

**REPORTING CRIME AND CRIMINALS IN NEWSPAPERS  
DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTION**

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**REPORTING CRIME AND CRIMINALS IN NEWSPAPERS  
DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTION**

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## ABSTRACT

### REPORTING CRIME AND CRIMINALS IN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTION

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Beyoğlu Incident

This thesis investigates the influence of newspapers' political affiliations on crime reporting during the Second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire. News and articles on crime and public order in *Tanin* (affiliated with the Committee of Union and Progress), *İkdam* (supporting the Liberty Party), and *Sabah* (which acted as relatively neutral) were subjected to a statistical and rhetorical analysis. The study focuses on a period marked by heightened concerns over public order, police negligence, and vagrancy. Although crime news was formulaic and did not vary much between the newspapers, this thesis argues that *Tanin* deliberately delayed publishing some reports to include updates on offenders' detentions, aiming to present the image of a safer city and a stronger regime amid fears of declining order in the aftermath of the revolution spearheaded by the Committee of Union and Progress. *İkdam*, on the other hand, regularly criticized the police force for negligence and abuse of power. However, *İkdam* refrained from openly criticizing the police in the aftermath of the Beyoğlu Incident, where the police and soldiers fired shots at a protesting *Rum* crowd. This thesis argues that *İkdam*'s silence in the aftermath of the Beyoğlu Incident reflects the constraining influence of nationalist sensitivities on editorial autonomy. In the face of what was being presented as a matter of national dignity and security, *İkdam* avoided direct criticism of the police despite its liberal and oppositional stance, so as to prevent being labeled unpatriotic.

## ÖZET

### İKİNCİ MEŞRUTİYET GAZETELERİNDE SUÇ VE SUÇLUNUN HABERLEŞTİRİLMESİ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: suç haberciliği, İkinci Meşrutiyet, Osmanlı basını, serseri,  
Beyoğlu Vakası

Bu çalışma, İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda gazetelerin siyasi duruşlarının suç haberciliğine etkisini araştırmaktadır. *Tanin* (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ne bağlı), *İkdam* (Ahrar Fırkası destekçisi) ve *Sabah* (nispeten tarafsız) gazetelerinden suç ve asayişe dair haberler ve makaleler istatistiksel ve söylemsel olarak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, asayiş, polis ihmalkarlığı ve serserilik gibi konularda toplumsal endişelerin öne çıktığı bir dönemi konu almaktadır. Suç haberlerinin belirli bir kalıpta verilmesine ve gazeteler arasında önemli farklar olmamasına rağmen, bu tez *Tanin*'in bazı haberleri kasıtlı olarak daha geç yayınlayarak arada geçen sürede faillerin gözaltına alındığı bilgisini eklediğini ve bunu İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin liderliğinde gerçekleşen devrim sonrası asayişin bozulduğu korkularına karşı daha güvenli bir şehir ve daha güçlü bir rejim imajı çizme amacıyla yaptığını iddia etmektedir. Diğer yandan, *İkdam* ise polisi ihmalkarlıkla ve görevi kötüye kullanmakla sık sık eleştirmesine rağmen, polis ve askerın Rum protestoculara ateş açtığı Beyoğlu Vakası sonrası polisi açıkça eleştirmekten kaçınmıştır. Bu çalışma, Beyoğlu Vakası sonrası *İkdam*'ın sessizliğinin, milliyetçi hassasiyetlerin ifade özgürlüğü üzerindeki kısıtlayıcı etkisinin somut bir örneği olduğunu iddia etmektedir. *İkdam*, liberal ve muhalif duruşuna rağmen, bir milli güvenlik ve itibar meselesi olarak sunulan Beyoğlu Vakası karşısında vatan hainliğiyle itham edilme çekincesiyle polisi açıkça eleştirmekten kaçınmıştır.

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*To my family,  
Who supported me in all my endeavours*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The first years of the Second Constitutional Era were a unique time of optimism and uncertainty. After decades of absolutist rule of Abdulhamid II, the Sultan had to reinstate the constitution in 1908 following the revolt of a clandestine organization of young army officers in Ottoman Macedonia. The reinstatement of the constitution, hence the “liberty”, was received with joy, and optimism. The revolution brought an unprecedented era of press freedom. The editors of the newspapers, that were subjected to preventive censorship for decades under the Hamidian regime, successfully fended off the censorship officers on the day of the proclamation of the constitution. The year 1908 saw a “press boom”, as people flocked to publish their thoughts on a myriad of periodicals representing ideologies across the political spectrum. However, in the midst of this atmosphere of celebration, the news of a general amnesty caused anxiety among the population of Istanbul, stoking up possible fears of a declining public order. The amnesty was perceived to be a blow to the safety of ordinary Ottomans by causing the release of criminals, who would be strolling amongst law abiding citizens.

Against this backdrop, this thesis aims to investigate the differences in crime reporting in three of the most prominent newspapers of the time, during a short but critical period: *Tanin*, the Committee of Union and Progress’ (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) unofficial mouthpiece; *İkdam*, which supports the Liberty Party (*Ahrar Fırkası*); and *Sabah*, the most established commercial newspaper of the time acting relatively neutral. I argue that the newspapers’ political characters affected their crime reporting and views and tone on matters of public order. Although crime news differed little from newspaper to newspaper and contained almost no commentary, a rhetorical and statistical analysis of all crime news reported within a limited period by the three newspapers reveals that *Tanin* presents the image of a safer city, and a more capable government. This, I argue, was achieved by a kind of news reporting the timing of which was very frequently lingered on purpose, after the criminal acts in question, in order to include the fates of the offenders. This way, the news included details about possible detentions, sentences and punishments handed out

to the convicted offenders. This projected the image of a more capable government, at a time when revolution was yet fragile, and public order under much scrutiny. The differences between the newspapers' editorial choices become more visible with a closer reading of articles and columns regarding the state of public order and the police force. For instance, while *İkdam* criticizes the negligence of the police officers often, *Sabah* refutes any such claims. On the other hand, *Tanin* does not outright refute such claims and urges the police to caution from time to time. Nevertheless, these editorial differences could disappear as well. For example, when the police force is presented as a symbol of national dignity following a violent confrontation between the police and *Rum*/Greek<sup>1</sup> protesters, *İkdam* remains unusually silent in their criticisms. It suggests us that nationalist sensitivities could act as a restricting factor when it comes to the editorial choices of these selected news outlets.

This thesis also attempts to answer some questions on the perception of criminals during the Second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire. I call into question the perceived “usual suspect” status of some professions such as porters, boatmen, and grocers – professions dominated primarily by single migrant males – and argue it to be unwarranted. The newspaper reports of the selected period do not indicate a higher rate of criminality among these professions compared to “respectable” professions such as policemen, army officers or clerks. Likewise, the notion that places Beyoğlu as the most dangerous of the three towns of greater Istanbul, that is Istanbul proper, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar could also be challenged for the period under scrutiny here. I also analyze whether or not any religious group was disproportionately reported as offenders in crime news by the aforementioned newspapers. The newspaper reports from *Tanin*, *İkdam*, and *Sabah* do not indicate any type of discrimination, as offenders from different religions were featured roughly in proportion to the representation of said groups within the demography of the city.

## 1.1 Overview of the Chapters

This chapter starts with a section dedicated to explaining the reasons behind the selection of *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin* as the newspapers studied and limiting the

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1. Throughout this thesis, the term *Rum* is used when referring to Ottoman Greeks, and more broadly, to those belonging to the Greek Orthodox *millet*. The term Greek is used when referring to individuals who are described as “*Yunanlı*” (“from Greece”) by the primary sources, or when referring to the Greek language. Furthermore, the term “Greek newspaper” is used to refer to newspapers publishing in the Greek language. I have used “*Rum*/Greek” here and elsewhere to denote groups of people when one of the terms would not be sufficient in describing the identities of the group.

time scope to the period between 18 February 1909, the date of the first session on the 1909 Vagrancy Act, and the 31 March counter-revolution attempt. To do so, a very brief history of Ottoman press life is given, and the 1908 press boom is covered. Features of news reporting, especially crime reporting in Ottoman newspapers of the time are also covered in this section. The chapter continues with a literature review section on the historiography of policing, crime, and crime reporting. Moving on, the 1909 Vagrancy Act is covered to understand the discussions regarding vagrancy and public order in the newspapers. The chapter ends after going over the important events regarding public order between the reinstatement of the constitution on 24 July 1908 and the 31 March counter-revolution attempt, once again to better understand the atmosphere of the time.

The second chapter of the thesis introduces the statistical sources necessary for a sound discussion on crime rates in Istanbul. Population figures, and more importantly the spatial and religious distribution of the population are covered. The main contribution of the chapter is the analysis of the Istanbul Statistics Journals (*İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*), especially the Police Affairs sections. The 1913 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal contains extensive information on the identity of Ottoman criminals and the crimes committed. Using the journal, the gender and marital status, previous criminal records, education levels, place of residence, and age of the criminals are analyzed in this chapter. Information regarding the professions and religious and national identity of the criminals from the journal, however, are only introduced in this chapter to be used in conjunction with the data from the newspapers in the next chapter.

The third chapter of the thesis focuses on crime news in *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin* newspapers between 18 February and 13 April 1909. Through a statistical analysis of data points such as the category of the crime, identities of the offenders and the victims, the police response, and the location of the crime scene, I try to uncover if there are any differences in the newspapers' attitudes on crime reporting. Another goal of the chapter is to analyze the representation of different groups as offenders in newspapers. This includes analyzing if any religious or ethnic group was covered disproportionately by the newspapers, but the main focus is on the "usual suspects". I try to see if the perceived suspectness of certain professions such as porters, boatmen, and grocers, and certain locations such as Beyoğlu or coffee houses can be observed in the newspapers, and if so, to what degree.

However, the statistical analysis of crime news conducted in the third chapter is not capable of answering the question of whether or not the newspapers had differences in crime reporting on its own. To this end, the fourth chapter focuses on a closer reading of any news or articles on public order, the police force, vagrancy, and



the Vagrancy Act. After covering the different attitudes on the state of public order and the police force by *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*, the chapter focuses on the Beyoğlu Incident. This section starts with covering some previous incidents where the Muslim people or the police came face to face with the non-Muslim people, to better illustrate the tensions of inter-community violence of the time. The Beyoğlu Incident, in which police fired shots toward a *Rum* crowd protesting the forceful detainment of a young *Rum* man, is useful as it highlights the differences between *İkdam*, *Sabah*, *Tanin*, and the Greek language newspapers such as *Proodos*. The affair is also beneficial in demonstrating a change in *İkdam*'s tone, which often does not refrain from criticizing the police harshly, when presented with an incident that is perceived to be a matter of national dignity and security.

## 1.2 Selecting the Period and Newspapers Under Study

Before moving on further, the reasonings behind the selection of *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin* newspapers as the subject of this study and limiting the scope to the time period between 18 February 1909, the date of the first parliament session on the “Regulation on Vagrants and Suspected Criminals” and 13 April 1909, the date of the 31 March counter-revolution attempt,<sup>2</sup> should be explained. The most critical requirement was the necessity of a free press environment. Secondly, the selected newspapers were chosen to represent the political spectrum while also engaging in news journalism. Lastly, the time constraints of the research required a period of a few months. With the restraints given, a brief history of press and journalism in the Ottoman Empire is required to delve into the selections

A few clarifications are in order before moving on further. The term Turkish press is used to denote press in the Turkish language and in Arabic script,<sup>3</sup> and published within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire,<sup>4</sup> or by Ottomans in exile. The terms foreign language press and non-Muslim press are likewise limited to publications made in the Ottoman Empire.

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2. The date coincides with 31 March 1325 in the *Rumi* calendar used by the Ottomans.

3. There were also publications by the Greeks and the Armenians in the Turkish language but in Karamanli and Armeno-Turkish alphabets, respectively. The intended audience of these were the respective Ottoman non-Muslim communities.

4. The first Turkish newspaper was actually published not in Istanbul but in Cairo by the Ottoman governor Muhammed Ali Pasha in 1929, titled *Al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyya*. Ahmed Emin Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press” (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1914), 27.

### 1.2.1 A Summary of Turkish Press History Until the Second Constitutional Era

The first printing press in Istanbul was set up by two brothers, who were members of the Ottoman Sephardic Jewish community, in 1492. The first printing press in Istanbul catering to a Muslim audience, however, was set up 235 years later in 1727 by Ibrahim Muteferrika, a Hungarian-born Ottoman, and Said Efendi. They were given permission only on the condition that they were not to publish any religious books. Yet, after the Patrona Halil revolt ended the reign of Ahmed III, Muteferrika could not find any patrons to support his work. Publications in Turkish came to a halt after Muteferrika's death in 1745 and were only continued by the efforts of individuals until Mahmud II's reign.<sup>5</sup> Although Turkish press significantly lagged behind non-Muslim press during this period, this was not the case for newspapers. The first newspaper intended for an Ottoman audience<sup>6</sup> was the official state newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*, published in 1831 by the orders of Mahmud II. The first non-Muslim Ottoman newspapers were published only after the state newspaper. *Takvim-i Vekayi* saw some initial success, but irregular publishing periods and the lack of professional journalists led to decreased readership.<sup>7</sup>

Although another newspaper, *Ceride-i Havadis*, began publishing in 1840 and turned into a semi-official newspaper after receiving state support following financial problems in 1843,<sup>8</sup> it was the introduction of *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, published in 1860, that started a new era in Turkish press.<sup>9</sup> *Tercüman-ı Ahval* was the mutual venture of Agah Efendi and Şinasi, who was a leading figure of the literary movement of the time that emphasized art's role in educating the masses.<sup>10</sup> *Tercüman-ı Ahval* was not only heavy on opinion journalism, but according to Erol Baykal, it also introduced "opposition journalism".<sup>11</sup> However, Şinasi left Istanbul for Paris after the enactment of the Press Regulation in 1865.<sup>12</sup> The Regulation prohibited insulting the monarch and his house and criticizing ministers, state officials, and state institutions.<sup>13</sup> Just three years later, the censorship of the press increased as a decree called *Kararnâme-i Âlî* was put into place amidst criticisms of the government's

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5. Anatolii Dmitrievich Zheltiakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın* (Ankara: Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, 1979), 25–31.

6. Hence, excluding the newspapers intended for an audience of Levantine merchants and foreign agents.

7. Zheltiakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın*, 46.

8. Zheltiakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın*, 46.

9. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 34.

10. Erol A. F. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)* (Boston: BRILL, 2019), 31, 32.

11. *Ibid.*, 33.

12. Mehmet Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Der Yayınevi, 2002), 56.

13. *Ibid.*, 203.

policy regarding Crete.<sup>14</sup> Although the decree was supposed to be temporary, it was not rescinded, and it allowed the state to circumvent the Press Regulation of 1864.<sup>15</sup> It was this development that led many other Young Ottomans to follow Şinasi into exile, leading to the phenomenon of opposition press publishing in exile, where they found freedom to propagate their ideas. These newspapers would then be shipped to the Ottoman Empire through the postal systems of foreign states as they were protected by the capitulations against the Ottoman state's interventions.<sup>16</sup> Zheltiakov reports that around 120 opposition periodicals were published in exile between 1879 and 1907.<sup>17</sup>

The suppression of the Ottoman press would continue following a brief pause on censorship. This period started with the dethronement of Abdülaziz and the proclamation of the constitution in 1876 and continued until 1878 when the young sultan Abulhamid II suspended the constitution. The constitution, which was no longer in effect, proclaimed that the press was "free" as long as it was within the bounds of law.<sup>18</sup> The short-lived general assembly resisted Abdülhamid's pressure to codify pre-censorship;<sup>19</sup> however, in the following years of his reign, any publication would go through a pre-censorship process that prohibited the use of an ever-growing list of phrases.<sup>20</sup> In this atmosphere, literary matters were the main feature of the Turkish press.<sup>21</sup> Although technical capacities improved, the contents of the newspapers were chosen from safe topics which included official communications, translations from foreign newspapers on cultural news, chiefly among them about life in America, or diplomatic matters completely unrelated to the Ottomans.<sup>22</sup> The newspapers' content and the reality of the situation contrasted with each other, and the residents of Balkan provinces could feel this firsthand. Yalman writes in his memoirs how the newspapers in Thessaloniki proclaimed that everything was safe and sound while bombings and arsons took place, and the nights were interrupted by gunshots.<sup>23</sup>

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14. Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, Cep Üniversitesi (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), 43.

15. Zheltiakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın*, 63.

16. *Ibid.*, 73, 74.

17. *Ibid.*, 128.

18. *Ibid.*, 95.

19. Zheltiakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın*, 95.

20. İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, 259–66.

21. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 75.

22. *Ibid.*, 80.

23. Ahmed Emin Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim* (İstanbul: Pera, 1997), 38.

### 1.2.2 The Press Boom of 1908

Hence, when the Sultan had to reinstate the constitution on 24 July 1908, it was followed by what can be called a “press boom” and a short period of unprecedented press liberty. Abdulhamid II was forced to this action by the revolt of a cadre of young officers who were part of the secret revolutionary organization of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*). The announcement about the reinstatement of the constitution was nothing more than a four-line official communication published in Istanbul newspapers that orders were sent out for a general election according to the constitution of 1293 (1876).<sup>24</sup> The population of Istanbul was dumbfounded as, due to the strict hold the Sultan had over the press, they were not aware of the events going on in Macedonia for some time now.

The journalists, however, were quite informed as they were permitted access to foreign newspapers, and they were dedicated to having a free press in this new era. On the day of the proclamation, around fifty journalists gathered in a restaurant and took action to this end. They were not to allow censorship officers into the printing houses, citing the newly reinstated constitution that permitted press freedom. Their plan worked and the censorship officers left empty-handed.<sup>25</sup> On July 25, fiery articles filled the newspapers, and although their supply was increased significantly, the demand could not be met and they could not be purchased with less than four times the original price.<sup>26</sup>

The atmosphere of press freedom following the dawn of the Second Constitutional Era should be emphasized. Orhan Kolođlu reports that at the beginning of the year 1908, there were a total of 120 periodicals in the whole country, but in the seven months following the reinstatement of the constitution, 730 applications were made for printing licenses.<sup>27</sup> The reasoning behind this boom can be understood better by the following story:

While Ziya Gökalp is in prison, he meets an old Young Turk inmate. The old inmate says to him: “I am old, but you are young and you will see the days that our country will be liberated. Then, write about and

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24. Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim*, 68.

25. *Ibid.*, 68–70.

26. *İkdam* and *Sabah* had published 60 and 40 thousand copies respectively, significantly more than their usual numbers. Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press,” 87.

27. Kolođlu, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türkiye’de Basım*, 54. For an extensive list, see Ahmet Ali Gazel and Şaban Ortak, “İkinci Meşrutiyet’ten 1927 Yılına Kadar Yayın İmtiyazı Alan Gazete Ve Mecmualar (1908-1927),” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 7, no. 1 (February 2010): 223–56, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ataunisobil/issue/2817/37937>.

publish any and all topics that you think about and talk about. Those days of liberty might not last for long. But once ideas are published, they do not perish.”<sup>28</sup>

Some of these new periodicals were started by opportunists hoping to gather political power through their publications, or by ideologues to advocate their beliefs,<sup>29</sup> or simply by people who wanted their voices to be heard. Most were short-lived as the new publishers did not have the intellectual or financial capital to continue for a long time.<sup>30</sup> Still, after the initial wave died down, periodicals supporting a range of ideologies from communism (*İştirak*) to liberalism (*Serbesti*) to Islamism (*Sırat-ı Mustakim*) or women’s magazines (*Demette*, *Mehassin*)<sup>31</sup> or catering to specific professions were still being published and read.

### 1.2.3 31 March Revolt and the Gradual Loss of Press Freedom

The press would enjoy its near total freedom for only around nine months, from the reinstatement of the constitution on 24 July 1908 to 13 April 1908, the day of the 31 March incident. And even before, an unprecedented event diminished this press freedom. On the night of 6 April, *Serbesti* writer Hasan Fehmi was murdered on Galata Bridge by an unidentified individual. In the previous decades of authoritarian rule, no journalist was murdered.<sup>32</sup> Although the murderer could not be identified, Şakir Bey, who was with Hasan Fehmi at the moment gives the following information: The murderer mistook Hasan Fehmi for Mevlanzade Rıfat, the owner of the newspaper, shouted “Take this Mevlan!” (“*Al Mevlan!*”) and had soldier’s clothes on.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, both sides of the bridge had security forces, making the escape of the murderer even more bizarre.<sup>34</sup> Everything was pointing towards the CUP as the ones behind the assassination.<sup>35</sup>

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28. Koloğlu, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türkiye’de Basın*, 54.

29. Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press,” 88.

30. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet’i Beklerken İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını* (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2010), 9.

31. Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press,” 89.

32. Although Ali Suavi was killed, this was while he attempted a coup and was not related to his press activities.

33. Serpil Çalışlar-Ekici, *Hasan Fehmi ve Serbesti Gazetesi* (Istanbul: Köpernik Kitap, 2022), 216.

34. *Ibid.*, 236, 237.

35. A small digression is needed here to understand the animosity between the CUP and *Serbesti*. *Serbesti* (“Liberty”) supported *Ahrar Fırkası* (the Liberty Party) which argued for decentralized administration and a liberal economy, and the newspaper staunchly opposed the CUP. Both the CUP and the Liberty Party had their origins in the Young Turk movement, and the breaking point was the Congress of Ottoman Liberals organized in Paris in 1902. Two factions emerged, a nationalistic faction that opposed external intervention that later would become the CUP and a liberal

The murder of Hasan Fehmi is not only important as it was the first blow against press freedom, but it also fueled the opposition against the CUP that led to the 31 March Incident. On the night connecting April 12 to 13, the Macedonian battalions the CUP placed in the capital to safeguard the revolution mutinied against their officers and rose up. They were immediately supported by students from the religious schools, who lost their privilege of exemption from military duty by the CUP's decision. Lacking officers, the rebels did not have prominent leaders, and their demands came by in a piecemeal fashion. They demanded the dismissal of the grand vizier, the war and navy ministers, and the president of the Chamber of Deputies (Ahmed Rıza, one of the main CUP figures), compensations for dismissed *alaylı*<sup>36</sup> army officers, and a more rigorous application of religious law. There is no academic consensus regarding the forces behind the instigation of the revolt. According to Sina Akşin, the revolt was originally devised by the Liberty Party to curb the CUP's power; however, it soon took a more conservative tone and got out of their control.<sup>37</sup> Regardless of their potential involvement, the result did not serve the Liberty Party's interests. The CUP formed an army called the Action Army with troops under their control and volunteers, marched to Istanbul and crushed the revolt, and dethroned Abdulhamid II in the process.

The 31 March Incident can not be thought of without discussing press life in Istanbul. The rebels were instigated mainly by *Volkan*, an Islamist newspaper, but many others were also accused of instigation. In a telegram to Abdulhamid II, the Central Committee of the CUP included the following among the ones that "instigated the population and the soldiers and led to the terrible event": *İkdam*'s owner Ahmed Cevdet and author Ali Kemal, *Serbesti*'s owner Mevlanzade Rifat, *Mizan*'s owner and author Murat, *Yeni Gazete*'s owner Abdullah Zühtü, *Volkan*'s owner and writer Derviş Vahdeti.<sup>38</sup> Ahmed Cevdet, Ali Kemal, and Mevlanzade Rifat would be among the opposition figures who fled the country before the CUP took control.<sup>39</sup> But it was not only the opposition press that was affected by the 31 March Incident and its consequences. On the day of the revolt, the rebels killed deputy Arslan Bey, who they thought was *Tanin*'s owner and editor-in-chief, and CUP deputy Hüseyin Cahit.<sup>40</sup> The paper could only be published from the CUP's headquarters on 26 April, as its

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faction arguing for a decentralized and minimal government and supported external intervention. Although the CUP and the Liberty Party opposed each other, they saw Abdulhamid II, who was still enthroned, as their common enemy.

36. Those who became officers by rising through the ranks of the army they entered as privates, rather than graduating from the military school (*mektepli*, "schooled").

37. For a detailed account, see his book. Sina Akşin, *31 Mart Olayı* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yakınları, 1970).

38. *Ibid.*, 93.

39. *Ibid.*, 209.

40. *Ibid.*, 49.

offices in Istanbul were demolished by rebels.<sup>41</sup> Another pro-CUP periodical, *Şura-ya Ümmet*'s office, was also targeted by the rebels.<sup>42</sup>

As discussed above, the rule of the CUP got firmer after the 31 March counter-revolution attempt. Although the power changed hands between the CUP and the newly unified opposition front, the Party of Freedom and Accord (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*), the atmosphere of freedom was gone and both sides oppressed their rivals when they had the power. It would not be possible to describe the events of the following years adequately without going beyond the scope of this paper; however, the Albanian Revolt, the coup of Savior Officers (*Halaskar Zabitan*) against the CUP, the War of Tripoli and the First Balkan War can be listed as the most important events leading to the Bab-ı Ali coup when the CUP gained absolute power. The Second Balkan War, the Great War, and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire would follow.

Despite all of these developments, the Press Law enacted in July 1909 was still very liberal, although more restricting than the near-total freedom the press enjoyed between the proclamation of the constitution and the Press Law's enactment. However, from 1912 onwards, the law was made stricter gradually.<sup>43</sup> Between 1909 and 1912, the periodicals were suspended regularly. However, the law had also made the process of publishing a new periodical very easy, and the suspended periodicals simply continued to publish under a new, but similarly sounding name.<sup>44</sup> Although formal shutdowns were a nuisance, the greatest threat to press freedom was the assassinations targeting journalists. Three journalists were murdered between 1909 and 1911,<sup>45</sup> including Hasan Fehmi whose murder we have covered. Ahmed Samim was murdered on the evening of 9 June 1910,<sup>46</sup> and his murderer was not identified until later. He wrote for the liberal newspaper *Sada-ya Millet* and opposed the ways that the CUP used their force extralegally.<sup>47</sup> The third journalist to be murdered

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41. Akşin, *31 Mart Olayı*, 212.

42. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 121.

43. *Ibid.*, 72.

44. *Tanin*, the CUP mouthpiece, was often suspended and came back with names such as *Yeni Tanin* ("New Tanin"), *Cenin*, *Renin*, *Senin*. Similarly, *Tanzimat* was published under the names *Islahat*, *Maşrek*, *Merih*, *Matbuat*, *Zühre*, *Tenbihat*, *Nevrah*, *Tesisat*, *Takdirat*, *Teşkilat* and *Teminat* after being suspended by the CUP government. *ibid.*, 104–111.

45. Another journalist, Hasan Tahsin, writer of *Silah* (Weapon) was murdered during the Great War. However, this seems to be an internal feud among clandestine elements of the CUP. See İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, 326, 327.

46. Ahmed Emin Yalman gives the date as 29 July 1909 in his PhD thesis. Although he was a journalist himself for *Sabah* at the time who completed his thesis in the following years, this information is inaccurate. He uses the correct date in his memoirs published later. For his thesis see Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 104. For his memoirs see Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim*, 124. For other sources see İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, 322; Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet'i Beklerken İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını*, 56.

47. Ahmed Samim was threatened by anonymous letters before he was murdered, and later it was

was once again a critic of the CUP. *Şehra* lead writer Zeki Bey criticized the fiscal policies of the CUP and was carrying out a corruption investigation. He was murdered on 10 July 1911, his murderers were convicted but were later released after an amnesty was declared.<sup>48</sup> Baykal points out that when the press could be silenced through legal means once again, the assassinations targeting journalists ended.<sup>49</sup> However, it was not only the journalists that were the target of violence. Yalman says the following, especially for the provinces, “Those suspected of holding views in opposition to the Committee, or of simply reading papers of the opposition, such as *Yeni Gazetta* and *İkdam*, especially *Alemdar* and *Tanzimat* were subjected in many instances, to violence and maltreatment.”<sup>50</sup> All in all, we can say that the 31 March Incident, and Hasan Fehmi’s murder as its prelude, marked the end of an era, and freedom of the press was hindered significantly in its aftermath.

#### 1.2.4 Selecting the Period Under Study

As declared earlier, the most critical constraint in selecting the period under study is the necessity of a free press environment. To make better comparisons across the newspapers, there should be periodicals that are representative across the political spectrum. Both restraints point to the nine-month period following the reinstatement of the constitution on 24 July 1908 and the start of the 31 March Incident on 13 April 1909. This was a period of unprecedented press freedom, with an ample amount of both new and established periodicals representing different political affiliations. Another factor that makes this period interesting for studying crime news is the general amnesty declared following the reinstatement of the constitution. As discussed below, the release of ordinary criminals from prisons was met with anxiety by the populace.

The period after the deposition of Abdülaziz and before Abdülhamid II’s tighter grip on the press can be thought of as an alternative, but Turkish journalism was still in its early phases at the time. In the later years of Abdulhamid II’s reign; *Sabah*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *İkdam* were established newspapers catering to large audiences; however, as we have discussed, the press was controlled strictly. In his PhD thesis Yalman, who himself worked in *Sabah* and *Yeni Gazete*, studies the period between the 31 March Incident and the outbreak of the war with Italy in

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uncovered that the murderer was the Unionist officer Abdülkadir Bey. Abdülkadir Bey would later become the governor of Ankara but would be tried and executed for taking part in the Unionist assassination attempt against Mustafa Kemal in 1926. İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, 323, 324.

48. Ibid., 325, 326.

49. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 121.

50. Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press,” 104.



October 1911, reasoning that it was a time of relative stability. However, this period does not feature a free press environment.<sup>51</sup> As discussed above, newspapers were suspended regularly, and although this was circumvented by publishing under a different name, this period also saw two assassinations targeting journalists.

However, analyzing the contents of a nine-month period across multiple newspapers was not possible for this particular research, given the time constraints of a masters level graduate study. Hence, I had to narrow the period under study even more, by employing a logic that still makes sense as a consistent research framework. The Ottoman parliament's discussion on a new regulation on vagrancy provided the required legitimacy for a shorter interval. On 18 February 1909, discussions on the regulation began with the Grand Vizirate's memorandum claiming that around 10,000 beggars, vagrants, and ex-prisoners had poured into Istanbul following the declaration of the general amnesty.<sup>52</sup> Although interrupted by the 31 March Incident, The Regulation on Vagrants and Suspected Criminals was enacted on 8 May 1909. The period between the first parliament session on the act, 18 February 1909, and the 31 March Incident, 13 April 1909, gives us a 55-day period, especially ripe for discussions on newspapers regarding public order, crime, criminals, and vagrants in a free press environment with ample representation across the political spectrum.

### 1.2.5 Selecting the Newspapers Under Study

The selected newspapers should be representative across the political spectrum and feature a noteworthy amount of reporting, especially crime reporting. To start with the second criterion, as discussed below, the main feature of Turkish newspapers was political opinion pieces, and the news was an afterthought. *Mizan* can be given as an example of a newspaper that took this to the extreme and was composed only of the owner-writer's opinions. Yet, it reached considerable circulation numbers.<sup>53</sup> *Volkan* or *Serbesti* from the same period can also be seen as newspapers in this fashion. The most suitable candidates for news reporting are *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, as newspapers established before the Second Constitutional Era, and *Yeni Gazete* and *Tanin*, as newly established papers.

On the matter of political standing, most Istanbul-based newspapers were in opposition to the CUP, yet the extent of their opposition varied. Our suitable candidates can be described as follows: *Tanin* as the mouthpiece of the CUP, *Tercüman-ı*

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51. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 120.

52. Nadir Özbek, "'Beggars' and 'Vagrants' in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (2009): 783, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40647153>.

53. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 88.

*Hakikat* as leaning towards the CUP,<sup>54</sup> *Sabah* as somewhat independent, *Yeni Gazete* as independent to liberal-leaning, and *İkdam* as liberal.<sup>55</sup> Hence, in this stage, as the independent representative, *Sabah* can be selected as one of the three newspapers to study. Among the others, *Tanin* and *İkdam* stand out as the most prominent supporters of their respective parties.<sup>56</sup> In fact, *Tanin*'s owner Hüseyin Cahit was the CUP's Istanbul deputy and the target of the rebels during the 31 March incident, who murdered the Latakia deputy Arslan Bey after mistaking him for Hüseyin Cahit.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, *İkdam*'s editor-in-chief Ali Kemal had also entered the 1908 elections as a candidate of the Liberty Party (*Ahrar Fırkası*) for Istanbul but was not elected.<sup>58</sup> In conclusion, the selection of *Sabah*, *Tanin*, and *İkdam* enables the analysis of views across the political spectrum sufficiently.

It should be noted that the CUP was not yet in full control of the government during the period investigated in this study. Therefore, describing *Tanin* as a pro-government newspaper would not be accurate. The incumbent government was not controlled directly by the CUP, but from the revolution onward, the party was able to shape the government to some extent according to their wishes.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, *Tanin*'s advocacy of the police force should not be seen as a total embracement of the police force and the government; but rather as an effort to project a secure public order and a robust regime in the aftermath of the revolution spearheaded by the CUP.

Before moving on, circulation numbers should be discussed. Unfortunately, concrete data is not available for this period. Furthermore, circulation did not equate one-to-one to readership numbers. Most people read papers in coffeehouses or borrowed them from friends.<sup>60</sup> However, a review of different sources indicates that all three of *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin* were among the most popular newspapers of the time.<sup>61</sup> Hence, we can say that the selected newspapers are sufficiently representative in terms of their circulation volumes as well.

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54. Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet'i Beklerken İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını*, 67.

55. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 120.

56. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 78.

57. Akşin, *31 Mart Olayı*, 49.

58. Ali Kemal would try getting elected again in the 1909 midterm elections but would lose once again against the CUP candidate. Aykut Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, trans. Ayda Erbal (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 300.

59. *Ibid.*, chap. 4.

60. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 132.

61. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 157, 158. Yalman, "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press," 131, 132

### 1.2.6 Crime News in the Second Constitutional Era Newspapers

With the time period and the newspapers selected, some points about crime reporting should be discussed. As covered above, the proclamation of the constitution and the newly found press liberty led to the return of political opinion pieces to the front pages of the newspapers.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, the subject of this study, crime news, was of little interest to readers. According to the results of a 120 person survey conducted by Ahmed Emin Yalman,<sup>63</sup> the most interesting part of the newspapers for the readers was as follows:

Forty-two are mostly interested in the political part, thirteen in signed editorials of any kind, twenty-nine in special articles on social problems, ten in matters concerning the progress and welfare of the country, eight in fiction, five in advertisements, two in crimes and sensationalism, one in personal news. Ten have no choice, partly because they cannot find anything of interest in a daily.<sup>64</sup>

When they were asked what they do not want to see in newspapers, 13 out of 120 survey participants answered that they “do not see any need for court, police and personal news.”<sup>65</sup> The newspapers reflected the interest of their audience. According to Yalman, what would be sensational first-page news in American newspapers was covered briefly in three or four lines in Turkish newspapers.<sup>66</sup>

This offers a stark contrast with British newspapers. Crime was a popular topic for British newspapers, and the “New Journalism” wave of the 1850s, which prioritized the news that sold best, made increasing use of crime news.<sup>67</sup> Despite decreasing crime rates, this increased media coverage led to panic among the populace.<sup>68</sup> It should be remembered that in the 1850s, there were only two Turkish newspapers in

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62. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 70.

63. The survey was conducted as a part of his PhD thesis in 1914, which is the first scholarly research on the Turkish press. Restrained by having to conduct this survey through mail by circulating the questionnaire among his social circle, he himself admits that the survey is not fully representative. See Yalman, “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press,” 133–138.

64. *Ibid.*, 137.

65. *Ibid.*, 138.

66. *Ibid.*, 122.

67. Christopher A. Casey, “Common Misperceptions: The Press and Victorian Views of Crime,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 3 (2011): 367–391, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40985739>.

68. For London, UK see Rob Sindall, “The London Garotting Panics of 1856 and 1862,” *Social History* 12, no. 3 (1987): 351–359, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4285629>; For Boston, USA see Jeffrey S. Adler, “The Making Of A Moral Panic In 19th-Century America: The Boston Garroting Hysteria Of 1865,” *Deviant Behavior* 17, no. 3 (July 1996): 259–278, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.1996.9968028>.

the Ottoman Empire, the state newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi*, and the state-supported *Ceride-i Havadis*. There was no competition which motivated the newspapers to focus on popular topics. And when there was competition, as discussed above, the Turkish press had developed in a way that made political commentary the most interesting part of a newspaper.

There are two important issues to discuss regarding the crime news sections of the newspapers. Firstly, it is not clear how the newspapers got a hold of the news. It is likely that the newspapers used freelance reporters and paid them per news item.<sup>69</sup> It also seems that these freelance reporters worked with more than one newspaper, and shared the same news with all of them. The following quote from *Tanin*, after being accused by *İkdam* of publishing a faulty news report on the *Fedakaran-ı Millet* party supports this idea:

It was actually *İkdam*'s reporter who gave this report to our newspaper. He gives reports to one other newspaper, just like he gives reports to us. News reports that do not need confirmation, such as copies of official documents, are given to the typesetter without being required to be read. If there was a fault, that fault lies with the person who is actually *İkdam*'s reporter. *İkdam* can ask their reporter and learn that we did not shorten the news report on purpose.<sup>70</sup>

Among the crime news that were analyzed for this study, I have found 12 crime news across 7 days that were featured in more than one newspaper and differed only very slightly among the newspapers.<sup>71</sup> The fact that *İkdam* is always one of the newspapers reporting such news, while the other newspapers vary, and *Tanin*'s quote above suggests that it was *İkdam*'s reporter who shared the news with more than one newspaper. Hence, we can say that even if a reporter was mainly employed by a newspaper, they could still do freelance work for others. Furthermore, the very high proportion of cases from Üsküdar among these suggests that options for gathering news were more limited for some areas of the city.<sup>72</sup>

Disregarding these identically phrased news, most of the crime news that were featured in more than one newspaper resembles each other in the way they are struc-

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69. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 157.

70. "Tanin Does Not Stray from the Truth", *Tanin*, 12 March 1909. See Appendix G.1 for the Turkish transliteration.

71. See Appendix E for these news reports.

72. Of the 12 cases, 5 occurred in Beyoğlu, 2 occurred in Istanbul proper, and 5 occurred in Üsküdar. Hence, while making up 6.30% of all crime news, cases from Üsküdar made up 41.66% of this similarly reported news. See Chapter 3.7 for more on distribution of crime news across Istanbul.

tured and the information they contain. Regarding the sources of the reporters themselves, it is again not clear how they got a hold of the criminal cases. Given that the crime news differed very little among the newspapers and followed a formulaic structure with no commentary, it is my inclination that the reporters were likely able to access police records. However, as the police reports of the cases themselves (“*zabit*”s) are not available,<sup>73</sup> I was not able to confirm whether or not this is the case.

Secondly, the news reports include many cases where the victims claim they do not know the assailant; however, evidence suggests otherwise. According to Roger Deal, this is due to the perception of violent crime as a private affair between the participants, especially of the *kabadayn* type.<sup>74</sup> In one example, a man claimed he was shot by an unknown offender while passing through the street, presenting the event as a case of reckless discharge of a firearm.<sup>75</sup> The investigation, however, revealed that the man was shot in the adjacent house by a man named Aziz while drinking with prostitutes.<sup>76</sup> This phenomenon was not exclusive to the *kabadayn* culture, as some communities also did not approve of one of their own talking to the police. Deal relays a case where the sister-in-law of an Albanian murderer begs the police not to disclose her cooperation as she refuted the murderer’s alibi.<sup>77</sup> Regardless of the circumstance, it is not possible to know how many of the cases involving unidentified assailants are accurately reported to the newspapers or the police. Hence, I decided to follow newspaper reports, but still point out this issue.

### 1.3 Literature Review

This literature review section will first examine the historiography on crime and policing, then focus on the historiography on migrant male workers of Istanbul who were seen as the usual suspects of crime in the city, and end with the historiography on crime reporting.

The history of crime and policing lies at the intersection of criminology, social history, urban history, and political history. Perhaps its scattered nature is partly

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73. The available sources include communications between the different police stations and other organizations. Noémi Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Asayiş (1879-1909)*, ed. Ali Berktaş, trans. Serra Akyüz (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 121, 122.

74. Roger A. Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909” (Ph.D., The University of Utah, 2006), 81, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/304986907>.

75. We will discuss the problem of reckless discharge of firearms below.

76. *İkdam*, 1 April 1909. *Sabah*, 1 April 1909.

77. Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909,” 158.

responsible for the relatively low amount of attention the topic has received from historians. Still, the last few decades have been fruitful for Ottoman crime historiography.

Two edited volumes on Ottoman crime and policing history should be pointed out as pioneering works in the field. *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza 18. - 20. Yüzyıllar*<sup>78</sup> edited by Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine, focuses on three issues: crime, public order in the Ottoman capital, and Ottoman prisons. The volume is a great introductory work, and many of its chapters were later expanded into standalone books. Likewise, *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*,<sup>79</sup> edited again by Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine, with the addition of Nadir Özbek is beneficial for anyone interested in the historiography on policing. The book aims to introduce French historiography on policing to Turkish readers and researchers, and includes reviews of the current historiography on Ottoman and Turkish policing.

