esasi has had the effect of bringing the dead back to life. Everyone was reborn through joy. The families of the wretched prisoners writhe with impatience. While some of the population go mad with joy, and give thanks to their beloved sultan, others of the Sultan's children in exile or in prison should not mourn. This general amnesty is to be a soothing medicine to salve the people's wounds.
>
> Reconciliation! What great consolation and generosity are expressed in that pure, sacred and noble word. Today we need you more than ever. We need to be reconciled with our government. Let parents be reconciled with their children, wives with their husbands, so that disfunctional families may be regenerated. Let us be reconciled and the darkness of the past be wiped out in the glorious light of freedom. Let us think of the future.[10]

The telegram sent to the Palace by the Committee of Union and Progress had asked for all political prisoners to be freed, but in spite of all public expectations no amnesty had yet been decided on in Istanbul. Prisoners in the Rumelian provinces were becoming restless. News that in the central province of Monastir all prisoners had been released was published in the Monastir newspaper Neyyir-i-Hakikat on 25 July, 1908.[11] Finally on 27 July, 1908 a general amnesty for all political prisoners was publicly declared.[12] *İkdam* newspaper wrote that this amnesty created great joy in Istanbul and, especially in localities where Armenian citizens lived, celebrations went on until morning.[13]

Tanin newspaper, the mouthpiece for the Unionists, looked at this amnesty from a different angle. They declared that this pardon had been misunderstood and explained their views thus:

> What is to be pardoned: the punishment.
> What is the punishment for: a crime
> What crime: is it a murderous crime to love one's country and one's nation, to be passionate for freedom, justice and friendship and to desire honour and freedom of conscience? For years these have been the reason for the most grievous punishments and torture. These are not crimes to be punished for and then have the punishment repealed. They are ones who have been oppressed.

Thus *Tanin* interpreted the amnesty as being the government's way of begging pardon from the people.[14]

Reaction in the Prisons to News of the General Amnesty for Political Prisoners

In spite of telegrams having been sent to the Rumelian provinces to announce the amnesty for political prisoners, this was not made known in provinces such as Anatolia, the Hejaz, Libya and Yemen. However, a large number of those exiled or condemned for political crimes were situated in those regions. Consequently, the protest made by thousands of people gathered in front of Babıâli in Istanbul ensured that telegrams were sent to these provinces informing them of the pardon for those condemned for political crimes.[15] At the end of July a spate of telegrams were sent from the Palace and Babıâli. Various questions concerning the prisons came from every province. The Inspector of the Rumelian provinces, Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, reported that it had been impossible to maintain public order and the prisoners there had been set free. The Inspector declared that the situation which had arisen required legitimization and those sentenced for petty crimes who had completed two-thirds of their punishmnent should be released. On 28 July, 1908, a pardon was issued setting free such prisoners in the Rumelian provinces.[16]

Well, how were these successive pardons viewed by the public and those in prison? With the amnesty decision for the political criminals, the prisoners felt joy and sadness at the same time. When those

expecting a general amnesty with the new regime learned that it was just for the political criminals, they showed disappointment by taking collective action and sending telegrams to the Palace.[17] In many prisons, those sentenced for petty crimes wished to be included in the amnesty and prevented the political prisoners from being released. One should mention first how the amnesty was received in the Public Prison and what the reaction of the prisoners was, and then what the situation was in prisons throughout the country. In spite of the declaration of an amnesty, it can be seen that, whether in Istanbul or in the country as a whole, there was uncertainty in the prisons and differences in the implementation of this decree.

In Ottoman prisons, no distinction was made between prisoners and whatever crime a person had committed, all shared the confusion of a common space. Consequently, the release of political prisoners was only accomplished with difficulty and, in fact, in some prisons internal uprisings prevented their release and in some armed conflict broke out. During the release of political prisoners from the common prisons in Istanbul, Baba Tahir (owner of *Malumat* newspaper), who was inside for forgery, with others holding guns gathered around these prisoners and rioted saying, 'Either you release us or we won't let these people go.'[18] This rebellious group with Baba Tahir as its head gained control of the prison and also took visitors to the prison as hostages. While this was going on inside the prison, a group of protesters gathered in Sultanahmet Square to announce in public that they did not want petty criminals to be released.[19] As a result, in Istanbul the release of political prisoners could not take place immediately. During the rebellion, one of the prisoners named Giridli Hüsnü efendi made a speech asking for the people's support, saying:

