

ATATÜRK KÜLTÜR, DİL VE TARİH YÜKSEK KURUMU
T Ü R K T A R İ H K U R U M U Y A Y I N L A R I
XXVI. Dizi—Sa. 4

V. MİLLETLERARASI TÜRKİYE
SOSYAL VE İKTİSAT
TARİHİ KONGRESİ
TEBLİĞLER

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
TÜRKİYAT ARAŞTIRMA VE UYGULAMA MERKEZİ

İstanbul 21-25 Ağustos 1989

T Ü R K T A R İ H K U R U M U B A S I M E V İ , A N K A R A — 1 9 9 0

THE CRETAN MUSLIMS AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR OTTOMANISM: SOME EVIDENCE FROM THE PERIODICAL PRESS (SADA-YI GIRID, ISTIKBAL)

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Since the Exchange of Minorities after the Treaty of Lausanne the ethnic composition of Greece and Turkey has radically changed. Parts of these countries' populations who had been settled there for centuries were compelled to abandon their homes in order to rejoin a country which was theirs only in the religious and may be cultural sense of the word. While there exists a huge amount of literature on the Asia Minor homeland of these Greek refugees, very little information is available about the Muslim communities i.e. of Thessaly, Epirus and Crete in the late Ottoman and post-Ottoman period.

In this paper, we shall deal with the Cretan Muslims¹. Definitely, they had to leave their island after 1923. This exodus, however, is to be considered only as the last phase of an emigration which had begun much earlier. There is probably no Muslim community of the Ottoman Empire, whose struggle for survival was as painful as that of the Cretan Muslims.

This is mainly due to the fact that the case of Crete was in many respects an extraordinary one.

The island of Crete was, up to the end of the Balkan wars, "Ottoman" only in terms of international law. Physically, the Ottoman presence had ended already in 1898, when the last Turkish troops (10.800 men on the whole island) evacuated Crete; with the exception of the islet in Suda bay, over which the Turkish flag waved until the end of the Balkan war. While in mainland Greece most of the Muslim communities who resisted emigration resigned after the union with Greece and adapted themselves to their new environment, the Cretan Muslims had no similar choice. Since their Christian countrymen appealed constantly for union with Greece and tried to reject by all means any traces of Ottoman suzerainty, one of their main goals was to chase all their Muslim countrymen from the island in order to prevent any possibility of a renewal of Ottoman rule.

¹ For the essential literature on the Cretan question and the Cretan Muslims see: Alexandre Popovic: *L'Islam balkanique. Les musulmans du sud-est européen dans la période post-ottomane*, Berlin 1986, p. 124.

² See "Die k.u.k. Streitkräfte auf und vor Kreta 1897/98", Vienna 1901, p. 158.

The overwhelming majority of the Greek-orthodox population, who never accepted the new autonomous status which European diplomats had provided after the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 for the island, was trying therefore constantly to create a *fait accompli*, that meant, Union with Greece. Several times such attempts were made and failed only because of the intervention of the Powers. The Muslim population was during this time in the most precarious situation. After the uprising of 1897/98 the rural Muslim population had abandoned the country-side and was concentrated in a few towns like Candia, Rethymne (Resmo), Hierapetra and Canea (Hanya). According to an Austrian eye-witness, during the uprising of 1897 the Muslim population of Canea had risen temporarily from 9500 to 20.000, while only 100 Orthodox had remained from a group of 3500². The kazas of Sitia (İstiye) and Sarakina had lost the whole, Fort Kisamo half of their Muslim population. Any attempt on the part of a Muslim land-owner to regain his ancient possessions at the country-side was potentially fatal.

The city of Canea was of singular importance: First of all, Canea was the common seat for all the four powers (British, Russian, French and Italian) and the seat of the High Commissioner. On the other hand, Canea was a sort of cultural center for the Christian Cretans as well as for the Muslim minority. It was a town with conspicuous Islamic character. Most of the mahalles bore Turkish names, although de-ottomanization had shown here already its effects³. Among the 12 mosques⁴ the Hünkâr Camii was by far the most important. There was also a Mevlevi- and a Kadiri-Tekke and -a printing press! There were different schools, a *rüşdiye* and an *idadiye*, but not one single Muslim doctor in 1908.