Before moving on further, it should be noted that scholarly works referenced in this review are mainly on urban crime and urban policing. *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza 18. - 20. Yüzyıllar* introduced above makes the same restriction, citing the lack of scholarly attention given to rural studies on emerging fields.<sup>80</sup> However, Ebru Aykut's PhD dissertation "Alternative Claims on Justice and Law: Rural Arson and Poison Murder In The 19th Century Ottoman Empire",<sup>81</sup> Sabri Yetkin's book *Ege'de Eşknyalar*,<sup>82</sup> and Nadir Özbek's article "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)"<sup>83</sup> can be given as noteworthy works on rural crime and policing.

Going through research on Ottoman crime history in chronological order, we should first discuss Marinos' Sariyannis article "'Neglected Trades': Glimpses into the 17th Century Istanbul Underworld.",<sup>84</sup> where he paints the criminal scene of the city.

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78. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine, eds., *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20. Yüzyıllar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007).

79. Noémi Lévy, Nadir Özbek, and Alexandre Toumarkine, eds., *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009).

80. Noémi Lévy, "Giriş," in *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*, ed. Alexandre Toumarkine and Noémi Lévy (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), 2.

81. Ebru Aykut Türker, "Alternative Claims on Justice and Law: Rural Arson and Poison Murder In The 19th Century Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D., Boğaziçi University, 2011), <https://acikbilim.yok.gov.tr/handle/20.500.12812/326808>.

82. Sabri Yetkin, *Ege'de Eşknyalar*, 2. Edition (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019).

83. Nadir Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (2008): 47-67, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30069651>.

84. Marinos Sariyannis, "'Neglected Trades': Glimpses into the 17th Century Istanbul Underworld," *Turcica* 38 (2006): 155-179, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.38.0.2021272>. Another article by Sariyannis on prostitution is also noteworthy. Marinos Sariyannis, "Prostitution in Ot-

Sariyannis states that the evidence at hand is not adequate to claim the existence of organized crime in the imperial capital, despite the existence of habitual criminals and gangs. Fariba Zarinebaf's book *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700–1800*<sup>85</sup> is much more comprehensive. Zarinebaf analyzes crime and policing in 18th-century Istanbul with the backdrop of the 1703 and 1730 revolts. In dedicated chapters, she goes through crime against property, prostitution and vice trade, and violent crime cases and discusses the background of the offenders and the punishments they were given. These works on the history of crime in early modern Istanbul allow us to examine whether any themes and patterns persist into the criminal world of early twentieth-century Istanbul.

Focusing on crime in late nineteenth, early twentieth century Istanbul, the following works provided the potential research questions and preliminary information for this study. In his PhD dissertation, “Violent Crime In Hamidian Istanbul 1876-1909”,<sup>86</sup> Roger Deal explores the culture of violence in the imperial capital. Deal points out the *kabadayi*, *külhanbeyi* cultures, and Albanian and Circassian cultures as noteworthy sources of violence. In his article, “War Refugees and Violence in Hamidian Istanbul”,<sup>87</sup> Deal claims that war refugees, especially of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, were the offenders in a significant portion of violent crime cases and reasons that the traumatic experiences of war might have made them prone to violence.

Noémi Lévy's book *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş (1879-1909)*<sup>88</sup> and Ferdan Ergüt's PhD dissertation “State And Social Control: The Police In The Late Ottoman Empire And The Early Republican Turkey, 1839-1939”<sup>89</sup> are important works on the history of establishing public order and policing in Istanbul. Lévy's book focuses on elements of the public order in Istanbul, such as the police, the watchmen, and the *kabadays*.<sup>90</sup> Ergüt's dissertation's scope is larger in terms of both time and space and approaches the history of policing in the late Ottoman Empire and the Early Republic as a process of centralization.

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toman Istanbul, Late Sixteenth - Early Eighteenth Century,” *Turcica* 40 (2008): 37–65, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.40.0.2037134>

85. Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700/1800* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010).

86. Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909.”

87. Roger A. Deal, “War Refugees and Violence in Hamidian Istanbul,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, no. 2 (2013): 179–190, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23470983>.

88. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*.

89. Ferdan Ergüt, “State and Social Control: The Police in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Republican Turkey, 1839–1939” (Ph.D., New School for Social Research, November 1999), <https://www.proquest.com/docview/304630321/abstract/E270460E45AD462APQ/1>.

90. *Kabadays* can be sources of both order and disorder, for more see Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, chap. 9 and Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909,” chap. 2.

Before moving on to the master's theses on crime and policing, Deniz Dölek-Sever's PhD dissertation, "War And Imperial Capital: Public Order, Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1914-1918",<sup>91</sup> should be noted. Dölek-Sever examines the complications the state of war brought to keeping order in the city, as those perceived by the state as "suspects" were extended to include minorities on top of the vagrants, and the deteriorating living conditions led to an increase in crime rates.

There are a few works that provide the reader with some statistical data on crime rates and anecdotal evidence on some criminal cases through newspaper reports or state records, but suffer from a lack of critical reading. Çiğdem Ülker's PhD dissertation, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi İstanbul'unda Adi Suçlar (1908-1918)",<sup>92</sup> Serdar Ekrem Şirin's master thesis "İttihat ve Terakki Dönemi'nde İstanbul'da Asayişsizlik (1908-1914)"<sup>93</sup> and Kader Kırmacı's master thesis "İkdam Gazetesine Göre Galata'da Asayiş Sorunları (1894-1900)"<sup>94</sup> can be listed among such works.

Two master's theses should be highlighted. İlker Cörüt's "Social Rationality Of Lower Class Criminal Practices In The Late Nineteenth Century İstanbul"<sup>95</sup> attempts to understand the sources of criminal behavior of Istanbul's lower classes. Gonca Kış's thesis, "1908 Aff-ı Umumisinin İstanbul Asayişine Etkileri (İstanbul Gazetelerine Göre)"<sup>96</sup> analyzes the effects of the general amnesty of 1908 on the number of crime news in Istanbul newspapers and concludes that there is no discernable difference between the amount of crime news featured in newspapers between the three months preceding and following the amnesty. However, it should be noted that the analysis is based only on the total amount of news rather than a closer reading of the news reports. Furthermore, the comparison suffers from the fact that the control variable, the newspapers scanned, is not controlled throughout the study. Kış analyzes the crime news on *Sabah* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* before the amnesty but switches to analyzing *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin* following the amnesty.

Before moving on to the literature on migrant workers, one last aspect of policing, the prisons, should be discussed. Gültekin Yıldız's book, *Mapusane, Osmanlı*

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91. Deniz Dölek-Sever, "War and Imperial Capital: Public Order, Crime And Punishment In Istanbul, 1914-1918" (Ph.D., Middle East Technical University, March 2015).

92. Çiğdem Ülker, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi İstanbul'unda Adi Suçlar (1908-1918)" (Ph.D., Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi, October 2021).

93. Serdar Ekrem Şirin, "İttihat ve Terakki Döneminde İstanbul'da Asayişsizlik (1908-1914)" (M.A., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2004).

94. Kader Kırmacı, "İkdam Gazetesine Göre Galata'da Asayiş Sorunları (1894-1900)" (M.A., Erzurum Teknik Üniversitesi, 2022).

95. İlker Cörüt, "Social Rationality of Lower Class Criminal Practices in the Late Nineteenth Century İstanbul" (M.A., Boğaziçi University, 2005).

96. Gonca Kış, "1908 Aff-I Umumisinin İstanbul Asayişine Etkileri (İstanbul Gazetelerine Göre)" (M.A., Uşak Üniversitesi, 2015).



*Hapishanelerinin Kuruluş Serüveni (1839-1908)*,<sup>97</sup> Kent Schull's book *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosm of Modernity*,<sup>98</sup> and Ufuk Adak's PhD dissertation "The Politics of Punishment, Urbanization, and Izmir Prison in the Late Ottoman Empire"<sup>99</sup> are all significant works on Ottoman prisons and penal system and modernization. Schull's book especially is important as it provides the reader with detailed statistics from the 1912 and 1914 Ottoman prison surveys, enhancing our sources on the identities of Ottoman convicts. Schull also presents the prisons as a controlled environment where reforms could be fast-tracked.

The literature on migrant male workers of Istanbul, called *bekars* ("bachelor"s), however, is quite robust thankfully. Articles by Cengiz Kırh,<sup>100</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi,<sup>101</sup> and Nina Ergin<sup>102</sup> are helpful in understanding the chain migration phenomenon and the different sectors dominated by migrants from different parts of the Ottoman Empire at different times. Articles by Cemal Kafadar,<sup>103</sup> Felix Konrad,<sup>104</sup> and Marinos Sariyannis<sup>105</sup> demonstrate the complex and symbiotic relationship the migrant workers had with the janissaries and how the migrant workers were an integral part of the city and the popular revolts.

The history of migrant workers is intertwined with the history of policing in Istanbul. Betül Başaran's book, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century*,<sup>106</sup> makes use of the inspection registers compiled to

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97. Gültekin Yıldız, *Mapusâne: Osmanlı Hapishanelerinin Kuruluş Serüveni, 1839-1908* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2012).

98. Kent F. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

99. Ufuk Adak, "The Politics of Punishment, Urbanization, and Izmir Prison in the Late Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, 2015).

100. Cengiz Kırh, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 60 (2001): 125–140, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27672742>.

101. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century 'Greater Istanbul' as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 163–183, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.30.0.2004296>.

102. Nina Ergin, "The Albanian Tellâk Connection: Labor Migration to the Hammams of 18th-Century Istanbul, Based on the 1752 İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri," *Turcica* 43 (2011): 231–256, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.43.0.2174069>.

103. Cemal Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels Without A Cause?," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, nos. 1-2 (2007): 113–134.

104. Felix Konrad, "Coping with "the Riff-Raff and Mob": Representations of Order and Disorder in the Patrona Halil Rebellion (1730)," *Die Welt des Islams* 54, nos. 3-4 (December 2014): 363–398, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700607-05434P04>.

105. Marinos Sariyannis, "'Mob', 'Scamps' and Rebels in 17th Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11, nos. 1-2 (2005). Marinos Sariyannis, "Unseen Rebels: The 'Mob' of Istanbul as a Constituent of Ottoman Revolt, Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Turkish historical review* 2019, 10, nos. 2-03 (2020): 155–188, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18775462-01002009>.

106. Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

survey the immigrant population and provides an overview of the history of migrant workers. Başaran presents Selim III's efforts to control the migrant population as a part of the Sultan's struggles against the janissary population, who were highly affiliated with the migrant workers, in the process of centralization.

Before moving on chronologically, Shirine Hamadeh's articles,<sup>107</sup> and Işık Çokuğraş's book *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Marjinalite ve Mekan (1789-1839)*<sup>108</sup> should be pointed out as works that focus on the migrant workers, and more notably the spaces they inhabited. These works highlight the state's efforts to control the migrant population through the control of space, as the spaces inhabited or frequented by migrants were seen as inherently corrupting. Çokuğraş especially does a good job of portraying the living conditions of the migrant workers in bachelor houses, inns, coffee houses, bakeries, and shops.

İlkay Yılmaz's book, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Güvenlik Politikaları, Mürur Tezkereleri Pasaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları: Serseri, Anarşist Ve Fesadın Peşinde*<sup>109</sup> focuses on the Hamidian regime's efforts to regulate migration. The emergence of anarchists as a new threat to the public order, with their terrorist acts and international network, distinguishes Yılmaz's work from other works focusing on regulating mobility in Istanbul. The book covers the new discourse focusing on national security developed by the Hamidian and the cooperation with European states against anarchist groups.

Lastly, works on the Vagrancy Act of 1909 should be covered. Nadir Özbek's article, "‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914"<sup>110</sup> covers the process leading to the enactment of the law through parliamentary discussion. The article also features the shortcomings of the law in the aftermath of its enactment, as the state was not able to employ the vagrants as intended. Layra Mete's master thesis, "Controlling the Bachelors of Istanbul During the Ottoman Modernization Period and the Regulations On Vagabonds"<sup>111</sup> focuses on the shift from regulating migrant workers to criminalizing vagrants. Mete also

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107. Shirine Hamadeh, "Invisible City: Istanbul's Migrants and the Politics of Space," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 173–193, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44631635>. Shirine Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul," *Turcica*, no. 44 (2013): 249–277, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.44.0.2988852>.

108. Işık Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Marjinalite ve Mekan (1789-1839)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2016).

109. İlkay Yılmaz, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Güvenlik Politikaları, Mürur Tezkereleri Pasaportlar Ve Otel Kayıtları: Serseri, Anarşist Ve Fesadın Peşinde* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014).

110. N. Özbek, "‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914."

111. Layra Mete, "Controlling the Bachelors of Istanbul During the Ottoman Modernization Period and the Regulations On Vagabonds" (master's thesis, Sabancı University, 2020).

compares the 1890 and 1909 Vagrancy Acts and discusses the change in the state's attitude towards vagrants, and the definition of vagrants. On a last note, Ferdan Ergut's book can also be reiterated here, although only a small section of the book covers this topic.<sup>112</sup>

Literature on crime reporting demonstrates that the history of crime in the era of emerging mass media can not be fully studied without analyzing the effects of the media on the perception of public order. The following works demonstrate how media can create panics, portray particular groups as dangerous, or approach crime and criminals differently based on the newspaper's readership and political affiliations.

Philippe Chassaigne's article "Popular Representations of Crime: The Crime Broadside - A Subculture of Violence in Victorian Britain?"<sup>113</sup> demonstrates how crime broadsides, single-sheet papers initially sold at public executions and depicted the crime, preceded the popularization of crime news in newspapers by a few decades in Victorian Britain. As the genre had its roots in execution literature, the broadsides mainly featured more violent criminal acts, especially murder. Although these publications were meant for entertainment and included gory details of the crime and ballads, Chassaigne also highlights the educational utility of the broadsides as they warned against bad company, drinking, or extra-marital affairs, the last one especially aimed at women. The author also claims that the broadsides familiarized the British public with the workings of the judicial system.

Although crime broadsides were also popular, the newspapers were more effective in influencing public perception. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, with the trend of "new journalism", British newspapers focused on popular topics, with crime stories leading the charge. Despite decreasing crime rates, increased coverage of crime resulted in media panics that presented "dangerous classes" as the perpetrators of crime. Rob Sindall's book *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*<sup>114</sup> explains this phenomenon comprehensively. The members of these "dangerous classes" were those who did not fit in with the ideals of middle-class life and, more importantly, were seen as a threat to middle-class life, much like the *bekars* of Istanbul. The press also targeted the prisoners released on good behavior, similar to the aftermath of the 1908 general amnesty declared by Abdulhamid II.

The media panics, although started by some initial deviance, were periodical, and

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112. Ergut, "State and Social Control," 257–72.

113. Philippe Chassaigne, "Popular Representations Of Crime: The Crime Broadside — A Subculture Of Violence In Victorian Britain?," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 3, no. 2 (1999): 23–55, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42708371>.

114. Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 190).

coverage of crime news dwindled down when the media found more newsworthy topics to cover.<sup>115</sup> Jeffrey S. Adler’s article “The Making of a Moral Panic in 19th-Century America: The Boston Garroting Hysteria Of 1865”<sup>116</sup> demonstrates that such media panics were not unique to Victorian Britain. In an effort to appeal to both middle-class and working-class readers, Boston newspapers disproportionately reported African-American offenders. The media panic following the 1908 general amnesty and the Great Çırçır fires demonstrate that the Ottoman press too had similar features.

The disproportionate reporting of one group of offenders is another important topic to discuss. Daniel Vyleta’s article “Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanours: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890–1914)”<sup>117</sup> reports how the anti-semitic periodicals in Vienna targeted Jews in their crime reporting. According to Vyleta, Jews were depicted as more inclined to financial crimes and sexual crimes rather than violent crimes. Even when the reported events had nothing to do with Jews, the periodicals targeted them by referencing their negative effects on society. It should be noted that one shortcoming of this study is the lack of comparison points, such as the non-anti-Semitic periodicals from the same period.

Another study to note is Anne Baltz Rodrick’s article “‘Only a Newspaper Metaphor’: Crime Reports, Class Conflict, and Social Criticism in Two Victorian Newspapers”.<sup>118</sup> In this article, Rodrick compares the crime reporting on *The Northern Star*, a newspaper intended for a working-class readership, and *Illustrated London News*, intended for a middle-class readership. Rodrick points out a handful of differences between the newspapers. *The Northern Star* focused on crimes of passion, such as assault or murder motivated by jealousy, and crimes of destitute, such as suicide or infanticide, and reported these in an emphasizing tone. *Illustrated London News*, on the other hand, featured financial crimes such as fraud, embezzlement, and non-violent petty theft cases involving working-class perpetrators and victims. According to Rodrick, *The Northern Star* used crimes of passion and gory details to capture the attention of the readers and used crimes of destitute to engage in social commentary, while *Illustrated London News* very rarely linked crime to social conditions.

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115. Casey, “Common Misperceptions,” See especially Figure 10 on page 389 for the periodicity of media panics.

116. Adler, “The Making Of A Moral Panic.”

117. Daniel Vyleta, “Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanours: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890-1914),” *European History Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (April 2005): 299–325, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691405051468>.

118. Anne Baltz Rodrick, “‘Only a Newspaper Metaphor’: Crime Reports, Class Conflict, and Social Criticism in Two Victorian Newspapers,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 29, no. 1 (1996): 1–18.

There are a few noteworthy studies on Ottoman crime reporting. First is Nurçin İleri's article "Between the Real and the Imaginary: Late Ottoman Istanbul as a Crime Scene"<sup>119</sup> on murder ballads and crime news in the late nineteenth century. Murder ballads were usually narrated from the killer's or the victim's perspective, and unrequited homosexual love was a popular theme. İleri claims that the popularity of murder ballads and crime news resulted in the public's perception of increasing crime rates, hence facilitating the increase of the state's control over the population.

The second noteworthy study, Ebru Aykut's article "Devr-i Hürriyette İstibdat Hayaleti: 1908 Çırcır Yangını'nın Ardından İstanbul'da Kundakçılık, Söylentiler ve Asayiş"<sup>120</sup> pertains to a prime example of media panic. Following the Great Çırcır Fire of 1908, rumors started to circulate among the people of Istanbul that the sprees of fires were caused by agents of Abdulhamid II to abolish the constitution once again after the Sultan was forced to reinstate the constitution just the month prior. Aykut highlights the difference in the coverage of newspapers, mainly *Tanin*'s efforts to subdue the atmosphere by refuting the claims of dedicated arsonist bands and the opposition mouthpiece *İkdam*'s claims on the contrary. The two newspapers even differed in reporting the same case, disagreeing on whether or not an arsonist was found.<sup>121</sup> While the public accused agents of Abdulhamid II, the state and most of the press targeted the prisoners released by the general amnesty declared following the reinstatement of the constitution as the ones behind the fires.

Lastly, Palmira Brummet's book *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* should be noted, especially Chapter IX titled "Dogs, Crime, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets".<sup>122</sup> Brummet covers public safety issues such as the perceptions of police negligence and increased crime rates through cartoons and satirical works of the time. Brummet's selection of related cartoons signified that police negligence was perceived to be a problem by many, and not claims of a small dissatisfied group or publishment. Excluding Kader Kırmacı's master's thesis titled "İkdam Gazetesine Göre Galata'da Asayiş Sorunları(1894-1900)" covered above, I did not encounter any other studies on Ottoman crime reporting.

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119. Nurçin İleri, "Between the Real and the Imaginary: Late Ottoman Istanbul as a Crime Scene," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 4, no. 1 (2017): 95–116, <https://doi.org/10.2979/jottturstuass.4.1.06>.

120. Ebru Aykut, "Devr-i Hürriyette İstibdat Hayaleti: 1908 Çırcır Yangını'nın Ardından İstanbul'da Kundakçılık, Söylentiler ve Asayiş," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 136 (2016): 5–39.

121. *Tanin* reported that 14-year-old Niyazi started a fire just to blame it on a man his friend group had a feud with. According to another newspaper, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, this man called Abdullah was released following the kids' confession. However, according to *İkdam*, Niyazi was found guilty of arson and confessed that Abdullah gave him the incendiary material. See *Tanin*, 31 August 1908. *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 31 August 1908. *İkdam*, 31 August 1908 cited in Aykut, 13.

122. Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), chap. IX.

## 1.4 The 1909 Vagrancy Act and Historical Background

Before delving into the 1909 Vagrancy Act, a brief summary of the history of vagrants in Istanbul and the Ottoman state's attempts to combat vagrancy are in order. The efforts of previous centuries, however, did not target "vagrants" but rather the migrant male workers called "the bachelors" (*bekars*), derived from the Persian "bi-kar" meaning jobless.<sup>123</sup> The irony of calling the migrant workers "jobless" aside, the vagrants were usually a subset of the migrant workers. Even the 1907 Police Regulation tasked the police with checking the single men.<sup>124</sup> However, our summary has to start earlier if we are to understand the perception of young single male workers as vagrants and potential criminals by the Ottoman state.

Following the troubles of the 17<sup>th</sup> century—the Little Ice Age and the Celali revolts—<sup>125</sup> the people of Anatolia flocked to the imperial capital for safety, whether from the rebel bands or from the oppressive tax regime. As the rural taxpayers left their villages for the cities, the Ottoman state increased the tax burden on the remaining villagers, resulting in a feedback loop that amplified migration to cities.<sup>126</sup> The immigrants also found in Istanbul the safety of price control on crucial needs such as bread, and more importantly, a support network formed by their previously migrated townsmen. Newly migrated men found work mainly as porters, boatmen, gardeners, grocers, or bakers. The most important factor in determining their new occupation was their hometown, or rather, which line of work their fellow countrymen dominated.<sup>127</sup> These men, who made up nearly half of the city's workforce in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>128</sup> were confined to bachelor houses, inns, and the shops they worked in. They were excluded from living in the neighborhoods of the city.<sup>129</sup>

The earliest examples of the Ottoman state's attempts to control the migrant population in Istanbul can be dated to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as two

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123. Hamadeh, "Invisible City," 173.

124. Ergut, "State and Social Control," 271.

125. See Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576-1643*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, volume 61 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016); Mustafa Akdağ, "Celâli İsyânlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk 1603 —1606," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (May 1964): 1–49, [https://doi.org/10.1501/Tarar\\_0000000283](https://doi.org/10.1501/Tarar_0000000283); Münir Aktepe, "İstanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar," *Tarih Dergisi* 9, no. 13 (June 2011): 1–30, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iutarih/issue/9587/119633>.

126. Aktepe, "İstanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar," 6

127. See Kırılı, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," 135–38.

128. *Ibid.*, 134.

129. Neighborhood here denotes not an area, but a social and administrative unit headed by a religious leader, such as an imam, who was deemed the guarantor of all the residents. Furthermore, if the culprit of a crime could not be found, the entire neighborhood would be deemed responsible and would have to pay fines collectively. See Başaran, *Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 37; Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*, 130

sultanic decrees ordered the expulsion and the exclusion of migrants from the neighborhoods.<sup>130</sup> The state enhanced these efforts in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as migrant men were increasingly associated with crime and public disorder due to their participation in the revolts of 1730 and 1740.<sup>131</sup> In addition to repeatedly sending orders to provincial officials to prevent migration to Istanbul,<sup>132</sup> migrants were expelled from Istanbul from time to time, especially after revolts were suppressed.<sup>133</sup> Until the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, favorable economic and political conditions led to a decrease in migration to Istanbul. However, the global economic depression and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 once again increased migration into Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>134</sup> In 1890, the Regulation on Vagrants and Suspected Criminals (*Serseriler ve Mazanne-i Su-i Eshaş*) was issued. Accordingly, a vagrant (*serseri*) was defined as a person who had neither a permanent place of residence nor gainful occupation (article 1), and those convicted of felonies were defined as being “of the suspect sort” (“*mazanne-i su takımından*”) (article 2). Such persons were put under heavier police control, including imprisonment if they failed to demonstrate that they had obtained employment,<sup>135</sup> as idleness was seen as a leading factor in criminalization.<sup>136</sup>

Expedited by the concerns following the general amnesty declared in 1908, which will be covered below, a new law on vagrants was put on the parliament’s agenda after the Ministry of Police’s initiation. The parliament, however, discarded the Ministry of Police’s draft and instead revised the previous regulation from 1890.<sup>137</sup> Introducing the draft to the general assembly, Fuat Hulusi Bey<sup>138</sup> stressed the need for the regulation and highlighted the shortcomings of the previous regulation. He claimed that the statistics indicate that the majority of the criminals originate

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130. Hamadeh, “Invisible City,” 179.

131. Başaran, *Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 15.

132. According to Başaran, such orders were sent in 1720, 1724, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1734, 1747, 1756, 1757, 1763, 1776, 1779, 1784, and in 1786. *ibid.*, 35.

133. Expulsions were especially carried out after revolts. Notably, expulsions were carried out in 1731, 1740, and 1808. The abolition of the janissary corps in 1826 was also followed by the expulsion of the migrant workers, as they were close allies of the janissaries or janissaries themselves. For more information, see *ibid.*; Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler*; Aktepe, “İstanbul’un Nüfus Mes’alesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar.”

134. N. Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” 785.

135. *Düstur, I. Tertip*, volume 6, 748.

136. N. Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” 791; Ergut, “State and Social Control,” 184, 259

137. N. Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” 791.

138. Fuat Hulusi (Demirelli) was the CUP deputy from Tripoli (*Trablusşam*). Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, 432.

from the unemployed population.<sup>139</sup> Fuat Hulusi Bey also claimed that the lack of a defined time limit for gaining employment and the lack of surveillance in this process hindered the application of the regulation, as vagrants simply fled in the meantime.<sup>140</sup> The parliament's discussions, interrupted by the 31 March counter-revolution attempt, focused on two issues. The first talking point was regarding the definition of vagrants. Fuat Hulusi Bey presents three different types of vagrants. The first type is those who are not able to work, whose welfare is the responsibility of the government. The second type is those who became vagrants, i.e., unemployed, through misfortune, who the government should help get back on their feet. Lastly, there are the vagrants who choose not to work although they are able-bodied. If this behavior is a product of their nurture, they can be rehabilitated to work. However, if this behavior is a product of their nature, they can not be rehabilitated, only forced to work.<sup>141</sup> Subsequent discussions focused on formulating a definition, and those who have been unemployed for more than two months and failed to demonstrate that they sought employment in the meantime were defined as vagrants.<sup>142</sup> Getting convicted twice for any felony resulted in being defined as "suspected person" (*"mazanne-i su-i eřhas"*).

The second talking point of the draft was the proposed corporal punishment. The twelfth article proposed that if anyone of the vagrant sort were found in a disguised state or carrying tools that could be used as instruments of crime and failed to prove that they were carrying those tools for legitimate reasons, they were to be punished by caning. Furthermore, the thirteenth article proposed that vagrants who assaulted or threatened people to be punished by caning. Articles eighteen, nineteen, and twenty regulated the process of caning. Discussions focused on the appropriateness of caning as a form of punishment. While those who opposed caning, such as Kozmide Efendi, claimed that such a punishment would diminish the Ottomans' image in the eyes of the Europeans, the proponents of caning insisted on its necessity and pointed out its use by the British against vagrants. Despite the opposition, caning was enacted into the regulation.<sup>143</sup> It seems that the discussions surrounding corporal punishment continued, as a police textbook from 1912 saw the need to defend corporal punishment by dedicating a section and claiming the introduction of corporal punishment led to lower crime rates in England and how its lack in

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139. *Meclis-i Meb'usan Zabıt Cerideleri* (MMZC), İ: 45/C: 2, 24 March 1909 (11 March 1325), 426.

140. MMZC, İ: 45/C: 2, 24 March 1909 (11 March 1325), 425.

141. MMZC, İ: 45/C: 2, 24 March 1909 (11 March 1325), 426, 427.

142. See Appendix F for the 1909 Vagrancy Act. For the discussion, see MMZC, İ: 45/C: 2, 24 March 1909 (11 March 1325); MMZC, İ: 46/C: 2, 25 March 1909 (12 March 1325). Also see N. Özbek, "Beggars' and 'Vagrants' in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914," 791-95

143. For the discussions, see 50. and 51. *İnikat*.



France encouraged criminals who did not refrain from being imprisoned.<sup>144</sup>

The main goal, or at the least stated goal, of the act was to incorporate the vagrants into the workforce. Suitable jobs were to be found by the state, however, such efforts were not fruitful. Suitable work could not be found in neither Istanbul or in the provinces.<sup>145</sup> However, the law had other uses. The regulation acted as a tool of preventive policing, as it enabled the police to control suspected persons without the burden of proof and before criminal acts took place.<sup>146</sup> Ferdan Ergut considers the rather long allotted time of two months to seek employment as a way to increase the duration of police surveillance on the poor.<sup>147</sup> The regulation also provided the police with the excuse to survey the vagrants and suspected persons and the places they frequented.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, suspected persons could be found guilty if they were sent to the courts, even if there was not enough evidence against them.<sup>149</sup> The law was also used after the 1913 coup by the CUP to deport more than 200 “vagrants” from Istanbul who were deemed dangerous,<sup>150</sup> akin to how migrant workers were deported after the suppression of popular revolts in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 1.4.1 Between the Revolution and the Counter-Revolution Attempt

With the Vagrancy Act of 1909 covered, it will be beneficial to briefly cover some of the features of the period between the proclamation of the constitution on 24 July 1908 and the counter-revolution attempt of 13 April 1909, at least concerning public order. Firstly, it was a period of unprecedented liberty. As discussed earlier, a press boom occurred, and perhaps more importantly, the newspaper editors acted against censorship. However, this atmosphere of liberty also had a tense character. In the days following the reinstatement of the constitution, the Minister of Police announced the inclusion of more than 15,000 ordinary prisoners in the amnesty that was originally intended for political prisoners.<sup>151</sup> Contemporaries interpreted this as a ploy by the outgoing administration to cause public disorder and make it harder for the revolutionaries to govern.<sup>152</sup> To give an example of a contemporary reaction,

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144. İbrahim Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye*, ed. Muhittin Karakaya and Veysel Bilgiç (Ankara: Polis Akademisi Yayınları, 2010), 164–68.

145. N. Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876–1914,” 796, 797.

146. Ergut, “State and Social Control,” 257, 258.

147. *Ibid.*, 266.

148. *Ibid.*, 267.

149. *Ibid.*, 270.

150. *Ibid.*, 267, 268.

151. *Ibid.*, 196, 197.

152. It should be noted that the events may not be that simple. Although Ergut agrees with the contemporaries’ views, he also states that some political prisoners were treated as ordinary

*Stamboul* published an anonymous letter on 31 July 1908 claiming that the amnesty resulted in genuine bandits strolling the streets of the capital freely.<sup>153</sup> It should be noted that, despite all the concerns, a study of the crime news in the newspapers before and after the amnesty found a similar number of crime news in newspapers.<sup>154</sup>

One month after the revolution, on August 23, one of the most devastating fires in the city's history swept across Istanbul. The imperial capital was a city used to fires, but the reaction to the fire and subsequent minor fires in its aftermath make it important for our discussion. Rumors started to circulate among the people about reports of arson perpetrated by the agents of Abdulhamid II, while the press accused the newly released convicts of being the culprits. For a few weeks, the people of Istanbul lived in fear of fire, arsonists, and a return to the oppressive regime.<sup>155</sup>

Fears of a counter-revolution materialized significantly for the first time on October 7. On a Ramadan day, a preacher called Kör Ali and the crowd he gathered around him walked to Abdulhamid II's residence, the Yıldız Palace, and demanded the abolition of the parliament and a return to Islamic rule. Although this insurrection attempt was suppressed, the anti-constitutionalist sentiment manifested itself in another event named the Beşiktaş Incident. A young Muslim girl and a young *Rum* man married in defiance of their families' wishes. While the young couple was kept at the Beşiktaş police station, a crowd that heard the news gathered around and started to protest the marriage and the constitutional regime as they felt it facilitated this unsanctioned union. With no resistance from the police, they broke into the police station and lynched the groom to death, and injured the bride critically.<sup>156</sup>

In addition to these internal events, October also came with devastating external developments. On October 5, Bulgaria<sup>157</sup> declared independence from the Ottoman Empire, and Austria-Hungary announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Shortly after, Crete announced unification with Greece.<sup>158</sup> All that could be done in retaliation was the boycott of Austrian goods by the public. Leading up to the 31 March counterrevolution attempt, there were two more important events.

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prisoners, and thus were excluded from the initial form of the amnesty. Ergut, "State and Social Control," 247.

153. *Stamboul*, 31 July 1908, cited in Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, 220.

154. Kiş, "1908 Aff-i Umumisinin İstanbul Asayişine Etkileri (İstanbul Gazetelerine Göre)," 164.

155. As discussed in the literature review section, the media's reaction is a good example of a media panic. See Aykut, "Devr-i Hürriyette İstibdat Hayaleti." However, it should be noted that five people were convicted of arson. Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, 282

156. Doğan Duman, "31 Mart Vak'ası'nın İki Öncü Habercisi: Kör Ali ve Beşiktaş Olayları," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 1, no. 42 (January 2016): 95–112, <https://doi.org/10.9761/JASSS3192>.

157. Referring to the Principality of Bulgaria, which was elevated to the Tsardom of Bulgaria following its declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire.

158. Referring to the Kingdom of Greece.

Firstly, on March 25, the police fired shots into a *Rum* crowd that was assaulting police officers and hindering the detainment of a *Rum* man. Known as the Beyoğlu Incident, this event will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4.4. More importantly, as discussed above, *Serbesti*'s lead writer Hasan Fehmi was assassinated on April 6. Hasan Fehmi's assassination led to protests against the CUP, who were seen as the culprits.

The perception of the police and public order should also be briefly discussed. As mentioned above, the general amnesty resulted in a feeling of unsafety. However, as we will see in Chapter 4, the police were also accused of negligence. The police had a lot to overcome during this time, as their image was damaged during the lengthy reign of Abdulhamid II. They were seen as the tools of oppression.<sup>159</sup> To rehabilitate this image, the CUP administration made changes to the commanding officers,<sup>160</sup> replaced the "stained uniform" as the writer of a contemporary police textbook calls it,<sup>161</sup> and raised hiring standards even amidst a personnel shortage.<sup>162</sup>

Another issue was the prevalence of firearm ownership, and more importantly, the reckless discharge of these firearms. Children as young as middle school age had access to firearms and fired shots that injured people.<sup>163</sup> Messing with firearms led to many accidents, which led to the deaths of loved ones or even the person themselves.<sup>164</sup> It should be noted that, although they are reported as accidents, some of these cases might be intentional. However, the sheer number of cases suggests that accidental gunshot wounds were not something out of the ordinary. Celebratory gunfire, especially, was a huge problem. On April 6, the Beyoğlu District Administration published an announcement in the newspapers that warned of the dangers of celebratory gunfire on the eve of the Easter holiday.<sup>165</sup> Despite the warnings by the police, on April 12 and April 13, the newspapers reported many cases where reckless gunshots led to injury.<sup>166</sup> *Sabah* reported on April 12 that "around twenty to thirty accidents occurred in Istanbul since yesterday. We refrain from reporting them one by one."<sup>167</sup>

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159. Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye*, 175, 176.

160. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, 224–231.

161. Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye*, 175.

162. Ergut, "State and Social Control," 238.

163. See Chapter 2 page 47.

164. For the manslaughter of a friend, see *İkdam*, 5 April 1909. For a self-inflicted death, see *Sabah*, 22 March 1909; *Tanin*, 22 March 1909. It should be noted *İkdam* reports this case differently. *İkdam* claims that another person fired the shot, although it is not clear whether it was intentional or not. *İkdam*, 22 March 1909.

165. *Sabah*, 6 April 1909; *İkdam*, 6 April 1909; *Tanin*, 6 April 1909.

166. The Easter Sunday was on April 12. See Table B.2 and Figure B.1 in Appendix BB for the distribution of accidental discharge cases over the observed time period.

167. *Sabah*, 12 April 1909.

## 2. CRIMINAL IDENTITY IN ISTANBUL STATISTICS JOURNALS

This chapter will introduce the supplementary primary sources used in this thesis. To make the most out of the data gathered from the analysis of newspaper reports, one should have information on Istanbul at the time, especially statistical information. Otherwise, the figures themselves might lead us to wrong conclusions. One such example can be seen when Noémi Lévy refutes the notion that Beyoğlu is the most dangerous district of the city, by claiming “Contrary to stereotypical ideas about the dangers of the modern city represented by Beyoğlu, the highest crime rates were recorded in the Historical Peninsula [Istanbul proper]. In the January and February months of the year 1911, while 511 crimes were recorded in the Historical Peninsula, this figure was 482 in Beyoğlu and only 227 in Üsküdar.”<sup>1</sup> Although this thesis too will challenge the notion that crime rates were higher in Beyoğlu, Lévy’s argument is based purely on the number of crime cases, rather than the number of crime cases per capita, that is the actual crime rate.<sup>2</sup>

To reach a conclusion about whether or not Istanbul, Beyoğlu, or Üsküdar were more dangerous than the others requires knowledge not only of the number of criminal cases in these districts, but also of the population figures of each district, and other factors such as the nature of the crime. This is also the case when talking about the religious or national identity of the offenders, or the perceived criminal behaviors of some professions such as porters and boatmen. To this end, this chapter will include discussions on the population of Istanbul around the Second Constitutional Era, the spatial and religious distribution of the population, and perhaps more importantly, methodological problems.

Another benefit of these primary sources is that they allow us to expand our com-

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1. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Asayiş*, 133. Lévy cites Presidential State Archives Ottoman Archives (BOA), DH.EUM.ADL 8/18 and BOA, DH.EUM.ADL 9/6 as her sources.

2. It is important to note here that the quote above was translated to English from the Turkish translation of the book. In the original French version of this sentence, Lévy might not have used a word meaning “crime rate”.

parison between *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*'s crime reporting to an outside and official primary source on crime in Istanbul. To this end, crime statistics from Istanbul Statistics Journals (*İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*), especially the 1913 volume, which has an extensive table on criminal identity, will be used. This table reports the number of people who have committed one of the 58 crimes listed according to their profession, age, and many other attributes. If it is possible to compare the contents of this table with the reports of newspapers, such as the profession of the offender, the contents will be introduced in this chapter, and the analysis will be done later alongside the data from newspaper reports. For sections that do not have comparable data from the newspapers, such as the age of the offenders, the analysis of the content will be done in this chapter.

## 2.1 On Istanbul Statistics Journals

Istanbul Statistics Journals (*İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*) were compiled and published by the municipality of Istanbul (*Şehremaneti*) for the years 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1919 after the Great War. Although the Introduction chapter of the 1919 journal claims that some of the data gathered during the war would be compiled and published later,<sup>3</sup> neither those nor newer volumes of the Istanbul Statistics Journal were published.<sup>4</sup> The volumes of 1912, 1913, and 1914 have been transliterated and published by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Office of Libraries and Museums,<sup>5</sup> and the volume of 1919 has been transliterated as a part of Vahap Sayın's Master's Thesis.<sup>6</sup> These transliterations facilitated the use of these resources in my study while referring to original documents to double-check faulty data.<sup>7</sup>

The data for the journals were gathered in a piecemeal fashion by sending the tables to be filled out to the related district office or other governmental bodies.<sup>8</sup> As such, there are some discrepancies in the amount of available information from different sources. To give an example, while the Makriköy district office filled out the tables

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3. Vahap Sayın, "İstanbul Şehremaneti'nin Şehir İstatistiği Çalışmaları: 1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası" (M.A., Marmara University, 2014), 73.

4. Later, the *Şehremaneti Mecmuası* (Municipality Journal) would perform a similar function after September 1924. Bülent Bilmez et al., eds., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912* (Istanbul: İBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2023), 26

5. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912* Bülent Bilmez et al., eds., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913* (Istanbul: İBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2023) Bülent Bilmez et al., eds., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914* (Istanbul: İBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2023)

6. Sayın, "1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası."

7. How these faulty data how been treated will be explained below.

8. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 24.

more thoroughly, Bayezid, Üsküdar, and Fatih district offices reported a smaller amount of data while some other districts did not report any data for some tables at all.<sup>9</sup> This discrepancy makes comparing the data for different districts harder, or in some cases impossible.

Nevertheless, it seems that the Statistics Journals were quite an ambitious project for its time, but they could not reach their full potential. Most probably, the contents of the journal were meant to imitate European examples,<sup>10</sup> evidenced by the insistence on having a section dedicated to the “Zoos and Botanical Gardens” in every volume, only to report that “There are no zoos or botanical gardens in the capital for now.”<sup>11</sup> The problems with the journals are not limited to absent data, as I have encountered some cases of summation mistakes or writing the data into the wrong table row, even in the small portions that were used in this study.