> Citizens and People,
>
> Three days ago liberty was proclaimed. For three days there has been public rejoicing. The emergency of liberty caused tears of joy and pleasure to pour from everyone's eyes. You on the outside are celebrating while we on the inside are suffering the torment of imprisonment. Is there no equality or shouldn't it be seen as a duty to think of setting us free? In the name of patriotism, in the name of freedom, in the name of honour, you must listen to our plea. Long live the Sultan, long live our nation![20]

During the rebellion, the convicts in the Public Prison in Istanbul sent a telegram to Sadrazam Said Paşa asking him to pardon them. It ran like this:

> The father of us all, our mercy-loving Sultan granted liberty through his gracious pleasure to all his subjects accused of political crimes. We, too, are their brothers and the sons of the same father. We also, unjustly sentenced to hard labour for many years, weeping night and day in our prison cell, did not neglect to pray for our sultan and we, his ignorant slaves, plead with tears for our sultan in his mercy to pardon us.[21]

The police commander at the Istanbul Common Prison did not have the courage to withstand those living there and informed the authorities at Babıali of the situation. The government was, in any case, already shocked and unable to deal with the excited people demonstrating in the streets.[22] The sultan did not wish a single drop of blood to be spilt in dealing with the rioters at the Common Prison and gave orders for the release of those prisoners who had completed two-thirds of their sentence and those convicted of petty crimes who had little time left to do.[23] But as this did not appease the prisoners the sultan wished to consult the Cabinet.[24] The members debated the situation in the prison and considered how to deal with the rebellion there. Some of these asserted that the rebellion should be put down with smokeless gunpowder and military strength.[25] Fearful of using force against the rebellion, in these anxious days when there were freedom riots in the streets, the decision was made to release all of the prisoners from the Istanbul Common Prison.[26] Subsequently on 30 July 1908, preparations began for the release of all these prisoners:[27] 962 men and 27 women were released from the Istanbul Common Prison. At the time this was being carried out, the imams, priests and rabbis promised to busy themselves finding work and support for the prisoners and officials from the Kanun-ı Esasi Office to do their duty by them. Then the prisoners were set free. However, those held in detention also wished to profit from this amnesty. The Chief of Police, Hamdi Paşa came to the detention centre and said he would convey their wishes to the Grand Vizier. But as they did not trust his words, the detainees broke down all the railings and doors of the detention centre and ran away. The Chief of Police, Hamdi

Paşa, was removed from his post as he had not been able to handle the release of the prisoners satisfactorily.[28] Istanbul was in a state of complete confusion. On the one hand celebrations for the Constitution were still going on; on the other, about a thousand released prisoners were roaming around everywhere. Although the *İkdam* newspaper had represented the proclaimed amnesty as the work of Abdülhamid II and the Constitution as his gift to the people, it brought attention to the fact that letting loose common prisoners into the streets raised questions about security.[29]

The appearance of this situation in Istanbul made the Committee members uneasy. They had wanted only political prisoners and exiles to be pardoned. In their opinion the letting loose of common criminals aimed at creating riots and belittling the Constitution.[30] Meanwhile the situation in Izmir was no different. The release of political prisoners could not be carried out since the officials could not enter the cells. A telegram from the province of Aydın arrived to say that if petty criminals who had carried out two-thirds of their sentence were released then the political prisoners could also be released. On 30 Temmuz, 1908, by decree of the sultan a pardon was promulgated for those petty criminals at the Izmir Common Prison who had completed two-thirds of their sentence.[31] The authorities were therefore forced to comply with this decree in order to be able to release the political prisoners. However, in the eyes of the Committee of Union and Progress this situation at the Izmir Prison was a reminder of the Bastille. Although the prison was supposed to hold 500 prisoners, at the time of the proclamation of the Constitution there were about 2,000 inmates. The number of prisoners who had died of illness there were more than enough to fill a whole cemetery. The Izmir newspapers reported that the prison building was to be demolished and a public garden was to be made in its place and a monument to liberty put in the centre.[32]