It was in Canea that a certain Yüzbaşızade Lutfi began to publish in 1907 a weekly newspaper which he called "SADA-YI GİRİD", "The Voice of Crete". We do not know very much about his person. From some articles one can conclude, that he was the son of an Ottoman government official, *yüzbaşı* İbrahim Bey, and that he had spent eight years in Rumeli in charge of different functions of Ottoman public service. Most of the articles are written by him. Another important contributor was Tahmiscizade (or Tahmiscaki) Mehmed Mâcid, a nephew of the savant Patinakizade Mehmed Atif Efendi⁵, who was also a Muslim deputy of the Cretan Assembly. Mehmed Mâcid's "Girid hatıraları", containing a lot of his articles in Istanbul newspapers, belong to the rare narratives of an "insider"⁶.

³ Nr. 145-10. Mayıs 1327/1911 "Teşebbüsât-ı cedidé".

⁴ Hüseyin Kâmi Hanyevi, *Girid Tarihi* I, p. 51 (see also note 24).

⁵ Author of a world history: *Hulasatü'l-tevarih*, 2 vols., Ist. 1289/1872.

⁶ Tahmisci-zâde Mehmed Mâcid: *Girid Hatıraları*, ed. by. İsmet Miroğlu and İlhan Şahin, Istanbul 1977.

The Ottoman Press in Crete

The SADA-YI GİRİD was not the first Ottoman Periodical of Crete. As stated by Orhan Koloğlu⁷, up to 1880 the Muslim Press of Crete had apredominantly official character. GİRİD/KRITI, the *Vilayet gazetesi* appearing from 1868 to 1897 was at that time the only Ottoman periodical in Crete, which was printed also in the Greek language. In the eighties were published several other periodicals in Canea, such as the following:

İNTİBAH, published by Ali Bey and VİCDAN (Bıçakçızade Ahmed Arif) whose attitude towards the government seems to have been somewhat more critical. The same is true of another paper published by Bıçakçızade Ahmed Efendi, HAKİKAT⁸ and Abdülhalim Şükri's MİR'AT-ı GİRİD:

Our information about the period after the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops in 1898 is extremely scarce, but it seems that there was no Ottoman periodical left in 1907. Thanks to information available from SADA-YI GİRİD and İSTİKBAL, we are now able to add some corrections and quite a lot of additions.

1. SADA-YI GİRİD — The hitherto unknown SADA-YI GİRİD, published by Yüzbaşızade Lutfi, which appeared during one year (first issue 26th June 1907) marks a new starting-point in the history of the Muslim Press in Crete.

2. ÜMİD I — Shortly afterwards, a second periodical began to appear in Canea, the lithographically printed ÜMİD, published by Kalyoncuzde Hüseyin Aziz⁹. The relations between SADA-YI GİRİD and ÜMİD were apparently not very good. Apart from some highly obscure polemics, this periodical is only very rarely quoted.

3. "MEDAYİH-İ HAMİDİYE" — A completely fictitious periodical was the "MEDAYİH-İ HAMİDİYE" which is very often quoted in the literature on the Cretan press. This error is simply due to a misunderstanding of an anonymous author of the "Revue du Monde Musulman"¹⁰.

4. İSTİKBAL — İSTİKBAL was the immediate successor of SAFA-YI GİRİD and began its first appearance in 5 Haziran 1324/1908. Since the print-

⁷ "Girit'te Türkçe Basın", in: *Tarih ve Toplum* 48 (1987), p. 9-12.

⁸ HAKİKAT is mentioned in İSTİKBAL Nr. 32 - 15 Kanunusani 1909: "Vesaik-i resmiye".

⁹ SADA-YI GİRİD Nr. 9 - 21. Haziran 1325/1907: "Matbuat-i cedide": "Hanya şehrinde ÜMİD serlevhası altundan taşbasmasıyle bir ceride-i Türkiyenin mevki-i intişara konulduğunu gördük. Müdür-i mesuliyle muharrirlerini tebrik ve ceridelerinin devam-ı intişarını ve ragbet-i umumiye mazhar olmasını temenni ederiz".