Before presenting any information from the Istanbul Statistics Journals, I must explain how I dealt with faulty information. First of all, rather than using the sums presented in the journal, I have used the individual components of the data to calculate the sums. In many cases, the sum (“*yekun*” or “*mecmuu*”) columns or rows had miscalculations. The trickier part is to recognize misplaced information. To explain with an example, in the crime statistics section of the 1919 volume,<sup>12</sup> in a table that presents the number of crime cases throughout the months of the year, I have encountered two mistakes. The table reports that, in the month of April there were 539 cases of fraud (“*dolandırıcılık*”) and 57 cases of petty theft (“*sirkat-i adiye*”).<sup>13</sup> However, in the other 11 months, the average number of fraud cases are around 30, and the average number of petty theft cases are around 450. There are two possible explanations for this stark difference, either April was truly an outlier month where criminals vastly preferred fraud over petty theft, or the compiler of the table misplaced the figures for fraud and petty theft columns that are side by side. Deducing that the later option is the more likely explanation, I reversed the misplacement for fraud and petty theft columns. In another case, in a similar table from the 1913 volume, 21 rows are affected by a chain of errors in the section that is on the professions and the ethno-religious (*millet*) affiliation of the offenders. The error starts on page 214, with the first row of the page, concerning the crime of “helping prisoners escape and harboring felons” (“*mahpus kaçırmak ve ihfa-yı erbab-*

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9. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 25.

10. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 20.

11. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 123. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 180. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 199. Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 188.

12. The contents of these sections will be discussed thoroughly later.

13. *1335 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası* (Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1921), 140, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/92896>.

*i cinayet*”). Although the table reported that there were no offenders charged with this crime in earlier sections, in this row there are a total of 9 people charged with this crime. The row below, concerning the crime of “fraudulently representing oneself as a government official” (“*Bilasalahiyet sıfat-ı resmîyede bulunmak*”) supposed to have 9 offenders but reports 79.<sup>14</sup> To cut the story short, the contents of 21 rows were written to the row one above.

The lack of border lines between the columns or the rows, and the practice of leaving “the cell” blank rather than writing down 0 might be the main culprits of such misplacement errors. I have corrected any problems that I could notice and tracked down the mistake,<sup>15</sup> however, there might be errors that I could not notice. Unless otherwise stated, the contents of the journal are assumed to be accurate in the rest of this study; however, they should be approached carefully and with the knowledge of the time and common sense. In other words, they should not be used to make bold claims that contradict other sources of information. I should also note that these misplacement errors that I have encountered were not a product of the modern publications of the Istanbul Statistics Journals, but were present in the original publications as well.

Another significant problem is the low confidence of the publishers in the data they have compiled and published. This problem is most evident regarding the population of the city. In 1912, they presented the population statistics with the comment below:

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14. *1329 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası* (Matbaa-i Arşak Garivyan, 1914), 214, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/99279>.

15. The three other errors I have encountered and corrected are as follows:

In the table concerning the number of criminal cases over the months of the year 1919, the table reports that in the month of August there were 259 cases of “drunkenness, misdemeanors, and various indecencies” (“*sarhoşluk, cünha, kabayih-i muhtelif*”). Two columns over, under the “totals” section, it is reported that there are 359 total cases of “drunkenness, misdemeanors, and various indecencies”. The first instance too should be 359, which also fits with the number of total cases in August. See *1335 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 141.

Among the 21 rows of chain errors discussed above in the volume for 1913, some sections concerning Jewish offenders were actually correct while the rest of the table had the problems discussed above. The information for the 7 rows concerning the crimes “spreading counterfeit currency” (“*kalb akçe sürücülüğü*”) to “catcalling and molesting passerby” (“*geçenlere söz atmak ve sarkıntılık etmek*”) was correct for Jewish offenders and should be taken into account while correcting the problem encompassing the 21 rows discussed above. See *1329 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 217.

In the 1913 volume’s table again, in the “Place of Residence” (“*Mahall-i İkamet*”) section of the table, there are two separate accounts of chain row misplacements. The first one starts with the 4<sup>th</sup> row, “harboring robbers” (“*kutta-i tarik yataklı*”), which should have been empty, but instead, it contains the figures that should be on the row below. This error goes on for 3 rows consecutively. Later, the same mistake is repeated in the 39<sup>th</sup> row “slander and defamation” (“*zemm ve kadh*”). This error goes on longer, until the 49<sup>th</sup> row. See *1329 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 221, 225.

According to the table received from the General Directorate of Population Administration, it is reported that the total population of Istanbul in the year 1328 [1912] is 857,069; however, the Statistics Bureau regrettably cannot accept this number as totally accurate. Because the census conducted thirty years ago found the total population of the Abode of Felicity [*Dersaadet*] to be around 873,565, and it is not possible that the total population is a lower number than that thirty years later. Moreover, given that the population of the province of Istanbul has increased consistently since the proclamation of the constitution, it is without a doubt that the total population of the capital today is probably over a million. Since accurate statistics are not compiled as other civilized states do, the number of people who come to the Abode of Felicity from the countryside and those who leave the Abode of Felicity for the countryside, and the number of foreigners can not be known accurately. Hence, statistical information on this matter is not possible.<sup>16</sup>

In 1913 and 1914 too, when reporting the religious distribution of the population, the journal cautions the reader that the figures can not be taken as accurate, as the numbers do not match with the total population numbers.<sup>17</sup> Due to the journals' low confidence in the population figures they reported, I have decided against using them for this study.

Unfortunately, censuses are few and far between, leaving only a few sources. After reviewing the 1885/86 and 1906/07 censuses, I went ahead with the 1906 figures on the spatial and religious distribution of the population. Although the 1885 census, which reports a population of 873,565, is more in line with scholarly estimates—Kemal Karpat estimates the population of Istanbul to be around 895,000 in 1884—<sup>18</sup> it is more than 20 years removed from the time under study.<sup>19</sup> The total population reported in the 1906 census (787,227) is considerably lower than the figures from the 1885 census (873,565) and the 1912 and 1913 volumes of the Istanbul Statistics Journal (857,069 and 855,525 respectively),<sup>20</sup> and significantly

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16. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 94.

17. “Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi’nden edyan-ı muhtelifeye müteallik mevrud erkam tedkik olununca pek doğru olarak kabul edilemez.” Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 109.

18. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Turkish and Ottoman studies (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 103.

19. Another point that should be expressed is that the sums of the different elements of the population for the 1885 census add up to a figure more than the reported total, although only by a few thousand difference (876,775 is the result of the summation compared to the reported total population of 873,561). I have not encountered this being brought up in the secondary sources I have used. I have used the tables from Stanford J. Shaw, “The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 2 (1979): 265–77, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/162130> .

20. The 1913 volume reports the total population as 855,515, however, this is a summation error and should be 855,525. Both 1912 and 1913 populations are reported in Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 108.



lower than Karpat's estimate for the year 1901 (1,159,000).<sup>21</sup> Although this is a vast difference, raw numbers are not of utmost importance to this study, as long as the spatial and religious and ethnical ("*millet*") distribution of the population is accurate proportionally. What allows this is the study not focusing on crime rates in certain districts or among certain groups, but rather focusing on the proportion of criminal acts occurring in each district or the proportion of suspected criminals belonging to different *millet* identities. Since there is nothing indicating that the 1906 census' spatial and religious distribution of the population is inaccurate, I have used its figures.

Still, using the 1906 census in this study, or any Ottoman census for that matter, requires the assumption that no religious group or district is being disproportionately represented and any and all inaccuracies are nonpartial and unintended. Nonetheless, it is still important not to make any concrete claims using these population figures, especially absolute figures rather than percentile figures.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.2 Locations that Affect the Moral Situation of the People of the City

Before delving into the crime section of the journals, I would like to point out a series of tables: Locations that Affect the Moral Situation of the People of the City (*Ahali-i Beldenin Ahval-i Maneviyesi Üzerine Tesiri Olan Mahaller*). These tables are present in every iteration of the journal, and report the number of brothels ("*umumhane*"s), taverns ("*meyhane*"s), coffee and teahouses ("*kahvehane ve çaycı dükkanları*"), restaurants and beer halls ("*lokantalar ve birahaneler*"), wine and alcoholic beverage locations ("*şarap ve müskirat mahalleri*"), pastry and sweet shops ("*pasta ve şekerçiler*"), *café-chantants* and music halls ("*kafe şantan ve konser mahalleri*"), theaters and movie theaters ("*tiyatrolar ve sinemalar*") in each district of the city.<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that, other than the number of brothels, *café-chantants* and music halls, and theaters and movie theaters the reported numbers are only approximate figures as these locations are "in every corner of the city"

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21. Karpat, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 103.

22. Lengthy discussions can be had about the Ottoman population figures. For conceptual and methodological problems, see *ibid.*, Chapter 1. For Istanbul's population see Chapter 5 of the same book.

23. In the volume for 1912, only the total amount for each category of location in the whole city is reported. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 207; Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 342; Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 334, 335; Sayın, "1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası," 266.

Table 2.1: Locations that affect the moral situation of the people of the city table from the 1913 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal

Name of the District	Brothels ("umumhane"s)	Taverns ("meyhane"s)	Coffee and Tea Houses ("kahvehane ve çaycı dükkanları")	Restaurants and Beer Halls ("lokantalar ve birahaneler")	Wine and Alcoholic Beverage Locations ("şarap ve müskirat mahalleri")	Pastry and Sweet Shops ("pastası ve şekerçiler")	Café-Chantants and Music Halls ("kafé şantarı ve konser mahalleri")	Theaters and Movie Theaters ("tiyatrolar ve sinemalar")
Bayezid								5
Fatih								1
Beyoğlu	310	405	1800	270	2284	180	8	17
Yeniköy								
Anadolu Hisarı								
Üsküdar		150	300	42		16		2
Kadıköy		118	195	18		8	1	6
Adalar		24	40	3		2		2
Makriköy						2		5
Original (Faulty) Summation		405	1800	270	2284	180	9	39
Total	310	697	2335	333	2284	208	9	38

and their numbers are “uncountable and incalculable.”<sup>24</sup> In the 1913 and 1914 editions, the methodology of this approximation is also given. Proportionally there are “forty-five taverns, two hundred coffee and tea houses, thirty restaurants and beer halls, and twenty pastry and sweet shops.”<sup>25</sup> but the final numbers are adjusted presumably according to the size and population of the district.

The existence and the title of these tables are concrete evidence that the Ottoman state and the elite viewed some spaces as inherently corrupting and it was these spaces that were the source of immoral behavior rather than the people in these spaces.<sup>26</sup> It is also noteworthy that the table includes a wide variety of locations.

24. “beldenin her bir tarafında bunların miktarı layuadd ve layuhşa olduğundan tadadı hemen gayr-ı kabildir”. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 207.

25. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 342; Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 334, 335.

26. For lengthier discussion on the marginality of spaces in the Ottoman perspective, see Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler*; Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul.” The following quote from Çokuğraş summarizes the notion aptly, “For

Innocent-sounding locations such as pastry and sweet shops and theaters are listed alongside brothels. Furthermore, the main pillar of Ottoman public life, coffee (and tea) shops are also deemed locations that spread immoral behavior among the population. However, when one considers the relationship of coffee houses with the—now abolished—janissary corps and the shutdowns they faced in efforts of social control,<sup>27</sup> this perception begins to seem less peculiar. It is also interesting that the “Locations that Affect the Moral Situation of the People of the City” table is a part of the Trade Affairs (*Umur-ı Ticariye*) section of the journal rather than the Police Affairs (*Umur-ı Zabıta*) section. Some other entries in this section include a table on the Istanbul stock exchange, a table on the commodity prices across Istanbul, and other information regarding a wide range of sectors. Perhaps it can be said that while locations such as taverns and coffee houses carry an aura of suspicion around them, they are still seen as legitimate businesses and treated as such.

### 2.3 Police Affairs in the Istanbul Statistics Journals

The Police Affairs sections of the Istanbul Statistics Journals are meant to establish a comparison point in this study, vis a vis the crime reports from the newspapers. To remind once again, this is not an exact match since the newspaper reports are from a 55-day period from 1909 while the Statistics Journals are from 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1919. Moreover, the problems with the data from the statistic journals such as faulty entries have been explained above. Nevertheless, they are useful enough in the absence of better alternatives. Constituting a comparison point is not the only benefit of making use of the journals in this study. The information reported in the Statistics Journals also demonstrates the state’s priorities on what kind of information is deemed important. Going over the “Various Crimes” (*Ceraim-i Muhtelif*) table for 1913, the significance of which will be explained below, will point out what the Ottoman state inquired about the criminals.

Unfortunately, the first Istanbul Statistics Journal, for the *Rumi* year 1328 (roughly 1912 in the Gregorian calendar), does not include the Police Affairs section even though it is listed amongst the content of the Journal in its index with its four subsections. Perhaps the data could not be compiled on time or some other mishaps

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example, the clientel in spaces which are deemed marginal, such as taverns, are not marginal people in all situations and all the time. The source of the marginality is the fact that they are in the said place. In this situation, the limitation is the space itself, hence the marginality is not a character feature of the person. What produces the marginality is not the people, but the space itself.” Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler*, 14, 15.

27. Başaran, *Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 148–51.

happened and prevented this section from being included in the publication. The volume for 1913 on the other hand includes one of the most detailed set of statistics on Ottoman criminality that I have ever come across.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, the information presented in the 1914 and 1919 editions is very surface-level compared to the 1913 edition and no explanation is given for this drastic change.

The main component of the Police Affairs section is the “Various Crimes” (“*Ceraim-i Muhtelife*”) table, which usually gives information on the identities of criminals according to the crimes they have committed. The absent 1912 version was planned to include information on the ages and the *millet*s of the offenders according to its index.<sup>29</sup> The 1914 version reports the distribution of 38 different criminal acts on 15 police stations.<sup>30</sup> The 1919 version has two tables. The first table is on the distribution of 29 criminal acts over the months of the year, while the second table reports the distribution of offenders according to their *millet*s (as the table rows) divided by their gender and age, and a basic categorization of their crimes.<sup>31</sup> Lastly, but most importantly, the 1913 table lists the distribution of criminal identities for 58 criminal acts, and for most of the data points it distinguishes between the offenders who have been detained (“*derdest olunan*”) and the offenders who are at large (“*firarda bulunan*”). This table goes on for a total of 36 pages.<sup>32</sup> The tables from 1914 and 1919 will not be discussed in detail, as the amount of information they present is significantly lower than the 1913 table, which will be discussed in detail later. However, all of the tables will be used throughout the study as primary sources when necessary.

Although the “Various Crimes” (“*Ceraim-i Muhtelife*”) table is the main feature of the Police Affairs section, it is actually the second table. The section starts with another table on police stations and how they are distributed over the city. The contents and the order for the 1913, 1914, and 1919 versions of the Police Affairs sections are quite similar. However, the planned contents of the 1912 version include an interesting table. The table is titled “Crimes That Occurred Among Children” (“*Etfal beyninde vuku bulan ceraim*”) and indicates that some attention was paid to this issue.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the contents are absent, as mentioned above, and this table is also not included in the later iterations. If the table was intact, it would have

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28. The 1913 volume is comparable only to the 1912 and 1914 prison surveys in detail but falls short in scale as the prison surveys are conducted in all prisons throughout the empire. These two efforts of the state to gain and record information on criminals is likely connected. For the 1912 and 1914 prison surveys, see Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, chap. 3.

29. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 299.

30. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 246–49.

31. Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 211, 212.

32. For the original publication, see *1329 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 198–233; For the new edition, see Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–49.

33. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 299.

been a great resource on juvenile criminals of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul. Although they do not include information on the victims, we still have statistics on the ages of offenders and some anecdotal evidence for juvenile on juvenile crime.<sup>34</sup>

The subsequent iterations of the Istanbul Statistics Journals include topics such as land and naval accidents, confiscated foodstuffs, fire damages, and the findings of the municipality laboratory for food safety and integrity. However, the tables under these topics are usually empty or only partially filled out. One peculiar topic is simply titled “Servants and Beggars” (“*Hizmetçiler ve Seele*”). Although it is clear why beggars might be the topic of Police Affairs, the reason behind grouping servants with beggars is not clear at first glance. Taking a look at the table, which is unfortunately absent of data for all editions, indicates its true purpose. The table was meant to report the number of male and female servants from different *millets*, and also indicate how many of them have been arrested and punished for theft and other crimes.<sup>35</sup> The table also has a section on the *millets* of the beggars and vagabonds (“*seele ve serseri*”) and the 1919 version also indicates whether they have been sent to *Darülaceze* (poor house) or to hospitals. Returning to the servants section of the table, although the 1913 and 1914 editions do not have any commentary, the 1919 edition says the following:

Statistical information on servants and beggars could not be gathered. It is without a doubt that having statistical information based on accurate numbers for these is essential. In any case, to employ servants at home, it is preferred that they are registered and have their official identifications. Unfortunately, since this practice has not become widespread yet, anyone can be accepted into households as servants and unwanted situations arise consequently.<sup>36</sup>

This comment under the table and the table having dedicated columns for servants who have been arrested indicate that it was meant to tackle the issue of household servants stealing from their employers or committing other crimes. Although these tables were left blank, we still have bits of data on offenders who were employed as servants, or any other profession thanks to the very detailed “Various Crimes” table from the 1913 volume, and the newspaper reports. We will see in the next chapter that servants stealing from their employers is a common theme in newspapers.

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34. A news report on a knife fight between two eight-year-old kids that ended with serious injury is given below while discussing the age statistics of offenders.

35. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 251; [Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 251; Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 214.

36. Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 214.

Diving into the 36 page long table of the 1913 volume, the first thing one sees is the many columns listing 58 criminal acts that are actually spread over a few pages. The rows section starts simple, with five columns listing “cases where the perpetrator is unknown”, “cases where the perpetrator is identified”, “total [cases]”, “the number of offenders who are detained”, and “the number of offenders who are on the run”.<sup>37</sup> Out of 14,958 cases, there are only 541 reported cases where the perpetrators could not be identified resulting in a rate of 3.49% failure. In some categories, this rate is higher, such as 25.00% for robberies, 17.97% for pickpocketing, 9.76% for fraud, and 9.57% for theft (See Table A.2 in Appendix A).<sup>38</sup> However, after this simple start begins one of the most detailed statistics on criminals conducted by the Ottoman Empire. While going over the different categorizations, I will also discuss whether the data for that category is absent or filled out, and how that might indicate the Ottoman police’s priorities in gathering information on criminals. As discussed above, during these analyses I will use the corrected numbers rather than the reported numbers.

Offenders, both those who are detained and who are on the run separately, are first categorized by their gender, marital and parental status (e.g., “married man without children”, or “widowed woman with children”)<sup>39</sup> under the section titled “Gender of the Criminals” (“*Cins-i Mücrimin*”) (See Tables A.3 and A.4 in Appendix A). The gender of every offender is reported. However, out of around 17,165 male offenders, only 6,042’s marital and parental status is reported. For women, the rate is higher, out of around 1,349 female offenders, 1,296’s marital and parental statuses are reported.<sup>40</sup> The difference in the rates, 35% for males and 90% for females is quite significant and perhaps this contrast can be explained by the police’s recordkeeping priorities and practices. They might have thought that a woman’s marital and parental status were more important indicators of their criminal record, compared to a man’s marital and parental status; and paid more attention as a consequence.

Although it would not be healthy to reach conclusions only using the data reported in this table in the absence of corresponding population figures for these different categories, there might be some points to discuss, keeping in mind that they rely on presumptions. On the presumption that there would be more widowed women with children compared to widowed women without children, it could be said that widowed women without children commit crimes at a higher rate as there are 137

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37. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–25.

38. Although in the original table there are 58 different crimes, I have divided these crimes into 14 categories for ease of use. These categories will be used throughout this chapter. For the classification, see Appendix A, Table A.1.

39. While the women are categorized as being either virgins (“*bakire*”), married (“*müteehhıl*”), or widowed (“*seyyibe*”); the men are categorized as being only bachelors (“*bekar*”) or married (“*müteehhıl*”).

40. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–225.

offenders who are widowed women with children compared to 263 offenders who are widowed women without children. This might suggest that being a parent decreases the chance of a woman being an offender. One can reject this suggestion, citing that there are around 548 female offenders who are married with children while there are only 166 female offenders who are married without children. However, on the presumption that in Ottoman society, the number of married women with children would be much higher than the number of married women without children, the numbers themselves would not matter. Another point to discuss would be the fact that, among the male offenders whose marital and parental status are reported (6,042), most of them are married men (4,348 with children and 1,291 without children). However, it would not be healthy to think that this is the rate for all men, i.e., we can not say that if the marital and parental status of all male offenders (17,165) were reported, around 16,000 would be married. Although newspaper reports do not specifically indicate whether an offender was married or not for the significant majority of the cases, all anecdotal evidence leads to the presumption that being a bachelor was the expected marital situation of a male offender, and it is my assumption for this table that if that was the case, the police did not bother to report it.

The next information on the table is the prior records of the detained criminals, simply titled Priors (“*Mükerrerler*”). According to the data, there are 17,405 first-time offenders (“*birinci defa cürm işleyen*”), 988 previously convicted (“*sabıka olan*”) offenders, 61 offenders who are also suspects for another crime (“*ceraim-i muhtelifle ile maznun olan*”), and 26 who are “suspected criminals” (“*mazanne-i sudan olan*”) (See Table A.5 in Appendix A).<sup>41</sup> The issue of suspected criminals/persons (“*mazanne-i su-i eşhas*”) has been discussed earlier, to reiterate, if one had been convicted two times in the past for a felony, they would be defined as a “suspected criminal”.<sup>42</sup> The prior records of every single offender in this table have been recorded, indicating that this was an important data point in the eyes of the Ottoman Police. However, this table indicating that 94% of all crimes in 1913 in Istanbul were perpetrated by first time offenders is a strong counter-evidence against the perception of the existence and alleged significance of professional and habitual criminals. Considering all the attention these “suspected criminal”’s got, they do not seem to play an important role in the public order of the city, at least for the year 1913.

Taking a further look, we can even see that out of the 26 “suspected criminal”’s, 17 of them (65.38%) were arrested for the vague criminal act of “vagrancy” (“*serserilik*”),

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41. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–25.

42. According to Article 10 of the Vagrancy act. See Appendix F for the text of the 1909 Vagrancy Act.

rather than being charged with more serious and perhaps violent crimes one would expect from these supposedly hardened criminals. In contrast to this ratio, only 140 first-time offenders out of 17,405 (0.80%), 31 out of 988 previously convicted (3.14%), and 2 out of 61 (3.28%) who are also suspects for another crime (“*ceraim-i muhtelifi ile maznun olan*”) were guilty of vagrancy. It seems that being charged with the purposefully vaguely defined crime of vagrancy was a way to keep previously convicted criminals, especially the “suspected criminals” out of the streets.

After the prior records section of the table, the criminals are divided according to their professions, under the section “The Status and the Profession of the Criminals” (“*Sıfat ve Sanat-ı Mücrimin*”) (See Tables A.6, A.7, and A.8 in Appendix A).<sup>43</sup> The categories are government officials (“*memurin*”); doctors, attorneys and teachers, and other men of science (“*etibba, vükelayı deavi ve muallimin vesair erbab-i fünun*”); merchants (“*tüccar*”); farmers (“*zürra*”); fishermen (“*balıkçı*”); money-changers (“*sarraf*”s); artisans (“*ehl-i sanat*”); landlords (“*ashab-ı akar*”); laborers (“*amele*”s); ship captains and crew and boatmen (“*sefine kaptanı ve taife ve kayıkçı*”); servants of merchants, moneychangers and others (“*tüccar ve sarraf ve saire hademesi*”); house servants (“*ev hizmetçisi*”); and unemployed (“*işsiz*”).<sup>44</sup>

There are a few points to make here. Firstly, while the Ottomans usually used “*serseri*” (vagrant) for unemployed people, this table uses the term “*işsiz*” (without a job) for the same purpose. This might be due to the fact that “*serserilik*” (vagrancy) is already in this table as a crime, hence to avoid any confusion “*işsiz*” might have been preferred. Furthermore, professions requiring higher education are all bundled into the category of doctors, attorneys, and teachers, and other men of science (“*etibba, vükelayı deavi ve muallimin vesair erbab-i fünun*”). The artisans (“*ehl-i sanat*”) category too would represent a wide range of people. It is also my assumption that the government officials (“*memurin*”) category would include soldiers and police in addition to clerks or bureaucrats. Similar to the prior records section of the table, the profession of every single offender is accounted for, indicating the care that has been given to this aspect of criminal identity.

This table could have been quite beneficial in shedding light on whether the perceived criminal identity of professions such as porters, boatmen, coffee house keepers, and firemen (“*tulumbacı*”) was warranted or not. However, two things are missing to make any meaningful remarks on this topic. Unfortunately, the groupings are rather too wide. To give an example, porters, one of the most vital and populous professions, are not listed as a standalone category but are instead grouped under

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43. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 226–32.

44. These are also the categories used in the 1914 prison survey, after slight modifications from the 1912 version. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 83.



an umbrella category, presumably artisans (“*ehl-i sanat*”). In addition, we do not know the distribution of the Istanbul population by their professions,<sup>45</sup> hence, making any remarks about the crime rates of professions is not possible. Still, this table can be used to compare public records with what the media reports since the professions of the suspects were a part of the formulaic way of reporting criminal identity in Ottoman newspapers. Again, this comparison is impeded by the wide umbrella categories used in the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal, but nonetheless comparisons are possible.

On a similar accord, the criminals are also divided according to their religious affiliations (*millet*), and their nationality if they are not Ottoman citizens (See Tables A.9 and A.10 in Appendix A). The Ottoman citizens are categorized as Muslims (“*İslam*”); Orthodox, Greek Catholics and Protestants (“*Ortodoks, Rum Katolik ve Rum Protestan*”); Armenians, Armenian Catholics and Protestants (“*Ermeni ve Ermeni Katolik ve Protestan*”); Bulgarians, Serbians, Wallachians (“*Bulgar, Sırp, Ulah*”); Jews (“*Musevi*”); Various Ottoman Communities (“*Milel-i Muhtelif-i Osmaniyeye*”).<sup>46</sup> The categories for non-Ottoman subjects are German, French, English, Austrian, Italian, American, Spanish, Russian, Iranian, Greek,<sup>47</sup> and Various Foreign Nationalities.<sup>48</sup> The *millet* identity of every criminal is recorded, showcasing its importance in the eyes of the state, and allowing us to make use of it. In contrast to the occupational identity, we have information on the *millet* identity of Istanbul’s population, and although the categorizations do not match one-to-one with those sources, comparisons are possible.

Although tangential, one feature of the table from the 1919 volume that reports the distribution of offenders over *millet*, age, and gender is worthy of pointing out. In this table, there are no recorded foreigner (“*Milel Muhtelif-i Ecnebi*”) offenders.<sup>49</sup> There

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45. This data seems to have been planned to be reported in every volume of the Istanbul Statistic Journal excluding the 1919 volume, yet it was always left empty or only partially filled out. See Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 109; Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 108; Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 100. There are two other similar tables. One is from the 1885 census, but this table only has 5 categories for different professions such as “commerce, trade, industry” and “state service.” See Shaw, “The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” 271. The other one is from 1894/95 (Rumi year 1310) reporting the number of practitioners of different professions in the Ottoman Empire. As these are not a full list of professions and the scope is not limited to Istanbul, this data too can not be used. See Karpat, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 218.

46. Once again, this is the same categorization used by the prison surveys. See Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94.

47. Citizens of Greece, not to be confused with the Ottoman *Rums*.

48. This is a more detailed categorization compared to the prison surveys where Italians, Americans, and the Spanish were not included. See Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94. Moreover, I grouped German, French, English, Austrian, Italian, American, Spanish, and Russian categories under a new category, “Westerner” due to space constraints and to allow for easier comparisons to the data from the newspapers as we will see in the next chapter.

49. Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 212. It should also be noted that the table is not

are a few points that suggest this is a deliberate omission, rather than the possibility that there were really no non-Ottoman offenders in the city that year. First, is the large amount of foreigners living in Istanbul, especially in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was especially popular among Western criminals in the nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> The second point is the prior statistics on non-Ottoman offenders. There were 1,003 non-Ottoman offenders recorded in Istanbul in the year 1913. It is quite unlikely that the number of non-Ottoman offenders decreased to zero in the span of 6 years. We can conclude that, during the Allied occupation of the city in the aftermath of the Great War, the Ottoman authorities were not able to even record the statistics related to foreigners, let alone use legal force on them.

For the next sections of the table, the newspaper reports do not provide any data to make comparisons. Hence, the contents will be analyzed and discussed now, rather than later, as it was the case for earlier sections. The first of these sections, “the Education Level of the Criminals” (“*Derece-i Malumat-ı Mücrimin*”) consists of the categories “literate” (“*okuyup yazmak bilen*”), “illiterate” (“*okuyup yazmak bilmeyen*”), and “those who have received higher education” (“*tahsil-i ali gören*”) (See Tables A.11 and A.12 in Appendix A.<sup>51</sup> At first glance, a grave summation mistake might lead one to think that this feature is recorded for only half of the offenders, as the total number of illiterate offenders is recorded as 1,064 when it should have been 10,026.<sup>52</sup>

The rest of the data is as follows: 8,155 literate offenders and 171 offenders who have received higher education. In total, the educational level of all offenders is recorded. In a table that Karpas presents from 1894/95 (*Rumi* year 1310), we see that the illiteracy rate in Istanbul is 22.05%.<sup>53</sup> If we are to take this rate as accurate and assume that the rate stayed the same until 1913, we can say that the education level is the highest indicator of criminal behavior, as illiterate people of Istanbul commit crimes at a much higher rate (54.95% of all offenders while making up 22.05% of the population) compared to educated people (45.05% of all offenders while making up 77.95% of the population). This indicates that illiterate people of Istanbul were

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entirely accurate. The number of *Rum* male and female offenders according to their ages add up to a number over the recorded number of total *Rum* male and female offenders. In all other instances, the ages do not add up to the recorded numbers. Especially for female Jewish offenders, the number of offenders according to their ages only add up to 31,17% of the recorded number of female Jewish offenders.

50. Karpas, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 98.

51. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 237–43.

52. *1329 Senesi İstanbul Belediyesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 227. This mistake is corrected in the tables presented in this thesis.

53. The percentage is most likely among men although I did not see any comments clarifying this. The number of illiterates in *Dersaadet* is reported as 89,000 in the table. See Karpas, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 221. Karpas also notes that this statistic only takes into consideration those who are 10 years old or older.

around 5 times more likely to be criminals compared to educated people of the city. If one were to assume that literacy rates increased from 1894 to 1913, the difference becomes more pronounced. Once again, these comments are on the assumption that the literacy statistics are accurate. Neither the comments nor the literacy statistics should be taken as facts, as the methodology behind the statistics is unclear.

Regardless of the literacy rate of the city's population as a whole, theft crimes<sup>54</sup> are more common amongst the illiterate (18.85% of their crimes), and this rate goes down as education level increases (14.56% for literates, and 4.68% for those who have received higher education). For assault cases,<sup>55</sup> the situation is the opposite. 44.44% of all crimes committed by those who have received higher education are assault cases, while this rate is 30.03% for literate offenders and 29.42% for illiterate offenders. This change is quite understandable. As the education level, and hence the socio-economic level of the person increases, they would have less incentive to engage in theft,<sup>56</sup> and as a consequence, the proportion of assault cases would increase among well of criminals.

Violent behavior was a part of Ottoman society at all levels to “resolve” disputes and protect one's honor.<sup>57</sup> Although quantitatively making up the most cases, assault cases were mostly low intensity. According to statistics reported by Kent Schull, 80% of “assault and battery” cases (“*darb ve cerh*” in this context) resulted in jail time ranging from a day to a month, indicating simple fights without weapons.<sup>58</sup> The situation is similar in murder cases.<sup>59</sup> For people who have received higher education murder cases make up 1.75% of the crimes committed, for literate people 0.34%, and for illiterate people 0.20%. For all other crime categories, there are no significant differences. All in all, we can say that education level is the most significant indicator of criminal behavior. It can influence who is more likely to engage in criminal behavior, and when they do engage, the nature of that criminal behavior.

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54. I have categorized the following crimes from the list under theft: stealing state/royal property (“*sirkat-i emval-i emiriye*”), breaking and entering in residential areas (“*meskûn mahalde duvar delerek ve kapı kırarak hırsızlık*”), petty theft (“*sirkat-i adiye*”), animal theft (“*hayvan hırsızlığı*”).

55. I have categorized the following crimes from the list under assault: disablement of a limb (“*tatıl-i uzv*”), causing miscarriage (“*iskat-i cenin*”), assault and battery (“*darb ve cerh*”), and wounding and disablement of a limb without intent (“*min gayri kasdın cerh ve tatıl-i uzv*”).

56. Cörüt, “Social Rationality of Lower Class Criminal Practices in the Late Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” chap. 2 investigates the reasonings behind the property crimes in late nineteenth century Istanbul.

57. For works dealing with the sources of violent behavior in late nineteenth-century Ottoman society, see *ibid.*, chap. 3; Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909.”

58. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 90.

59. I have categorized the following crimes from the list under murder: premeditated murder (“*amden katl*”), murder by battery (“*darben telef-i nefis*”), murdering ancestors (“*katl-i usul*”), murdering descendants (“*katl-i fûru*”), and attempted murder (“*katle tasaddi*”).

The next section, “Place of Residence [of the Criminals]” (“*Mahall-i İkamet*”) only has three categories: urbanite (“*şehirli*”), villager (“*köylü*”), and those who don’t have a residence (“*ikametgahı olmayan*”) (See Tables A.13 and A.14 in Appendix A).<sup>60</sup> There are 14,024, 4,269, and 146 offenders for each category respectively. It is not quite clear what is meant by “those who don’t have a residence”, as we have seen earlier, a considerable portion of the population resided in commercial spaces. In fact, according to an early nineteenth-century register, 56% of shopkeepers and their employees lived in their shops.<sup>61</sup> Hence, it is my assumption that those who reside in shops or coffeehouses are still considered urbanites, given that these residences are in the city. Otherwise, the number for those without a residence should have been much higher. Perhaps these people who did not have a residence were temporarily lodging in different places, and thus did not have a fixed address or they were recent immigrants. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that out of 144 such people, 56 of them were arrested for the crime of vagrancy (“*serserilik*”), which results at a rate of 38.9%. For people with residences, this rate and even the raw figures are lower. 47 out of 4,256 villager offenders (1.10%), and only 87 out of 14,069 urbanite offenders (0.62%) were charged with vagrancy. This is a clear indication that the crime of vagrancy had more to do with one’s living conditions, rather than their criminal behavior. In other words, what is being criminalized here is homelessness.

Looking back at the table, we also see an increase in the proportion of theft crimes according to residential status. Theft crimes make up 17.15% of urbanite’s charges, 24.13% of villagers’ charges, and 33.56% of the charges for those without a residence, indicating that living situations influence the criminal behaviors of people. This should not be understood as claiming that homeless people, those without residences, were more likely to engage in theft in early twentieth-century Istanbul since we do not know the population figures for these groups. We can rather say that when homeless people partook in criminal actions, they were more likely to engage in crimes against property rather than in crimes against persons or society.

The last section of the table is titled “The Distribution of Crimes Based on Age and Cause” (“*Ceraimin Esnan ve Esbab Üzerine Dağılımı*”). In addition to the ages of the offenders and the cause of the crimes, this section also includes two columns for the location of the crime, either in the city (“*şehirde*”), or in the countryside (“*kırda*”).<sup>62</sup> As there is more to discuss regarding the ages of the offenders, I will start with the last two points. Starting with the subsection Location of the Crime (“*Mevaki-i Cürmiye*”), we see that out of 15,499 cases, 14,965 were reported to

60. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 237–43.

61. Kırılı, “A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul,” 133.

62. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 244–49.

have occurred in the city, while only 35 were reported to have occurred in the countryside.<sup>63</sup> With such a large difference in the sample size, it would not be healthy to make any remarks about the characteristics of crimes occurring in the countryside compared to the city. We can only say that 99.77% of the reported cases occurred in the city, while the remaining %0.23 occurred in the countryside. This too, does not tell much without knowing the boundaries of the city and the countryside and the law enforcement units responsible for these areas.

The next subsection on the causes of the crimes, subtitled “*Esbab-ı Ceraim*”, provides eight categories: greed for wealth (“*hırs-ı servet*”), rape (“*ırza tasallut*”), due to love (“*saika-ı aşk*”), drunkenness (“*sarhoşluk*”), prostitution and debauchery (“*fuhş ve sefahat*”), dispute in a tavern (“*meyhanede münazaa*”), hostility and revenge (“*adavet ve ahz-ı intikam*”), and various causes (“*esbab-ı mütenevvia*”). Although 13,289 out of 15,499 cases are classified, 10,197 of them are classified under the various causes category. It seems that recording the cause of a case was an afterthought, and most cases were reported under the various causes category regardless of their nature. This is most obvious in rape cases. 46 rape cases (“*cebren fiil-i şeni*”) are recorded under the category of various causes rather than the distinct cause category of rape (“*ırza tasallut*”). Furthermore, 11 cases of attempted rape (“*cebren fiil-i şenie tasaddi*”) are recorded under the rape category (“*ırza tasallut*”), while 271 cases are recorded under the various causes category. Another point that can be discussed about the table is the fact that the categories are too specific, and not exclusive to each other. There is no category for disputes or fights, rather there is a category for fights that occur in taverns. However, there is also the category of drunkenness. If two drunken people got into a fight at a tavern, it is not clear which category this case should be recorded in. This categorization also further supports the idea that, in the Ottoman perception, some spaces were inherently corrupting and suspect: Fights do not occur by themselves; there needs to be a reason for them, and the reason is the location, the tavern.

The last section from the 1913 volume that will be discussed is the section concerning the ages of the offenders. The eight age ranges and the percentage of the offenders in that age range is as follows: 2.22% of the offenders are under 14 years old, 18.01% are between the ages 14-20, 42.44% are between the ages 20-30, 26.42% are between the ages 30-40, 8.57% are between the ages 40-50, 1.75% are between the ages 50-60, 0.48% are between the ages 60-70, and 0.11% are above 70 years old (See Table A.15 and A.16 in Appendix A).<sup>64</sup> Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of the number

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63. These two figures add up to 1500, meaning that for 499 cases the location data is not recorded.

64. As declared above, in the original table there are 58 different crimes, but I have divided these crimes into 14 categories. For the classification, see Table A.1 in Appendix A.

of offenders, and the category of crime they have been charged with.

Without knowing the age distribution of the city's population, we can not comment on the rates of criminality among age groups. However, we can say that the nature of crimes changes according to the offenders' age. The assault category makes up around 25-30% of crimes committed by each range group from below 14 years old to 60 years old. For 60-70 year olds, this rate is 18.89%, and for those who are over 70 years old, the rate is 15.00% (See Table A.17 in Appendix A).

The following newspaper report shows that the assailants, and the victims, could be as young as 8 years old:

While Galib, who is the eight-year-old son of cook Mustafa in Hekimoğlu, was selling peanuts in the aforementioned neighborhood, Nuri, eight years old son of Kadri Ağa, who is a cart driver in Unkapanı, tries to shoplift a few peanuts from him. They fight as a result. Nuri stabs Galib with a knife, resulting in critical injury.<sup>65</sup>

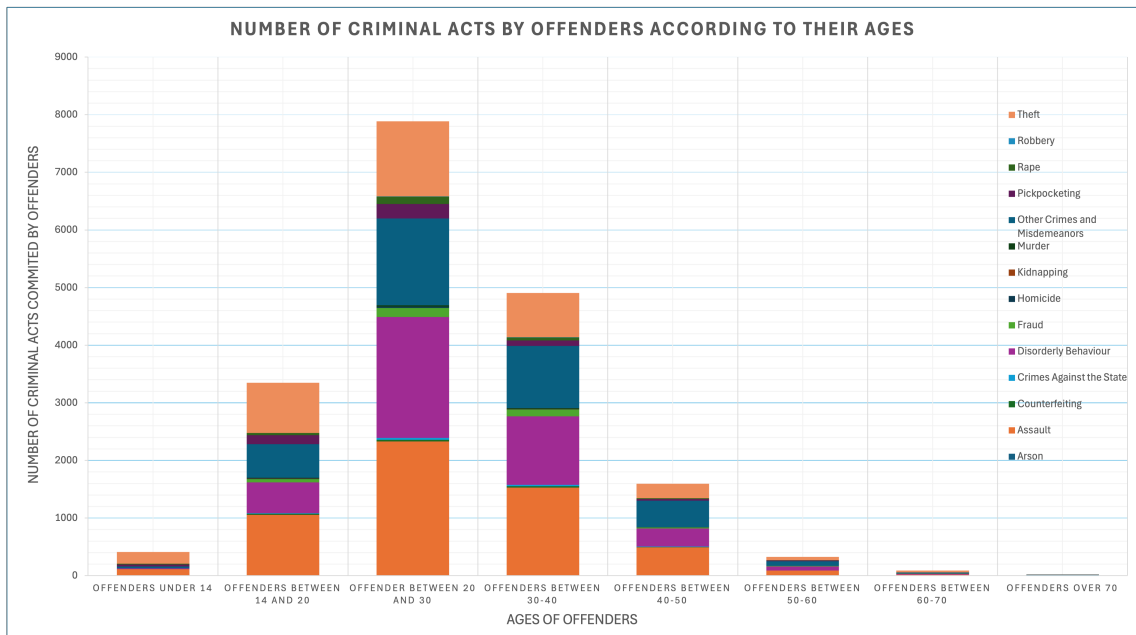
Although they could very well be armed assailants, the most common crime amongst those who were under 14 years old was theft. Theft cases made up 49.27% of the crimes committed by juvenile criminals. Interestingly, after hovering around 15-18% for people 20 to 60, theft rates increase once again as 60 to 70-year-old offenders were charged with theft in 35.56% of the cases. They drop to as low as 5% for those who are older than 70 years old, with only 1 case. The common denominator of the juveniles and the 60 to 70-year-olds is that they are not able-bodied men who can work to gain their livelihoods. Perhaps this is the reason behind the high proportion of theft among the crimes they have committed. The last point that can be discussed is that among the 20 offenders who are over 70, 11 of them were charged with what is listed as "*cünha ve kabayih-i muhtelif*", meaning "various violations and misdemeanors". Due to the vague nature of this crime, it is hard to make any comments. Perhaps they were shown leniency due to their age and were charged with this crime rather than the crime they had originally committed.