On looking at the Empire as a whole an inequality can be seen in the amnesty. First the political prisoners were pardoned and then, in the Rumelian provinces, petty criminals who had completed two-thirds of their sentence were set free. In Istanbul all prisoners were released. When the order to release the political prisoners reached the country areas telegrams started to arrive at the Office of the Chief Justice. Delay in implementing the release was experienced. There were questions as to who were to be released as political prisoners. Could those in prison for

petty crimes benefit from this amnesty?[33] From the province of Diyarbakir, for example, a telegram arrived asking about those who had joined forces with the Bulgarian rebels to destroy the telephone lines and who had received weapons from them, and were said to have been convicted through forged documents. Were these people to be released or not? In addition, what was to happen to those accused of political crimes whose trial had not been completed?[34] Different questions came from each province. Uncertainty about how the prisoner release was to be processed went on for a considerable time. Some previous pardons had taken place on the sultan's accession to the throne, on birthday celebrations and religious festivals and nights. Amnesty on these special occasions had included prisoners who had completed two-thirds of their sentences. However, those guilty of rape, assassination or political crimes had been unable to benefit from these pardons.[35] The implementation of the amnesty had been carried out with ceremony. The prisoners to be released were brought to the place of government and after listening to an advisory speech gained their freedom after praying for the sultan's health and repeating three times the words, 'Long live the Sultan.'[36] How was the amnesty on the occasion of the Constitution to be carried out? Clearly neither the government nor the prisons was ready for such a pardon.

Conditional Pardon for those Convicted of Petty Crime

When the news that all the prisoners in Istanbul had been released reached the other prisons in the country it created absolute chaos. In many prisons petty criminals rebelled saying they should be pardoned, too. In Kastamonu, for example, the prisoners first rioted and after breaking the cell doors and then the main door of the prison rushed outside. A cordon of gendarmes was made around the prison and shots fired over the heads of the prisoners to make them go back inside. Three or four of the prisoners returning in fear of their lives were killed and ten seriously wounded. After the prisoners had been forced inside the religious authority (*müftü*) entered and gave a warning speech.[37] In Rhodes prison, on hearing that 70 Bulgarians were to be set free, 280 petty criminals rioted saying that if they were not set free they would kill the Bulgarians.[38] In Konya Central Prison more than 1,000 prisoners broke down the doors attempting to escape from prison and

ten people were wounded and two died in the ensuing struggle. Similar incidents happened in many other prisons. The prisons were with difficulty brought under control by the local military forces and public order restored. The government considered that the release of petty criminals would lead to a general uprising and it might be necessary to increase the military presence in the prisons. But when news of the release of petty criminals as well as political prisoners in the Rumelian provinces and also in Istanbul reached the other provinces tension in the local prisons heightened.[39] Riots, escapes and armed clashes showed their effect in the local provincial prisons.[40] The Ministry of the Interior wrote to the Grand Vizier saying that, if order could not be restored in the prisons and the people quieted, emergency measures would be necessary. The solution, it seemed, was to release petty criminals who had served two-thirds of their time. This was to be discussed by the Cabinet (Meclisi Vükela).[41] Finally, on 13 August 1908, a pardon was pronounced for all those petty criminals who had served two-thirds of their sentence.[42]

After this pronouncement, the prisons became almost empty but those left behind were hoping for a pardon. For once, the concept of an amnesty had entered the prisons. Even after those pardoned had been released, unrest continued in the prisons. This time the prisoners who had not benefited from the second amnesty of 13 August 1908 began to agitate for a pardon. In fact, that this second amnesty had not been implemented everywhere could be understood by the complaints coming from the provincial prisons. Some of the prisoners, although included in the amnesty, had not been set free.[43] In September news of riots breaking out at many of the prisons reached Istanbul. In Sivas prison 600 convicts broke down the cell doors and tried to escape. In the subsequent clashes nine prisoners died and one person was injured. The convicts were with difficulty pushed back into their cells by the gendarmes.[44] Three hundred prisoners in Çorum prison rioted and tried to escape and, after an armed struggle lasting two hours, seven convicts lay dead. Military intervention prevented the convicts from escaping.[45]

On 13 August 1908 a telegram was sent to the Palace and Babıâli by those convicts who were excluded from the amnesty. This telegram is an important piece of evidence of both the morale of the convicts and of the conditions within prison. In Kastamonu prison, for instance, a telegram from the excluded convicts containing the words, 'one hour of justice is

worth seventy years of worship', is a good summary of what kind of justice the convicts expected of the system. The convicts considered they were victims of despotism and, if it was not possible for them to be pardoned, they wanted at least the right to a re-trial. The telegram, written in quite an emotional tone, contains the words 'we cannot stop our eyes from weeping, we moan in our prison cells; are we not also children of this country who desire to fight hand to hand with the enemy standing shoulder to shoulder against them?' which show the desperate state of the morale of those inside.[46] In the province of Manastır a telegram sent on 25 March, 1909 from the governor's office to the authorities there reported that a great meeting of the local townspeople had been held. At the meeting it was declared the families of those in prison were in a pitiful state and requested that the prisoners be freed.[47]