¹⁰ RMM 7 (1909), p. 359-369: *Journaux musulmans de Crète* (cf. Popovic p. 133, Koloğlu, p. 12). The notice in İSTİKBAL Nr. 110 - 10 Ağustos 1326/1908 p. 3 to which the author refers, says: "Matbaamıza medayih-i hamidiyeyi şâmil rumiyülibare bir varaka geldi. Sahib-i varaka eski bir dostumuzdur. Namuslu bir hristiyandır. Fakat âlem-i medeniyete kan ağlatmış, milletini yatırmış bir sultan-ı haini gazetemiz medh edemez".

ing press of the Muslim community of Canea had become unusable, the community purchased another one from Candia. The new name of the paper was deliberately chosen by Yüzbaşızade Lutfi firstly, because "every human community should be more concerned about its future than about the present state." secondly as a homage to the liberal Ali Şefkatî (d. 1896) who had published a newspaper with the same name in emigration¹¹. In an article called "Mekteb hatırası" Lutfi gives a vivid account of how he had come into contact with Ali Şefkatî notwithstanding the suspiciousness of Abdülhamid's *hafiyes*¹².

In 1915, İSTİKBAL was the only Ottoman newspaper left on the Island¹³.

5. VATAN — In March 1908, there appeared still another Ottoman "velocigraphic" periodical, the 'monthly VATAN, published by a young man in Candia, whose name is not known to us¹⁴.

6. ÜMİD II — In June 1908 İSTİKBAL annouced, that the above mentioned Kalyoncuzade Aziz Efendi planed also to publish an Ottoman weekly in Greek, which was also to be named ÜMİD¹⁵.

7. KRAVGE (Figan) — At the time of the Balkan Wars there were also two pro-Ottoman Papers in Greek, KRAVGE — FİGAN and IKHO, published by Cafadzade İbrahim Zeki from Canea¹⁶.

8. MÜDAFAA — In 1911 there appeared another paper in Rethymne, called MÜDAFAA published by Kuyumcuzade Hasan Şükri Bey which is not mentioned in the literature (although there exists one xerox copy in the National Library in Ankara¹⁷). Because of its harsh criticisms, MÜDAFAA seems to have played a rather unhappy role for the Muslim community.

¹¹ İSTİKBAL, Naples, Genoa, London (1879-1881). See İSTİKBAL (Creye) Nr. 11 - 14 Ağustos 1324/1908: "İstikbal": "Biz dahi merhumun nam-i mübareklerini tâzimen ve tezkiren gazetemizi İSTİKBAL tesmiye ettik".

¹² İSTİKBAL Nr. 14 - 4 Eylül 1323/1908.

¹³ İSTİKBAL Nr. 296 - 1. Teşrin-i sani 1331/1915, p. 3: "Hanya şehrinde 3 yevmî Rum gazetesi intişar ediyor ve masraflarını bol bol çıkanyor. Bütün adada İslamiyet ile osmanlılığı temsil eden İSTİKBAL ceride-i usbuiye-i osmaniyesi hezar zahmet ve mahrumiyet ile intişar ediyor. Ne isé".

¹⁴ SADA-YI GİRİD Nr. 45 - 13 Mart 1323/1908: "Matbuat-ı cedide": "Kandiye şehrinde ve losigrafla ve VATAN unvanıyla ceride-i şehriye-i osmaniye, mevki-i intişara konuldu. Genç muharir ve müessisini tebrik ve hüsn-i muvaffakiyetini eltaf-ı subhaniyeden niyaz ederiz..."

¹⁵ Nr. 4 - 26 Haziran 1324/1908, "Yeni gazetê": "Hanya'da çıkan ÜMİD gazetesi müdiri Kalyoncuzade Aziz Efendi tarafından Rumca ve ÜMİD unvanı altında bir haftalık gazete çıkarcığını istima eyledik. Kendisini tebrik ve hüsn-i terakkilerini eltaf-ı subhaniyeden niyaz ederiz".

¹⁶ We owe these informations to the kindness of Michael Ursinus (Birmingham) who will deal with this topic in a forthcoming article.

See also the letter of Cafadzade in SADA-YI GİRİD 20 - 6 Eylül 1323 "Mebusan-ı kiramımızı za bir reca-yı mahsus".

¹⁷ See: *Eski Harfli Türkçe Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu* 1., Ankara 1987, Nr. 1400.

MÜDAFAA is quoted several times in İSTİKBAL, where Yüzbaşızade Lutfi who does not doubt a single moment of the editor's patriotism and sincerity, tries his best to alleviate the dissensions provoked by some articles¹⁸ published there.