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65. ["*Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'da sakin aşçı Mustafa'nın oğlu sekiz yaşlarında Galib dün mahal-i mezkurda fıstık satmakta iken Unkapanı'nda arabacı Kadri Ağa'nın oğlu sekiz yaşında Nuri merkurumun fıstığından bir miktar alıp savuşmak ister. Bu sebepten kavga ederler. Nuri bıçakla Galib'i tehlikeli surette cerh etmiştir.*"] *Sabah*, 16.03.1909.

The same affair is also reported in Tanin with a few differences: ["*Evvelki gün saat on radelerinde Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa caddesinde sakin aşçı Mustafa'nın mahdumu dokuz yaşlarında Galip mezkur caddede tabela ile fıstık satmakta iken Unkapanı sakinlerinden arabacı İslamiyeli Kadri Ağa'nın biraderi sekiz yaşlarında Nuri, merkurumun tabelasında fıstıklarını çalarak savuşmuş ve üstüne varan Galip'i çakı ile kolundan cerh eylemiş olmakla derdest olunmuştur.*"] *Tanin*, 16 March 1909.

Figure 2.1: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their ages from the 1913 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal



## 2.4 Conclusion

Due to its rare thoroughness, the “Various Crimes” table from the Istanbul Statistics Journal’s 1913 volume is an important source on the Ottoman criminal identity and the state’s perception of this identity. From the table’s completion rate, we can understand what the state’s priorities were in their research of criminal identity. The authorities recorded the *millet* identity, profession, education level, age, residency status, and the prior criminal records of every criminal they identified. Gender and parental status, on the other hand, were deemed less important for male offenders as this data point was recorded only for 35% of the male offenders, while the rate was 90% for female offenders. The features of the criminal cases themselves were also recorded, such as the rate of perpetrator identification, and whether the incident occurred in the city or in the countryside. Although there were attempts to record the incidents’ causes, this effort was unsuccessful as most of the cases were classified under “various causes”.

What the authorities did not care to record is also important. Despite the perceived association of young male migrant workers with crime, the authorities did not bother to record whether or not the offenders were immigrants, and if so, their hometowns. This might be due to the reality of the situation in 1913, where being an immigrant had become the norm. Despite the state’s attempts to curb immigration into the

city, immigrants were the majority by the 1885 census. The census reports that among the city's population, 406,328 people were born outside Istanbul while the number of those born in Istanbul was 337,994.<sup>66</sup> This slight majority would increase to a two-thirds majority among the Muslim population by the 1907 census, where it is reported that around two-thirds of all Muslim household heads were immigrants.<sup>67</sup> This change over decades might have led to immigrant identity not being associated with crime anymore.

Although some parts of the 1913 table will be discussed in the next chapter, in comparison with the newspaper reports, there are a few key takeaways from the parts that have been discussed. First is the fact that contrary to the perceptions, habitual criminals do not seem to be a concrete public order problem. As discussed above, 94% of all offenders in Istanbul were first-time offenders. The infamous "suspected criminals" ("*mazanne-i su-i eşhas*") turned out to amount only to 26 people, making up 0.14% of all criminals for the year 1913. Perhaps more importantly, 17 out of these infamous criminals were charged with the vaguely defined crime of vagrancy, rather than violent crimes. Another group that was charged with vagrancy more than any other crime was the people without a residence, that is to say, the homeless. Persecution of these two groups, which are not mutually exclusive, leads to the conclusion that vagrancy charges were a tool of the state to keep undesired people out of the city.

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66. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," 270.

67. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*, 15 (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 58.



### 3. CRIMINAL IDENTITY IN NEWSPAPER REPORTS

#### 3.1 Analyzing Crime Reporting in Newspapers

Before going into the analysis of crime reporting in *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*, we first should acquaint ourselves with their contents and layout. As discussed before, the main attraction point of the Turkish newspapers of the time was political opinion pieces rather than news, and the newspapers reflected this in their pages. All three newspapers were published in a 4-page format with 6 columns on each page for most of the scope of this study, with the exception of *İkdam* which switched to a 6-page format starting on 27 March 1909. The remarks below are for the 4-page format.<sup>1</sup>

All three newspapers start with an editorial article on the current political landscape, whether domestic or international. A section on the recent parliamentary sessions usually follows the editorial in *Sabah* and *Tanin*, but is relegated to the second or the third page in *İkdam*. However, *İkdam*'s coverage of the parliamentary sessions is more thorough, as it includes the parliament members' speeches. International news, especially political events, is another topic that is highly featured on the first pages of the newspapers. The sources can either be telegrams from abroad, with the location and the date cited, or foreign newspapers. Domestic news is usually covered after the international news sections, starting on the second or the third page. Crime news is covered the last among all other domestic news, including the dedicated sections on news from the provinces on each newspaper. In fact, for *Sabah* and *Tanin*, there are no sections dedicated to crime news, and they are covered under “*Şuun-u Muhtelif*” (“Other News”), and “*Küçük Havadisler*” (“Small News”) sections respectively. However, for *Tanin*, crime news is listed under the subtitle of “*Vukuat-ı Zabita*” (“Affairs of Police”). On *İkdam* on the other hand, crime news is a separate section, titled “*Zabita Vukuatı*” (“Police Affairs”), and is placed

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1. *İkdam*'s switch to a 6-page format does not result in significant changes to the contents and the layout and a significant portion of the new space is allocated to the ads at the end of the newspaper.

either before or after the “*Havadis-i Mütenevvi*” (“Various News”) section. After the crime news coverage, the newspapers covered appointments of state officials, the stock market in Istanbul and Paris, and lastly published ads and notices. The Bosnian Crisis, the crisis of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> and the trial of Necib Melhame Paşa are some of the most frequently featured topics in the studied newspapers.

Almost all of the crime news is reported in the dedicated sections of the newspapers in an itemized way, with only select crime news reported as standalone news under the domestic news section. Each item takes around 6 to 10 lines and averages 44 words.<sup>3</sup> Typical news reports do not contain any commentary, and they all follow a similar structure: Time and place of the event, the identity of the offender, description of the event, the identity of the victim, and the response of the police. The identities of the offender or the victim might include their names, their place of residence, their profession, and their hometown. Not all of this information is available or reported in many cases, and the order might be rearranged, but this is the formula for a common criminal news report. The following news report can be given as an example:

The other night, at five o'clock, in the Ağaçkakan quarter in Koca Mustafa Paşa, retired police officer Muharrem Efendi injured clerk Halil Efendi with a knife to his left side. The assailant is detained and sent to the Ministry of Police, and the injured is sent to the hospital.<sup>4</sup>

Relying on this formulaic way of reporting, this chapter will try to analyze crime reporting and, more importantly, the possible differences in crime reporting of *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin* using quantitative analysis. In the next chapter, the features of the three newspapers that are not visible through this quantitative analysis will be complimented with a qualitative analysis of the rhetoric in the mentioned news reports.

To this end, all of the crime news<sup>5</sup> from Istanbul in *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin* between

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2. Melikşah Arslan, “Arapçılık ve Helencilik Arasında Osmanlı Devleti: Kudüs Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi Krizi (1908-1914),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 60 (December 2022): 179–215, <https://doi.org/10.18589/oa.1225299>.

3. See Table B.1 in Appendix B for a breakdown of word count over crime category and newspaper.

4. [“*Evvelki gece saat beşte Koca Mustafa Paşa’da Ağaçkakan mahallesinde sakin polisten mütekaid Muharrem Efendi mahal-i mezkurda sakin katibadan Halil Efendi’yi bıçakla sol böğründen cerh etmiştir. Carih derdest edilerek Zabıta Nezareti’ne ve mecruh dahi hastaneye gönderilmiştir.*”] *İkdam*, 27 February 1909.

5. With the exception of the news on the assassination of *Serbesti* writer Hasan Fehmi.

18th February 1909 and 13th April 1909 have been compiled.<sup>6</sup> Then, the following information for each news item was extracted from the reports:

- The category of the incident (robbery, assault, ...).
- The reporting newspaper.
- The date of the report.
- The word count of the report.
- The number of offenders.
- The name of the offender.
- The profession of the offender.
- The hometown of the offender.
- The *millet* of the offender.
- The last known custodial status of the offender (detained, not detained, ...)
- The name of the victim.
- The profession of the victim.
- The hometown of the victim.
- The *millet* of the victim.
- The location of the incident (coffee houses, docks, homes, ...).
- The town where the incident occurred (Istanbul proper, Beyoğlu, Üsküdar).

These data points quite exhaustively cover what a standard crime report includes. In many cases, a few of these points are not given, but taken as a whole, these are the components of a crime report. Most of the data points are quite simple and are taken as is from the news reports such as the names, hometowns, and locations. However, some data points require classification and interpretation, such as the category of the crime or the professions of the involved persons. These classifications will be discussed in the relevant sections. The main principle in classification is to facilitate the discussions around criminal identity and crime in late nineteenth, early twentieth century Istanbul. As discussed above, these are mainly the issue of vagrancy, the suspect identity of some professions such as porters and boatmen, and the suspect identity of some locations such as coffee houses, brothels, or whole “areas” such as

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6. The significance of this period has been discussed above, but to reiterate, the period under study begins with the first Ottoman parliament session on the “Regulation on Vagabonds and Suspected Criminals” and ends with the 31 March Incident.

Beyoğlu or Üsküdar. The analysis of the data points will start with the section on the categories of crime, as this section will define the criminal categories that will be used throughout this chapter.

### 3.2 Categories of Crime

I have classified all the crime news into 13 categories: Assault, theft, robbery, pick-pocketing, murder, disorderly behavior, rape, counterfeiting, fraud, manslaughter, kidnapping, arson, and poisoning. Some of these categories such as poisoning, kidnapping, and arson had only a few items while others were significant portions of all news. An important point to note here is that even if the attempted action was not successful, it has been categorized as if it was. Most of the categories are self-explanatory, but especially the ones dealing with theft of all kinds need some explanation. The other point that should be discussed is that this classification is different from the classification in the previous chapter concerning the crimes listed in the Istanbul Statistics Journals.<sup>7</sup> The Istanbul Statistic Journals had a wide range of crimes, with the 1913 volume listing 58 distinct criminal activities, hence required two more categories in its classification on top of the categories listed above: “crimes against the state” and “other crimes and misdemeanors”. Criminal activities that would fit into these two categories were not reported in the newspapers studied. Lastly, the “poisoning” category was not used in the last chapter either; however, I have decided to give the lone poisoning news report its own category as it is an unusual incident and is reported as such too.

The “theft” category has been used to denote “*sirkat*”. This category is made up mostly of burglary cases but also includes cases that can not be described as burglary, that is, “the crime of illegally entering a building and stealing things”.<sup>8</sup> In some cases, the offender was a member of the household or an employee of the workplace that they stole from.<sup>9</sup> Or, in some cases, the offender stole from a shop,

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7. See Table A.1 in Appendix A for the classification used in analyzing the Istanbul Statistic Journals.

8. “Burglary,” in *Cambridge Dictionary*, accessed March 28, 2025, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/burglary>.

9. For example: “Hasan, the son of Hayriye, a bathhouse foreman residing in the Sancaktar Hayrettin neighborhood in Samatya, stole his mother’s diamond ring and some belongings before fleeing.”

[“*Samatya’da Sancaktar Hayrettin mahallesinde sakine hamam ustası Hayriye’nin mahdumu Hasan validesinin elmas yüzüğünü ve bir kısım eşyasını sirkatle firar etmiştir.*”] *İkdam*, 20 February 1909.

which can be a dedicated location or just an itinerant vendor, without using or threatening with violence.<sup>10</sup> As such cases do not fit into the criteria of burglary, I have decided to classify the category as “theft” rather than “burglary”.

Robbery cases have been categorized under their own category unless the news item explicitly reports that the victim was assaulted during this process. In that case, they have been categorized under the “assault” category. Cases where it is reported that someone was injured by an accident, usually by a gunshot, were classified under the “assault” category too. Cases where people were killed by stray bullets or accidental gunshots are categorized as “manslaughter”. The category of “disorderly behavior” is made up entirely of cases where firearms were discharged recklessly.<sup>11</sup>

An important point to make here, which will be valid for every comparison between the newspapers, is that the proportion of different categories in each newspaper is more important than the number of cases belonging to that category in a newspaper. This is due to the difference in the number of reported news items in the newspapers. In the period under study, *İkdam* reported 276, *Sabah* reported 273, and *Tanin* reported 181 cases. Hence, although *İkdam* and *Sabah* reported a very similar amount of cases, *Tanin* reported around 34% fewer cases compared to the other two newspapers. To demonstrate this point with an example, we can look at Tables B.3 and B.4. *Sabah* reported 21 robbery cases, while *Tanin* reported only 12 cases, around one-third less. Yet robbery cases make up 7.69% and 6.63% of the cases in *Sabah* and *Tanin* respectively, meaning that both of the newspapers allocate a similar portion to robbery cases in their crime news coverage. Lastly, as discussed in the previous section, the data from Istanbul Statistics Journals will be used when available, to be a comparison point for the newspaper reports. With the classification and disclaimers out of the way, we can start analyzing the data.

As Table B.4 and Figure B.2 indicate, there is a significant discrepancy between the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal reports and the media’s reports regarding the proportion of different crime categories. The largest difference is the lack of the “other crimes and misdemeanors” category in the newspaper reports. This category, making up 20.40% of all recorded criminal activity in 1913, is almost entirely made up of what is listed as “*cünha ve kabayih-i muhtelif*”, which gave the category

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10. For example: “Unemployed Eftim from Athens, a citizen of Greece, who resides in Şahkulu Street in Kalekapısı, was strolling through the Yüksek Kaldırım Avenue the other day. He stole a dozen socks from the display in front of the haberdasher Yorgi’s shop and has been detained.”

[“*Kalekapısı’nda Şahkulu sokağında sakin tebaa-ı Yunani’den Atinalı boşa gezen Eftim evvelki gün Yüksek Kaldırım caddesinde tuhafiyeci Yorgi’nin dükkanı önündeki sergiden bir düzine çorap sirkat etmekle derdest olunmuştur.*”] *Tanin*, 17 March 1909.

11. The prominence of accidental assault, manslaughter, and reckless discharge of firearm cases has already been discussed in Chapter 1.

its name.<sup>12</sup> These are less serious offenses as indicated by the name, and their exclusion from the newspapers is quite understandable. Similarly, the rate for “disorderly behavior” is also different between the newspapers and the 1913 records. This category includes offenses such as drunkenness (“*sarhoşluk*”), vagrancy (“*serserilik*”), and insulting police and military officers (“*memurin-i zabıtaya ve asakire şetm ve hakaret*”) for the 1913 records. Among these, drunkenness makes up around half of the cases. In the newspapers, however, this category only denotes reckless discharge of firearms. The result is a considerable difference, as the category only makes up 3.29% of all newspaper reports while making up 22.85% of all crimes recorded in 1913. We can say that, these two categories making up around 40% of all recorded criminal activity, are not deemed newsworthy enough to be featured in newspapers.

In their absence, more serious criminal activity fills up the columns of the newspapers, especially the murder cases. Although they only made up 0.28% of all cases in the 1913 record, they were 4.25% of all the studied newspaper reports. The last difference is the disparity in robbery cases. While robbery cases make up 9.18% of all crime news, they make up only 0.04% of all 1913 crime records. This is most likely due to robbery cases not being recorded under the related criminal activities in the police records and instead being included among theft or assault cases. All in all, we can say that the newspapers prefer to report more violent and serious crimes such as murder, assault, and theft rather than minor offenses, such as drunkenness or insulting the police.

The three most prominent categories in the newspapers are assault, theft, and robbery cases making up 37.12%, 36.18%, and 9.18% of all crime news respectively. Looking at the proportion of these cases in each newspaper, we can see that assault cases make up 45.05% of all the cases in *Sabah*, while making up 30.07% and 35.91% of the cases in *İkdam* and *Tanin*. This is a significant difference that increases even more when murder cases are added to the discussion. Assault and murder cases combined make up 50.55% of all the cases in *Sabah* while making up 33.33% and 39.78% of all cases in *İkdam* and *Tanin*. This difference in the rates of coverage indicates that *Sabah* was more likely to cover cases of violent crime compared to the other two newspapers. *Tanin* and *İkdam* on the other hand, prefer to cover property crimes. Theft, robbery, and pickpocketing combined make up 57.61% and 53.59% of all cases in *İkdam* and *Tanin* respectively, while making up 44.69% of all cases in *Sabah*. Investigating these categories separately, we can notice some preferences among property crimes. *İkdam* is more likely to report robbery cases and pickpocketing cases compared to the other two newspapers. It is also interesting that *Tanin* both has the highest rate of theft cases and the lowest rate of pickpocketing cases.

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12. For the full classification, see Table A.1 in Appendix A.

We can say that in addition to preferring to report more on broad categories like violent or property crimes, the newspapers demonstrate predispositions for specific categories, such as theft over pickpocketing for *Tanin*.

### 3.3 Professions of the Offenders and the Victims

Professions in which young male migrant workers (“*bekar*”s) made up a large percentage of the workforce were perceived as the usual suspects throughout Istanbul’s history.<sup>13</sup> Considering the fact that these professions make up a considerable share of the city’s workforce, their infamous reputation, and the vagrancy act that was being discussed in the parliament, one might think that the newspapers of the time were riddled with the ill deeds of porters and boatmen. However, this does not seem to be the case, and not by a small margin.

Before delving into the data, a few points should be discussed. Firstly, the figures below are not the number of offenders belonging to the specific professions, but rather the number of news reports where the offenders are of that profession. Hence, news reports where there are multiple offenders of the same profession result only in one entry for that profession. On the other hand, cases where there are multiple offenders of different professions are recorded as a separate category, without specifying the professions of each offender. This will be the case for other aspects of the identity of the offenders or the victims.

Secondly, apprentices are recorded not under the category of “apprentice”, but as practitioners of the profession itself.<sup>14</sup> In a similar manner, people who are reported to have been retired from a profession are also recorded as their previous profession rather than being recorded as “retired”. Lastly, if the person in question is not expected to have a job, i.e. women and children, they are reported as “woman” or “child” rather than “unspecified”. For women, this is not the case only for prostitutes and one instance of a female victim who is reported to be an actress.<sup>15</sup> This is to distinguish the number of female offenders and victims, without having to keep

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13. See the literature review section for more on the suspect identity of migrant workers.

14. This is unless the profession is not specified. There are no such cases regarding the offenders, but there is one case regarding a victim. “The other night in Macar, Çakır of the Beşiktaş residents, injured Dimitri’s apprentice Andon in his left hip.”

[“*Beşiktaş sakinlerinden Çakır evvelki gece Macar’da Dimitri’nin çırağı Andon’u Gölbaşı sokağında bıçakla sol kalçasından cerh eylemiştir.*”] *İkdam*, 14 March 1909. The same news is also reported in *Tanin*. *Tanin*, 14 March 1909.

15. For the news report where an actress is robbed, see *Sabah* and *Tanin*’s issue on 28 February 1909.

gender as a separate data point. Due to space constraints, the related tables are not provided in this chapter, but rather included in Appendix B (Tables B.6 to B.11). Again, due to space constraints, I have listed only the most frequent 20 professions in the tables.

The first point to note regarding the profession of the offenders is that for exactly half of the news reports, the profession of the offender is not specified. This is partly influenced by news reports where the identity of the offender, hence the profession, is not known.<sup>16</sup> There are 224 news reports in which the offender's name is not reported, and in 199 of these, the profession is not specified. In a few of these cases, the identity of the offender is known to the authorities but not to the newspaper.<sup>17</sup> In some cases, the only known thing about them is their profession, as in the case of a porter who stole his client's cargo he was supposed to carry.<sup>18</sup>

The profession with the most unidentified offenders is soldiers, with 6 news reports. This is quite understandable, as it is their uniforms that give them away. For any other profession, this would not be an identifying point, and their profession would remain unknown. Children and women can also remain unidentified, with 4 and 3 news reports. Although the lack of the offender's identity most likely resulted in the lack of information on their profession as well, its presence did not necessarily lead to identifying the offender's profession. In 422 cases where the name of the offender is reported by the newspapers, 166 cases, around 40%, lacked the offender's profession.

The second most populated profession category is also not quite useful, as it is "multiple offenders with different professions", with 28 total reports. It should be noted that although dividing the contents of this category would change the figures and the ranking in the table, it would not result in any significant changes that would alter the remarks and conclusions. The third most populated category, and the first category that defines a specific group is vagrants. Members of this category are usually described as "being of the vagrant sort" ("*serseri makulesinden*"), "of the unoccupied sort" ("*boşta gezer takımından*"), or "of the unemployed sort" ("*işsiz takımından*"). In fact, this is the case for 22 out of 25 news reports involving vagrants. In the remaining 3 cases, "vagrant" is simply added in front of the offender's

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16. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the victim might have known the identity of the offender, but decided to not share it with the police or the press.

17. "A thief broke into Salih Efendi's, from the [Ministry of] *Evkaf* servants, home in Sahra-yı Cedid, and a hefty number of items have been stolen. It is rumored that the thief is the watchman of the house."

[*"Sahra-yı Cedid'de Evkaf hademesinden Salih Efendi'nin hanesine sarik girip bir hayli eşya sirkat olunmuştur. Hırsızın hanedeki bekçi olduğu rivayet edilmektedir."*] *İkdam*, 19 March 1909.

18. *Tanin*, 8 April 1909.



name.<sup>19</sup> This way of reporting indicates a perception of common class identity among these vagrants in the eyes of the press and hence the audience. Roger Deal reports the same observation when referring to previously convicted people; “of the previously convicted sort” (“*sabıkalı takımından*”), rather than simply “previously convicted” (“*sabıkalı*”).<sup>20</sup> This way of describing one’s profession is only used for vagrants, previously convicted, criminals,<sup>21</sup> and prostitutes who are specifically called “of the ill-fated sort” (“*uğursuz makulesinden*”).<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, being “of the vagrant sort” continued even after getting a job. On 2 March 1909, *Tanin* reported that a certain Arkari[?] injured a certain Manol with a knife. The interesting part of this news report is that, although Arkari is reported to be working as a servant for lemon traders at the time, *Tanin* describes him as “Arkari, who is of the vagrant sort and works as a servant to lemon traders in the lemon docks”.<sup>23</sup> It is also noteworthy that although *İkdam* reported the same case one day later, they did not describe Arkari as a vagrant, and called him a merchant’s servant.<sup>24</sup> *Tanin*’s phrasing indicates that being unemployed was not an acceptable situation, and relegated one to the class of undesired people and criminals and kept them there even after their conditions changed.

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19. An example would be: “Vagrant Cross-eyed İsmail and his friend Şaban have been detained yesterday while they were passing through Unkaparı with two sacks of stolen copper.”

[“*Serseri Şaşı İsmail ile refiği Şaban dün Unkaparı’ndan iki çuval mesruk bakır ile geçtikleri sırada yakalanmışlardır.*”] *İkdam*, 9 March 1909.

20. Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909,” 105.

21. An article that was published on all three newspapers on 22 February 1909 complains about the increasing number of “those who are of the pickpocket sort” (“*yankesici makulesinden*”). *İkdam*, 22 February 1909. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909. *Sabah*, 22 February 1909.

22. For a news report containing the phrase, see *Sabah*, 1 April 1909. For a paper on prostitutes in early twentieth-century Istanbul, see Müge Özbek, ““Uygunsuz Makulesinden Kadınlar”: Son Dönem Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Yoksul Ve Yalnız Kadınların Kontrolü Ve Fuhuş (1900-1914),” *Tarih ve Toplum - Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 15 (2015): 65–84.

23. “Arkari[?], who is of the vagrant sort and works as a servant to lemon traders in the lemon docks, ran into shoemaker Manol, who resides in Yenimahalle in Atlamataş Street, on Monday night around half past three while Manol was going home. Arkari asked him to get closer and injured Manol in the abdomen and other places with the knife he was carrying without any reason and fled. The wounded has been sent to the hospital and the assailant has been put under investigation.”

[“*Serseri grupundan olup limon iskelesinde limon tüccarları nezdinde hizmetçilik eden Arkari[?] pazartesi gecesı saat üç buçuk kararlarında Yenimahalle’de Atlamataş sokağında sakin kunduracı Manol’e hanesine gitmekte iken tesadüfle bilasebep yanına çağırarak hamil olduğu bıçakla karnı ile sair mahallerinden cerhle firar etmiş ve mecruh espatalyaya gönderilmiş ve carih derdest-i taharri bulunmuştur.*”] *Tanin*, 2 March 1909.

24. “Arkari[?] from Astane, of the merchant servants in the lemon docks, ran into shoemaker Manol of the Yenimahalle residents who was going home. Manol has been injured by Arkari with a knife in his abdomen and other places and has been sent to the hospital he belongs for a month of treatment. Investigation on the assailant has begun.”

[“*Limon iskelesinde tüccar hademesinden Astaneli Arkari[?] evvelki gece Yenimahalle sakinlerinden Astaneli kunduracı Manol’ün hanesine gittiği sırada bıçakla karnından ve sair mahallerinden cerh eylemesiyle bir ay tedavi mensup olduğu espatalyaya gönderilmiş ve carihin taharri-sine ibtidar kılınmıştır.*”] *İkdam*, 3 March 1909.

In addition to being the most reported occupational status of the offenders, the vagrant category is also one of the few categories where we see a notable difference in the newspaper's reports. *İkdam* has 5, *Sabah* has 9, and *Tanin* has 11 news reports involving vagrant offenders. More importantly, as the total number of news reports in each newspaper is different, the share of such news in each newspaper deviates even more. News reports where vagrants are the offenders make up 1.81% of *İkdam*'s news, while making up 3.30% of *Sabah*'s and 6.08% of *Tanin*'s (See Table B.9 in Appendix B). Also, as discussed in the above paragraph, vagrants were usually described with connotations of a common class and only 3 news reports out of 25 were the exception. 2 of these 3 news reports are from *İkdam*, with the other one being from *Sabah*'s reports.

Looking further into this deviance, we can see that *İkdam* actually reported two news where "vagrants" were involved, per the other newspaper's descriptions, yet chose not to call the offenders as such. One is the case of vagrant Dimitri, who stole four British pounds from moneylender Manol. This incident was reported on March 7 in *Sabah* and on March 8 in *Tanin* and *İkdam*; however, *İkdam*'s reporting does not refer to Dimitri as a vagrant while the other two newspapers do.<sup>25</sup> In the other case, İsmail from Şumnu of the vagrant sort ("*serseri takımdan Şumnulu İsmail*") injures Salih with a knife.<sup>26</sup> The same İsmail is described as "previously convicted İsmail from Şumnu" ("*sabıkah Şumnulu İsmail*") in *İkdam*, as the newspaper continues their avoidance of using the class connotation phrases on top of not using the term "vagrant".<sup>27</sup> *İkdam*'s way of describing vagrants and those previously convicted individualizes them, compared to the common way of reporting at the time by the authorities and *Sabah* and *Tanin* whose phrasing invokes a class characteristic among the criminals and the undesired people. It should be noted that there are a few other factors contributing to the difference in the number of news items regarding vagrant offenders. In a few days where *Tanin* reported news involving vagrant offenders, *İkdam* published only a few or none crime news.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the crime news section was perhaps the most expandable section of the newspaper, and the first to be cut to make space for more important sections or ads. Hence, due to the low sample size of this study imposed by time constraints, these kinds of coincidences have more impact on the data compared to a study with a longer interval under inspection and thus higher sample size of newspaper reports. Still, the remarkably different proportions of news involving vagrant criminals for each newspaper, and more importantly *İkdam*'s

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25. *Sabah*, 7 March 1909. *İkdam*, 8 March 1909. *Tanin*, 8 March 1909.

26. *Tanin*, 13 March 1909.

27. *İkdam*, 13 March 1909.

preference to individualize the vagrants indicate an editorial choice. An editorial decision can also be discussed for *Tanin*, who reported more news involving vagrant offenders and preferred to use the class connotation phrases, even after the offender in question was no longer unemployed as we have seen in Arkari’s case above.

Quickly going over the data, we see that vagrants are followed by servants (“*hizmetçi/hademe*”) with 20, coffee house keepers with 18, and children with 17 news reports where they are the offenders. We also see that occupation affects the type of criminal activity one engages in, or rather what the media reports about them as we will see later. According to the newspapers, servants are more likely to engage in theft, and coffee house keepers are more likely to engage in violent acts. Out of 20 newspaper reports involving offenders who are servants, we have 6 assault, 1 murder, 2 robbery, and 11 theft news. Furthermore, we see that out of the 9 incidents (that resulted in 11 different news reports) where servants engaged in theft, in 6 incidents (that resulted in 7 different news reports) they stole from their employer or their workplace.<sup>28</sup> As we have seen in the last chapter, servants stealing from their employers were an important concern in the eyes of the authorities, which took form in the “Servants and Beggars” (“*Hizmetçiler ve Seele*”) table in the Police Affairs section of the Istanbul Statistics Journals, meant to record theft and other crimes committed by servants. These news reports are another manifestation of that concern, and demonstrate the roots of the concern in reality.

According to the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journals, theft made up 30.09% of all crimes committed by servants, only behind assault with 33.67% (See Table A.7 in Appendix A).<sup>29</sup> Only for the unemployed, theft makes up a larger percentage with 31.59%. However, for house servants specifically, rather than all servants, theft is higher in the ranking with 33.08%. For servants of merchants, moneylenders and others, theft makes up 25.99% of all crimes committed. No other profession has a higher proportion of theft among the crimes they have committed. Although it should be noted that the wide groupings in some categories make comparisons harder, the concerns still seem warranted.

It is also noteworthy that even though assault makes up a higher percentage of all crimes committed by servants, those make up 5.46% of all assaults. Thefts by servants, on the other hand, make up 7.73% of all thefts (See Table A.8 in Appendix A). There might also be a difference in the perception of employers on assault and theft cases committed by servants. If the assault victim is not affiliated with the

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28. See *Tanin*, 24 February 1909. *İkdam*, 8 March 1909. *İkdam*, 15 March 1909. *Sabah*, 15 March 1909. *Sabah*, 19 March 1909. *İkdam*, 25 March 1909. *Sabah*, 25 March 1909.

29. I grouped “house servants” (“*ev hizmetçisi*”) and “servants of merchants, moneylenders and others” (“*tüccar, sarraf ve saire hademesi*”) under a new category, “all servants” in Tables A.6, A.7 and A.8.

employer, the assault act might not be a concern for the employer. However, if a servant engaged in theft, the victim would most likely be the employer, as evidenced by the cases cited above. All these factors might lead to thefts by servants being reported more than assaults by servants, although there are a higher number of assault cases.

The data suggest that coffee house keepers are more likely to engage in violent assault rather than theft. Of the 18 news reports, 11 are assaults, 2 are robberies, 4 are theft and 1 is disorderly behavior. There does not seem to be a pattern among the cases and we do not have comparable data from the Istanbul Statistics Journals. However, for the next group we have the data. Out of 16 news reports about juvenile offenders,<sup>30</sup> there are 6 assaults, 2 pickpocketings, 1 robbery, 6 thefts, and 2 disorderly behavior reports. This seems in line with the data from the Istanbul Statistics Journals, with a slight emphasis on assault cases. According to the journals, assault cases make up 27.43% of all juvenile crimes, while theft makes up 49.27% (See Table A.17 in Appendix A). Considering the newsworthiness of juvenile assailants, such as the 8-year-old Galib who injured another 8-year-old with a knife after stealing from him, this difference can be understood.<sup>31</sup>

Access to firearms was another problem, as children as young as middle school age fired them recklessly and injured people.<sup>32</sup> Although apprentices are not categorized under children, as their ages are unknown in most cases, the case of a 13-year-old coffee house apprentice can be discussed here. This 13-year-old apprentice fired a gun “for the experience” (“*beray-ı tecrübe*”) and injured a porter who was passing by.<sup>33</sup> The phenomenon of shooting firearms into the air, especially around holidays,

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30. An offender was classified as a child if the news report explicitly reported them as such, or if they were a “*rüştiye*” (middle school) student. If the student is not explicitly reported to be a “*rüştiye*” student, they were classified under “student”. Regardless of age, if a profession is listed, the offender is not included in this category.

31. *Sabah*, 16 March 1909. *Tanin* 16 March 1909. For the full news report, see page 49.

32. “Emin Yaşar Efendi, of the [Post and] Telegraph Ministry council clerks, got injured with a stray bullet while he was going through Uzuncaova[?] the other day. The investigation by the police revealed the bullets were fired by Beşiktaş middle school student Abdulkadir, a resident of the aforementioned neighborhood, and he has been detained.”

[“*Telgraf Nezareti meclis kalemi katibesinden Emin Yaşar Efendi evvelki gün Beşiktaş’ta Uzuncaova’dan[?] geçmekte iken koluna bir kurşun tesadüf ederek mecruh olmuştur. Zabıtaca icra kılınan tahkikat neticesinde tabanca atanın mahal-i mezkurda sakin Beşiktaş rüştiyesi talebesinden Abdulkadir olduğu anlaşıl原因 olarak derdest olunmuştur.*”] *İkdam*, 05 April 1909.

For another case where middle school age children fired towards the sea from a boat, see *İkdam*, 27 March 1909.

33. “It is heard that porter One-eyed Ali, who resides in Yenibahçe around Neslişah Sultan neighborhood is bedridden in his home, and police officers have been sent. In his interrogation, he claimed that around fifteen days earlier while he was passing through Bayrampaşa he was struck by a stray bullet in his right leg. The bullet was fired by thirteen year old coffee house apprentice Rasim who fired the gun for the experience. Ali claimed the incident was an accident and he has been detained.

[“*Yenibahçe kurbunda Neslişah Sultan Mahallesi’nde sakin hamal yekçeşm Ali hanesinde*

has been discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>34</sup>

The next “profession” in the table is perhaps the most interesting one, the pickpockets. Not all who pick pockets are described as a “pickpocket”, as there are 47 news reports of pickpocketing while only 16 news reports where the offender is described clearly as a “pickpocket”. In the rest of the cases, the profession of the offender is either not included, or the offender is reported to have a different occupation. Out of these 16 news reports involving “pickpocket”s, only 13 are pickpocketing cases. To clarify, the profession of the offender has only been classified as “pickpocket” if the news report explicitly refers to them as such, e.g. pickpocket (“*yankesici*”) Yorgi from Edirne.<sup>35</sup>

This way of referring indicates the existence of known pickpockets who are professionalized in this line of work. One case demonstrates this, when “pickpocket Rahmi from İslamiye who is also of the previously convicted sort” gets detained after violating the public order by shouting, drinking in the streets, and firing his gun with his group of friends.<sup>36</sup> Although Rahmi did not engage in pickpocketing in this incident, he is still described as a pickpocket as if it is his profession. We do not see “thief” or “robber” being used in the same manner. This can be explained by the fact that pickpocketing requires a certain finesse, experience, and even group work, resulting in a more professionalized criminal profile rather than opportunistic thieves.<sup>37</sup>

Inspecting the distribution of “pickpocket” news among the newspaper, we see that *İkdam* is the main culprit in describing offenders as pickpockets with 12 news reports

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*mecruhen yatmak olduğu haber alınması üzerine memurin-i zabıta gönderilmiş hin-i isticvabında bundan on beş gün makdem Bayram Paşa'dan geçerken on üç yaşlarında kahveci çırağı Rasim namında biri tarafından beray-ı tecrübe atılan tabancadan çıkan kurşun sağ bacağına isabet ettiği ve hadisenin kazaen vukua geldiğini ifade eylemekle derdest olunmuştur.”] Tanin, 27 March 1909.*

34. Also See Table B.2 and Figure B.1 in Appendix B.

35. “While Shoebblack Süleyman from Siirt was passing through Galata the other night, pickpocket Yorgi from Edirne stole his money. Yorgi has been detained.”

[“*Kündüra boyacısı Siirtli Süleyman evvelki gece Galata'dan geçmekte iken yankesici Edirneli Yorgi parasını sirkat eylemesiyle derdest edilmiştir.”] İkdam, 10 March 1909.*

36. “A man called pickpocket Rahmi of İslamiye who resides in Medrese Street in Küçük Ayasofya was being followed by the police for attempting acts that disrupt public order such as public drinking, shouting, and firing shots with his friends. The aforementioned even acted in opposition to the police force and tried to stay in his home, but the required action has been taken.”

[“*Küçük Ayasofya'da medrese sokağında sakin sabıkalı takımından yankesici İslamiyeli Rahmi nam şahıs kendi hempaları ile sokaklarda alenen işret etmek nara atmak ve silah atmak ile rahat-ı umumiyeyi münselib etmek gibi ifalle mütecasir olduğundan dolayı zabıtaca takip edilmekte idi. Merkumun bilahare kuvve-i zabıtaya karşı da serkeşane muamelat ibraz etmiş ve hanesinde tahassun etmek istemiş ise de hakkında muamele-i lüzume icra kılınmıştır.”] Tanin, 05 April 1909.* The same incident can also be found in *İkdam*, 5 April 1909.

37. According to one of the first Ottoman police textbooks, from the Second Constitutional Era, pickpockets were indeed professionals as they worked in groups involving women and children and passed off the stolen goods to their accomplices in the first possible instance. Feridun, *Polis Efendilere Mahsus Terbiye ve Malumat-ı Meslekiye*, 119, 120.

out of the 16 total, while *Tanin* has 3 and *Sabah* has only 1 case. 10 of these cases are acts of pickpocketing, 1 is theft and 1 is disorderly behavior of the pickpocket Rahmi mentioned above. The difference between the newspapers can perhaps be explained by the fact that *İkdam* reports more pickpocketing incidents than the other newspapers. Still, *İkdam*'s editorial choice to report more pickpocketing incidents, and refer to pickpocketing as a profession is noteworthy.

The next profession with the most number of offenders is soldiers, excluding the officers. There are 15 news reports where soldiers are the offenders, 6 from *İkdam*, 7 from *Sabah*, and only 2 from *Tanin*. Remembering the fact that *Tanin* reports a smaller amount of crime news reduces the drasticness of this difference. However, looking further into the cases sparks doubts about editorial choices. Most importantly, a prominent murder case involving two soldiers is missing from *Tanin*. *İkdam* reports that on 26 March 1909, Sergeant Cemal was killed by his friend, fellow soldier Ömer over a matter of jealousy as they both were interested in a boy.<sup>38</sup> This murder is reported by *İkdam* in over 400 words, and by *Sabah* in 154 words.<sup>39</sup> *Tanin*, on the other hand, does not report this murder at all, even though they reported 4 criminal cases on 27 March.

The first instinct to explain this discrepancy might be *Tanin*'s affiliation with the CUP and hence the army; however, it would not be enough to make concrete claims. Furthermore, news involving army officers and the police as offenders do not show a discrepancy between *Tanin* and the other newspapers. If *Tanin* were to have an editorial preference, the exclusion of army officers and the police in lieu of common enlisted soldiers does not make sense. Regardless of the newspapers' stance, if there is any, soldiers were involved in more cases than the usual suspects, such as porters, boatmen, and grocers, which we will be discussing in a minute.

Before going into the cases involving the so called usual suspects, we encounter crimes committed by women in our table. To note, this category does not include prostitutes, who are classified under their own category. There are 13 news reports involving female offenders, 5 from *İkdam*, 7 from *Sabah*, and only 1 from *Tanin*. Once again, *Tanin* reports a significantly lower amount of news compared to the other two newspapers, even after taking into account their lower overall amount of criminal news. Other than the difference in the quantity, there is not much to discuss about the newspaper's attitudes. The news themselves however are worthy of a discussion.

The only case of poisoning in the studied news involves not one but two women.

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38. *İkdam*, 27 March 1909. Also see *Sabah*, 27 March 1909 for a shorter version.