Conclusion

The first year of the Second Constitution passed with rioting in the prisons and escapes on their request for a pardon. The political authorities had difficulty in maintaining control over the prisons. Moreover the decree of 13 August 1908 to free all petty prisoners who had completed two-thirds of their sentence brought great discomfort to the general public. Demonstrations against the pardon began in Istanbul and the country as a whole. An attempt by the prisoners in Afyon Karahisar to escape and the subsequent conflict brought a reaction from the townspeople. They gathered in the town square and demanded that those who began the conflict should be hanged as an example.[48] After releasing the petty criminals, the incidents of fraud, thievery, robbery and so on reached at the highest point both in Istanbul and in the provinces.[49] After the proclamation of a Constitution the increase in the population of Istanbul and unemployment of those prisoners and exiles who returned there caused serious problems for the authorities. In his history, the last annalist Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, reports that 15,000 vagabonds were to be found in Istanbul.[50] Consequently one of the first subjects to be debated after the opening of Parliament was the problem of general unrest throughout the country. The reason given for this was the prisoners who had been freed or escaped after the proclamation of the Constitution.[51] The debate between the members of Parliament on this question included some radical suggestions as solutions. For example,

the Ankara MP Hacı Mustafa Efendi demanded that several people from each province should be hanged as a warning.[52] After protracted debate the first action taken against the uprising was the promulgation of the law 'Serseriler ve Mazanne-i Su' Eşhâs' on 10 May 1909.[53]

No recourse was found to the uprisings and escapes of the prisoners in the first year of the Constitution. On account of prisoners escaping the prisons were almost emptied. In fact, a document sent from the central government to the Rumelian provinces requests that, since on account of this there were few prisoners remaining, the prison budgets should be allocated with this in mind.[54] A new pardon for runaways and those prisoners still waiting for a pardon was put before Parliament on 18 August 1909. At this assembly it was explained that it would be too difficult to round up and bring back the 15,000 petty prisoners who had escaped and therefore it was incumbent on the Minister for Justice to accede to this law.[55] At the end of the Assembly, the pardon was legalized and promulgated on 22 August 1909, as follows: '10 Temmuz 1324 (23 Temmuz 1908) tarihinden evvel irtikâb edilmiş olan ceraim-i âdiye mahkûmin ve maznunin haklarında kanun.'[56] The law stated that those criminals, exiles or runaways, those convicted of murder and other serious crimes before this law was passed and before the proclamation of the Constitution were not to be prosecuted under the existing laws. If those included under the terms of this amnesty committed a crime within the following six years they would be prosecuted for the former crime as well and punishment would be given accordingly.[57] At the end of the first year of the Constitution prisoners who were victims of despotism were set free. It was as if the prisons were to be emptied in order to make room for those convicted under the new regime. Within a short time the prisons began to be as full as they had been previously.[58]

Notes

1. Prof. Dr Yıldız Technical University, fgldemirel@gmail.com.
2. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5091, 28 Temmuz 1908. For more details on the proclamation of the Second Constitutional era and its afterwards, please see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, '1908 Yılında II. Meşrutiyet'in Ne Suretle İlan Edildiğine Dair Vesikalar' *Belleten* 78 (1956), pp. 103–73.
3. Oya Dağlar, 'II. Meşrutiyet'in İlanının İstanbul Basınındaki Yansımaları', İ.Ü. *Politicial Science Faculty Journal*, 38 (March 2008), p. 144. To follow the daily

progress of the Meşrutiyet celebrations, see *II. Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yılı* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008).