When Yüzbaşızade Lutfi began to publish his newspaper, the Cretan Muslims lived a crucial phase of their existence. In 1906, Prince George of Greece had resigned the High Commissionership which he had held during almost eight years. As a governor, he had tried from the beginning of his rule to be the Prince of all Cretans, Muslims and Christians alike. His visit to the Hünkâr Camii was a remarkable act in this respect. During his administration, the Cretan Muslims recovered from their losses in 1898 and went back to the kazas. The SADA-YI GİRİD states that for a certain period, there reigned on the island even "perfect order and security"¹⁹.

Prince George's resignation was mainly due to the effects of the uprising at Therisso, where his formidable opponent Eleftherios Venizelos, himself a native of Mournies behind Canea, had established a provisional National Assembly in 1905. Although they were not immediately concerned, this uprising had once more very serious consequences for the Cretan Muslims. As Ahmet Cevat Emre states in his Memories²⁰, "following the traditions of former uprisings", Muslims who had remained in their villages were chased from their homes and their property was pillaged. Once more, the Muslims living in the kazas were compelled to seek refuge in the cities, or in the çiftlik of the Beys and Agas in the vicinity (*topaltı*). Even there, they were constantly threatened of being victims to aggressions by their Christian countrymen.

This situation had changed slightly after the nomination of Alexander Zaimis as High Commissioner who was a moderate and serious politician. Emigration was a serious problem and much more for the Muslim population. While Christian Cretan emigrants in the United States (about 15 000 in 1910) sent a lot of money to their homeland in order to buy the property of their Muslim countrymen, Muslim emigrants were definitely lost. According to İSTİKBAL, 90 percent of Muslim emigrants, who had sold their property at very low prices, got ruined.

The first issue of SADA-YI GİRİD which is called "ilmî ve siyâsî bir gazete", serving the interests of İslam ("menafî-i islamiye hizmet eder") contains an editorial of Mehmed Mâcid which stresses the importance of the periodical press: "...Dünyadaki bilcümle cemiyât-ı mütemeddinede gazetecilik sanatı vesait ve esbab-ı terakkinin en mühimmi nazariyle bakılmaktadır." The writer evokes

¹⁸ See İSTİKBAL Nrs. 123, 32, 135, 140, 146.

¹⁹ "Asayiş-i tâmm" (ibid.)

²⁰ In: *İki Neslin Tarihi*, İstanbul 1960, p. 90.

the example of the flourishing Muslim press in the Russian Empire: "... Rusya'daki ihvan-ı dinimiz matbuat yolunda büyük bir terakki göstermiş ve gösteriyor. Terakki yolunu tutmağa, teali ve tekâmülün en büyük, en mühim sebebi ancak tahsil-i ilm u marifetden olduğu anlamağa başlamış olan o dindaşlarımız âlem-i İslamiyet için medar-i iftihar olacak derecede ibraz etdikleri fedakârlıklar sayesinde her gün yeni bir gazete, yeni bir risale-i edebiye, yeni bir mecmua-i siyasiye neşr ediyorlar, mütenevvi cemiyât-ı ilmiye ve siyasiye teşekkül ediyorlar, mevcudiyet-i milliyelerini âleme göstermeğe başlamış bulunuyorlar."

The same is true for the Muslim press in Egypt. The Greeks make great sacrifices for their national interests. They are influencing the parliaments of Europe, acquire newspapers in Europe etc. The Bulgarians paid recently 20 000 Francs to an European metropolitan newspaper for using one single word! The writer comments: "İşte vatan muhabbeti böyledir, bu vechile isbat edilir. Yoksa, "Ah, vatan batıyor, millet mahv oluyor" diyerek ötede beride ağlamaktan hiç, hiç bir faide istihsal edilemez."

SADA-YI GİRİD and its continuation were provincial newspapers but as far as their contents are concerned, they were not provincial at all. Researchers may even regret that they do not tell us very much about the folklore and the internal life of the community, and in the same way did complain also some readers²¹. The reaction, however, was clear: The newspaper's aim was not to report coffeehouse gossip (*kahvehane havadisı*) but to serve the national cause. There is no novel, there are very few advertisements and even cultural and scientific articles, dear to the press of the Hamidian period, are rather rare to be found in the four pages of this weekly newspaper.