39. The word count for *İkdam* is not precise due to a row that could not be read.

According to *Sabah*, Emine poisoned his husband İsmail after running into her previous lover's mother Hatice. It is reported that Emine was in love with Hatice's son Osman, and even ran from İsmail on their first night after marriage. When the two women met, Hatice gave Emine the poison to use on her husband.<sup>40</sup> The title of this news report "Vile Wife" ("*Denaetkar Karı*") involves commentary that is so rarely found on crime news. In fact, there are only three other instances where "vile" ("*denaet*") is used. One is for the case of a police officer who rapes a woman in her home,<sup>41</sup> but two of them are directed at the mothers of dead abandoned newborn children.

On 8 April 1909, *Sabah* reports that the corpse of a newborn girl was found in the sea, and she had been thrown into the sea by her "vile" mother.<sup>42</sup> On 1 April 1909, *İkdam* reports the case of a newborn child partially eaten by dogs. The news report ends with commentary as *İkdam* asks, "What kind of a creature is the heartless mother that left this poor thing to the dogs?"<sup>43</sup> In the cases of dead newborn children, all the responsibility and the "vileness" is directed at the mother. A wife poisoning his husband, who did not die, is one of the few other criminals that are worthy of being called vile according to the press rather than all the other cases of assault and murder. Even dismembered body parts in baskets do not evoke the same reaction.<sup>44</sup>

There are no other discernable differences between the newspapers regarding the occupational status of the offenders. Still, there are a few points worthy of discussion. Among the remaining groups, the police are featured in as many news reports (12) as grocers and porters (12 each), and the army officers (8) as workers ("*amele*") (8). Fishermen (10) and boatmen (10) are featured in fewer news reports than the educated clerks ("*katip*") (11). And we have already discussed the high number of news (15) involving soldiers as offenders. The newspaper reports do not reflect the perception of labor groups dominated by *bekars*, such as porters, boatmen, grocers, and workers as usual suspects. These groups are not more frequently involved in crime compared to the soldiers and the officers of the "honorable Ottoman army" and the police who are supposed to be the keepers of public order.

It should be remembered that this was a time when the Ottoman army and the

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40. "*Denaetkar Karı*", *Sabah* 10 March 1909.

41. This case will be discussed below.

42. *Sabah*, 8 April 1909.

43. *İkdam* 1 April 1909.

44. See *İkdam*, 6 March 1909, *Sabah*, 6 March 1909, or *Tanin*, 6 March 1909. To summarize, two cooks hired two porters to carry around some baskets. However, soon after the porters realized that the baskets contain a human body. In their interrogation, the cooks claimed that they have found a corpse in front of their shop and tried to get rid of it by hiring the porters. The newspapers claim the cooks had a dispute with the murder victim previously.

police mattered even more than usual. They were supposed to be the paragons of patriotism. The army, or at least a faction of army officers, was the driving force and the guardian of the revolution and they would act on it and suppress the 31 March incident, which makes up the boundary for this study. The police force which was disgraced and seen as Abdulhamid's tools for despotism was now being acquitted as discussed in Chapter 1. Despite all these points, the supposed protectors of the public order are as likely to be seen in newspaper columns as the supposed disruptors of the public order.

There are even some serious offenses, such as the murder between two soldiers discussed above or the case when a police officer raped a *Rum* woman in her home. Although all three newspapers reported the later case, *Tanin*, and *İkdam* relayed the news without commentary. *Sabah*, on the other hand, advocated for the punishment of the highest degree if the police officer is indeed the culprit: "Because if an official in uniform has the nerve to engage in such an evil act, they deserve the most severe punishment: We think that this case demonstrates the care the Ministry of Police should pay to the morals and the behavior of those who are to be accepted into the police force."<sup>45</sup> *Sabah* even titled the news report "The Vile Act of a Police Officer" ("*Bir Polis'in Denaeti*"). As discussed above, "*denaet*" is once again used in a felony where the offender is supposed to be a trusted and protective figure, like mothers and wives.

Lastly, we can compare the newspaper reports and the police records.<sup>46</sup> To reiterate once again, the police records group many professions together and the police records are from 1913 while the newspaper reports are from February to April of 1909. The newspaper reports on the other hand do not include the profession for nearly half of the cases, or there are multiple offenders of different occupations. Hence a one-to-one comparison is not possible, but some remarks can still be made.

According to the police records, artisans ("*ehl-i sanat*") made up most of the criminals with 43.28%. The sheer inclusivity of this category prevents making comments about specific occupations. They are followed by the unemployed at 19.18% and the workers at 16.80%. The proportion of the unemployed, i.e. vagrants, is in line with the newspaper reports, while the workers category is underrepresented in the newspapers. Again, it is not clear who was listed as "worker" ("*amele*") in the police reports; perhaps it includes others who are not necessarily described as "*amele*" by the newspapers. The "workers" category is followed by another ambiguous category:

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45. "*Bir Polis'in Denaeti*", *Sabah* 22 February 1909. The news report can also be found in *Tanin* and *İkdam*'s issues for the same day. *İkdam*, 22 February 1909.

46. See Tables B.6 to B.11 in Appendix B for newspaper reports, see Tables A.6 to A.8 in Appendix A for police records (from the 1913 Volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal).



government officials (“*memurin*”) with 6.60%. Since there is no specific category for soldiers, army officers, and the police; they might have been included among the government officials. Boatmen, fishermen, and the servants, on the other hand, allow for one-to-one comparisons, and the police records and the newspaper reports are in line with each other for these groups.

Despite the aforementioned problems with comparisons, we can say that the newspaper reports mostly match the police record. The newspapers also include the victim’s profession in their descriptions. We will quickly go over the most targeted professions according to the newspaper and discuss the relationship of the victim’s profession with the crimes committed. Unfortunately, we have no points of reference to compare the newspaper reports for the professions of the victims. Nevertheless, there are no significant discrepancies between the newspapers, indicating the data is reliable since we have seen, and will continue to see, the other aspects of the newspaper reports to match with police records.

Starting off with the top of the table, we see that the victims’ profession is not specified in 135 of the news reports, making up 18.49% of all news reports (See Table B.12 and B.13 in Appendix B). It should be noted that this category concerns individuals, compared to the third category which is for crimes where the victim is not a person. The “non-applicable” category denotes crimes where the victim is not an individual. To elaborate with some examples, the theft of prayer rugs from mosques,<sup>47</sup> or shooting firearms into the air are classified under this category. Among the cases where the victim is a person and their profession is known, the women are the most frequent victims.<sup>48</sup>

Looking deeper into the cases where women are the victims, we see that they are mostly the target of assaults and theft. However, looking deeper once again reveals that out of 19 cases where women are the victims of assault, 11 cases are due to accidental discharges of weapons. Furthermore, 8 of these news reports were due to cases of shooting into the air during the Easter celebrations.<sup>49</sup> The other 3 news reports all report the same single case.<sup>50</sup> However, even if all those accidental discharge cases are subtracted, women are still the most frequent victims, even ahead of the “non-applicable” category.

Grocers, who are the first real profession on the table, seem to be highly targeted

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47. *İkdam*, 3 March 1909. *Sabah*, 3 March 1909.

48. As discussed above, since their gender defined their economic role in this period, I have categorized “woman” as a profession.

49. The newspapers published warnings from the police, urging the people to refrain from this practice. See 30 in Chapter 1.

50. In fact, the wording is identical for all three newspapers. See Chapter 1 for more on this topic. *İkdam*, 18 February 1909. *Sabah*, 18 February 1909. *Tanin*, 18 February 1909.

by thieves, with 14 theft cases out of 31 total cases. The prevalent grocers' shops seem to have made them easy targets for stealing a few items with the cover of the night, as evidenced by news reports. For more profitable heists, merchants and moneychangers were better choices. Theft made an even larger percentage of cases against these professions with 76.92% and 70.00% respectively. Interestingly enough, porters follow merchants and moneychangers with 63.64%. Taking a look at the cases where porters were victims of theft demonstrates the prevalence of opportunistic thieves. In two separate cases, the thieves were the roommates of the porter.<sup>51</sup> All in all, we can say that the ease of accessibility was as important a factor for thieves as the level of wealth when choosing their victims.

There are a few other points to note. Army officers are also usually targeted by thieves, most likely due to their comparatively wealthier lives. The soldiers and the police, on the other hand, are more likely to be victims of assault. For the police, all assault incidents occurred while they were on the job. Hence, the target was not the individual police but their role. The last profession to note is the coffeehouse keepers. As we have discussed, they were much more likely to be perpetrators of assault with 61.11%. Interestingly enough, they are also much more likely to be victims of assault compared to any other crime, with 62.50%. This indicates the existence of a culture amongst coffeehouse keepers where arguments are solved by violence.

To conclude the discussion on the professions of offenders, the newspaper reports of *İkdam*, *Tanin*, and *Sabah* do not indicate anything other than objective reporting of the criminal events, at least on a large scale. The reports of any specific newspaper correspond to both other newspapers and the police records. However, there are a few slight differences and noticeable editorial choices. The editorial choices are by *İkdam*. The first one is their insistence on not using phrases such as “. . . *güruhundan, takımından*” (“of the . . . sort”) that connote class characteristics when referring to vagrants or previously convicted as the other newspapers and the authorities do. In contrast, *İkdam* uses the term “pickpocket” to describe the profession of some offenders, indicating a professional group of criminals. *Tanin* differs from the other newspapers by the low number of news reports regarding offenders who are soldiers or women. However, it is not likely that this is a deliberate omission of such news since *Tanin* reports fewer amount of crime news in general, and more importantly, there does not seem to be a discrepancy regarding the amount of news where the offender is an army officer or a police officer.

Most importantly, the “Regulation on Vagabonds and Suspected Criminals” that is

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51. *Tanin*, 15 March 1909. *İkdam*, 04 April 1909. *Sabah*, 04 April 1909.

being discussed in the Ottoman Parliament during the timespan of this study is not noticeable when observing the crime reporting in *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*. There are as many news reports involving soldiers, army officers, and policemen as there are involving porters, boatmen, grocers, and fishermen. And although vagrants are the group with the most news, the proportion is in line with police records. Only a few extraordinary news reports include commentary, and none of these are about vagrants.

### 3.4 The *Millet* Identity of The Offenders and the Victims

Religious affiliation was an important part of identity in the late Ottoman Empire. In an environment charged with nationalistic ideas, any discrepancies in the state's approach toward minorities and interactions between communities had the potential to spark turmoil. This section will analyze the distribution of criminals and victims according to their *millet* identity, in both the police records and the newspaper reports by *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*.

The *millet* identity of the persons involved in crime news is not explicitly stated most of the time. In its absence, I have used the names of the individuals to deduct their *millet* identity by referring to a well-known research about names and etymology: <https://www.nisanyanadlar.com/>. Unfortunately, I was not able to successfully read all the names and find their origin. Those names are listed in the “non-Muslim” category along with names that could be read but did not belong to a specific group. Crime news where the name of the perpetrator is not reported was classified as “unidentified” if there were no other identifying features.<sup>52</sup> Individuals who are reported to be “*Yunanlı*” by the newspapers are not classified under the *Rum* category but under the “Citizen of Greece” category. Lastly, cases where there were multiple perpetrators of different origins are classified under their own category. Once again, these categories do not match up one to one with the categories from the police records, but comparisons are possible.<sup>53</sup>

The first and most important point to note is that there is not a significant discrepancy between the newspapers about the proportion of news involving offenders from different *millets* (See Tables B.14 to B.17 in Appendix B). Furthermore, the propor-

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52. As discussed above, a soldier's uniform gave away their profession even without their name, similarly, as there were no non-Muslim soldiers at the time, their *millet* has been classified as Muslim.

53. For ease of comparison, I have collected the categories for Western nationals under one category.

tions also match up with the police reports (See Tables A.9 and A.10 in Appendix A). There are two points to note here. First, the table showing the *millets* of identified offenders (Tables B.16 and B.17) should be compared to the police records, rather than the table showing the *millets* of all offenders (Tables B.14 and B.15). The figures below are for offenders whose names were reported by the newspapers.

Secondly, the small discrepancy between the police records and the newspaper reports regarding *Rum* and Armenian offenders can be explained by my use of the non-Muslim category for individuals whose *millet* could not be identified and the “multiple perpetrators of different origins” category. In other words, *Rums* and Armenians make up 20.36% and 5.73% of the offenders respectively according to all news reports, but make up 26.43% and 8.51% of the offenders respectively according to police reports. The total difference which is around 9% is most likely made up of those categorized as “non-Muslim” (6.72%) and “multiple offenders of different origins” (2.96%). Hence, all in all, the newspaper reports and the police records match.

Looking further into the differences between the newspapers, we see that the proportion of Muslim offenders is highest in *Tanin* with 64.04%, and lowest in *İkdam* with 55.44%. This is peculiar, as *Tanin* is the mouthpiece of the CUP and is more nationalist compared to the liberal *İkdam*. Their reaction to the Beyoğlu incident and their dispute with the Greek language newspaper *Proodos* will demonstrate this in the next chapter, as *Tanin* will call the editor-in-chief of *Proodos* a “*Yunan palikaryasi*”.<sup>54</sup> Yet, *Tanin*’s nationalistic attitude is not reflected in their crime reporting, even against non-Ottoman Greeks, that is the citizens of Greece. In fact, we observe the opposite as the proportion of Muslim offenders in *Tanin* is higher than in other newspapers.

Perhaps these differences can be due to the news sources of the newspapers. *İkdam* quotes and translates from *Neologos* from time to time, and seemingly has cordial relationships with this Greek language newspaper. More importantly, later in this chapter, we will see that *Tanin* makes more news about criminal activities in Istanbul proper, while *İkdam* makes more news about criminal activities in Beyoğlu. The demographics of Istanbul and Beyoğlu hence affect the proportion of news involving Muslim or non-Muslim offenders, with *Tanin*’s news sources concentrating on Muslim-majority areas compared to *İkdam* which has more sources for *Rum* and Armenian majority areas of the city.

As the newspaper reports and the police records match, there is one point of comparison left: the population figures for religious groups. Population figures and

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54. Although “*palikarya*” is a Greek word for “young man”, it is also used in a derogatory sense.

percentages of different religious groups according to the 1906 census are given in Appendix C. We see that foreigners make up a sizeable 16.52% of the population (Table C.2 in Appendix C), yet they – that is, the citizens of Greece, European nations, the USA, and Iran - make up only around 3 to 3.5% of the criminals according to both the newspaper reports and the police records. Capitulations might have had a role in this discrepancy, especially for Europeans. Cases between foreigners were under the jurisdiction of consular courts; and although cases between Ottoman citizens and foreigners were to be seen in Ottoman courts, European consulates were increasingly objecting to this practice even in the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

We have already seen in the last chapter the number of criminals who were from various foreign nations (“*Milel-i Muhtelif Ecnebi*”) was reported as 0 in the 1919 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journals, likely influenced by the city’s occupation by the Allied forces. Still, the consular courts and capitulations can not be claimed as the sole reason behind this discrepancy without any concrete evidence; especially given that neither police records nor newspaper reports are a part of the trial process.

Aside from the discrepancy between the population of foreigners and the number of foreign criminals, the population figures match up with the police records and the newspaper reports. Table C.4 in Appendix C shows the population percentages of Ottoman subjects, that is excluding the foreigners living in the city. These figures nearly match up with the police records, and with the newspaper reports when the “multiple perpetrators of different origins” and the “non-Muslim” categories are taken into account.

Unfortunately, the police records do not contain information regarding the victims; however, the newspaper reports and the population figures mostly corroborate each other with one difference. Again, the population of foreigners is underrepresented as discussed above (See Tables B.18 to B.21 in Appendix B). There is also no discrepancy between the newspapers.

To conclude this section, we can say that the *millet* identity of one did not influence their probability of getting involved in crime in any significant way, neither as the offender nor the victim. Thus, there seems to be no clear pattern. Only for foreigners living in Istanbul the rate of criminality and the rate of victimhood did not match with the population percentages. Furthermore, *İkdam*, *Tanin*, and *Sabah* too are all in line with each other and the police records. The proportionality of criminals to the general population is also the case according to the prison population surveys conducted in 1912 and 1914 as Kent Schull reports.<sup>56</sup> Hence, we can say that there

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55. Berna Kamay, “Extradition in the Ottoman International Legal Practice of the Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D., Boğaziçi University, 2022), 53, 55.

56. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 105.

appears to be no evidence of religious or ethnic based discrimination in both the policing and judicial processes.

### 3.5 The Hometown of the Offenders and the Victims

In Chapter 1, we have touched upon the Ottoman state's efforts to curb migration into the imperial capital, as migrant male workers (*bekars*) were associated with deteriorating public order. Roger Deal, who studied violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, suggests that not only the state of being a migrant, but also the hometown of the migrant might have played a role in getting involved in criminal activities:

I am aware of no work which suggests that the culture of the Balkan villages (particularly those of modern-day Bulgaria) was more prone to interpersonal violence than the culture of Anatolian villages. Nevertheless, they appear, at least anecdotally, much more frequently in reports of interpersonal violence in Istanbul than do people from Anatolia. There are a number of possibilities which could account for that situation. It could be that the apparent weighting in favor of the Balkans is purely an accidental result of the sample. It is also possible that refugees were more likely to be identified at least in the press by their place of origin, and the fact that most refugees during the period in question were from the Balkans accounts for their high showing.<sup>57</sup>

He elaborates his claim in another work, and places the traumas of war, especially the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish war, as the cause of affinity to violence among war refugees from the Balkans, especially Bulgaria, and Caucasia.<sup>58</sup> Deal is not the only one who specifies a particular group as an outlier. Albanian and later Laz immigrants and their migration into Istanbul were targeted by the state in the 18th and 20th centuries respectively. This section of the chapter tries to reveal the media's approach in 1909 to the question of immigrant criminals.

As discussed in the last chapter, even the detailed police records from 1913 do not contain information on the hometown of the offenders, or whether or not they are immigrants. Unfortunately, the newspaper reports from 1909 are not much different. The offender's hometown is not specified in 69.96% of the news reports (See Tables B.22 and B.23 in Appendix B).<sup>59</sup> One might think that the lack of a hometown in

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57. Deal, "Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909," 148, 149.

58. Deal, "War Refugees and Violence in Hamidian Istanbul."

59. This figure is for the offenders whose identities are reported. For all offenders, the percentage

the offender's description means they are not an immigrant. However, we know this is not the case, as we have also seen in the last chapter that by the 1885 census, immigrants were already making up more than half of the population.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, one of the two most frequently encountered hometown descriptions with 11 cases is “*Astaneli*”, that is, “from Astane”, in other words “from the Capital/Istanbul”. Hence, we can say that the newspapers did not intend the lack of a hometown in their descriptions to mean that the person in question is from Istanbul. Furthermore, we can say that being a native of Istanbul was as specific a piece of information as being from any other town. The other equally most frequently encountered hometown perhaps could not be designated as a hometown, as it denotes that the offender in question is “*Yunanlı*” (“from Greece”). It is not certain if the person in question is a native of Istanbul, or if they are a migrant from the lands that are now being controlled by the Kingdom of Greece. What is certain in this case is their claim to be a subject of the Kingdom of Greece, even though the Ottoman state may agree with that claim or not.<sup>61</sup> All in all, the most frequent two descriptions regarding the origin of the offender do not specifically indicate that they are an immigrant.

In the rest of the cases too there does not appear to be a concentration of immigrants from a certain town. Only Trabzon (8), Rize (6), and Kastamonu (5) appear in more than more than 4 news reports, and since these are news reports; they do not all indicate distinct incidents and hence offenders. We can say that Deal's hypothesis about the war refugees from the Balkans, especially from Bulgaria, and Caucasia does not hold up for the news reports from 1909. Instead, migrants from Anatolia and especially the Black Sea region are featured more heavily. It is important to note that 1909 is more than 30 years removed from the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, which might have been influential in this change.

Ryan Gingeras, on the other hand, puts Lazs at the center of organized crime in Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire's last years and in the early Republic period. To clarify, Gingeras uses the term Laz to “signify virtually any Muslim hailing from the Black Sea coast east of Sinop.”<sup>62</sup> as it is generally used and not the specific ethnic

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increases to 79.04%.

60. Shaw, “The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” 270.

61. The topic of subjecthood is a topic that is too convoluted to discuss here. See Mehmet Çetin, “Tabiiyetten Vatandaşlığa: Yunan Tebaası Örneğinde Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tefrik-i Tebaa Uygulaması,” *History Studies International Journal of History* 12, no. 5 (October 2020): 2599–2620, <https://doi.org/10.9737/hist.2020.933>; İbrahim Serbestoğlu, “Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tabiiyet” (Ph.D., Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2010), 158–73; Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*, SOAS/Routledge studies on the Middle East 19 (London ; New York: Routledge, 2013), chap.5 : Nationality.

62. Ryan Gingeras, “Beyond Istanbul's ‘Laz Underworld’: Ottoman Paramilitarism and the Rise of Turkish Organised Crime, 1908–1950,” *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 3 (August 2010):

group of people. It should also be noted that the Laz immigration is not unrelated to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, as around 40.000 Lazs had to leave their homes on the east coast of the Black Sea and take refuge in the Ottoman Empire in the span of a few years.<sup>63</sup>

The term Laz is used in 5 news reports, relating to three different incidents. One of these incidents is actually a news report that we have discussed before, the case of the rapist police officer. *Tanin* identifies the offender as “Laz Osman Efendi”, while *İkdam* and *Sabah* do not mention his Laz identity.<sup>64</sup> Given the category of the criminal act and the offender being a police officer, this act can not be classified under organized crime. The two other instances, however, carry characteristics of organized crime. In the first instance, an unidentified offender wearing a “Laz hat” and his two friends rob Osman, a milkman, in the early hours of the morning.<sup>65</sup> Since it is not clear that the offender is a Laz, this instance has not been taken into account regarding the hometowns/origins of the offenders. The last instance is an example of “*kabadayi*” behavior, as it is a demonstration of authority using violence.<sup>66</sup> According to the news reports, Laz Şakir, a coffee house keeper, and his friends run into Halid Efendi, who is a naval captain. As the two men have previous conflicts, Şakir boasts his reputation by saying “Although you are known as Halid of Çeşme Meydanı, I too am known as Laz Şakir.” Şakir’s boast leads to a fight where the two men are injured by revolvers and knives.<sup>67</sup>

To conclude, a majority of the newspaper reports do not include information on the origin of the offender. Among those that do, the most common two origins are Istanbul natives and citizens of Greece. Only then we have information on the origin of migrants. Trabzon comes at the top, with 8 news reports describing the offender as being from Trabzon. Furthermore, most of the other most frequently mentioned hometowns are from Anatolia, rather than the Balkans; which goes against Deal’s observation about the high frequency of cases involving war refugees, especially from Bulgaria.

However, Gingeras’ claim about Lazs – meaning Muslim men from the eastern Black Sea coast in this context – making up an important part of Istanbul’s underworld in the early twentieth century matches with the news reports better. On top of the 14 news reports involving offenders who are from Trabzon and Rize, there are 5 more

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215–230, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777310000135>.

63. Justin McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün: Osmanlı Müslümanlarının Etnik Kuyumu, 1821-1922*, trans. Fatma Sarıkaya (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 125.

64. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909.

65. *Tanin* reports three robbers while *Sabah* reports only one. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909. *Sabah*, 22 February 1909.

66. See Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909,” 66–84.

67. *İkdam*, 2 March 1909. A shorter version of the events is also reported in *Sabah*, 2 March 1909.



news reports involving Laz offenders. Although these 19 news reports make up less than 4% of all news reports, in the absence of other information they are valuable.

It is certainly the case that the lack of a hometown in the offender's description does not mean that they are an Istanbul native, given the high population of migrants. The more likely explanation is perhaps the person in question is not widely known as say "Mehmed from Trabzon". Extrapolating from the data in hand, we might say that immigrants from the Black Sea region made up a significant percentage of all offenders. However, without further information on the general population of immigrants in Istanbul, making any comments on rates of criminality would be unreasonable. If there were more immigrants in Istanbul from the Black Sea region at the time, it would only be natural that there were more offenders who are immigrants from the Black Sea region.

However, one way to gauge the criminality rates of migrants from different hometowns could be the comparison with the hometowns of the victims. Similar to the case for the offenders, for 79.31% of the news reports, the victim's hometown is not reported (See Tables B.24 and B.25 in Appendix B).<sup>68</sup> The top of the table includes "Yunanli"s and "Astaneli"s with 6 and 5 news reports respectively. Some other seemingly popular hometowns and origins are also featured in both tables, such as Bursa and Albanian ("Arnavud").

However, there is one entry that was not prominently featured in the offenders' table. The most frequently reported origin of the victims is Iran with 9 news reports. There does not seem to be a common denominator among the Iranian victims that would lead to increased victimhood, such as Iranians being mostly merchants who are targeted by thieves. Rather, in most of the cases, the profession of the victim is not reported. Furthermore, out of the 12 news reports, 9 are assault cases. One possible explanation for the frequent news reports involving Iranian victims might be that the victims are more widely known by their origin, since they are migrants who are not native to the Ottoman lands. Accordingly, this means that the Iranians are more likely to be victims rather than offenders, since if they were also offenders with the same frequency, their descriptions in the newspapers would once again include their origin. The rest of the table does not indicate that any other hometown or origin is frequently reported.

Regarding the differences in the attitudes of the newspapers, one thing that can be said is that news where the hometown or origin of the offender is missing makes up a slightly larger proportion of *Sabah's* news (78.92%) compared to *İkdam* (65.80%)

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68. Once again, this figure is for news reports where the victim is identified. For all news reports regarding individuals (the "non-applicable" category, which denotes crimes where the victim is not an individual, is excluded) the figure rises to 80.70%.

and *Tanin* (63.28%). This is not the case for the victims, where *Tanin* (74.12%) has an even smaller difference compared to *İkdam* (82.35%) and *Sabah* (83.33%).<sup>69</sup> These differences are too small to indicate an agenda. For the other categories too, one can not make any meaningful remarks due to the small sample size, as the inclusion of one news report can double the number of times most hometowns or origins are featured.

However, the data we have is also not unfruitful. We can say that the hometowns or origins of the people were not points of interest for the newspapers, and more importantly, for the police records. The state does not seem to have made attempts to investigate the origins of the migrants in Istanbul, who make up more than half of the population. The press, accordingly, also did not bother to include the origins of people in their news reports. However, it should also be noted that newspapers most likely used police records as their sources for crime news as we have touched upon in Chapter 1; hence, the press was not entirely capable of gathering information that the police did not record.

There are also a few points that warrant a discussion, although one should refrain from making strong remarks. There seems to be a sizeable population of migrants from the eastern Black Sea region. Denoted by the term *Laz*, these people are the most visible migrants among the offenders in the newspapers investigated. Extrapolating the data would mean that *Lazs* make up a significant portion of the city's criminals, as *Gingeras* suggests. However, extrapolations are not always healthy. Extrapolating the data on the origins of the victims would suggest that *Iranians* are the most frequently targeted group of people, which would not be a reasonable remark to make. The circumstances of these two groups are vastly different, and they should not be treated the same. However, one thing is certain. Immigrants from the Black Sea region (for the simplicity of the argument, just *Trabzon* and *Rize*) feature prominently in the offenders table, but are not represented in the victims table proportionally. The opposite can be said for *Iranians*. Although it could be due to the low sample size, this alludes to a different rate of criminality between these groups.

### 3.6 Last Known Custodial Status of the Offender

One of the other main aspects of a crime report in Ottoman newspapers is stating the last known custodial status of the offender, such as whether they have been de-

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69. The figures are for individuals whose identities are known.

tained or not. In classifying the news reports, I have used 5 categories: “detained”, “not detained”, “multiple offenders of differing statuses”, “court news”, and “unspecified”. A few of the categories need explanation. Cases where it is explicitly stated that the offender is detained, or that they are on the run are reported accordingly. I have also classified news reports with unidentified offenders under the “not detained” category unless otherwise stated. These actually make up 81.10% of all “not detained” cases with 206 reports out of 254. News reports where it is only stated that the investigations have begun (“*taharrisine ibtidar kılındı*”) or are ongoing without further information are also reported under this category. The “court news” category is for cases that are now in court and report the sentences handed out. The “unspecified” category is for news reports where there is no information on the aftermath of the events.

We see that *Tanin* differs from the other newspapers in a few ways (See Tables B.26 and B.27 in Appendix B). Firstly, *Tanin* makes 9 news on court sentences (making up 4.97% of their criminal news), while *Sabah* makes 3 (1.10%) and *İkdam* makes 4 (1.45%) such news. *Tanin* reporting significantly more news on criminal punishment, even though they make less crime news overall, indicates that this is an editorial choice. A possible explanation can be that the CUP-shaped regime, and hence the *Tanin* editorial, wants to demonstrate to the readers that criminal activities do not go unpunished.

Secondly, they prefer to report on cases where the last known situation of the offender is known, and the difference is in favor of “detained” cases compared to *İkdam* and *Sabah*. Among the cases reported in *Tanin*, in only 8.29% of the cases the police response is not reported, while this figure is 22.71% for *Sabah* and 17.75% for *İkdam*. The detainment rate of the offenders is 51.93% for *Tanin*, compared to 39.93% for *Sabah* and 44.20% for *İkdam*. Since there is no difference between the rates that the newspapers report on offenders who are not detained, it is likely that some cases that are in the “unspecified” category in other newspapers are in the “detained” category in *Tanin*. A few examples demonstrate *Tanin*’s editorial choices, where, in order to provide the police response, they report the events later:

“Tailor David who resides in Galata Azabkapısı, and Mişon who resides in Beyoğlu Heydek, got into a fight and Mişon injured David in his groin with hair scissors.”<sup>70</sup>

“While tailor David was sitting in a coffeehouse around Galata Voyvoda yesterday, he was injured in his groin with scissors by Mişon of the

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70. “Galata’da Azabkapısı’nda sakin terzi David ile Beyoğlu’nda Hendek’te sakin Mişon münazaa ederek Mişon David’i berber makasıyla kasiğundan cerh etmiştir.” *Sabah*, 22 February 1909.

vagrant sort after a fight.”<sup>71</sup>

“While tailor David who resides in Galata Azabkapısı was sitting in Koçu’s coffee house around the old Voyvoda the other day, he got into a fight with Mişon of the vagrant sort who resides in Beyoğlu Hendek and was injured in his groin with hair scissors. The detained assailant Mişon has been delivered to the courts.”<sup>72</sup>

Regarding the incident above, *Sabah* and *İkdam* reported the news on the 22nd of February while *Tanin* reported on the 24th. The news reports do not contradict each other, however, *Tanin*’s reporting is more detailed. The most important detail that is missing in the other news reports is the fact that the assailant has been detained and delivered to the courts. There are some other examples I have noticed where *Tanin*’s news reports come in later, but provide the statement that the offenders have been detained.<sup>73</sup>

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71. “Terzi David dün Galata’da Voyvoda civarında kahvede oturmakta iken boşta gezer takımından Mişon tarafından bilmünazaa mıkrasıyla kasiğundan cerh edilmiştir.” *İkdam*, 22 February 1909.

72. “Galata’da Azabkapısı’nda sakin terzi David evvelki gün eski Voyvoda civarında Koçu’nun kahvehanesinde oturmakta iken Beyoğlu’nda Hendek’te sakin ve boşta gezer takımından Mişon ile münazaa etmiş ve Mişon tarafından berber mıkrasıyla kasiğundan cerh edilmiştir. Derdest olunan carih Mişon cihet-i adliyeye tevdi kılınmıştır.” *Tanin*, 24 February 1909.

73. The first incident:

“Mustafa, of the Seventh Municipal District firemen, has been injured by coffee housekeeper Fettah from Köstence with a revolver.”

[“Yedinci daire-i belediye tulumba efradından Mustafa, kahveci Köstenceli Fettah tarafından revolverle cerh edilmiştir.”] *İkdam*, 2 March 1909.

“Mustafa from Tekfurdağı, of the Seventh District firemen, who resides in Hasköy in Keçeci neighborhood, has been shot in his abdomen with a revolver the other night around Hasköy garden by coffee house keeper Fettah from Köstence. The assailant has been detained and the wounded’s treatment has begun.”

[“Hasköy’de Keçeci mahallesinde sakin Yedinci Daire tulumba efradından Tekfurdağlı Mustafa evvelki gece Hasköy bahçesi civarında kahveci Köstenceli Fettah tarafından revolver ile karnından cerh olunmasıyla carih derdest edilmiş ve mecruhun tedavisine mübaderet kılınmıştır.”] *Tanin*, 3 March 1909.

The second incident: “The watchman of Tatavla Aya Kiryaki garden Nikoli of Karaman has ben injured in his head by the residents of the aforementioned neighborhood, shoemaker Tanaş and fisherman Distoni[?].”

[“Tatavla’da Aya Kiryaki bostanında bekçi Karamanlı Nikoli mahal-i mezkur sakinlerinden kunduracı Tanaş ve balıkçı Distoni[?] tarafından başından cerh edilmiştir.”] *Sabah*, 2 March 1909.

“The other night, in Tatavla Aya Kiryaki garden, Nikoli was injured in his head by the residents of the aforementioned neighborhood shoemaker Tanaş and his friend Dimistoni[?]. The assailants have been detained.”

[“Evvelki gece Tatavla’da Aya Kiryaki bostanında Nikoli mahal-i mezkur sakinlerinden kunduracı Tanaş ile refiği balıkçı Dimistoni[?] taraflarından başından cerh olunmuştur. Carihler derdest edilmiştir.”] *Tanin*, 3 March 1909.

The third incident:

“While moneychanger Toma’s apprentice Manol, who resides in Kasımpaşa, was passing through the Kasımpaşa graveyard, Makriköy resident Dimitri of the unemployed sort stole his four English pounds through trickery.”

[“Kasımpaşa’da sakin sarraf Toma’nın çırağı Manol Kasımpaşa kabristan derunundan mürur ederken Markiköy sakinlerinden ve boşta gezer takımından Dimitri kurnazlıkla dört İngiliz lirasını çalmıştır.”] *Sabah*, 7 March 1909.

It is important to note I have not encountered any cases where *Tanin* reports on the same day, or perhaps earlier than other newspapers, and states that the offenders have been detained, while the others do not state that information. In other words, there does not seem to be a deliberate omission by *Sabah* and *İkdam* regarding the detainment of offenders. It seems rather that they do not wait for more information before publishing the report, while *Tanin* does.

Lastly, the 1913 police records indicate that the offenders remain unidentified only in 3.49% of the cases. In a few categories, the proportion of unidentified offenders is higher, such as pickpocketing (17.97%), fraud (9.75%), and theft (9.57%) (See Table A.2 in Appendix A). Of the identified offenders,<sup>74</sup> only 1.00% are recorded as being on the run (“*fırarda*”). Once again, there are some categories in which this figure is higher, such as murder (9.80%), homicide (6.82%), fraud (3.73%), and pickpocketing (3.63%) (See Tables A.18 and A.19 in Appendix A).<sup>75</sup> If the police records are believed to be accurate, almost all of the offenders were eventually detained. It is important to note that most crime news is published the day after the incident or the next day, hence if an offender is reported as detained by the newspapers, we can say that the police response has been fairly quick.

To conclude this section, there is a clear editorial choice by *Tanin* to demonstrate that the criminals are being detained and punished. They make more news regarding court sentences handed out to criminals, and they choose to report later on some cases with more details, especially about the police’s response. This approach leads to *Tanin* reporting a higher percentage of news reports stating the offender in question has been detained. Readers of *Tanin* encounter a lower percentage of news reports where a crime is reported without knowing the fate of the offender. They also read more news reports stating how the criminals are being sentenced.

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“Moneychanger Toma’s apprentice Manol, who resides in Kasımpaşa, was passing through Kasımpaşa graveyard the other day around seven o’clock. Dimitri, who resides in a place called Zeytinlik, and is of the unemployed sort, stole four English pounds from the aforementioned’s pockets and fled. Manol has been detained and required action has been taken.”

[“*Kasımpaşa’da sakin sarraf Toma’nın çırağı Manol evvelki gün saat yedi kararlarında Kasımpaşa’da kabristandan müüruru esnasında Makri kariyesinde Zeytinlik nam mahalde sakin boştta gezer takımından Dimitri merkurum cebinde bulunan dört İngiliz lirasını sirkat ve firar eylemesiyle derdest ve hakkında muamele-i luzuma ifa kılınmıştır.*”] *Tanin*, 8 March 1909.

I have not been able to find police records regarding any of these events, hence it is not possible to determine whether the offenders have been really detained as of *Tanin*’s reporting. As discussed before, the available archival sources are not the police records themselves (“*zabit*”s), but communications between different police headquarters and other ministries. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Asayiş*, 121, 122.

74. The journal does not specifically indicate that these are the figures for the identified offenders; however, the numbers indicate so.

75. For both of the points discussed above, I omitted discussing the robbery category as its sample size is too low with only 4 cases and 8 offenders, most likely due to robbery cases being recorded as theft cases.

*Tanin*'s editorial choices give the perception of a safer city and a more robust policing and legal system. Presenting this image might be in pursuit of presenting the CUP shaped government in a better light, with a tighter grip on public order and a more stable and secure constitutionalist regime.

### 3.7 The Location of the Crime Scene

For the people of Istanbul and for the Ottoman state, some locations were inherently suspect and could affect one's moral behavior. The state even kept a record of establishments it deemed harmful to the public's morale, as we have seen in Chapter 2.2. However, it was not only establishments such as taverns or brothels that carried a corrupting power in the public perception, even whole towns were seen as suspect. This section is on the crime rates of the three towns of greater Istanbul: Istanbul proper, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar. For this section, the term Istanbul will denote Istanbul proper, and for the whole of the three towns I will use the word "greater Istanbul".

Beyoğlu, due to its history as a separate town and a Genovian colony, developed in a different way compared to Istanbul. It was the city's bridge to Europe, and where foreigners lived, including the foreign missions. But perhaps more importantly for the people of Istanbul, Beyoğlu was seen as a place of pleasure with its high concentration of taverns and brothels. In the folk tale *Hançerli Hikaye-i Garibesi* from the 19th century,<sup>76</sup> a young man is conned by people claiming to be his late father's friends who insist on going to Galata for a night of "gentlemanly" entertainment rather than entertaining themselves "like tradesman".<sup>77</sup> Hence, these places of entertainment and hedonistic pleasure marked Beyoğlu as a whole as a place of immoral behavior. So much so that even strolling around in "neighborhoods such as Galata, Beyoğlu, or Tophane where there were a lot of brothels and suspicious persons" was enough of an offense for students to be expelled from Darüşşafaka.<sup>78</sup> These places of hedonistic pleasure marked Beyoğlu as the foremost dangerous town of Istanbul,<sup>79</sup> and made the town a popular destination even for Western criminals.<sup>80</sup>

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76. David Selim Sayers, *Tıflî Hikâyeleri*, Edebiyat ve Dil 9 (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013), 299.

77. "Yarın bugünkü gibi esnafçasına değil, sayeninizde kibarca eğleniriz..." ibid., 361. "Buyurunuz, Galata'ya geçelim... Orada birçok eğlence yerleri vardır..." ibid., 363

78. Kemal Yakut and Aydın Yetkin, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Toplumsal Ahlâk Bunalımı: Fuhuş Meselesi," *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 31 (2011): 282, <https://earsiv.anadolu.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/11421/14185>.

79. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, 141–44.

80. Karpaz, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 98.

Üsküdar was another separate town and had its own history of marginality especially due to the Balaban Pier. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the neighborhood was the battleground of gangs, including the janissaries of the fifty-ninth mess, and had widespread prostitution.<sup>81</sup> The situation reached such a level that Sultan Mahmud II ordered the destruction of over a hundred bachelor rooms in the Balaban Docks and watched personally through binoculars.<sup>82</sup> Due to the notoriety of the Balaban Docks, Işıl Çokuğraş marks Üsküdar, rather than Galata, as the concentration point of crime in early modern greater Istanbul.<sup>83</sup>

A table in the 1914 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal is the most comprehensive record I have come across for a spatial distribution of crime in late Ottoman Istanbul and, hence, will be used as the reference point. There are some other police records that could be used to gather information on the crime rates across different towns of greater Istanbul; however, they are kept in a piecemeal fashion, regarding certain crimes or for a few months.<sup>84</sup> The 1914 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal provides us the distribution of crime over different police headquarters.<sup>85</sup> I have classified the 38 different criminal activities listed in the table into 13 broader categories.<sup>86</sup> The police headquarters are grouped according to their location (See Tables A.20 A.21 in Appendix A).<sup>87</sup> Of course, the population of these towns is an important factor that should be taken into account. For this purpose, the census of 1906 will be used.<sup>88</sup>

I have classified the news reports into 5 categories, according to the location of the crime scene: Istanbul, Beyoğlu, Üsküdar, Galata Bridge and “unspecified”. Unfortunately, not all news reports include information on the location of the crime, although they might include information on where the involved people reside or work.<sup>89</sup> Hence, such cases are classified under the “unspecified” category. There are

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81. Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler*, 90–95.