4. Kenan Olgun, *1908–1912 Osmanlı Meclis-i Mebusan'ın Faaliyetleri ve Demokrasi Tarihimizdeki Yeri* (Ankara: Atatürk Research Centre, 2008), p. 44.
5. Kâzım Karabekir, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), p. 207.
6. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5091, 28 July 1908, *Sabah*, no. 6767, 28 July 1908.
7. *Tahsin Paşa'nın Yıldız Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Press, 1990), p. 382.
8. Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, hereafter BOA) Y.PRK.AZJ., no. 54/36.
9. BOA.YA.HUS, no. 523/173.
10. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5090, 27 July 1908.
11. *Neyyir-i Hakikat Newspaper*, no. 10, 25 July 1908.
12. *Sabah Newspaper*, no. 6767, 28 July 1908. Düstur, II. Tertip, vol. 1 (Dersaadet, 1329), pp. 5–6. The article by Taner Aslan, titled 'II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Genel Af Uygulamaları' *Akademik Bakış* 5 (2009), interprets the amnesty given to political prisoners as a general pardon for all prisoners. In documents in the Ottoman Archives the amnesty for political prisoners is described as '*siyasi mücrimin hakkında afv-ı umumi*' which pardoned first of all political prisoners and then two-thirds of all those condemned for petty crimes. In his article Taner Aslan makes no distinction between these and perceives the pardon for political prisoners to include all those in prison. An examination of the documents used shows that many of them contradict each other and, in fact, in writing his article, summaries of documents have been used rather than the documents themselves. For example, he uses reference to document BOA, Y.PRKA, no. 15/13 to show that *the Sultan* accepted the decision as a pardon for political prisoners. However, on examining the document it turned out to be a telegram sent by Ali Haydar Mithat to Sadrazam Said Paşa.
13. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5093, 30 July 1908.
14. *Tanin Newspaper*, no. 1, 1 August 1908.
15. Süleyman Tevfik, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Elli Yıllık Hatıralarım*, ed. Tahsin Yıldırım Şaban Özdemir (Istanbul Dün Bugün Publications, 2011), pp. 241–2.
16. Düstur, II. Tertip, vol. I (Dersaadet, 1329), p. 7.
17. BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ., no. 54/43.
18. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1949), p. 4.
19. *Sabah Newspaper*, no. 6769, 30 July 1908, *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5095, 1 August, 1908.
20. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5091, 28 July 1908.
21. BOA, ZB no. 47/18.
22. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, ibid., p. 5.
23. BOA, İrade Hususi, no. 168/77.
24. BOA, İrade Hususi, no. 168/78.

25. Mehmed Memduh, *Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete*, prepared by Ahmet Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1995), pp. 130–1.
26. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, ibid., p. 5.
27. *Sabah Newspaper*, no. 6770, 31 July 1908.
28. *İkdam Newspaper*, no. 5094, 31 July 1908.
29. Ibid.
30. İlay İleri, 'Batı Gözüyle Meşrutiyet Kutlamaları ve Genel Af', *OTAM* 17 (2005), pp. 7–8.
31. BOA, İ.AZN., no. 80/1, BOA., BEO., no. 3369/252602.
32. *İttihat ve Terakki Newspaper*, no. 6, 18 August 1908.
33. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1272/82.
34. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1274/68.
35. Fatmagül Demirel, 'Osmanlı Padişahlarının Doğum Günü Kutlamalarına Bir Örnek', *İlmi Araştırmalar* 11(2001), p. 70. See further: Fatmagül Demirel, 'Osmanlı Adliye Teşkilatında Yaşanan Sorunların Hapishanelere Yansıması (1876–1909)' in Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (eds), *Osmanlı'da Asayiş Suç ve Ceza* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007) pp. 190–9.
36. *Kastamonu Vilayet Newspaper*, no. 784, *Kastamonu Vilayet Newspaper*, no. 1636.
37. Ziyaeddin Demircioğlu, *Kastamonu'da Meşrutiyet Nasıl İlan Olundu* (Kastamonu: Doğrusöz Matbaası, 1961), pp. 16–17.
38. Düstur, II. Tertip, vol. 1 (Dersaadet, 1329), pp. 40–1.
39. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1274/30.
40. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 2613/121.
41. BOA, İ. AZN, no. 80/4.
42. BOA, İ. AZN, no. 80/5, Düstur, II. Tertip vol. 1, p. 44, *Tanin Newspaper*, no. 14, 15 August, 1908.
43. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 2774/33, BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1300/78, BOA., DH. MKT, no. 1285/39.
44. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1272/2.
45. BOA, DH.MKT, no. 1299/52.
46. BOA, DHMKT, no. 2714/61. See further: Fatmagül Demirel, *'Kastamonu Hapishanesi' Üsküdar'a Kadar Kastamonu* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), pp. 299–305.
47. BOA, DHMKT, no. 1302/1.
48. Kudret Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999), p. 149.
49. Faruk Ilıkan, 'II. Meşrutiyet'de Serseri ve Mazanne-i Sû' Eşhâs Hakkında Nizamname' *Tarih ve Toplum* 108 (1992), p. 49.
50. *Son Vak'anüvis Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Bayram Kodaman and Mehmet Ali Ünal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), p. 17.
51. Kenan Olgun, ibid., p. 249.
52. Faruk Ilıkan, ibid., p. 49.
53. Düstur, II. Tertip, vol. 1 (Dersaadet, 1329), pp. 169–73. For details of the Serseriler Kanunu, see Kenan Olgun, ibid., pp. 247–64. Faruk Ilıkan, ibid.,

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