Like most of the remaining newspapers mentioned above, SADA-YI GİRİD and İSTİKLAL were published in Turkish, too. In very rare instances, one can find shorter notes in Greek or — if directed to the representatives of the Powers — in French. This seems to be strange at first glance.

Although the ethnic origins of the Cretan Muslims were much more diverse than that of the orthodox population²², the mother-tongue of the Cretan Muslims was the same as that of their Christian countrymen: the Cretan dialect of Greek. Illiteracy was still wide-spread and the educated read the Greek newspaper of Athens or the local press which was remarkable in number even in a small town like Canea. It is therefore hard to understand who should be able to read Turkish newspapers under these circumstances. There was however, a local élite trained in the high schools established after 1878, who knew

²¹ 28 Haziran 1323/1907, p. 2: "Ceridemize 'havadis yazılmıyor' diye ba'z-ı zevat-ı kiram tarafından şikâyet ediliyormuş..."

²² See: Felix von Luschan: Beitrage zur Anthropologie von Kreta, in: *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 3 (1913), p. 307-393.

Turkish very well²³. One must not forget that the relatively small Muslim community of Crete had produced in the second half of the 19th century several very learned men who have left important works in Turkish, like Hüseyin Kâmi from Hanya who wrote a very serious History of Crete²⁴, using sources in many different languages, or the polymath Patinakizade Mehmed Atif Efendi²⁵ who has got a long obituary in İSTİKBAL. A Christian Cretan wrote the first scientific history in Ottoman Turkish of the discovery of America²⁶ and a Muslim employee of the court of appeal wrote volumes on Roman History²⁷.

Of course, İSTİKBAL's readership was not exclusively Cretan and the paper was very much in need of an echo in the Capital of the Empire²⁸. So there are many translations of articles from local and Athenian newspapers to demonstrate the hostility and aggressiveness of their Greek environment. Since a Cretan Muslim had linguistically an easier access to the Greek press, therefore the Greek Press in the Ottoman Empire was carefully observed and eventually brought to the attention of the Ottoman authorities. This was also achieved in a way as the manifold reactions of the metropolitan press show. But letters came to the publisher from all over the world, from London to Buchara. In special esteem was Halik Halid, a lecturer at the University of Cambridge who struggled desperately against the Greek lobby in Britain²⁹.

Especially after the uprising of 1898, Ottoman public opinion got interested in the Cretan cause, and numerous are the acts of solidarity from the side of Ottoman intellectuals and the Press. İSTİKBAL was however somehow suspicious about the sincerity of the famous slogan "Ya Girid, ya ölüm", when this was uttered by emigrants who had sold their property to Christians, leaving thus their Muslim labourers to the mercy of their new masters.

İSTİKBAL was trying by all means to dissuade his Muslim countrymen from emigration. The Cretan emigrants in the Ottoman lands and Egypt con-

²³ Cf. Ahmet Cevat Emre descriptions in: *İki Nesil Tarihi*, p. 15-17 ("Kandiya İdadisinde"), 22-24 ("Mektep"). Ahmet Cevat had learned Turkish at the age of seven (ibid, p. 11).

²⁴ Hüseyin Kâmi (Hanyevi): *Girid Tarihi* I, İst. 1288/1871 (no more published). Hüseyin Kâmi also wrote a Greek-Turkish glossary for primary schools: *Girid Sübyan Mektebleriçün cem' olunan kelimât-ı türkiye ve rumiye*, Canea 1291/1874.

²⁵ A long obituary is to be found in İSTİKBAL Nr. 21 - 23. Teşrin-i sani 1324/1908: "Ziyâ-i elîm, teessüf-i azîm".

²⁶ Andrea Kopassis: *Tarih-i keşf u feth-i Amerika*, 2 vols. Constantinople 1893/4.

²⁷ (Giridli) Cevdet: *Manzara-i iber yahud Roma Tarihi*, 2 vols. İst. 1305/1887.

²⁸ Cf. İSTİKBAL Nr. 30 - 1. Kanun-i sani 1324/1908: "İfade-i mahsusa": "Hal-i esef-istimalimizi haricdeki ihvan-i dinimizle âlem-i medeniyete bildirmek maksadıyla Memalik-i Osmaniye ile bilâd-i ecnebiyede gazetemizin on paraya satacağımızı her hafta yüzlerce paket göndermekde bulunduğumuzu ilan ediyoruz."