82. Hamadeh, “Invisible City,” 183.

83. Çokuğraş, *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler*, 91.

84. See Şirin, “İttihat ve Terakki Döneminde İstanbul’da Asayişsizlik (1908-1914)” for examples.

85. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 246–49.

86. These 38 different criminal acts are a subset of the 58 different criminal acts found in the 1913 Volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal. Hence, I have used the same classification. See Table A.1 in Appendix A for the classification.

87. The “Sea Headquarters” (“*Deniz Merkezi*”) is a branch of the Istanbul police department. Şirin, “İttihat ve Terakki Döneminde İstanbul’da Asayişsizlik (1908-1914),” 17

88. See Appendix C. Figures are from Karpat, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 162, 163. I have classified districts 1 (Bayezid), 2 (Fatih), and 3 (Cerrahpaşa) as Istanbul; districts 4 (Beşiktaş), 5 (Yeniköy), 6 (Beyoğlu), and 7 (Büyükdere) as Beyoğlu; districts 8 (Kanlıca), 9 (Üsküdar), and 10 (Kadıköy) as Üsküdar. For the district numbers, see Akın Yeşilbaş, “İstanbul Şehremaneti Teşkilatı” (master’s thesis, Marmara University, 1998), 23.

89. For example: “*Lover Brawl: Coal seller Avram, of the Tatavla residents, went to his lover Marika’s house. Marika’s other lover Osman, of the Galatasaray fireman, injured the aforementioned in his head with a knife.*”

[“*Dost Kavgası: Tatavla sakinlerinden kömürcü Avram dostu Marika’nın hanesine gitmiş ve*

also 6 news reports where the incident occurred on the Galata Bridge, those have also been classified under a separate category.<sup>90</sup> Before analyzing the distribution across the newspapers, I first want to discuss the total amount of news reports from each town in comparison with the official statistics and the population percentages (See Tables B.28 and B.29 in Appendix B). In all three points, Beyoğlu is at the top, followed closely by Istanbul, and Üsküdar is at the bottom.

More importantly, we can say that both the number of crimes reported to the police, and the number of crime news made by the press are mostly proportional to the population. The most significant difference is for Üsküdar. Although police records from 1914 indicate that Üsküdar has a higher crime rate considering its population, the news reports from 1909 indicate the opposite. The discrepancy might be related to the refugees displaced from their homes during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) settling, at least for a time, in Istanbul and Üsküdar in particular. The arrival of impoverished refugees might have led to an increase in crime rates in Üsküdar between 1909 and 1914.<sup>91</sup>

Another factor for Üsküdar's low representation in the press might be the town's distance to Istanbul and Beyoğlu, and hence fewer crime news reaching the newspapers. In Chapter 1.2.6, I had pointed out the higher proportion of very similarly worded news reports for crime news from Üsküdar,<sup>92</sup> indicating that news sources for some parts of the city were more limited. It might be this hardship in gathering news that led to criminal cases from Üsküdar being underrepresented in the press compared to police reports.

Looking further into the distribution of the towns across the newspapers, we see a lot of variation. Beyoğlu is the crime scene in 57.61% of *İkdam*'s news, 49.82% of *Sabah*'s news, and only 30.39% of *Tanin*'s news. The difference between *Tanin* and *İkdam* is nearly twofold percentage-wise; but looking at the news numbers it is nearly threefold (55 for *Tanin*, 159 for *İkdam*). Conversely, Istanbul only makes

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*Marika'nın diğer dostu Galatasaray tulumbacılarından Osman merkumu hane kapısı önünde bıçakla başında cerh etmiştir.*”] *Sabah*, 25 March 1909.

90. For example: “While İbrahim Halil Efendi of the [Ministry of] Evkaf clerks, who resides in Üsküdar, was passing through the bridge, Yanko of the Galata regulars stole his watch, he has been detained.”

[“Üsküdar'da sakin Evkaf katibasından İbrahim Halil Efendi köprüden mürurunda Galata müdavimlerinden Yanko saatini sirkat etmiş, derdest olunmuştur.”] *Sabah*, 7 March 1909. Note the use of the term “Galata müdavimlerinden” (“of the Galata regulars”) to describe the pickpocket

91. This explanation requires a larger number of Balkan refugees (proportional to the population of the district) settling in Üsküdar compared to other districts of greater Istanbul. However, I was not able to find detailed statistics on where and how many refugees settled in the districts of greater Istanbul to make that claim.

92. Of the 12 cases, 5 occurred in Beyoğlu, 2 occurred in Istanbul proper, and 5 occurred in Üsküdar. Hence, while making up 6.30% of all crime news, cases from Üsküdar made up 41.66% of this similarly reported news.



up 25.72% of *İkdam*'s news, while making up 46.96% of *Tanin*'s news. *Sabah* is once again at the middle ground with 37.00%. One possible explanation for this situation might be that *İkdam* had more news sources in Beyoğlu, while *Tanin* had more news sources in Istanbul, with the oldest of the three newspapers *Sabah* having a wider net of coverage with the exception of Üsküdar. Or perhaps, the audiences of the newspapers were divided; and each catered to the town where they are read more. Unfortunately, I have not come across sources that could corroborate these explanations. All three newspapers are based in Istanbul, quite close to each other around the Sublime Porte Road,<sup>93</sup> hence the locations of their offices do not seem to be a factor.

We can also analyze what types of crime are more widely reported in each town. Starting with the police records, we see that for most of the criminal categories with large enough sample sizes, the distribution is proportional to the population, except for the fact that Üsküdar's crime rate is slightly higher than its population. Pickpocketing however is an outlier, with a majority of the cases occurring in Beyoğlu with 56.62%.<sup>94</sup> Although it has a lower sample size, counterfeiting is also not common in Üsküdar while it is mainly performed in Beyoğlu.

Moving onto the newspaper reports, once again, for the most frequently reported categories of crime, the distribution is mostly proportional to the population, with the exception of Üsküdar being underrepresented (See Tables B.30 and B.31 in Appendix B). Pickpocketing is an outlier again, however, this time with a much more drastic difference. According to the newspaper reports, 70.21% of pickpocketing news is from Beyoğlu. We have discussed the higher proportion of pickpocketing cases in *İkdam*, which seems to be connected to *İkdam* making more news on Beyoğlu, where pickpocketing is more frequent. Disorderly behavior, which means the act of shooting into the air in the newspapers' context, also disproportionately occurs in Beyoğlu according to the newspapers with 58.33%. Counterfeiting is once again more popular in Beyoğlu, however, Beyoğlu's lead is significantly amplified in newspapers with 85.71% compared to 48.08% in police records. Another point to note is that, interestingly, for a significant portion of murder news (35.48%) the location is not specified.

The crime scene is an even more important factor compared to the location of the crime scene, that is the town. The nature of the crime scene significantly affects the type of crime. A few points are noteworthy. Coffee houses, taverns, brothels, and casinos are predominantly the crime scenes of assault cases (See Table B.32 in Appendix B). Interestingly, thefts are frequent in bachelor rooms. We have previously

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93. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1328/1912*, 158.

94. See Table A.21 in Appendix A.

discussed the opportunistic nature of theft in Istanbul, and it seems that bachelor rooms provided thieves with easy access to goods. In 6 news reports (for 5 different incidents) among 20 where something was stolen from a bachelor room, the culprit was another resident of the same bachelor house or even the same room. Lastly, we can note that the docks were a popular place for pickpockets to search for their victims with the help of the cover of the crowd.

For most parts, the crime rates according to the police records match with population percentages. However, if there is one town to be chosen among the three that is more dangerous, it would be Üsküdar. In my opinion, although there is not a significant difference, Beyoğlu would not even be the second, but third. Considering the fact that Beyoğlu is the town to go to for pleasure and drinking, its nighttime population most likely does not reflect its resident population. Factoring in the residents of Istanbul, who engage in criminal activities in Beyoğlu, criminal activity per person drops a bit lower for Beyoğlu.<sup>95</sup>

Despite the true crime rates of the towns, the perceptions of them are different. Üsküdar's distance from Istanbul and Beyoğlu and its lower population might be the reason it is not as notorious as it should be. The press coverage of Beyoğlu also does not seem to help, and the nature of the crimes committed is another factor. One can try to avoid getting into fights in taverns or coffee houses, or try to use populated roads to avoid robbers. However, avoiding pickpockets is not as easy, and being in a crowded space in the middle of the day does not make one safer but rather increases the risk they are in. Combined with the overrepresentation of Beyoğlu pickpocketing cases, one might feel in more danger than they really are in.

Regarding the newspapers' differences, it seems that different newspapers focus on reporting crime news from different town of greater Istanbul. Without any commentary on the perceived danger of different towns by the newspapers, it is not clear if this is due to an editorial stance to portray a particular area as being more dangerous. Limitations or focus on gathering news from Istanbul, Beyoğlu or Üsküdar; or perhaps a deliberate focus in line with their readership's interest might be other possible explanations for this difference. Without further information, it would not be wise to make any further claims.

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95. I am aware that the police records or the press reports might not demonstrate the dangers of a particular location, as there might be criminal affairs where the police or the press cannot intervene or observe. However, as I did not have any concrete examples of such occurrences, and given the data-driven approach pursued in this study, I have decided to acknowledge this possibility but refrain from taking it into account in my comments.

### 3.8 Conclusion

There are a few points to highlight in this chapter. Firstly, there is nothing that indicates *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin* distorting the truth in their crime reporting. The news reports from all three newspapers are in line with the crime statistics recorded by the police. However, this does not mean that all three cover the crime news in a similar way. The three newspapers all have some differences in the topics they cover, such as *Sabah* preferring to report violent crimes rather than theft and robbery as *İkdam* and *Tanin* do.

The most important point to remark is *Tanin*'s editorial choices regarding the police and legal response. We have seen that in multiple incidents, *Tanin* reported a few days later than *Sabah* and *İkdam*, but included the information that the offender had been detained, which was absent in the two other newspapers. *Tanin* also reports more news reports regarding the sentences handed out to the offenders. At this moment, the circumstances of the time should be remembered. In the period following the proclamation of the Constitution, the atmosphere in Istanbul was tumultuous. We have discussed in Chapter 1 how the general amnesty declared by Sultan Abdulhamid II was seen as a conspiracy that led to criminals flocking to the imperial capital. The police force was also trying to change its image from that of tools of oppression to the keepers of public order. *Tanin*'s editorial choices of reporting more news about criminals being sentenced and preferring to report later in order to include the news about the offenders' detainment can be taken as a sign that *Tanin*, being the CUP's unofficial mouthpiece, is trying to project the image of a safer city and a more responsive and effective police force and legal system.

The second most important difference observed in this chapter is regarding the vagrants. We have seen *İkdam*'s coverage involves fewer news reports where the offender is described as a vagrant, and perhaps more importantly, an editorial choice on insisting on not using phrases that denote a class identity among vagrants and previously convicted. The situation is the opposite for *Tanin*, as they make up significantly more news reports involving vagrants, and continue to describe offenders as "being of the vagrant sort" although reporting that they are currently employed. Perhaps this might be once again linked to the CUP's effect on *Tanin*, as the "Regulation on Vagabonds and Suspected Criminals" was being discussed in the parliament at the time. However, as we will see in the next chapter, the Vagrancy Act did not receive much attention from the media. The crime news too, could have been editorialized to blame vagrants, yet we see no such effort.

Despite these discrepancies between the newspapers, and others that could not be

observed through the numbers which will be discussed in the next chapter, we can say that the crime coverages of all three newspapers do not diverge from each other in significant ways and also line up with the police records. In light of these records, four points should be discussed here: the suspected criminality of certain professions and migrants, the inherently suspect nature of some locations in the public perception, and the crime rates among different religious groups.

Firstly, the newspaper reports indicate that although vagrants are the most frequent offenders, “*bekar*” professions that have been traditionally associated with suspected criminality such as porters, boatmen, grocers, and workers are not more frequent offenders than soldiers, officers, clerks, or the police. Secondly, the suspected criminality of the migrants does not seem to be a point of interest at the time. The police records do not include information on whether or not the offender was a migrant, and the newspapers include the hometowns of the involved people only in a minority of the cases. The fact that by 1909, the majority of the city’s population was made up of immigrants may have been influential in this attitude.

Thirdly, despite Beyoğlu’s image in the public perception, Üsküdar seems to be the most dangerous town in greater Istanbul. Moreover, given the increase in Beyoğlu’s population during nighttime, Beyoğlu seems to be the safest town in Istanbul relative to the population. However, crime in Üsküdar is underrepresented in the newspapers, perhaps due to the town’s distance to Istanbul proper and Beyoğlu.

Lastly, the data at hand do not indicate that any religious or ethnic group was persecuted by the police or covered by the three newspapers disproportionately, as the proportion of criminals from different groups matches with the distribution of the population. However, it would not be correct to assume this is the general stance of the Ottoman press. In the next chapter, we will see that a Greek language newspaper’s, *Proodos*’, claims that the Ottoman state is persecuting the *Rum* population unjustly.

## 4. A CLOSER READING OF THE NEWSPAPERS

This chapter will focus on some select news and articles that represent the newspapers' views on criminals and the state of the public order that could not be identified purely through the quantitative analysis done in the last chapter. Before going on further, some aspects of the discussed time period should be reiterated. On 23 July 1908, Abdulhamid II was forced to reinstate the constitution. Just five days later, on 28 July 1908, an amnesty was also declared. The amnesty's scope was initially supposed to be limited to political prisoners, but it expanded into a general amnesty.<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of felons in the amnesty was perceived by the contemporaries as the Hamidian regime's effort to undermine the public order.<sup>2</sup> Vagrants flocking into the capital became an important talking point.

The following excerpts are all from the 55-day period between the first parliament session on the new vagrancy regulations and the 31 March counter-revolution attempt. The excerpts cover issues ranging from an increase in vagrancy and crime rates, police negligence, and tensions between the police and the non-Muslim population. For the last point, the discussion will focus on the Beyoğlu Incident, where the police fired shots towards the *Rum* population protesting the detainment of a young drunken *Rum* man. The newspapers' views regarding these topics will be discussed in light of selected excerpts, and the differences will be highlighted.

### 4.1 Vagrancy

Interestingly enough, there is not much in the newspapers regarding the issue of vagrancy. In the last chapter, we have seen that some offenders were described as “being of the vagrant sort”. However, the crime news most of the time did not include commentary. Hence, for a reader of the crime news section, vagrancy was

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1. For more on this topic, see Chapter 1.

2. Akşin, *31 Mart Olayı*, 8.

not highlighted as a security problem that should be dealt with. This does not mean that the newspapers did not cover vagrancy. On the day following the first parliament session on the vagrancy act, *Tanin* published the following news:

#### Passage Permits:

Since some provinces are acting lenient in applying the passage and passport regulations, a lot of people are coming to Istanbul without acquiring a permit. It is understood from the statement of the Fair Ministry of Police that among these, there are people who are vagrants and of unknown character who engage in acts such as pickpocketing and theft that disrupt the peace and order. Hence, it has been announced by the Serene Ministry of Interior that those who do not have a passage permit or a visa should not be allowed to travel.<sup>3</sup>

As the CUP's unofficial mouthpiece, *Tanin* highlighting the issue of vagrancy just as the parliamentary talks on a vagrancy act began was definitely not a coincidence. However, this excerpt, like many others we will see, is presented without commentary by the newspaper. Still, it presents vagrants as a major threat to the safety of the city's denizens.

When comments are made, they are usually vague petitions. Just one day after *Tanin*'s news regarding passage permits, *Sabah* published the following news:

#### Vagrant

Within three days, over two hundred vagrants from Galata and the surrounding area were detained and sent to Galatasaray,<sup>4</sup> including Toma, who was detained while he was trying to flee after stealing a chest of goods and jewelry during the fire in Kemeraltı the other day. Over half of these vagrants, including the aforementioned Toma, were released one day after they were sent to Galatasaray. It is rumored that the police officers are acting sluggishly as their dismay increases after seeing the vagrants and thieves, whom they caught red-handed one day ago, with mocking attitudes in front of them. We hope that this situation will be resolved.<sup>5</sup>

Here, we see *Sabah* highlighting the legal system's inability to deal with the issue of vagrancy. The negative effects of the vagrants on the police's morale are especially

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3. *Tanin*, 19 February 1909. See Appendix G for the Turkish transliteration.

4. "Galatasaray" was used to refer to the Beyoğlu District Administration building ("*Beyoğlu Mutasarraflığı*"), which stood very close to the Galatasaray High School.

5. *Sabah*, 20 February 1909. See Appendix G for the Turkish transliteration.

noted. The intended message is that unless some changes are made on the judicial side, the issue of vagrancy will not go away, and the police will become demoralized, endangering the public order even more. Yet, this is not explicitly stated by *Sabah*.

Perhaps inspired by *Sabah*'s report, the following statement by the Ministry of Police was published in all three newspapers just two days later, repeating the same points:

Due to their involvement in theft, pickpocketing, and robberies and being of the previously convicted or the suspected person sort, some people were detained and sent to the courts. Some of these were released after just handing in their residence deeds, and some of the others were released without any proceedings. Due to this, the aforementioned people abusing their liberty act in mocking ways against the police officers and increase their lawbreaking acts. In the meantime, the pickpocket sort who were previously expelled to the countryside are returning to Dersaadet in increased numbers each day. The vigorous efforts of the police on this matter remain fruitless. Unless this group is prosecuted and jailed, crime will go untackled. The Ministry of Police has requested the responsible offices to act accordingly.<sup>6</sup>

This statement by the Ministry of Police is quite direct. It clearly points out the judicial process as the bottleneck in keeping the streets safe. The statement even includes a quasi-threat that unless the judicial process is changed, presumably by the legislation and implementation of the new vagrancy act, the crime rates will increase. Still, the statement does not explicitly mention the vagrancy act or the primary addressee of the statement, the parliament.

Despite the initial articles and statements indirectly referring to the vagrancy act, the act or the issue of vagrancy was only brought up two times afterwards. This might be due to the timetable of the parliament. On February 18, the parliament decided that the act should be discussed in the committee of justice. It is not until 34 days and 14 parliamentary meetings later that the general assembly starts discussing the act. Then, however, the parliament devoted a lot of time to the discussion of the act, especially the definition of vagrants (article 1), and the proposed corporal punishments (articles 13 and 14).<sup>7</sup>

In fact, the two mentions of the vagrancy act in the newspaper are regarding the

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6. *Sabah*, 22 February 1909. *İkdam*, 22 February 1909. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909. See Appendix G for the Turkish transliteration.

7. The definition is discussed in the 45<sup>th</sup> and 46<sup>th</sup> meetings, while corporal punishment is discussed in the 50<sup>th</sup> and the 51<sup>st</sup> meetings. MMZC, İ: 45/C: 2, 24 March 1909 (11 March 1325); MMZC, İ: 46/C: 2, 25 March 1909 (12 March 1325); MMZC, İ: 50/C: 2, 31 March 1909 (18 March 1325); MMZC, İ: 51/C: 2, 1 April 1909 (19 March 1325). Also, see Appendix F for the text of the Vagrancy Act.

proposition of “beating” as a form of punishment. *Sabah* published a rather long opinion piece on why “beating” the vagrants would not be effective. The author claims, by relaying a few anecdotes, that the lives of vagrants are filled with so much violence that they are no longer affected by beatings. Instead, he claims that the police should focus on cracking down the “hashish coffeehouses” (“*esrar kahvehaneleri*”) that are the source of vagrancy in the city.<sup>8</sup> Even *Tanin*, the CUP’s unofficial mouthpiece, criticized corporal punishment while the act was still being discussed by the committee.<sup>9</sup> Despite all the opposition, corporal punishment was codified into the Vagrancy Act, and the act or the issue of vagrancy was not featured again leading up to the 31 March incident.

## 4.2 Police Negligence and Public Order

Although the vagrancy act or the vagrants were not featured prominently in the newspapers, the police were. *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin*’s views differed from each other on the matter of the effectiveness and willingness of the police in combating crime. As we will see below, *İkdam* frequently published news reports claiming the police are not being diligent in their duty. *Tanin* mostly refuted such claims. However, from time to time, *Tanin* also reported on the state of public order in the city. When that happens, we usually see a news report on the immediate police response to the relevant situation in the next few issues. Lastly, *Sabah*’s usual attitude was to exonerate the police and the military of wrongdoings and declare news questioning the effectiveness of the police as fabrications.

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8. *Sabah*, 3 April 1909.

9. “Vagrancy Act

Yesterday, the justice committee of the parliament gathered for reviewing the Vagrancy Act. By taking into consideration the situation of our vagrants, their place in our social life, the punishment of “beating” was accepted as an effective solution to limit the harms they cause. . .

Truly there could not be a more effective solution given the state of our country. . .”

[“*Serseri Nizamnamesi*

*Dün Meclis-i Mebusan’da Adliye Encümeni içtima ederek Serseri Nizamnamesinin tetkiki ile meşgul olmuştur. Encümenince bizdeki serserilerin ahvali, bunların hayat-ı içtimaiyyemizde işgal eylediği mevkiî nazar-ı itinaya alınarak mazarratları tahdit edilmek üzere müessir bir çare olmak üzere (dayak) cezası esası kabul edilmiştir. . .*

*Hakikaten ülkemizin ahvaline nazaran bundan müessir bir tedbir olamaz!..”]* *Tanin*, 1 March 1909.



### 4.2.1 *İkdam*

*İkdam*'s main claim about the police force is their negligence. On March 6, *İkdam* and *Sabah* both reported the tale of a newspaper seller who was robbed. *Sabah*'s news report only included the robbery incident and had no information on the aftermath.<sup>10</sup> However, *İkdam* claimed to have firsthand information regarding the aftermath. According to *İkdam*, the victim personally came to their offices and told his story while crying. The victim claims he went to the Eski Ali Paşa police headquarters, but no one paid him any attention. *İkdam* adds the following commentary to the end of their report: "This incident has made us ponder, as well as the man's situation deeply saddening us. If people are really being robbed in broad daylight in the streets, then there certainly is no public order in our city. We once again draw the attention of the esteemed Minister of Police."<sup>11</sup> Hence, this incident is used as an opportunity by *İkdam* to criticize the law enforcement in the city.

However, some points require us to take *İkdam*'s report with a grain of salt. Unfortunately, how the newspapers usually gathered their sources on crime reporting is not clear. One possible explanation is freelance correspondents using police records as their sources and then feeding the information to the newspapers, as we have discussed before. However, this can not be the case for this incident, as the victim claims the police did not pay him any attention. If there is no police record of the event, and the victim personally reached out to *İkdam* to tell his story, it is not clear how *Sabah* got hold of the news. Perhaps *Sabah* got the information from *İkdam* or *İkdam*'s employees with or without the consent of the editors. The victim might have also visited *Sabah*'s offices and told his story there too, given how close all three newspapers' offices are to each other. In that case, it seems that *Sabah* did not include the aftermath of the event, while *İkdam* did. Nevertheless, one thing is certain. This incident gave *İkdam* an opportunity to criticize the efforts of the police force, the Ministry of Police, and hence the CUP shaped government.

In the 55 day period investigated in this study, *İkdam* published four other news reports accusing the police of negligence. On March 4, *İkdam* published a short piece titled "For the Attention of the Ministry of Police" that criticized the police

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10. The two newspapers report the victim's name slightly differently. Given that *İkdam* claims they had contact with the victim, it is more likely that the victim's name is Salim rather than Salih as *Sabah* reports.

"A newspaper seller called Salih Ağa, who was passing by Yamak Street in Hırka-ı Şerif yesterday morning was robbed of ten and a half cents after being assaulted by three unidentified persons."

["*Hırka-ı Şerif'te Yamak Sokağı'ndan dün Sabah geçmekte bulunan gazete muvezzilerinden Salih Ağa namında birinin üzerine üç şahs-ı meçhul hücum ederek kendisini darp ile cebinde bulunan on buçuk kuruşunu ahz ve gasp etmişlerdir.*"] *Sabah*, 6 March 1909.

11. *İkdam*, 6 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

without explicitly doing so:

In our issue yesterday, we wrote about farmhand Mehmed from Erzurum, who resides in Soğukçeşme, being robbed of two *mecidiyes* by someone called Kazım while passing through in front of the Ministry of Education building the other night. We are sure of the factuality of this incident. However, the scene of the robbery is the Divan Yolu Avenue that houses the Ministry of Education building. Given the fact that there exists a police headquarters next door to that building, we can not believe a robbery could take place in such a location regardless of the hour of the night, and we conclude that there must be a mistake. We are waiting for the esteemed Minister of Police to explain the situation.<sup>12</sup>

Although *İkdam* says “we conclude that there must be a mistake” regarding the incident, this is only after they stand by the accuracy of their report. Hence, they imply the fault lies within the police force, hence the CUP shaped government, which can not establish order even on an avenue housing a police center.

According to *İkdam*, the police are not only unresponsive but are also oblivious to the criminal activity even in their vicinity. On March 21, *İkdam* reported a burglary they learned through a letter they had received. *İkdam* presents the letter without any commentary other than the introduction: “A letter we have received says:”. The letter reporting a burglary incident starts and ends with the following comments:

“Despite the continuous warnings of the newspapers daily, the police officers are still acting with negligence. Even in locations that are next door to police stations and headquarters, hundreds of criminal offenses are being carried out every day. For instance, [...] The peculiarity of this affair is the fact that although there exists a police station ten feet from the house and the incident took place in daytime, the police officers were totally unaware of the incident.”<sup>13</sup>

This letter, without any sources or identifying information, might not be the most reliable news source. I could not find the aforementioned burglary incident reported in the other newspapers. It is possible that other newspapers received a similar letter but refrained from publishing it. However, we will see a similar letter published in *Tanin*, indicating that police unresponsiveness was a real concern for the people of

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12. *İkdam*, 4 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

13. *İkdam* 21 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

Istanbul. Regardless, this letter provides *İkdam* with an opportunity to criticize law enforcement. Furthermore, this specific example allows *İkdam* to claim non-partiality, as the comments are not *İkdam*'s words but rather are a part of the letter. The criticism being embedded in the letter without the need for further commentary by *İkdam* also strengthens *İkdam*'s hand, as police acting negligently can be safely reported as public opinion rather than *İkdam*'s opinion.

In *İkdam*'s reports, the police are not just unresponsive. They can also be tardy or outright unlawful. On March 12, *İkdam* reported a case of reckless discharge of firearms. To sum up the incident, three drunk men fired shots after spending a night in a brothel. *İkdam* reports the aftermath as follows: "The police officers who arrived in the aforementioned location declared they did not receive any orders on this matter from their superiors and left. Naturally, those who fired shots fled the scene before the police returned. The police started the investigation ten hours after the incident."<sup>14</sup> There is likely more to this news report than what is reported. Mainly, there should be a reason for the police officers' behaviour. The political atmosphere of the time might not have allowed the police to detain a former aide-de-camp for a misdemeanour ("cünha").<sup>15</sup>

Moving on, on April 6, *İkdam* reported a failed burglary attempt titled "Thieves in Kadıköy". According to *İkdam*, a burglar broke into a home in Kadıköy. The burglar filled his sack downstairs but had to flee after the homeowners sleeping upstairs woke up. His accomplice, who was keeping watch in the garden of a nearby house, also fled after the homeowners' shouts. The news ends with *İkdam*'s following criticism:

Although Sotiryadi[?] Efendi, [the homeowner], shouted many times from the window, and plenty of time passed, no one attended to his help. Only after the burglars fled from where they were fleeing the neighborhood watchmen, and later police officers rushed (!) [*sic*] to the scene of the crime. The offenders have not yet been found. There are complaints in Kadıköy that the number of such incidents is increasing and the police are being neglectful. We present the situation with its

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14. *İkdam*, 12 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

15. One of the offenders is described as Captain Vahab Bey, who was expelled from being an aide-de-camp. The expulsion from being an aide-de-camp, likely to Sultan Abdulhamid II, is likely an effect of the revolution. Detaining the former aide-de-camp of the Sultan, especially in the prelude of the 31 March counter-revolution attempt, might not have gone smoothly. I was able to find a document from 1885 regarding swords that should be handed out to the Sultan's new aide-de-camps, Major Necmeddin Bey and Lieutenant Vahab Bey. This aide-de-camp Lieutenant Vahab Bey might be the aforementioned drunkard Captain Vahab Bey. If that is the case, it means that Vahab Bey was the aide-de-camp of Sultan Abdulhamid II for around 23 years. See BOA. Y. MTV. 17/87.

utmost importance to the attention of the minister of police.<sup>16</sup>

These two examples once again demonstrate that it takes little for *İkdam* to start criticizing the police in its columns. The omission of a specific amount of time from the second incident hints that the police were not late for too long, contrary to the situation in the brothel incident. Expecting the police to reach the crime scene before the burglars flee, i.e. in a matter of minutes, does not seem to be a realistic expectation. The possible political nature of the first incident is also not discussed by *İkdam*, even though doing so might not hinder their points in criticizing the police.

*İkdam*'s last accusations against law enforcement are even more serious. On April 4, *İkdam* accused the police officers of assaulting a non-Muslim burglary victim. The accusation once again stems from a letter:

#### Complaint Against the Police

A letter sent to our printing office from Artin Efendi, residing in Büyükdere, complains about a dire case of police misconduct. The aforementioned Artin Efendi informed the police station requesting the detainment of a Muslim thief who broke into his home at four o'clock at night. The police captain sent a police officer and two soldiers to call him into the police station for his official statement. When Artin Efendi arrived at the police station, the police and the soldiers who escorted him accused him of not complying with the invitation of the police. Artin Efendi refuted the claims and declared that since he is the plaintiff, he would come to the police station even if he was not summoned. However, the soldiers attempted to assault him. Even the police officers who were present there stood by as if they were spectators. If this account is accurate, we are awaiting the diligence of the authorities to discipline the assailants.<sup>17</sup>

This complaint underhandedly accuses the police of discrimination. Artin Efendi, who is of Armenian origin judging by his name, is assaulted by soldiers even though he himself is the victim of a crime. The original offender is supposedly a Muslim. However, the source of this information is not clear. Hence, in the end, an Armenian Ottoman subject is victimized twice by Muslims, first by a thief and secondly by a state apparatus.<sup>18</sup> In a time where nationalistic tensions were high, such an incident had the potential to spark large conflicts, as we will see below with the Beyoğlu

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16. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

17. *İkdam*, 4 April 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

18. Although there were non-Muslim members of the police force, their numbers were quite small. See Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, 199, 200.

Incident. *İkdam* did not refrain from publishing such a letter without reaching out to the Ministry of Police or trying to learn more about the incident.

#### 4.2.2 *Tanin*

Out of the five news articles where *İkdam* criticizes the police force, only the first case is featured in *Sabah* or *Tanin*. Hence, the other two newspapers can not corroborate *İkdam*'s reports. However, the important point is not the factuality of police negligence or an increase in criminal activities, but rather *İkdam*'s way of reporting compared to the other newspapers, especially *Tanin*. In fact, *Tanin* too published news reports regarding police negligence, however, with a different attitude. A news report from *Tanin* on 15 March 1909 reads:

For the Attention of the Ministry of Police:

A letter sent on behalf of the Hacı Hasan Ağa neighborhood in Samatya writes that around those parts, some activities take place that disrupt the public order, especially at night. Although numerous complaints were filed to the police station regarding this matter, the letter complains that the measures taken were by no means effective. We present the situation with its utmost importance to the attention of the responsible authorities<sup>19</sup>

In *Tanin*'s report, the focus is not on police negligence but on the increase in criminal activities. *Tanin*'s report also claims that the police took measures to combat the situation, although they were not effective.

Although even *Tanin* admits the concerns about public order, they actually start off with refuting the claims that criminal activity is on the rise. On February 23, *Tanin* published the following piece: "Our esteemed friend *Şura-ı Ümmet*<sup>20</sup> reported that theft incidents are on the rise in Beylerbeyi. Some gentlemen from the neighborhood community came to our printing house and declared that the reported news is not accurate and the police officers are patrolling day and night and are diligent in their duty."<sup>21</sup> In both of these pieces by *Tanin*, we see that *Tanin* refrains from making

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19. *Tanin*, 15 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

20. Interestingly enough, *Şura-ı Ümmet* is another newspaper that is pro-CUP. In fact, their offices were targeted alongside *Tanin*'s offices during the 31 March revolt. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)*, 121.

21. ["*Şura-ı Ümmet* refik-i muhteremimizde Beylerbeyi'nde sirkat fiilerinin çoğaldığına dair verilen malumatın hakikat-i müvafık olmadığını ve zabita memurlarının gece gündüz dolaşıp vazifelerine dikkat ettiklerini mahalle ahalisinden bazı zevat matbaamıza müracaatla söylemiştir."] *Tanin*,

comments about the public order directly. Instead, letters or personal statements are used to frame the assessment of the public order as public opinion.

Although *Tanin* does not refrain from pointing out safety concerns, these usually carry a cautionary tone rather than an accusatory tone compared to *İkdam*. In some pieces, such as the one published on February 22, we see *Tanin* making clear suggestions on how to improve the nighttime safety of the streets:

For the Attention of the Ministry of Police

Traffic in the Sultanahmet Square, which is already unfrequented, becomes even more sparse at nighttime, and those who have to pass through there face the highest risk of robbery. Hence, placing one or two police officers at appropriate points in the square, or at least placing one police officer in front of the Ministry of Forestry building that overlooks three to five streets would be a service in the name of securing the passage.<sup>22</sup>

This piece is a good example to demonstrate *Tanin* and *İkdam*'s different tones. According to *İkdam*, the police are so negligent that they can not even prevent criminal activity around the immediate vicinity of police stations. *Tanin*'s piece, however, does not carry any accusations of negligence on the police officers' part. The police officers are a part of the solution for *Tanin*, while they are a part of the problem according to *İkdam*.

Interestingly, we also see that the police react to *Tanin*'s publications in a matter of days. On March 8, *Tanin* published a news report about the people firing guns in recreational areas, titled "For the Attention of the Police". To summarize, *Tanin* reports that people flocked to Kağıthane Park last Friday as the weather was nice. However, a significant number of people used this as an opportunity to shoot their firearms, scaring other people, especially women, who were present in Kağıthane. As we have seen, reckless shooting was an important problem at the time, hence, such a news report was not unusual. Yet, this report is significant as *Tanin* accuses the police officers of being negligent: "The interesting part is, the police officers present there that day did not object against this neverending sound of gunshots; and many virtuous ladies had to return to their homes in terror."<sup>23</sup> What follows *Tanin*'s accusations is even more interesting. The next day, *Tanin* published statistics concerning those who recklessly discharged their firearms provided by the

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<sup>23</sup> February 1909.

<sup>22</sup>. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

<sup>23</sup>. *Tanin*, 8 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

Beyoğlu police headquarters:

From the first day to the twenty-second day of February, within the jurisdiction of the Beyoğlu police headquarters, fifty-seven individuals were detained for shooting firearms. Their weapons were confiscated, and they were subjected to the necessary legal actions. Two unidentified individuals could not be detained as they fled and left their revolvers behind.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, although *Tanin* did not refrain from calling out the police officers' negligence in the Kağıthane affair, they followed this up with a piece demonstrating that the police force as a whole are doing their jobs. The police force as a whole is being exonerated, and the blame is shifted onto individuals.

We see one other example of the Ministry of Police reacting to *Tanin*'s publications. On April 3, *Tanin* publishes a brief article titled "Beggars in Hagia Sophia". The article complains about the increased number of beggars in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia, who disturb the foreign tourists visiting the monument. Since these beggars are tarnishing the country's reputation according to the author, the article ends with the following sentence: "If the Ministry of Police finds a solution for this problem, they would have done a very beneficial job."<sup>25</sup> The Ministry of Police must have taken action quite fast, as just two days later, on April 5, *Tanin* published the following news report:

#### Beggars

Yesterday, around forty to fifty beggars, including men, women, and children, were rounded up by the Ministry of Police from the vicinity of the Hagia Sophia mosque and were sent to the [Ministry of] Police building. They were interviewed in regards to being sent back to their hometowns.<sup>26</sup>

Once again, we see that a public order problem featured in *Tanin*'s pages was addressed rather quickly by the Ministry of Police. The quick response in both of the incidents helps give the impression that the Ministry of Police is on top of the matters.

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24. *Tanin*, 9 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

25. *Tanin*, 3 April 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

26. *Tanin*, 5 April 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G. *İkdam* also made the same news on April 5. *İkdam*, 5 April 1909.

### 4.2.3 *Sabah*

*Sabah* not only defends the police even more so than *Tanin* does but also accuses those who claim otherwise of spreading disinformation. The news reports by either *İkdam* or *Tanin*, that featured themes of disorder and police negligence which we have discussed can not be found in *Sabah*. However, there are two incidents covered by *Sabah* where the police officers are not only negligent or corrupt but are the offenders themselves. *Sabah* declares both of these instances to be fabrications. Firstly, on March 13, *Sabah* featured a news report titled “Fabrications”. To relay *Sabah*’s tone, it is best to quote the news report fully:

#### Fabrications

For the past few days, a tale has been spreading from person to person in Tatavla. The wife of one of the residents of the aforementioned neighborhood, being pregnant, felt troubled at night. Thereupon, her spouse left their home to bring a doctor. Supposedly, in a street nearby, three individuals intercepted him and asked for money. The man was carrying eight liras. He gave six liras to them. Although he asked to keep the other two liras for himself, given his wife’s unwellness, the men did not comply. Seeing this, in his despair, he shot and injured the three individuals with the revolver he was carrying. People arrived at the scene after hearing the gunshots and saw that the injured were police officers.

Although such fabrications do not affect those who are considerate and thoughtful, they cause quite a bit of gossip among the common folk. Our police officers have been dishonored quite a lot during the time of oppression. But now, painting them in a bad light is detrimental to the dignity and the power of the government. We want our people to be more beneficial than that. And we expect foresight and carefulness from our police.<sup>27</sup>

It is quite interesting that *Sabah* does not feel the need to explain why this rumor is false. *Sabah*’s only arguments are that the police’s reputation was tarnished during Abdulhamid II’s reign and that it is not the right time to weaken the government and the state’s hand. It is also noteworthy that Tatavla is a non-Muslim majority neighborhood, with an especially high concentration of *Rums*. As we will see later in this chapter, any mistreatment by the police of non-Muslim citizens could lead to significant problems. Hence, this might be why *Sabah* feels threatened by these rumors on behalf of the government.

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<sup>27</sup> *Sabah*, 13 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.



Perhaps triggered by the rumors surrounding police officers, just two days later, on March 15, *Sabah* reported the following:

To Those Who Spread Fabrications:

From time to time, fabrications are spread around by some evil persons claiming the public order in our country is broken. It is announced that if such rumors that are on the rise everywhere are repeated, the reality of the situation will be published, and the rumors will be refuted. It is also announced that those who spread such rumors around will certainly be removed, and they will be prosecuted and sent to the courts.<sup>28</sup>

Although the wording gives the impression that this was an official announcement, it was not featured in *İkdam* or *Tanin* on the same day, and I could not find a relevant document. Apart from this issue, it is clear that *Sabah* holds an aggressive stance against those whom they accuse of spreading fabrications. The issue of refutes is also brought up. Yet, in the previous example where police officers were accused of being robbers, *Sabah* did not explain the reality of the situation, or follow up with accurate information.

It is interesting that in March, *Sabah* reported not one but two incidents where police officers were suspected to be criminals. The second incident is merely ten days after the first one. This time, a man claiming to be a police officer cuts off a certain Behçet Bey in a dark and narrow street during nighttime. The man claiming to be a police officer, who is also dressed as such, fails to answer Behçet Bey's questions regarding his station. Behçet Bey suggests walking to a nearby police station with the so-called police officer, who then abruptly flees the scene.<sup>29</sup> Similar to the previous news report, this one is also not featured in *İkdam* or *Tanin*. In contrast, however, to the first report, this one is presented without commentary.

Many important aspects of the news report are not clear. There should be a reason for Behçet Bey to suspect the credibility of the so-called police officer's identity. Perhaps the so-called police officer tried to rob Behçet Bey through intimidation. Whatever led to the confrontation between the two is not reported by *Sabah*. The man claiming to be a police officer could very well be a police officer; he even wears the uniform of one. If he tried to use his position for personal gain, it is understandable that he would not answer questions about his full identity. *Sabah's* reporting does not even try to answer these simple questions about this affair. Instead, the

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28. *Sabah*, 15 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

29. *Sabah*, 22 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

omission of such questions gives the impression that the man is a pretender.