²⁹ Halil Halid is the author of *Hilal ve Salib münazaası*, (Cairo 1325/1907) which was also translated into Arabic and Urdu. İSTİKBAL recommends vividly the lecture of this book to his readers (Nr. 9, 31 Temmuz 1325/1908: "Kıymetdar bir eser").

stituted however an important part of the readers of İSTİKBAL, and already at the beginning there are indicated distributors in İstanbul, İzmir and other places. At the end of the first year of its publication Yüzbaşızade Lutfi states very proudly that İSTİKBAL is well known by everyone in the Islamic world: "Gazetemiz Semerkand ile Buhara'ya kadar gidiyor"³⁰.

The publication in Turkish was a very conscious act. Its analysis reveals a very important aspect of the Cretan Muslims Struggle for Ottomanism. An "osmanlı gazetesi" had to be published in Turkish. Ottoman was very often synonym of Turk: "Biz Osmanlı Türkleriz" – "We are Ottoman Turks".

Of course, Yüzbaşızade Lutfi was very well aware of the fact, that his Muslim countrymen spoke Greek as their mother tongue and that many of them had Greek or Venetian family names, but he protested energetically against the assertion, that they were Greeks. In his view, Turkish had been the original, the national (*millî*) language of the Cretan Muslims. It was forgotten, because the conquerors of the Island had allowed their Christian wives to talk in Greek to their children and also, because Ottoman tolerance was completely alien to any interference in this matter. At a period, where Turkish nationalism began to grow up and had to tackle with the resistance of the non-muslim "millets" against any attempts of turkification of public life, one understands the regret of İSTİKBAL that this had not been achieved earlier, and its anxiousness that this effort may now be too late. The task of the Cretan Muslims was to revive this national language and to make it a weapon against the Greek threat.

In an article published in 1916³¹ dealing with the reasons of the decline of the "Turks, or more correctly the Ottoman Turks" are enumerated 5 reasons: 1. Ignorance 2. lack of a language 3. the oddness of the Arabic alphabet and the obscurity of Ottoman writing 4. The absence of an attempt for turkification of the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire 5. The barring of "ictihad" and public instruction by the Muslim rulers and the official ulema".

"Osmanlıların çare-i necatları ise kendi dillerini ıslah ve arabî ile farsîden tefrik; bütün osmanlı lugatlarını cem u telfik büyük bir kamus-i türkî tanzim, lugât-i osmaniyede bulunmıyacak olan kelimeleri arabîden iktibas edüb Türkleştirme, bütün memalik-i osmaniyede tahsil-i ibtidaîyi Türk dilinde mecburî eylemek ve tedricen ve usul-i maruf ile bel'û temsil (assimilation) kaidesini mevki-i icraya koymakdan ibaretdir. Bundan başka çare-i selamet yok."

Neither in the SADA-YI GİRİD, nor in İSTİKBAL, is there the slightest evidence of a Cretan national consciousness. There were two "millets" on the island, with their own "national" interests. Only one time, the publisher says:

³⁰ Nr. 51 - 28. Mayıs 1325/1909: "Sene-i sâniye".

³¹ Nr. 301 - 16 Kanunievvel 1331: "Esbab-i inhitat".

"Since we are the sons of one land, we know each other's courage"³². Too different were the two communities: it is remarkable to see, which features were considered the most different ones. Among others, there was also — literature (*edebiyat*)!³³ Greek literature was undigestable for Muslim citizens of the Island. One of the main works of Modern Greek literature, the *EROTOKRITOS* of Vincenzo Cornaro, was considered by Yüzbaşızade Lutfi only as a banal love-story³⁴.

Notwithstanding the factual union of the island with Greece, Cretan Muslims were unshakable in their loyalty towards the Ottoman State.

Under these circumstances, *İSTİKBAL* had also to react violently against any betrayal of Ottoman subjects like Albanians, Arabs, Armenians, Kurds, Druzes, and others. This contradictory viewpoint was due to the fact, that any weakening of Ottoman Power would lead inevitably to the collapse of the whole Islamic world which was threatened by Christian supremacy for centuries³⁵. Even after 1914 *İSTİKBAL* still nourished hopes of a solution of the Albanian question in favor of the Ottomans.

This loyalty was menaced from different sides. The Greek authorities of the island tried to subvert the Muslim citizens from Ottomanism by compelling them to take an oath in the name of the King of Greece. It is an interesting fact that Yüzbaşızade Lutfi was for one week imprisoned for slander, because he had publicly denounced a Muslim Cretan of Hierapetra, who had got a government employment taking an oath to the King of Greece³⁶. On the other hand, there were also Ottoman circles who wanted to get rid of the Cretan burden in order to ameliorate relations with the Greek state. For that reason, *İSTİKBAL* was constantly engaged in publishing responses refuting the assertion, that the Muslim Cretans were willing to become Greek subjects. The by far much more numerous local Greek press was easier to refute, since its objectives were clear. Some of them, like the extremely aggressive *ELEVThERON*

³² Nr. 116 - 5. Eylül 1326/1910: "İzhar-ı hissiyât": "...Biz bir vatanın evladı bulunmuş olduğumuzdan biri birimizin derece-i şecaatımızı biliriz".

³³ *İSTİKBAL* Nr. 133 - 15 Şubat 1911: "Tâlib-i i'tilafa cevab": "Bu zemin-i itilafın husulüne...asıl yegâne engel edebiyat ve mezâlim-i musanna'dır." Ottoman literature, however, says Lutfi, was not directed against anyone.

³⁴ While Ahmet Cevat Emre seems to have been quite delighted of this work (*İki neslin tarihi*, p. 12).

³⁵ *SADA-YI GIRID* Nr. 42: "Arnavudlar! Gözlerinizi açınız." "...Allah esirgesün hükümet-i ebed-i osmaniye ortadan kalkarsa, bir daha avdet etmemek üzere bize "Allaha ısmarladık" diyeceğini umur-i siyasiyeye vukuf-i cüz'ileri olanlar malum bulunduğu gibi, Endülüs hükümet-i islamiyesinin inkırazından beri başlayarak ve kalıbdan kalıba girerek zamanımıza kadar imtidat ve kuva-yı islamiye kesb-i zaaf ettikçe kesb-i şiddet eden mühacemat-ı salibiye-i atika ve cedideyi gören bir tıfl-i ebcedhan bile anlar."

³⁶ A impressive account about his stay in the old Venetian Jail of Tophane in Nr. 118 - 19. Eylül 1326/1910.

VİMA was not even considered by local Christians to be very serious. But also some notices in Ottoman newspapers needed corrections. Not seldom high officials of the Ottoman State sent responses and rectifications to be published in İSTİKBAL.

This is also why the old Hamidian régime was abhorred by İSTİKBAL³⁷. Not only for its despotism, but also for its betrayal of the Cretan Turks who were encouraged to emigrate. In Yüzbaşızade Lutfi's opinion, it was Abdülhamid's despotism which had led to the enormous territorial losses of the Empire. The attitude of the paper to the Revolution of 1908 was enthusiastic.

Great were the hopes which arose from this event. Photographs of Niyazi and Enver were sold in Canea and after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina the Muslims of Crete abandoned their Austrian-fabricated fes as well as their compatriots in the Ottoman Empire³⁸. Money was collected for the Ottoman Fleet³⁹. Although there seems to have been a clandestine opposition among the Cretan Muslims, it was insignificant. As Yüzbaşızade Lutfi states, former *hafiyes* of Abdülhamid showed themselves ardent partisans of liberty. The perspectives of the future were seen for one moment optimistically. The new constitutional regime seemed at the same time vigorous and progressive, thus able to defend the interests of the Cretan Muslims in a more effective way.

These hopes proved to be false, of course. While Austria-Hungary proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Cretan Assembly announced the Union with Greece. When a union between Greece and the Ottoman Empire was discussed at one moment, İSTİKBAL remained sceptical⁴⁰.

Although the factual situation of the Muslim Cretans got worse, their will to resist increased.

We do not know the reactions of İSTİKBAL to the Balkan wars, since these volumes were not available to us.

The next and last phase is that of the post-Ottoman period between 1914 and 1917. The situation of the Cretan Muslims at the eve of the Great war is described in an almost idyllic way: "In Canea, the mosques shine brilliantly

³⁷ Under Abdülhamid, SADA-YI GİRİD and İSTİKBAL were forbidden in the Ottoman Empire.