It appears that *Sabah*'s first reaction regarding news that would be perceived as detrimental to public order is to call them fabrications. This can clearly be seen in their coverage of a series of events that I will call the "placard affair". To summarize, on March 17, all three newspapers reported about a placard posted on the door of a home in the Emin Nureddin neighborhood. The placard stated that "if anyone passes through the Salı Pazarı square and the nearby areas at nighttime without carrying seventy-one (!) [sic] cents, they would be caught, and their ears would be cut off."<sup>30</sup> Both *İkdam* and *Tanin* reported the news without commentary and perhaps the only discernable difference between the two was their way of reporting the police response. *İkdam* ended their report with "The offenders are being investigated by the police,"<sup>31</sup> while *Tanin* ended their report with "The person who wrote this is being *rigorously* [emphasis mine] pursued and investigated by police officers."<sup>32</sup>

*Sabah*'s reporting, on the other hand, is full of commentary:

#### Those Who Don't Carry 70 Cents

The placard affair is still in people's minds. . . . Since it's the time for all kinds of fabrications, as soon as theft increased in the city, a suitable lie has been made up. The thieves would "cut off the noses of those who go outside without carrying seventy cents.". This tale too spread around. Some said that they saw the placards. The police somehow could not find these posts. Now, the number of theft incidents has stopped increasing. It appears that a roughneck troubled by the situation really made a placard to show off and posted it on the door of a house. The incident happened as follows: Around ten and a half in Emin Nureddin neighborhood around Şehzade [Mosque] yesterday morning, the passerby saw a placard being posted on the door of an individual who is one of the clerks of the Ministry of Finance. The police are informed immediately. The police officers rush [to the scene]. They investigate the placard. The writing was nasty and meant the following: "If we catch anyone who is not carrying 70 cents on them around the Salı Pazarı square and other

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30. *İkdam*. 17 March 1909. See also *Tanin*, 17 March 1909.

31. "Placards

Two days ago, around eleven o'clock, placards were posted on the streets of the Emin Nureddin neighborhood near the Şehzade Mosque. The placards claimed that if anyone passes through the Salı Pazarı square and the nearby areas at nighttime without carrying seventy-one (!) [sic] cents, they would be caught, and their ears would be cut off. The offenders are being investigated by the police.". *İkdam*, 17 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.20.

32. "Two days ago, a small note was posted on the door of the [Ministry of] Finance clerk's house. The paper claimed that if anyone was caught at the Salı Pazarı square or other areas without carrying seventy one cents at the nighttime, they would be raped and their ears would be cut off. The person who wrote this is being rigorously pursued and investigated by police officers.". *Tanin*, 17 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

areas in Şehzadebaşı, we will rape them and cut off their ears.” The police started to investigate this shameless behavior. According to the passerby accounts, the poster of the placard was around nineteen, twenty years old. They thought it was an ordinary post at first. Then, when the talks began, they informed the police. They say if the poster is brought before them, they could identify him. The police are looking for the vagrant.<sup>33</sup>

*Sabah* devotes nearly the first half of their news report on the placard affair to state how the previous claims about placards being posted were just lies. These earlier claims regarding placards must have taken place either before 18 February 1909 or were not covered by the *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin*.<sup>34</sup> Regardless, *Sabah* is unnecessarily skeptical concerning these earlier claims, given that all it takes to place a placard is a piece of paper and a moment of opportunity. In fact, the night following the first placard news, a similar placard would pop up in Beyoğlu. Only *İkdam* reported this incident, and once again without any commentary bar the following humorous note: “The Beyoğlu placard posters are acting more merciful than Istanbul placard posters. Let’s see if the ones in Istanbul will apply a discount? [sic]”.<sup>35</sup>

The posters of both of the placards are found and detained even before the second placard case was reported by *İkdam*. The detainment of the offenders is also noteworthy as it is an example of profiling by the police. According to *İkdam*, which is the only newspaper that reported any news on the affair other than the initial report, the poster of the first placard was found to be slipper maker apprentice “*Japon*” (“Japanese”) Mehmed.<sup>36</sup> “*Japon*” Mehmed and his friend Tatar Mehmed, who was later released on bail,<sup>37</sup> were initially suspected because they had prior records and were of the suspected person sort (“*mazanne-i su takımından*”).<sup>38</sup>

Going back to *Sabah*’s attitude, the newspaper’s editorial seems to be timid to report any matter that could lead to panic amongst the people. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the press was bound to strict censorship under Abdulhamid II’s rule, especially regarding topics concerning public order. Decades of censorship might

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33. *Sabah*, 17 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

34. I also could not find any relevant documents in the State Archives from 1908 or 1909.

35. [“*Beyoğlu yaftacıları İstanbul yaftacılarından daha insaflıca davranıyorlar. Bakalım İstanbul’dakiler de bunlara karşı tenzilat icra edecekler mi?*”] *İkdam*, 19 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

36. *İkdam*, 18 March 1909 and *İkdam*, 19 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news reports, see Appendix G.

37. *İkdam*, 19 March 1909.

38. “... *sabıkalı ve mazanne-i su takımından olmaları sebebiyle bunlardan şüphelenerek ...*” *İkdam*, 18 March 1909.

have had lingering effects on the most established Turkish commercial newspaper. Whether it was old habits or deliberate decisions by the editorial, *Sabah*'s stance is clear. Any and all news questioning the integrity of the police and the state of the public order are dismissed as being fabrications. This includes events where there are clear, proven examples. A clear example of placards being posted that threaten the people does not lead *Sabah* to give any credit to previous claims that they have labeled and are still labeling as lies. Despite all of their "skepticism", *Sabah* does not show any signs of investigative journalism regarding these cases.

### 4.3 The State of Public Order

The excerpts discussed so far in this chapter give the impression that the public order was deteriorating, and the number of criminal cases was increasing. *İkdam* and *Tanin*'s news reports also give the impression that the police force, or at least some police officers, were not diligent in their jobs. The satirical magazines of the time also give the same impression, as they feature cartoons where criminal activities take place while the police are depicted to be negligent or nowhere to be found.<sup>39</sup> Giving weight to this perception, *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin* all published a statement from the Ministry of Police on April 13, the day of the 31 March Incident. The statement declared that a total of eight police officers were dismissed from their duties. The reasons are listed as being absent, drunkenness, assault, and firing shots while intoxicated.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the Ministry of Police felt the need to publish such a statement hints that there might be some truth to the claims and the perception of police negligence.

The remaining question is that of increasing crime rates. In the 55-day period investigated in this study, *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*'s crime news sections do not indicate an upward trend in the number of cases reported.<sup>41</sup> The supposed increase in crime rates might have started earlier. As discussed earlier, the general amnesty declared following the 1908 Revolution was perceived to lead to higher crime rates at the time, even before it might have had any effect.<sup>42</sup> However, an investigation

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39. Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911*, 266–73.

40. "Statement by the Ministry of Police Regarding the Police Officers Who Are Acting Apathetic in Their Duties" ["*Vazifelerinde Tekasül Eden Polis Memurları Hakkında Zabtiye Nezaretinden Tebliğ Olunmuştur.*"] *İkdam*, 13 April 1909. "Diligent Police Officers" ["*Vazifeşinas Polisler*"], *Sabah*, 13 April 1909. "Dismissal from Police Work." ["*Polis Mesleğinden İhraç*"], *Tanin*, 13 April 1909.

41. See Figure B.3 in Appendix B.

42. Lévy-Aksu, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Asayiş*, 119, 120.

of the most notable newspapers for three months before and after the amnesty does not indicate a significant difference in the amount of crime news reported.<sup>43</sup>

Yet, newspaper reports might not tell the whole story. In the absence of police records, it is not possible to deduce accurate crime rates. Beyond a certain point, the newspapers might reach saturation regarding the space they can allocate to crime news. An article in *Sabah* says the following on this matter: “... newspapers can not be filled with a collection of twenty or thirty items about how ‘Yesterday at so and so hour, in so and so place ... so and so assaulted and injured so and so’. If newspapers allocate such a large space only for police affairs, there would be no space left for other news.”<sup>44</sup> Hence, even if the number of criminal cases increases over time, this trend might not be visible purely through the number of newspaper reports. Looking beyond the number of crime reports, however, indicates that the press strongly perceived an increase in crime rates and negligence in police affairs.

#### 4.4 The Beyoğlu Incident

Related to discussions on both vagrancy and police response, the Beyoğlu Incident (also known as the Galatasaray affair)<sup>45</sup> was given considerable attention in the newspapers. To sum up, On the night of 24 March 1909, a police officer forcefully detained a young drunken *Rum* man who was in a brawl. Seeing the police officer beating up the uncooperative *Rum* offender, the *Rum* people around objected, and tensions rose between the police and the *Rum* crowd. As a fight broke out between the police officers and the *Rum* crowd, shots were fired, and a few people from the crowd were injured. The Beyoğlu Incident is a great demonstration of the sensitivities of policing in a fragile multi-ethnic environment and the reactions of three of the mainstream Turkish newspapers. Before delving deep into the Beyoğlu Incident, I want to set the scene through news reports, so the atmosphere of the time can be understood better.

Accurately discussing the ethnic and religious tensions in late 19<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul exceeds the scope of this study. Hence, I will only go through some news reports from 1908 and 1909 that demonstrate the uneasy atmosphere in the

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43. Kiş, “1908 Aff-I Umumisinin İstanbul Asayişine Etkileri (İstanbul Gazetelerine Göre),” 164.

44. *Sabah*, 9 April 1909. The article is on the duties of the police in regards to publishing crime statistics in newspapers. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G

45. The event occurred in front of the Beyoğlu District Administration building (“*Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflık dairesi*”) which housed a prison. “Galatasaray” or “Galata Sarayı” was used to refer to this building which stood very close to the Galatasaray High School. See BOA ZB. 353/68.

city.<sup>46</sup> Primary sources indicate that the tensions were palpable, and the people lived in fear of inter-community violence. There were even some that used the nervous atmosphere for their own benefit. According to *Yeni Gazete*, a pickpocket who was caught red-handed in the Grand Bazaar shouted, “What are you waiting for? Run! They are slaughtering the Armenians”.<sup>47</sup> Using the ensuing chaos that went on for a few hours, the pickpocket fled. The significant part of this news report is not the pickpocket’s behavior. It is the fact that the people around him deemed his lie plausible enough to warrant such a reaction. Even in the 55-day period scanned in this study, we encounter a news report that validates the crowd’s reaction. On March 12, a drunken man was detained by the police after shouting, “Those who are Muslim stay by my side, I will discipline those who are Christian!” in Beşiktaş.<sup>48</sup>

It is not only the actions of individuals or mobs that factor into the tense atmosphere. The police response, or lack thereof, is perhaps as significant a factor as the violence itself. In some cases, the police fail to protect non-Muslims from angry Muslim mobs. The most important event of such kind, leading up to the 31 March counter-revolution attempt, was the Beşiktaş incident. In October 1908, a young Muslim woman, Bedriye, runs off with and marries the gardener of his family, Todori. As Todori is a Christian *Rum*, their marriage is not sanctioned by their families or religious law. The couple is brought to the Beşiktaş police station, and a crowd gathers outside to lynch them. Although forty soldiers were brought to the police station as reinforcements to keep away the crowd, the angry Muslim mob was able to get into the police station without encountering any resistance. Todori was killed in the subsequent lynching that lasted around four hours, and Bedriye survived in critical condition. As Todori’s death led to protests by the Rums, 21 instigators were detained by the police. The only consequence the police and the assigned soldiers faced, however, was getting assigned to the Fatih police station.<sup>49</sup>

Even though not as drastic as the Beşiktaş Incident, there are some other cases of Muslim mobs attacking non-Muslims where the police response is deemed insuffi-

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46. I want to point out that violence between the communities had economic factors in addition to political causes. When thousands of Armenian migrant workers were killed in 1895, the culprits were mostly Muslim migrant workers. The subsequent job vacancies were filled by the same Muslim workers or their freshly migrated countrymen. Florian Riedler, “Armenian labour migration to Istanbul and the migration crisis of the 1890s,” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (Routledge, 2010), 167–70.

47. “*Ne duruyorsunuz, kaçın, Ermenileri kesiyorlar.*” *Yeni Gazete*, 1 November 1909. I originally encountered this incident in Ülker, “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi İstanbul’unda Adi Suçlar (1908-1918),” 99.

48. [“*Beşiktaş’ta sakin şürefadan Ahmed mandil(?) Efendi’nin vekilharcı Cebel-i Asirli(?) Hacı Abdurrahim evvelki gece yüzünden mecruh ve sarhoş olduğu halde Beşiktaş caddesinde ‘İslam olan benden tarafa, Hristiyan olanları ben terbiye edeceğim’ diye feryad eylediği zabıtaca haber alınarak derdest edilmiştir.*”] *İkdam*, 14 March 1909.

49. Duman, “31 Mart Vak’ası’nın İki Öncü Habercisi,” 106–108.

cient and biased. *İkdam* reports one such event, quoting from the Greek language newspaper *Neologos*, which describes the event as a near repetition of the Beşiktaş Incident. In the reported event, a fight broke out between the Greek Apostol and the Laz boatmen after the boatmen requested more payment than the previously accepted rate. As Apostol was being beaten down by the boatmen, the boatmen invited other Muslims and Lazs to beat Apostol as well. Supposedly, as around 300 Kurds and Lazs gathered up,<sup>50</sup> Apostol implored a Christian he encountered to inform the Consulate of Greece. Enraged by this, the porters<sup>51</sup> beat up Apostol while swearing at Christians and Greeks for around an hour. Only then did the police arrive and detain not the assailants, who had already dispersed, but the injured Apostol. The newspaper claims only one of the assailants was detained, that is, after the insistence of a Christian man who witnessed the event. Even then, according to *Neologos*' account, the Muslim assailant was released after a partisan treatment.<sup>52</sup>

Lastly, we should discuss cases where the police came face to face with non-Muslim crowds. On 12 April 1909, a second Beyoğlu Incident was narrowly avoided as this time the police gave in. A drunkard named Kiryako was detained by the police after firing shots. As Kiryako fell down in his drunken state, a group of *Rum* churchgoers encountered Kiryako and the police. Despite the crowd's objections, Kiryako was taken to the police station. However, the crowd did not disperse, and the police released Kiryako. What makes this event more interesting is that some of the crowd shouted, "Long Live Greece!" upon Kiryako's release.<sup>53</sup> The shouts indicate that securing the release of an offender invoked nationalistic feelings in the crowd, if not motivated by such feelings. The important factor for the crowd seems to be the community to which the offender belongs rather than his acts.

With this background, we can move into three of the most popular Turkish newspapers', and through *Tanin*'s translations the Greek *Proodos*' coverage of the Beyoğlu Incident. As the coverage is quite lengthy, the original texts and the English translation have been included in Appendix D. *İkdam* reported on the matter only on March 25 and 26. *Sabah* did likewise, however, followed that up with a statement from the Beyoğlu District Administration ("*Beyoğlu Mutasarraflığı*") on March 31. Last but not least, the incident led to a feud between *Tanin* and other newspapers, especially the Greek *Proodos*, and *Tanin* featured the incident and related matters

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50. Note the fact that the involved are all seem to be immigrants, providing anecdotal evidence to perception of immigrants as potential trouble makers.

51. Note the fact that the involved are boatmen and porters, providing anecdotal evidence to perception of these groups as potential trouble makers.

52. *İkdam*, 21 March 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

53. *İkdam*, 12 April 1909. For the Turkish transliteration of the full news report, see Appendix G.

on March 26, 27, 28, and lastly March 30 when they released the official police statement. For cohesion, I will first go through *İkdam* and *Sabah*'s coverage, then focus on *Tanin*, and end the section with the official statements.

#### 4.4.1 *İkdam* and *Sabah*

The initial coverage of *İkdam* and *Sabah* aptly demonstrates the newspapers' attitude toward the affair, and their short length makes them suitable to quote directly. On 25 March 1909, in their "Police Affairs" section, *İkdam* reported the following:

Last night, around four o'clock, some individuals attempted to assault the police who were escorting a detained drunkard to Galatasaray.<sup>54</sup> A crowd of over a thousand people gathered as the soldiers accompanying the police fired their rifles into the air a few times. Shops there were then closed and the people were anxious. The police officer was saved with difficulty and sent to Galatasaray. Our reporter who went to investigate this matter was not only given no information by the central commissioner but was also treated oddly. We will investigate this matter today. According to the information we received from outside sources, a few people from the crowd were wounded. Due to this event, a company of soldiers and around fifty police officers were deployed on patrol.<sup>55</sup>

*İkdam* reports the incident without any commentary and instead focuses on the police's response to their efforts of inquiry. They emphasize the need for further investigation. For comparison, *Sabah*'s initial coverage is as follows:

##### Indecent Situations

Last night, around three o'clock in front of the Beyoğlu administration building, on the crossroad, some people who don't know their place attacked and assaulted the police patrol. The incident occurred due to a police officer's attempt at separating two Rums who were fighting in the middle of the street. Although the police officer attempts to subdue the argument, these two start insulting [the police officer]. Some people from the surrounding area also intervene and dare to assault the police officer. In response to this, a military patrol arrives and attempts to detain the assailants, yet the assailants resist the patrol too and vilely dare to assault the soldiers and grab hold of them. As the situation

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54. As discussed above "Galatasaray" or "Galata Sarayı" was used to refer to the Beyoğlu District Administration building ("*Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflık dairesi*") which housed a prison and stood very close to the Galatasaray High School.

55. *İkdam*, 25 March 1909.



reaches a point where the dignity of the military and the order of the homeland are compromised, the soldiers are forced to use their rifles only to restrain the assailants and preserve order. Two shots are fired into the air. The assailants who hear the sounds of gunshots scatter in different directions, looking for ratholes to enter. Legal action against the assailants has been initiated.<sup>56</sup>

We can easily see that as neutral as *İkdam*'s tone is, *Sabah*'s tone is sensational and editorialized. The account of the events themselves do not differ between the two newspapers, but the way they are reported bears no resemblance. *İkdam* describes the assailants as "some individuals" ("bazı eşhas"), while *Sabah* describes them as "some people who don't know their place" ("bazı kendini bilmez kimseler").<sup>57</sup> The crowd's clash with the police is also declared to be "vile" ("lemiane"). *Sabah* invokes the nationalistic feelings of its readers in the next sentence, as they paint the incident as a matter of national honor and dignity. However, *Sabah*'s narrative ends as the vile assailants are defeated by the dignified Ottoman army, and ridiculed as they are likened to vermin.

On the next day, *İkdam* published a lengthy report titled "The Incident in Beyoğlu". The triggering incident is reported as follows:

Aristomani[?], a waiter residing in Beyoğlu in Çiçekçi Street, begins to argue with a friend of his in front of the Anadolu Restaurant. Around forty to fifty people gather there. In the meantime, police officer Süleyman Efendi comes near the fighters to understand what is going on. Although he advises them not to do it, they do not comply. Aristomani grabs the aforementioned by the collar and rips up his coat. Süleyman Efendi is assaulted by the crowd gathered there without having an opportunity to blow his whistle and call officers for help.<sup>58</sup>

According to the report above, it is the drunken Aristomani and the crowd that assault first. Süleyman Efendi is not at fault as he is just trying to break up a fight, and does so verbally. As police reinforcements arrive, Aristomani is detained and taken to the Beyoğlu District Administration building despite the protests by the crowd. The crowd, now in front of the Beyoğlu District Administration building, continues their attack on the police. The order to fire warning shots into the air is given only after an initial gunshot is heard. The bullets strike a nearby coffee house and lead

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56. "Indecent Situations" ["*Ahval-i Nabeca*"], *Sabah*, 25 March 1909.

57. This is a popular phrase in Ottoman terminology to refer to revolters. See Sariyannis, "'Mob', 'Scamps' and Rebels," 2, 3.

58. "The Incident in Beyoğlu" ["*Beyoğlu'ndaki Vaka*"], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

to a disarray as people flee. Five people, including Aristomani and Süleyman Efendi get wounded during the whole ordeal. *İkdam*'s report also includes Aristomani's statement, as he claims, "I was assaulted by the police when I was running after someone, as my watch was stolen as I exited a tavern in *Kalyoncu Kolluğu*."<sup>59</sup> More interestingly, *İkdam* also reports that Süleyman Efendi was assaulted by the central commissioner who said to him, "Why are you doing these kinds of things?"<sup>60</sup>

*İkdam*'s report once again does not include commentary. However, there are a few things to discuss. As stated above, the first ones to assault are Aristomani and the crowd, hence Süleyman Efendi is initially depicted as innocent. However, *İkdam* also specifically reports the interaction between the central commissioner and Süleyman Efendi. The commissioner's attitude gives the impression that Süleyman Efendi is not without fault. Süleyman Efendi must have done something that he should not have, hence the verbal and physical bashing by his superior. The degree of Süleyman Efendi's fault, however, is not clear. *İkdam* relaying Aristomani's version of events is also important, especially right before reporting on Süleyman Efendi's bashing. The structure of the narrative gives hints that the affair was not as simple as a drunkard attacking a police officer. However, *İkdam* refrains from explicitly stating what they hint with their narrative.

After reporting that the Minister of Police will present a report to the Sublime Porte on the matter, *İkdam* once again highlights the police's uncooperativeness with the press. After repeating that their correspondent was kicked out by the central commissioner, they end their report with the following comment, "As we journalists want to see facilitation from the police committee, we could not understand the senselessness in this confusing behavior of the aforementioned to hide this tumultuous and fussy incident by not giving journalists any information."<sup>61</sup>

*Sabah*'s March 26 issue also includes a lengthy report on the matter. This time, the events themselves are presented without commentary and match with *İkdam*'s version for the most part. However, there are two important differences. According to *Sabah*, it was not the crowd or Aristomani who assaulted Süleyman Efendi first. Instead, a fight broke out between Süleyman Efendi and Aristomani as the man resisted arrest. The crowd only assaulted Süleyman Efendi after imploring him not to detain Aristomani as the man was innocent. Secondly, the firing incident happens as follows: "In the meantime, a gunshot is heard. The soldiers, thinking the gun was fired by the crowd, are compelled to disperse them. The crowd does not comply.

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59. "The Incident in Beyoğlu" [*Beyoğlu'ndaki Vaka*], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

60. "The Incident in Beyoğlu" [*Beyoğlu'ndaki Vaka*], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

61. "The Incident in Beyoğlu" [*Beyoğlu'ndaki Vaka*], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

The lives of the police are endangered. The soldiers fire three shots into the air.”<sup>62</sup> *Sabah*’s version of the events highlights the perceived danger the police were in and presents the decision to fire shots as a necessary act of self-defense.

The more important part of *Sabah*’s report, however, is their comments following the description of the events. *Sabah*’s comments start with accusing the Greek language newspaper *Proodos* of being “unpatriotic” as they “portray it as a violation perpetrated by the police force.”<sup>63</sup> That is, they are not acting loyal to the Ottoman Empire. *Sabah* also claims that *Proodos* has an unfair, i.e., partisan, habit of exaggerating such incidents. *Sabah* then moves on to declaring their views on the matter. According to *Sabah*, even if the police beat up uncooperative individuals, which they admit the police should not do, the public should not intervene in this matter through physical means. Instead, they should appeal to authorities, who would then punish the transgressors. If the public intervenes, and the police feel threatened, the police “are bound to use their weapons.” *Sabah* then calls out the *Rum* citizens with a thinly veiled threat:

In any case, we hope that our Rum citizens, with a sense of national pride, adhere to the law in all matters, and with their respectable duty, if the police truly act against the law, oppose these actions legally and with serenity.

Gathering, attacks, assaults, shooting guns are not in accordance with the law in any place. Those who have the audacity to do such acts, even though they were in the right, do not only lose their rights but are reprimanded by their compatriots.<sup>64</sup>

Once again, the national pride of being an Ottoman is highlighted by *Sabah*. More importantly, loyalty to the Ottoman state and compliance with its law enforcement, even in the face of unfair treatment, is required to enjoy the rights of a citizen.

*Sabah* then states that two non-Muslim parliament members personally witnessed the tattered clothes of Süleyman Efendi and underhandedly presents this as evidence of the brawl. Interestingly enough, *Sabah*’s report ends similarly to *İkdam*’s, with police refusing to answer inquiries. *Sabah*, though, presents a clear culprit regarding this matter:

Although Sakız deputy Mihaki[?] Efendi went to the district administra-

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62. “Galatasaray Incident” [“*Galata Sarayı Vakası*”], *Sabah*, 26 March 1909.

63. “Galatasaray Incident” [“*Galata Sarayı Vakası*”], *Sabah*, 26 March 1909.

64. “Galatasaray Incident” [“*Galata Sarayı Vakası*”], *Sabah*, 26 March 1909.

tion office to understand the affair, regrettably, it is heard that he was denied the way a deputy should be treated by the district administrator.

This treatment by the district administrator has influenced the lower ranks as well. The central commissionership, which is a remnant of the extinct age of oppression, is sanctioning this behavior. Unfortunately, it is clear that the seat has been taken hostage.<sup>65</sup>

To conclude *Sabah* and *İkdam*'s coverage of the affair, we can say that *İkdam* keeps a neutral tone and confines their narrative to the description of the events. The only commentary and criticism that can be found in their coverage is in regard to the police's uncommunicative behavior. However, reading between the lines, their narrative suggests that the police officer Süleyman Efendi is not completely innocent. *Sabah*, on the other hand, harshly criticizes the crowd that attacked the police. For *Sabah*, the police and the army represent the dignity of the Ottoman state. Any attack against them by Ottoman subjects, regardless of its legitimacy, warrants stern action. It is clear the *Rum* identity of Aristomani and the crowd influence *Sabah*'s response as they specifically call out the *Rum* citizens to act "patriotic", by which they mean loyal and submissive. *İkdam*, which frequently reported on police negligence is uncharacteristically shy in expressing any criticism regarding the Beyoğlu Incident. The optics of the affair, a *Rum* crowd assaulting a single police officer, might have led *İkdam* to pick their fights in criticizing the police force; since, regardless of their stance, they are still a Turkish newspaper intended for a Turkish audience.

#### 4.4.2 *Tanin* and *Proodos*

The differences between the coverage of Turkish newspapers and non-Turkish newspapers became the main focus of *Tanin*'s criticism following the Beyoğlu Incident. As mentioned earlier, *Tanin* did not report on the incident as others did on March 25. Instead, they started their coverage on March 26. After a brief summary of the events, *Tanin* explains their reasoning:

We have seen it fit to not describe this event and translate it from our friend *Istanbul*,<sup>66</sup> our purpose in this is specific. Because if we described it according to our own information, they could claim we are being biased.

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65. "Galatasaray Incident" ["*Galata Sarayı Vakası*"], *Sabah*, 26 March 1909.

66. Most likely referring to French language newspaper *Stamboul*.

Now let's show how the notorious *Proodos* reports this incident which has been described by the *Istanbul* newspaper and compare the two foreign newspapers, but one publishing newspapers with integrity and the other in service of creating disorder in the country for Greek ambitions.<sup>67</sup>

Following this comment, *Tanin* quotes *Proodos*' coverage of the event:

*Proodos* Says:

Brutal Scenes in Beyoğlu

The Soldiers Are Shooting Civilians

Yesterday, our police took part in a new battle. Innocent, order-loving, family-man countrymen are being wounded by the bullets of the soldiers. Last night, at nine and a half o'clock European time, three coffee house workers were leaving the "Lavirnitos[?]" tavern that is across the British embassy. A dispute must have emerged as the three individuals started fighting. In the meantime, police arrive to detain them. Two of them fled. Only someone called Aristomanisi[?], who just left the hospital a few days ago and still had bandages on his head, is left. The soldiers started to hit him mercilessly on his chest with the butts of their rifles because he did not want to follow the police officers. During this time, the people gathered and started shouting, "Do not hit him, do not hit him." In the meantime, a soldier from the Hunter Battalions in front of the İpros[?] coffee-house started shooting repeatedly following an order from the Galatasaray police.

While the people were fleeing in horror, whistling bullets were shattering the windows of the coffee house, the patrons were ducking down, one of the bullets was extinguishing the gas lamp by dropping it to the ground. Three people were injured during this time. With the individual detained by the police in the throes of death, the other three injured were sent to Galatasaray. This action by the police provoked people's outrage. During the night, the news that Aristomani died in the Sixth District Municipality Hospital became public knowledge.

As a diabolical coincidence, this act of cannibalism by the police has once again happened against the Greeks.<sup>68</sup> But seeing that the police force is established to wound and kill, doesn't the government understand that we do not need this? They are looking for those who sow division among the peoples, incite unrest! But those are foremost *Tanin* and then the police! *Tanin* slanders and curses, the police kill.

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67. "Galatasaray Incident" [*Galata Sarayı Vakası*], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909.

68. The word "*Yunanlılar*" is used in *Tanin*'s translation. I have not been able to locate *Proodos*' related issue and find out the original term used by *Proodos*. *Tanin*'s translation should not be taken as entirely accurate, especially given that different terms referring to Greeks (as an ethnicity) have important distinctions and nationalistic connotations.

For God's sake, save us from the police! Are there no lifeguards!<sup>69</sup>

*Proodos'* message is clear: the police are a tool of systematic oppression against the Greeks. According to *Proodos*, multiple police officers and soldiers attacked Aristomani, who is depicted with bandages on his head. The initial gunshot sound, which according to *Sabah* and *İkdam* triggered the order to fire warning shots, is not found in *Proodos'* account. To *Tanin's* credit, as they did not depict the events themselves, *Istanbul's* coverage also omits such an occurrence. Aristomani's death, on the other hand, is only found in *Proodos'* coverage. *Proodos* follows their harsh criticism of the police with accusations against *Tanin* of inciting unrest, which leads to deaths at the hands of the police.

Naturally, *Tanin* felt the need to respond to *Proodos'* comments:

If the purpose and the nature of *Proodos* were not clear, these sentences would be enough to tell what kind of traitorous and instigating agenda it follows. It is very evident how righteous the Ottomans were for announcing their hatred at yesterday's rally against these rags that are deprived of shame, modesty, and fairness. Isn't it enough that a vile *palikarya* such as Aspanudi[?] has been insulting the Ottomans and the honorable Ottoman military since the proclamation of the Constitution? Today, he is accusing our honorable army of "cannibalism". However, if the Ottomans had the slightest trace of the accusations this despicable man has made, he would have long been appropriately punished despite the government's senseless silence.<sup>70</sup>

Before discussing further, we should also touch upon the meeting that *Tanin* mentions in their response. Apparently, *Tanin* organized a meeting on March 25th to denounce *Proodos*, *Neologos*, and *Levant Herald* newspapers which are accused of "creep[ing] into Ottoman lives and at every moment dream of spreading their bloody poison between us and our *Rum* citizens, who are a distinguished pillar of the existence of our peoples."<sup>71</sup>

The goal of the meeting is stated as forcing the government to take action against these newspapers. The speech given also proclaimed that despite their different views, all Ottoman newspapers are discussing how to improve their country. Foreign

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69. Unfortunately, I was not able to confirm if *Tanin's* quotation is accurate. As we have already seen *Sabah* reacting in a similar way to *Proodos'* coverage, there is no reason to think that it is not. The report must have been published in *Proodos* on 25 March 1909, the quote is from "*Proodos* Says" ["*Proodos Diyor ki:*"], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909.

70. "*Proodos* Says" ["*Proodos Diyor ki:*"], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909.

71. From the speech of Necmi Bey, a senior law school student, as reported on "Yesterday's Rally" ["*Dünkü Miting*"], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909.

newspapers, on the other hand, should refrain from discussing internal affairs. The last point of the speech is devoted to honoring *Tanin*'s editor "Hüseyin Cahid Bey, who is the true representative of the thoughts of the Ottoman nation and who put himself into the line of defense after noticing before any of us did the moral destruction carried out in our sacred homeland by these three newspapers that we demand to be expelled from our country."<sup>72</sup>

These excerpts indicate that there is some history between *Tanin* and *Proodos* newspapers. *Proodos*' claim is that *Tanin* is inciting violence against the *Rums*. *Tanin*, on the other hand, accuses *Proodos* of sowing dissent among the *Rum* and the Muslim populations. To *Tanin*'s credit, *Tanin*'s crime news section investigated in this study does not indicate the *Rum* population, or any group, was targeted by *Tanin*. Yet, there is a noteworthy phrase used by *Tanin* in their response to *Proodos*: *pa-lıkarya*. Although this Greek word means "young Greek men", similar to the Turkish word "*delikanlı(lar)*", it was being used in a derogatory sense to denote a trouble-making young Greek man, a Greek vagrant. The target of this insult in *Tanin*'s response is *Proodos*' owner and editor-in-chief Konstandinos Spanudis.<sup>73</sup> This insult will be repeated in *Tanin*'s later articles regarding this matter, and will also be used against the crowd that attacked the police. However, as mentioned above, *Tanin*'s, or *Sabah*'s or *İkdam*'s, crime reporting sections did not use this word during the investigated period. Nor *Tanin* did more news reports involving offenders who were described as vagrants and are *Rum* or from Greece. Hence, as per the last chapter, we can say that *Tanin*'s crime reporting section does not support *Proodos*' claims that the newspaper is inciting violence and targeting the *Rum* population.

The *Proodos* newspaper itself, on the other hand, was underhandedly targeted by *Tanin* during this dispute. The last sentence of *Tanin*'s response to *Proodos* on March 26, quoted above, is one such example. A similar one can be found in the next issue. On March 27, *Tanin* once again quotes *Proodos* with the title "A New Slander Against Ottoman Soldiers". *Proodos*' news report starts as follows:

The other night, while the cannibalism in Beyoğlu was being carried out as we described, another of its kind was happening in Istanbul in front of Validehanı[?]. Three *Rum* youngsters were caught by the police and soldiers while they were selling loose tobacco like everybody else does.<sup>74</sup> These soldiers, attempting to manifest all of their rabidness against the

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72. From the speech of Necmi Bey, a senior law school student, as reported on "Yesterday's Rally" ["*Dünkü Miting*"], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909.

73. Spanudis would later become the first president of the Athletic Union of Constantinople and be elected to the Greek Parliament as a deputy from the Liberal Party. Sula Bozıs, *İstanbullu Rumlar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 168.

74. Note the normalization of tobacco smuggling by *Proodos*.

*Rum* element on these three individuals started to beat them mercilessly with their gunstocks and rifle butts while tearing their clothes with an unwitnessed ferocity.<sup>75</sup>

To sum up the rest of the news story, the soldiers threaten to shoot anyone who dares to go against them, and “a hodja showed up and started shouting ‘Beat those infidels!’ on top of a stone.” The crowd then flees in fear. *Tanin*’s response is quite short. *Tanin* calls the government and the Chamber of Deputies to action, since “As long as this rag continues to unjustly accuse our soldiers no doubt the people will attempt to discipline them themselves with agitated ideas.”<sup>76</sup> Once again, *Tanin* is calling for *Proodos* to be punished, whether through judicial means by the state, or through violence by the people.

It is not only *Proodos* that *Tanin* criticizes in the aftermath of the Beyoğlu Incident, but also those that *Tanin* deems siding with *Proodos*. On March 28, after once again underhandedly provoking violence against *Proodos*,<sup>77</sup> *Tanin* harshly criticized the newspaper *Osmanlı*. *Tanin*’s criticism starts with specifically pointing out that *Osmanlı* “is wholly under the management of Ahmed Fazlı Bey, a founder of the Liberty Party.”<sup>78</sup> As discussed before, the Liberty Party (“*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*”) was a liberal and Ottomanist party, as indicated by the newspaper’s title, and was in opposition to the CUP. Hence, the criticism starts by clearly pointing out the political faction that is associated with what *Tanin* presents as traitorous ideas below:

The *Osmanlı* newspaper writes that the other night, “hunter battalions were ordered to fire a volley”. Two Hunter [Battalion] soldiers arrive to rescue a police officer embodying the laws and the dignity of the Ottoman people from the insults and the beatings of *palikaryas* from Cephalonia or from wherever; and fire six shots, most of them into the air, to save themselves from the assault that now targets them too and to perform their duty to preserve public order. Then, this is declared falsely by the

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75. Once again, I unfortunately was not able to confirm if *Tanin*’s quotation is accurate. The news must have been published in *Proodos* on 26 March 1909, the quote is from “A New Slander Against Ottoman Soldiers” [*Osmanlı Askerine Yeni Bir İftira*], *Tanin*, 27 March 1909.

76. “A New Slander Against Ottoman Soldiers” [*Osmanlı Askerine Yeni Bir İftira*], *Tanin*, 27 March 1909.

77. “We thought that a Greek [*Yunanlı*] *palikarya*, who is not worth even as much as the boot of a single soldier of the honorable Ottoman army, insulting the army using the newspaper that he is publishing in Ottoman land would be received with unified and allied hate by the Ottoman press. If this Greek *palikarya* had done this vile audacity in another country, say Bulgaria, Serbia, France, etc. they would have brought down the windows and the roof of his office on his head, would drown him with their spit if they considered slapping him beneath them and would not allow him to walk out on the streets.” “The Beyoğlu Incident” [*Beyoğlu Vakası*], *Tanin*, 28 March 1909.

78. “The Beyoğlu Incident” [*Beyoğlu Vakası*], *Tanin*, 28 March 1909.



supporters of the Liberty Party as if the hunter battalions were ordered to fire a volley! When the incident reaches the Athens newspapers, it will not be written in a more exaggerated way than this! But might this be published too, for the purpose of preparing the minds for the expulsion of the hunter battalions from Istanbul?

The *Osmanlı* newspaper does not stop at this. By saying “Sending the soldiers there is a mistake, using force and weapons without reason on the other hand is a mistake of unusual proportions.”, [*Osmanlı*] consents to the trampling of the authority of the government under the debauched feet of street rascals and drunkard Greek *palikaryas*. If weapons are not used when police officers are getting beat up, the arriving patrol force is opposed, and their weapons are attempted to be taken away from their hands, when are weapons to be used? An Ottoman soldier gives his life before giving away his rifle.

We will accuse our police not of using violence but rather of showing too much kindness and easiness than necessary. *Palikaryas* such as these that attempt to beat up police officers and assault the soldiers should have had their heads bursted there, so that the remaining ones decisively understand the fact that the Ottoman police should not be messed with.<sup>79</sup>

This excerpt features *Tanin*'s most fierce insults, now towards not only the *Proodos*' editor, or Aristomani who resisted detention, but to the crowd that protested the detention too. It also supports *Proodos*' claims of inciting violence towards the *Rum*/Greek population. *Tanin* suggests that the police should have acted as both judge and executioner, and the offenders “should have had their heads bursted there”. Moreover, the word *palikarya* is used frequently instead of an identity-neutral word such as vagabond, vagrant, or others. The crowd are all deemed *palikaryas*, and not *Rum* but Greek. Furthermore, the description includes the “from Cephalonia or from wherever”. Cephalonia being named is also significant, as there seem to have been many Cephalonian migrants in Istanbul, and knife fighting was popular among the Cephalonians.<sup>80</sup>

With so many words especially highlighting the *Rum*/Greek identity of the crowd, it is apparent that this is about *Rums*/Greeks attacking the police rather than police work being obstructed. There are other examples of people preventing the detainment of offenders, with more evidence against them compared to Aristomani. On 3 March 1909, *İkdam* reported that a group of vagrants forcefully obstructed

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79. “The Beyoğlu Incident” [*Beyoğlu Vakası*], *Tanin*, 28 March 1909.

80. Deal, “Violent crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876–1909,” 149. For Cephalonian knife fighting, see Thomas W. Gallant, “Honor, Masculinity, and Ritual Knife Fighting in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 359–382, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1571456>.

the detainment of a pickpocket.<sup>81</sup> On 16 March 1909, around twenty firemen from the Azapkapı brigade, led by their chief Galip, forcefully took from the hands of the police a child who was detained while selling smuggled tobacco.<sup>82</sup> In both of the cases, the offender being detained was able to flee. Yet, these cases were not featured in *Tanin*, nor were the offenders called out by the press as the crowd in the Beyoğlu Incident was.

To conclude *Tanin*'s reaction to the Beyoğlu Incident, we can say that their coverage of the event gets more sensational over time. *Tanin* did not even publish a news report detailing the event initially. When they did it the next day, it was a translation from *Istanbul* (most likely the French newspaper *Stamboul*), as they declared they would be accused of being biased otherwise. However, as *Proodos* accused *Tanin* of inciting violence against the Rum/Greek population, they seem to have felt the need to respond. In the following few days, *Tanin*'s language became more and more harsh.

Even though *Tanin*'s initial attacks were targeted at *Proodos*, we have seen how at the end of the dispute they were not refraining from calling the Rum/Greek crowd involved in the Beyoğlu Incident “street rascals and drunkard Greek *palikaryas*” as a whole. What led to *Tanin* ramping up their attacks is not clear. Perhaps their intended audience reacted strongly against the Beyoğlu Incident and supported the actions of the police and the soldiers, and *Tanin* took a stance reflecting that attitude. Or perhaps *Proodos*' claims angered *Tanin*, and in their provoked state, they lost control. Regardless, *Tanin*'s tone change is noteworthy. Whether intentionally or not, in a few days' time, *Tanin* started to act in a way supporting *Proodos*' claims of inciting violence.