³⁸ See Nr. 22 - 30. Teşrin-i evvel 1324/1908: "Tebdil-i serpuş".

³⁹ Cf. İSTİKBAL Nr. 13 - 28 Ağustos 1324/1908, p.1: "Girid'in ziyâna bâdi olan esbâb ke-sir ise de, bunların en mühimlerden, en büyüklerinden biri donanmasızlığımız değil mi idi?" (M. Mâcid).

⁴⁰ Nr. 120 - 3 Eylül 1326/1910: "Tasâhub-i alanî": "Yine tekrar eyleriz: Girid ile Yunanistan Rumların yegâne çare-i selametleri Osmanlılarla yekvücut ve hemavaz olmakdan ibaretdir. Ne çare ki, umum Rumlara ezelden beri müstevli olmuş olan Megali Idea illet ve cinnet-i müdhisesi buna mâni oluyor".

like white pigeons and demonstrate the presence of Islam"⁴¹. Even after the murder of Sarayevo there reigned apparently still harmony between the two communities: "Lead to Satan's ears! At present, peace reigns in Crete. Everybody is busy with his own affairs. The two elements with one fatherland live in harmony with each other. There are no aggressions..."⁴².

The outbreak of the war had serious economic consequences for the Cretan population both Muslim and Christian.

When the Ottoman Empire entered the war at the side of Germany and her allies, İSTİKBAL seemed to be shocked and there was even a delay in publishing the newspaper. Yüzbaşızade Lutfi's attitude towards Germany had never been a friendly one. On the other hand Britain was the terrible master of millions of Muslims. His hope therefore was, that these people would rebel against British rule.

In an article called "Tevhid-i talih", İSTİKBAL comments: "Who has ever thought or imagined that the Turks ...would be one day allies of the crusaders? But if the Ottoman State had not united his fate to two powerful Christian states, she and the Islamic World would collapse".

At the same time, the internal situation of the island changed. Greek refugees from Anatolia provoked clashes with the local Muslim population. The harmony ended. Several polemics arose about articles of local Greek papers ridiculing Islam. In Athens, a former aide de camp of Abdülhamid, Ali Sami Bey, published a bilingual (Greek-French) weekly, DIKAION where he attacked the politics of *İttihad ve Terakki*⁴³. The decline of the Muslim population became obvious. Many Muslim Cretans left the island and emigrated to the United States. De-ottomanisation continued. Mosques and schools were occupied by the Greek Army, and the Muslim cemetery of Canea was partially destroyed. Islamic schools were abolished. Three years after the Treaty of Athens, the question of nationality arose.

İSTİKBAL did not fail to stress the fact, that the War would decide about the future of both communities. The Germans and their allies were shown as invincible, although victory would be difficult to achieve. The last trump card were the Greeks in the Ottoman Lands. As to mount the morale of the Muslim

⁴¹ Nr. 258 - 15 Temmuz 1330/1914: "...Hanya'daki camiler kebuter-i sefid gibi parıl parıl parlıyor ve mevcudiyet-i islamiye'yi temsil ediyor."

⁴² Nr. 259 - 31 Temmuz 1330/1914: "Sur-i İsrail çalındı". "...Şeytanın kulağına kurşun, şimdilik Girid'de asayiş var. Herkes kendi işiyle meşguldür. İki hemvatan unsur hoş geçiniyor. Taaruzat yoktur."

⁴³ 303 - 22 Kanunisanı 1331 "Dhikeon - Hakk". "...Yunan milletinin sevgili ve muhterem ve dürbin kırılı ve Ali Sami Bey'in metbu-i muazzamı olan haşmetlü Kostantin hazretlerinin Alman dostu bulunduğundan İngilizlerin anı hal' etmeğe teşebbüs etmiş olduklarını Ali Sami Bey bilerek ana göre davranmalıdır".

community, İSTİKBAL was constantly repeating the phrase; "Memalik-i Yunaniye'de 100 000 müslüman varsa, Memalik-i Osmaniyede yüzbinlerce Rum vardır".

Nevertheless the decline became visible even in the newspaper: from 29th January 1917 it counted only 2 pages. In every issue, İSTİKBAL lamented about the situation, which had become intolerable. The last issue we have seen, dating from 23 May 1331/1917 ends with the apocalyptic phrase: "Alem devr-i deccalda bulunuyor".