#### 4.4.3 Official Statements

It would be better to see what the official reports say on the matter before concluding this section and the chapter. There are two statements from officials in the newspapers. The first one is a copy of the report that was sent to the Ministry of

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81. [“*Kadıköyü'nde iskele başında rençber Erzincanlı Ali Kanber dün elbise almak üzere Galata'da Kara Ali Kapudan sokağından geçmekte iken bir şahıs Ali'nin cebinden bir buçuk İngiliz lirası çalıp firar etmiş, derdest edilmiş ise de o aralık mezkur sokakta kahvede oturan meyhaneci Dimitri kahveci Tanaş ve daha bir çok işsiz güçsüz güruhu merkumu cebren firarını teshil etmişlerdir. Müteceviz derdest olunmuş, yalnız hırsız kaçmıştır.*”] *İkdam*, 3 March 1909.

82. [“*Münasebetsizlik: Dün Azapkapısında tramvay yolunda kaçak tütün satmakta olan bir çocuğu polis memuru Mehmed Efendi derdest ile karakola getireceği esnada Azapkapı tulumba reisi Galip yirmi kadar omuzdaşıyla kahveden çıkarak memurun elinden cebren çocuğu almış ve firar ettirmiştir.*”] *Sabah*, 16 March 1909.

Interior from the Ministry of Police on 26 March 1909. The report was first published in the state newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi* on 29 March 1909 and later in *Tanin*, which quotes *Takvim-i Vakayi*, on 30 March 1909.<sup>83</sup> The second one is a statement from the Beyoğlu District Administration, published in *Sabah* on 31 March 1909.<sup>84</sup> The main features of the event remain the same. Süleyman Efendi tries to detain Aristomani, and the two get into a brawl. The crowd that gathered also got physically involved in this matter against Süleyman Efendi. The crowd got into a clash with the reinforcements too when they arrived. The soldiers fired shots, and people got injured. However, there are some differences between the official statements and the newspaper coverage.

Firstly, *Proodos* claimed that Aristomani died in the hospital that night.<sup>85</sup> However, according to the report, “it was deemed necessary to send Aristomani to the hospital, with another examination scheduled for eight days later.”<sup>86</sup> Secondly, despite *Sabah* and *İkdam*’s reports on the matter,<sup>87</sup> there is no mention of an initial gunshot that led to the soldiers firing their rifles in return. Moreover, despite *Sabah* and *İkdam*’s reports, only the initial two shots were fired into the air. The report states, “Abdül fired one shot and Tahir initially fired one shot into the air, but after seeing that the crowd did not disperse, fired four more shots toward them.”<sup>88</sup>

Whether or not there was an order to fire shots is not concrete. *İkdam*,<sup>89</sup> *Proodos*,<sup>90</sup> and *Osmanlı*<sup>91</sup> all mention an order to fire. The report of the Ministry of Police does not mention such an order. However, the statement of the Beyoğlu District Administration says the following on the matter, “The soldiers acting in accordance to orders and instructions, and after witnessing for the first time the persistence of the assault and attack, used their weapons with a praiseworthy skill and caution to limit the damage on the assailants.”<sup>92</sup>

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83. *Takvim-i Vakayi*, 29 March 1909. *Tanin*, 30 March 1909.

84. “From the Beyoğlu District Administration” [“*Beyoğlu Mutasarraflığından*”], *Sabah*, 31 March 1909.

85. From “*Proodos* Says” [“*Proodos Diyor ki:*”], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909 referencing to *Proodos*, 25 March 1909.

86. [“*Aristomani’nin sekiz gün sonra yine muayene olunmak üzere hastahaneye nakline lüzum gösterilmiştir.*”], *Takvim-i Vakayi*, 29 March 1909. *Tanin*, 30 March 1909.

87. “Galatasaray Incident” [“*Galata Sarayı Vakası*”], *Sabah*, 26 March 1909. The Incident in Beyoğlu [“*Beyoğlu’ndaki Vaka*”], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

88. [“*Abdül bir el ve Tahir evvela havaya bir el attığı halde erbab-ı taaruzun dağılmadığını görmesiyle onlara doğru daha dört el atmış olduğu.*”]. *Takvim-i Vakayi*, 29 March 1909. *Tanin*, 30 March 1909.

89. The Incident in Beyoğlu [“*Beyoğlu’ndaki Vaka*”], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

90. From “*Proodos* Says” [“*Proodos Diyor ki:*”], *Tanin*, 26 March 1909 referencing to *Proodos*, 25 March 1909.

91. *Osmanlı*, 27 March 1909.

92. [“*emir ve talimat ile hareket eden neferler hücum ve tecavüz hususunda ilk defa olarak gördükleri taanüd üzerine mütarizler aleyhinde zararı mahdud bırakacak surette şayan-ı takdir bir maharet ve itidal ile istimal-i silah eylemişler.*”] “From the Beyoğlu District Administration” [“*Beyoğlu Mu-*

However, the wording is vague, and the order might be a general order for such situations. Later, it is also stated that the soldiers can use their weapons when they are being assaulted and there is no other way to prevent the assault. The statement also declares that the police are not held responsible for acts of killing, injuring, and assaulting they might perform while on duty.<sup>93</sup> The last sentence of the statement demonstrates that using force is not only permitted but also required: “The police officer who demonstrated reluctance to confrontation in the aforementioned case has been suspended from duty, and soldiers and police officers have been ordered to act swifter and tougher in similar situations.”<sup>94</sup>

To conclude, the newspapers’ accounts and the official statements regarding the affair differ in two important aspects. Mainstream Turkish newspapers such as *Sabah* and *İkdam* report that a gunshot prompted the soldiers to fire in return, excusing their actions. Their reports also claim that the soldiers fired shots into the air and not toward the crowd, again softening the extent of the matter. It is interesting that the official stance, which is in line with *Tanin*’s later comments, does not see the need for softening but rather owns and encourages the actions of the soldiers. *Proodos*, on the other hand, wrongfully claims that Aristomani died from his wounds following the incident. *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Proodos* all report a version of the event intended for their own audiences. *Tanin* does not bother with reporting the event in their own words, but instead uses the incident to get in a feud with *Proodos* and other newspapers they claim are responsible for sowing discord among the Ottoman peoples.

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*tasarraflığından*”], *Sabah*, 31 March 1909.

93. [“*kuvve-i askeriyenin karakolda nöbet bekledikleri veya devriye hizmetini ifa eyledikleri sırada yahud esna-ı sevkiyatta kendilerine hücum vuku bulunur ve bu hücumun def-i için silah istimalinden başka çare kalmazsa ve hidemat-ı mezkureyi hin-i ifada bir kevna-i mümaamet ve mukavemete tesadüf ettiler ve def-i mümaamet ve mukavemet başka suretle mümkün olmazsa istimal-i silaha mezun oldukları muharrer ve memur-in-i zabitanın vazife-i memuriyetini icrada nizam-ı mahsusanın gösterdiği mesağ üzerine ika edebilecekleri katl ve cerh ve darp fiillerinden mesul ve onlara mukabele edenler ber-vech ile mazur olamayacakları kanun-u cezanın yüz seksen dokuzuncu maddesinde musarrahtır.*”] “From the Beyoğlu District Administration” [“*Beyoğlu Mutasarraflığından*”], *Sabah*, 31 March 1909.

94. [“*Salifüzzikr vakada hakaret görmüş iken bilnefs mukabeleden izhar-i acz eden polis memuru işten el çektilirdiği gibi bundan böyle ahval-i mümasilede memur-in-i askeriye ve zabita daha seri ve katı surette icra-i faaliyet emrini almışlardır.*”] “From the Beyoğlu District Administration” [“*Beyoğlu Mutasarraflığından*”], *Sabah*, 31 March 1909.

It is not clear if Süleyman Efendi was indeed suspended due to his leniency. If we are to believe *İkdam*’s report on 26 March, he was bashed by his superior and was asked, “Why are you doing these kinds of things?”. It is possible that he was suspended for acting violently and causing a great deal of upheaval, but the district administration claimed the opposite to display a stronger stance against public protests. The Incident in Beyoğlu” [“*Beyoğlu’ndaki Vaka*”], *İkdam*, 26 March 1909.

## 4.5 Conclusion

In the last chapter, we observed that the crime news sections of three of the most mainstream Turkish newspapers, *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*, do not have significant differences. Likewise, the possible reasons were already discussed previously, such as the newspapers getting their news from common sources. Furthermore, the crime news sections had virtually no commentary, further homogenizing the newspapers. However, a closer reading of some of the select news reports and articles from the newspapers demonstrates that the three newspapers have different opinions on issues such as vagrancy, police efficiency and public order, and police confrontation against non-Muslim citizens, which is then reflected in their editorial choices and rhetoric in return. Out of these issues, the issue of vagrancy and the proposed vagrancy act are the ones less featured in the newspapers.

The issue of police efficiency and the state of the public order is another matter. The newspapers indicate that there is an atmosphere of uneasiness and the perception of increasing crime rates. The general amnesty declared following the 1908 Revolution is one of the triggering points of this public perception. In this atmosphere, the attitudes of *İkdam*, *Tanin*, and *Sabah* on this matter are significantly different.

*İkdam*'s main claims are that the police are negligent in their duty, such as not intervening at all or in a timely manner, or that they are downright unlawful, such as the alleged mistreatment of an Armenian victim of burglary. *Tanin*'s pages are not pristine about the state of the public order either. Although *Tanin* denies the allegations of increasing crime rates and police negligence at first, they too start to feature these topics in their columns. However, *Tanin*'s delivery is wholly different from *İkdam*'s. When *Tanin* writes about these matters, their tone is a cautionary one compared to *İkdam*'s accusatory tone. We also see that the Ministry of Police reacts to *Tanin*'s news reports in a few days, such as publishing statistics regarding cases of reckless discharge of weapons and rounding up the beggars in Hagia Sophia. *Tanin* presents the Ministry of Police as a part of the solution, while *İkdam* presents the Ministry of Police as a part of the problem.

*Sabah*, on the other hand, is wholly dismissive of the claims of police negligence and misbehavior. Furthermore, they also accuse people who "spread fabrications" regarding the decay of the public order and police negligence of being evil. *Sabah* is wholeheartedly skeptical towards any such allegations, however, without presenting any points as to why the allegations should not be believed. Lastly, we see that the newspapers generally refrain from making direct comments or allegations on these matters directly. When they do, the comments or the allegations are pre-

sented through the mouths of ordinary citizens, whether through them visiting the newspaper's office or through reader letters.

Interestingly, *İkdam*, which criticizes the police frequently, does not do so when it comes to the most controversial act of law enforcement in the studied period. *İkdam* only describes the events, and that in a way that does not explicitly paint law enforcement in a bad light, and refrains from any comments or criticism towards the police. Their only criticism of an incident where soldiers fired shots toward a crowd is regarding the uncooperativeness of the police in informing the press afterwards. We had previously encountered news reports in *İkdam* criticizing the police, with the source cited as the Greek newspaper *Neologos*, which was among the newspapers denounced by *Tanin* for sowing discord among the Ottoman peoples.

*Sabah* and *Tanin*, on the other hand, have a totally different attitude. *Sabah*, once again, exonerates the police of any wrongdoing and supports them fully while condemning the crowd that assaulted the police. *Tanin*'s stance is more interesting. At first, *Tanin* refrains from describing the incident in their own words and instead cites a non-Turkish newspaper, claiming to do so to provide an unbiased account. However, we see their attitude change over the next few days as *Tanin* criticizes *Proodos*. Although initially, *Tanin*'s attacks were targeted at the *Proodos* newspaper, later *Tanin* started to advocate for the police's response and attack the crowd too with frequent usage of the derogatory word *palikarya* and highlighting the *Rum* identity of the crowd.

There are two interesting points to note here. Firstly, over the course of their coverage, *Tanin*'s attitude transforms into what *Proodos* accuses them of doing, inciting violence against the *Rum* population. Secondly, *Tanin*'s final stance is also in line with the government's stance regarding the matter. Both *Tanin*'s articles and the official statements are unapologetic and fully support and encourage the police's actions. This is remarkably different than *Sabah*'s attitude, which felt the need to justify the police's actions by highlighting how the soldiers used their weapons and just fired shots into the air and not towards the crowd, that is only when their lives were in danger after hearing a gunshot.

In regards to the description of the events, there are no significant differences among *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*. The difference between the Turkish newspapers lies in their comments or lack thereof. One would expect *İkdam* to be very critical of the police on this matter, due to their past criticism of the police force on less significant matters. Perhaps *İkdam*'s position as a mainstream Turkish newspaper forced them to stay silent and refrain from any comments either way, as the affair was deemed to be important for national dignity by the other newspapers. The more significant

disparity is, however between the mainstream Turkish newspapers and non-Turkish newspapers, namely *Proodos*. *Proodos*' coverage of the events changes the whole narrative. According to *Proodos*, Aristomani was beaten by multiple police officers and later died in the hospital. Both of these claims contradict the reports from other newspapers and official statements. *Proodos*' language is also much more sensational.

To conclude, some select news reports demonstrate *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*'s attitudes towards criminality, vagrancy, and policing better than the quantitative analysis of their crime news sections. *İkdam* and *Tanin* both accept the problems with public order and police negligence, but while the police are a part of the solution for *Tanin*, they are a part of the problem for *İkdam*. *Sabah*, on the other hand, exonerates the police of any and all wrongdoing and claims any allegations of increasing crime rates to be fabrications spread by evil people. However, when an incident such as the Beyoğlu Incident happens, which was presented as a matter of national security and dignity, the mainstream Turkish newspapers can only differ so much. *İkdam* refrains from making any comments on the matter, while *Tanin* and *Sabah* support the police. It seems that the differences in crime reporting are much more pronounced when the comparison is not between the mainstream Turkish newspapers, but between Turkish newspapers and non-Turkish newspapers such as *Proodos*.

## 5. CONCLUSION

After decades of being subjected to pre-print censorship in Abdulhamid II's reign, the Ottoman press enjoyed near total liberty following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Still, it was a time of anxiety as internal and external factors threatened the Ottoman people and the stability of the new regime. The Austrian annexation of Bosnia, the Bulgarian declaration of independence, and Crete's declaration of unification with Greece filled the pages of the newspapers. Internally, there were fears against a return to Abdulhamid II's totalitarian rule. So much so that the Great Fire of 1908, and the subsequent series of fires were attributed to the agents of the Sultan. When a preacher named Kör Ali gathered people around him and demanded the abolition of the constitution, these fears materialized. The unsanctioned union of a *Rum* man and a Muslim woman led to their lynching by an angry mob chanting against the constitution. Later called the Beşiktaş Incident, the lynching itself and the fact that it happened in a police station with minimal resistance from the police against the mob highlighted the tensions of inter-religious violence.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, and most relevant to this thesis, Abdulhamid II's inclusion of ordinary prisoners in the amnesty declared following the Revolution led to an atmosphere of fear in the populace of Istanbul. Influenced by these fears, a new law on vagrancy came onto the agenda of the Ottoman parliament. In the meantime, the police force was trying to rehabilitate its image to be seen as the keepers of public order, after being seen as the symbols and tools of Abdulhamid II's authoritarian rule.

In this environment, this thesis analyzes crime reporting in three newspapers: the pro-CUP *Tanin*, the pro-Liberty Party (*Ahrar Fırkası*) *İkdam*, and *Sabah* which tries to situate itself as a politically independent news outlet. Using a statistical analysis of their crime news reports and a closer reading of select news and articles pertaining to public order, the newspaper's differences are highlighted. The purpose of this analysis is to determine if the political standings of the newspapers and their relationship with the powers shaping the government (the CUP at the time

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1. Duman, "31 Mart Vak'ası'nın İki Öncü Habercisi."



interval studied) had any impact on the way they reported crime news. This analysis limits its scope to the 55-day period between the first parliament session on the new Vagrancy Act on 18 February 1909 and ends with the 31 March counter-revolution attempt on 13 April 1909. Although the scope is highly affected by the time constraints of this study, it allows us to observe the discourse on vagrants while the act was being discussed in the Ottoman parliament. This analysis of the newspaper reports also attempts to shed light on the perceived usual suspect status of some professions such as porters, boatmen, and grocers, all professions dominated by single male migrant workers. Likewise, this thesis challenges the perception of Beyoğlu as the most dangerous district of greater Istanbul, and instead suggests Üsküdar as the most dangerous district of greater Istanbul.

The data presented by the Istanbul Statistics Journals also sheds light on the issue of habitual criminals, or lack thereof in this case. Despite the fears of a class of habitual criminals, composed of vagrants, the data indicates that nearly all of the offenders in Istanbul were first-time offenders. “Suspected criminals” (“*mazanne-i su-i eşhas*”), a legal definition for those convicted of a felony more than once and kept under police surveillance according to the 1909 Vagrancy Act, made up only 0.14% of all offenders with 26 people for the year 1913<sup>2</sup> in Istanbul. Even then, a closer inspection of the police records indicates that more than half of these “suspected criminals” were convicted of the purposely vaguely defined crime of vagrancy. This disproportionate charge with the crime of vagrancy can also be observed against the homeless. It is likely that these two groups were more mutually inclusive rather than being mutually exclusive. The deportation of more than 200 “vagrants” from Istanbul following the 1913 coup by the CUP,<sup>3</sup> can be seen as evidence that the vague nature of the law allowed the police to control these groups, and keep undesired people out of the city.

Returning back to the newspapers with the topic of vagrancy, we can say that vagrants were indeed the most frequently reported “profession” of offenders. However, the data indicates that the perception of professions dominated by migrant male workers, such as porters, boatmen, and grocers, as being the usual suspects was not warranted. Offenders from these professions were featured in the newspapers as frequently as offenders who are soldiers, officers, police, or clerks. Furthermore, similar to the police records, the newspapers did not pay any special attention to whether or not an offender was a migrant. The news reports only included this detail in a minority of the cases when describing the offender.

Lastly, on the topic of suspect identity, the police records indicate that it was Üsküdar, not Beyoğlu that was the most dangerous town of greater Istanbul. However,

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2. *Rumi* year 1329 to be precise.

3. Ergut, “State and Social Control,” 267, 268.

criminal cases from Üsküdar are underrepresented in the newspaper reports. This might be due to the distance of Üsküdar to Istanbul proper and Beyoğlu, making it harder for news to reach across. Furthermore, I suggest that, when one takes the nighttime population increase of Beyoğlu into account, the crime rate per person in Beyoğlu drops lower than the crime rate of Istanbul proper. Hence, in addition to Üsküdar, Istanbul proper too had a higher crime rate than Beyoğlu.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding the differences in crime reporting in *Sabah*, *İkdam*, and *Tanin*, it should first be noted that there is nothing to indicate that the newspapers distort the truth in their reporting. Their reports are in line with each other and the police records. It should also be noted that there is nothing to indicate that any religious or ethnic group was presented as more inclined to criminal activities by these newspapers, or persecuted by the police disproportionately. For example, the distribution of offenders across different demographic groups matches with the respective distribution of those groups within the population of Istanbul.

In fact, the crime reports in the newspapers are quite formulaic and do not feature any commentary apart from exceptional cases. The news report includes the event, the identities of the offender and victim, and perhaps the police response, i.e., whether or not the offender has been detained. Given that reporters could work for more than one newspaper, and sell their services to multiple news outlets, the formulaic nature of news reporting might be a systematic consequence of the commodification of news. In a journalistic environment where crime news were the least significant part of the newspaper, reporting the same news provided by the same reporter with only minimal modifications likely made journalistic sense. The reporters likely used the police reports as their source, hence the formulaic structure.

However, some editorial choices by the newspapers can still be observed in their crime reporting. Most importantly, we see *Tanin* deliberately reporting some news one day later than the other newspapers. In the meantime, the offender gets detained by the police. Hence, readers of *Sabah* and *İkdam* encounter more news reports where the offender has not been detained; while readers of *Tanin* encounter more news reports where the offender has been detained. It should be noted that there is nothing to indicate the newspapers report anything other than the information available to them at the time. However, examples indicate that *Tanin* sometimes adopts to wait for more information on the fate of the offender before publishing the news the next day. *Tanin* also reports more news regarding the punishments

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4. As discussed earlier, I am aware that the police records or the press reports might not demonstrate the dangers of a particular location, as there might be criminal affairs where the police or the press cannot intervene or observe. However, as I did not have any concrete examples of such occurrences, and given the data-driven approach pursued in this study, I have decided to acknowledge this possibility but refrain from taking it into account in my comments.

offenders receive from the courts. Although these differences are not drastic, it seems that they are deliberate editorial choices. As the mouthpiece of the CUP, *Tanin*'s attempts can be interpreted as a means to project the image of a safer city and a robust and responsive police force and penal system, amidst the fears of declining public order.

The way that the newspapers refer to vagrants also differs from newspaper to newspaper. According to the norm of the time, *Tanin* and *Sabah* prefer to use the "of the vagrant sort" phrase that denotes a class identity when describing the vagrants. *İkdam* on the other hand demonstrates persistence in refraining from using the phrase, and sometimes does not even describe the offender as a vagrant although other newspapers do so. Meanwhile, *Tanin* continues to use the term "of the vagrant sort" even when referring to offenders who are currently employed. This leads to vagrants making up a significantly higher percentage of all offenders reported in *Tanin*, while they make up a lower percentage in *İkdam*. This could be linked to *İkdam*'s liberal position and *Tanin*'s affiliation with the CUP. *Tanin*'s insistence on portraying offenders as vagrants might have been done to stress the perceived danger caused by vagrants and gather support for the Vagrancy Act that was being discussed in the parliament at the time. Likewise, *İkdam* might have preferred not to use the term 'vagrant' to avoid stigmatizing disadvantaged individuals and to refrain from portraying them as dangerous elements that needed to be controlled.

However, I should reiterate that the news reports themselves were devoid of commentary targeting the vagrants, or any commentary at all. In fact, the Vagrancy Act itself did not receive much attention from any of the newspapers, apart from a few articles on the proposed corporal punishment vagrants would receive.

The views on the state of public order and the effectiveness of the police force, however, were distinctly different in *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin*. As discussed, the state of public order was being questioned after the general amnesty. *İkdam* frequently published pieces on police negligence and increasing crime rates. These were usually presented in the form of reader letters, rather than being the opinions of *İkdam*'s writers. *İkdam* even featured claims of police abuse against non-Muslim citizens. *Sabah*'s stance against any criticism toward the police was clear, they declared reports of police misbehavior and rising crime rates to be fabrications and claimed the ones spreading these fabrications were evil people. Lastly, *Tanin*'s attitude is the most interesting one. Although from time to time *Tanin* denied crime rates were on the rise and the public order was in disarray, they also published pieces similar to *İkdam*'s, once again mostly in the form of reader letters. However, despite highlighting the same issue, the tones of the newspapers were significantly different. *Tanin* used an advisory and cautionary tone and called the police into action. In

cases of police negligence, some police officers were blamed rather than the entirety of the police force. Decline in the public order was a problem for both *İkdam* and *Tanin*. However, *İkdam* presented the police as a part of the problem, while *Tanin* presented the police as a part of the solution.

Lastly, the newspapers' reaction to the Beyoğlu Incident should be discussed. On the night of March 24, a police officer forcefully detaining a young *Rum* man was protested and attacked by a *Rum* crowd. Reinforcements fired shots first into the air and later toward the crowd to disperse them. Persistent with their previous publications, *Sabah* supported and exonerated the police force in the event's aftermath, claiming that the police fired shots into the air only when their lives were in danger. *Tanin* did not initially cover the event, and published the account from another newspaper, claiming to do so to be non-partial. However, *Tanin* got into a feud with the Greek language newspaper *Proodos*, over the latter's account of the events, and accusations toward *Tanin* for inciting violence. In retaliation, *Tanin* started accusing not only *Proodos*, but also some other Greek and foreign language newspapers of sowing discontent among the Ottoman peoples and interfering in Ottoman internal affairs. Later attacks also targeted *Osmanlı*, a liberal Turkish language newspaper, which *Tanin* accused of being unpatriotic. *Tanin*'s attacks intensified gradually, as the newspaper targeted their attention to the *Rum* crowd involved in the incident, and used discriminatory language towards the crowd.

However, despite the quarrel between *Tanin* and *Proodos*, the most interesting approach seems to be *İkdam*'s. *İkdam*, which often accused the police of negligence and misconduct, refrained from criticism towards the police in the aftermath of the Beyoğlu Incident. Their sole criticism, after covering the incident without any commentary, was against the police's uncooperativeness in communicating with the press in the aftermath of the incident. *İkdam* had previously reported on incidents where the police or Muslims came face to face with the non-Muslim population. They had even cited *Neologos* as their source, one of the Greek language newspapers accused of sowing discontent among the Ottoman peoples by *Tanin*. *İkdam*'s silence in this affair is noteworthy. It indicates that despite their political affiliations, mainstream and popular Turkish newspapers were first and foremost Turkish. Criticizing the police response in what was being presented as a national security and dignity matter would result in being accused of being unpatriotic and traitorous, as evidenced *Tanin*'s attack against *Osmanlı*. Hence, *İkdam* likely did not dare to express their true opinions on the matter and stayed silent, lest they provoke the anger of the Turkish public. Instead, they limited themselves to implying that the police officer Süleyman Efendi was at fault by reporting how his superior bashed him regarding the ordeal.

In the end, this limited-scope study demonstrates that every-day crime news in three of the most mainstream Turkish language newspapers of the Second Constitutional Era, representing different political affiliations, did not differ from each other significantly. Likely relying on the same news sources, all three reported ordinary crime news objectively and without commentary despite some editorial choices. However, their coverage of significant events such as the Beyoğlu Incident demonstrate the differences between the newspapers' attitudes. Perhaps their differences in ordinary crime reporting can be highlighted with larger studies. Advancement of digital humanities can allow the newspapers to be read by computers. The formulaic way of reporting crime news might also allow the data points used in this thesis to be extracted by artificial intelligence tools. With data for larger periods of time available, hence larger sample sizes, remarks on the differences between the newspapers can be stated more confidently.

Moreover, instead of comparisons between mainstream Turkish language newspapers, studies can focus on the differences between a Turkish language newspaper such as *Tanin*, a French or English newspaper such as *Levant Herald*, and a newspaper targeting non-Muslim readership such as *Proodos*. It is clear that *Proodos*' coverage of the Beyoğlu Incident differed significantly from both the Turkish language newspapers and official reports as *Proodos* claimed the man being detained, Aristomani, died as a result of his injuries. The official reports however stated that Aristomani was sent to the hospital with another examination scheduled in eight days. Whether or not this difference is due to the exceptionality of the incident, or ordinary crime news differed similarly remains to be seen. Such questions can only be answered by a comparative study analyzing Istanbul newspapers published in different languages and meant for distinct audiences.

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## APPENDIX A: DATA FROM THE ISTANBUL STATISTICS JOURNALS

The following tables are from (or derived from) the “Various Crimes” (“*Ceraim-i Muhtelif*”) table from the 1913 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journals unless otherwise stated.<sup>1</sup>

Table A.1: Classification of the crime categories and detainment status of the offenders

Classification	Type of Crime (“ <i>Nev-i Ceraim</i> ”)	Type of Crime (in English)	Detained	Not Detained	All Offenders
Crimes Against the State	<i>Devletin emniyet-i hariciyesini ihlal</i>	Violating the external security of the state	0	0	0
Crimes Against the State	<i>Devletin emniyet-i dahiliyesini ihlal</i>	Violating the internal security of the state	6	0	6
Robbery	<i>Kat-ı tarik</i>	Robbery	3	0	3
Robbery	<i>Kutta-ı tarik yataklığı</i>	Harboring robbers	0	0	0
Theft	<i>Sirkat-i emval-i emiriye</i>	Stealing state/royal property	26	0	26
Crimes Against the State	<i>Rüşvet</i>	Bribery	56	0	56
Murder	<i>Amden katil</i>	Premeditated murder	20	3	23
Homicide	<i>Min gayri taammüdin katil</i>	Unpremeditated murder	14	1	15
Murder	<i>Darben telef-i nefis</i>	Murder by battery	1	0	1
Murder	<i>Katil-i usul</i>	Murdering ancestors	0	0	0
Murder	<i>Katil-i fûru</i>	Murdering descendants	5	2	7
Murder	<i>Katle tasaddi</i>	Attempted murder	20	0	20
Assault	<i>Tatil-i uzv</i>	Disablement of a limb	5	0	5
Rape	<i>Cebren fül-i şeni</i>	Rape	66	3	69
Rape	<i>Cebren fül-i şenie tasaddi</i>	Attempted Rape	97	2	99
Kidnapping	<i>Cebren kız kaçırarak</i>	Abducting a girl by force	7	0	7
Fraud	<i>Sahtekârlük</i>	Forgery	55	2	57
Counterfeiting	<i>Kalpazanlık</i>	Counterfeiting	1	0	1
Arson	<i>Kundakçılık</i>	Arson	13	0	13
Crimes Against the State	<i>Hilaf-ı memnûiyet ecza-yı nariye imal ve fûruht etmek</i>	Producing and selling illegal explosives	11	0	11
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Tehdit</i>	Intimidation	263	4	267
Assault	<i>İskat-ı cenin</i>	Causing miscarriage	49	0	49
Robbery	<i>Gece cemiyetle tarik-i ammda hırsızlık</i>	Gang robbery at night	0	0	0
Theft	<i>Meskûn mahalde duvar delerek ve kapı kırarak hırsızlık</i>	Breaking and entering in residential areas	59	5	64
Robbery	<i>Gece müsellaah duvar aşarak ve cebr ve şiddetle hırsızlık</i>	Armed burglary by breaking and entering and by force at night	4	1	5
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>İhafa kasdıyla teşhir-i silah</i>	Brandishing weapons with intent to intimidate	304	2	306
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Memurin-i zabıtaya ve asakire şetm ve hakaret</i>	Insulting police and military officers	791	2	793
Crimes Against the State	<i>Mahpus kaçırarak ve ihfa-yı erbab-ı cinayet</i>	Helping prisoners escape and harboring felons	0	0	0
Fraud	<i>Bilasalahiyet sıfat-ı resmîyede bulunmak</i>	Impersonating an official without authority	9	0	9
Counterfeiting	<i>Kalb akçe sürücülüğü</i>	Using counterfeit money	79	0	79
Assault	<i>Darb ve cerh</i>	Assault and battery	5323	27	5350
Homicide	<i>Min gayri kasdın telef-i nefse sebebiyet vermek</i>	Involuntary manslaughter	27	2	29
Assault	<i>Min gayri kasdın cerh ve tatil-i uzv</i>	Wounding and disablement of a limb without intent	108	0	108

Continued on next page

1. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–249.

Table A.1: Classification of the crime categories and detainment status of the offenders (continued)

Classification	Type of Crime ("Nev-i Ceraim")	Type of Crime (in English)	Detained	Not Detained	All Offenders
Rape	<i>Hetk-i vrz ve ijfal-i bakir</i>	Defloration and dishonoring of a virgin	88	0	88
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Fuhşiyata tahrik ve alenen fül-i şeni</i>	Encouraging prostitution and public indecency	109	1	110
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Geçenlere söz atmak ve sarkıntuluk etmek</i>	Verbal harassment and molestation of passersby	400	0	400
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>Nizam haricinde haps ve tevkif</i>	Unlawful imprisonment and detention	1	0	1
Fraud	<i>Yalan şahadet ve yemin</i>	False testimony	6	0	6
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Zemm ve kadh</i>	Slander and defamation	0	0	0
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Şetm ve hakaret ve iftira</i>	Libel and insult	166	0	166
Fraud	<i>Dolandırıcılık</i>	Fraud	247	12	259
Theft	<i>Sirkat-i adiye</i>	Petty theft	3268	76	3344
Pickpocketing	<i>Yankesicilik</i>	Pickpocketing	557	21	578
Theft	<i>Hayvan hırsızlığı</i>	Animal theft	41	9	50
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>Emniyeti suistimal</i>	Breach of trust	182	4	186
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>Kumarhane ve piyango küşadı</i>	Operating gambling houses and lotteries	102	0	102
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Nasın mal ve emlakını izaa ve telef</i>	Damaging or destroying public property	109	2	111
Crimes Against the State	<i>Mühür fekki ve emanet eşya ve evrak-ı resmiye ahzı</i>	Breaking seals and taking entrusted items or official documents	4	0	4
Crimes Against the State	<i>Ruhsatsız matbaa küşadı [ve] evrak-ı muzırna neşri</i>	Operating unlicensed printing presses and publishing harmful materials	0	0	0
Kidnapping	<i>Çocuk tebdil ve sirkati</i>	Kidnapping children	0	0	0
Crimes Against the State	<i>Telgraf muhaberatını ihlal</i>	Disrupting telegraph communications	2	0	2
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>Meşrubat-ı muzırna ve semmiyat ve eşya-yı memnua furuhtu</i>	Selling harmful beverages, poisons, and contraband goods	10	0	10
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>İmtiyazat-ı mezhebiyeye taarruz</i>	Assaulting religious privileges	0	0	0
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Asar-ı kadimeyi tahrip</i>	Destroying historical artifacts	1	0	1
Fraud	<i>Mürur tezkiresi ve pasaport sahtekarlığı</i>	Forging passports or travel permits	44	0	44
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Serserilik</i>	Vagrancy	190	0	190
Disorderly Behaviour	<i>Sarhoşluk</i>	Drunkenness	1879	0	1879
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	<i>Cünha ve kabayih-i muhtelif</i>	Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3467	4	3471

Table A.2: Number and percentage of cases where the offenders have been identified or remain unidentified

Category of Crime	Total Cases	Cases in Which the Offenders Have Been Identified	Percentage of Cases in Which Offenders Have Been Identified	Cases in Which the Offenders Remain Unidentified	Percentage of Cases in Which the Offenders Remain Unidentified
Arson	9	8	88.89%	1	11.11%
Assault	4423	4340	98.12%	83	1.88%
Counterfeiting	72	71	98.61%	1	1.39%
Crimes Against the State	52	52	100.00%	0	0.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	3574	3566	99.78%	8	0.22%
Fraud	369	333	90.24%	36	9.76%
Homicide	30	28	93.33%	2	6.67%
Kidnapping	5	5	100.00%	0	0.00%
Murder	33	33	100.00%	0	0.00%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3090	3079	99.64%	11	0.36%
Pickpocketing	601	493	82.03%	108	17.97%
Rape	206	206	100.00%	0	0.00%
Robbery	4	3	75.00%	1	25.00%
Theft	3031	2741	90.43%	290	9.57%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>15499</b>	<b>14958</b>	<b>96.51%</b>	<b>541</b>	<b>3.49%</b>

Table A.3: Marital status of female offenders

Category of Crime	Number of Total Female Offenders	Number of Female Offenders Whose Marital Status is Recorded	Number of Female Offenders Who are Married with Children	Number of Female Offenders Who are Married without Children	Number of Female Offenders Who are Widowed with Children	Number of Female Offenders Who are Widowed without Children	Number of Female Offenders Who are Virgins
Assault	538	538	270	63	45	78	82
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	305	269	142	15	34	75	3
Theft	248	243	54	52	33	43	61
Disorderly Behaviour	188	176	49	24	18	55	30
Pickpocketing	38	38	13	11	2	7	5
Fraud	11	11	5	0	1	3	2
Murder	6	6	2	0	0	1	3
Rape	4	4	2	0	2	0	0
Counterfeiting	4	4	2	1	1	0	0
Arson	3	3	1	0	1	1	0
Homicide	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Crimes Against the State	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Robbery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1349</b>	<b>1296</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>187</b>

Table A.4: Marital status of male offenders

Category of Crime	Number of Total Male Offenders	Number of Male Offenders Whose Marital Status is Recorded	Number of Male Offenders Who are Married with Children	Number of Male Offenders Who are Married without Children	Number of Male Offenders Who are Bachelors without Children	Number of Male Offenders Who are Bachelors with Children
Assault	4974	2017	1456	373	164	24
Disorderly Behaviour	4043	1290	871	366	38	15
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3461	1486	1068	336	56	26
Theft	3266	887	665	153	39	30
Pickpocketing	540	124	92	27	3	2
Fraud	364	113	97	12	0	4
Rape	252	41	27	12	2	0
Crimes Against the State	77	31	27	4	0	0
Counterfeiting	76	20	14	6	0	0
Murder	46	3	3	0	0	0
Homicide	42	12	11	1	0	0
Arson	10	15	15	0	0	0
Robbery	8	2	2	0	0	0
Kidnapping	6	1	0	1	0	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>17165</b>	<b>6042</b>	<b>4348</b>	<b>1291</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>101</b>



Table A.5: Prior criminal records of the offenders

Category of Crime	Number of First Time Offenders	Number of Offenders Who were Previously Convicted	Number of Offenders Who are Also Suspects for Another Crime	Number of Offenders Who are “Suspected Criminals”
Arson	13	0	0	0
Assault	5274	223	14	1
Counterfeiting	77	3	0	0
Crimes Against the State	76	3	0	0
Disorderly Behaviour	3966	230	10	17
Fraud	348	26	0	1
Homicide	41	3	0	0
Kidnapping	7	0	0	0
Murder	49	2	0	0
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3627	124	16	3
Pickpocketing	456	120	2	0
Rape	239	17	0	0
Robbery	6	2	0	0
Theft	3226	235	19	4
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>17405</b>	<b>988</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>26</b>

Table A.6: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their professions

Category of Crime	Government officials ( <i>memurlar</i> )	Doctors, attorneys, teachers, and other men of science ( <i>ettibba, vukelari deant ve mualliminin vesair erbab-i funun</i> )	Merchants ( <i>ticcar</i> )	Farmers ( <i>zurnu</i> )	Fishermen ( <i>balıkcı</i> )	Moneychangers ( <i>sarruf</i> )	Artisans ( <i>ehl-i sanat</i> )	Landlords ( <i>ashab-i akar</i> )	Laborers ( <i>amele</i> )	Ship captains and crew and boatmen ( <i>sefine kaplani ve taife ve kayıkçı</i> )	Servants of merchants, money- changers and others ( <i>ticcar ve sarraf ve sair hademest</i> )	House servants ( <i>ev hizmetçisi</i> )	All servants	Unemployed ( <i>ışsız</i> )
Arson	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6
Assault	431	52	51	147	216	2435	5	42	950	70	101	200	301	812
Counterfeiting	2	0	0	3	2	46	2	2	10	0	1	3	4	9
Crimes Against the State	13	2	1	6	0	36	0	0	8	6	1	0	1	6
Disorderly Behaviour	409	48	36	66	113	1907	24	25	675	18	145	99	244	710
Fraud	20	7	11	18	2	204	0	0	32	4	10	4	14	60
Homicide	8	1	1	0	2	16	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	5
Kidnapping	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Murder	6	4	0	1	0	15	0	0	12	0	1	3	4	9
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	205	48	48	143	82	1891	4	48	543	53	6	13	19	513
Pickpocketing	8	2	6	4	2	222	0	0	72	6	4	19	23	233
Rape	24	10	3	6	2	96	0	5	53	3	10	4	14	40
Robbery	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
Theft	83	13	14	79	67	1064	5	15	718	40	98	171	269	1112
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1211</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>7942</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>3083</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>517</b>	<b>894</b>	<b>3520</b>

Table A.7: Crime distribution of offenders according to their professions

Category of Crime	Government officials ( <i>memurin</i> )	Doctors, attorneys, teachers, and other men of science ( <i>etibba, vikkelayi deavi ve muallimin vesair erbab-i funun</i> )	Merchants ( <i>ticarar</i> )	Farmers ( <i>zürra</i> )	Fishermen ( <i>balıkcı</i> )	Moneychangers ( <i>sarruf</i> )	Artisans ( <i>ehl-i sanat</i> )	Landlords ( <i>ashab-i akar</i> )	Laborers ( <i>amele</i> )	Ship captains and crew and boatmen ( <i>sefine kapitan ve taife ve kaykçı</i> )	Servants of merchants, money- changers and others ( <i>ticarar ve sarruf ve sair hademesi</i> )	House servants ( <i>ev hizmetçisi</i> )	All servants	Unemployed ( <i>ıssız</i> )
Arson	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%	0.11%	0.17%
Assault	35.59%	27.66%	29.82%	31.01%	44.26%	30.66%	12.50%	30.66%	30.81%	34.31%	26.79%	38.68%	33.67%	23.07%
Counterfeiting	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.63%	0.41%	0.58%	5.00%	1.46%	0.32%	0.00%	0.27%	0.58%	0.45%	0.26%
Crimes Against the State	1.07%	1.06%	0.58%	1.27%	0.00%	0.45%	0.00%	0.00%	0.26%	2.94%	0.27%	0.00%	0.11%	0.17%
Disorderly Behaviour	33.77%	25.53%	21.05%	13.92%	23.16%	24.01%	60.00%	18.25%	21.89%	8.82%	38.46%	19.15%	27.29%	20.17%
Fraud	1.65%	3.72%	6.43%	3.80%	0.41%	2.57%	0.00%	0.00%	1.04%	1.96%	2.65%	0.77%	1.57%	1.70%
Homicide	0.66%	0.53%	0.58%	0.00%	0.41%	0.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.23%	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.14%
Kidnapping	0.00%	0.53%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.05%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%
Murder	0.50%	2.13%	0.00%	0.21%	0.00%	0.19%	0.00%	0.00%	0.39%	0.00%	0.27%	0.58%	0.45%	0.26%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	16.93%	25.53%	28.07%	30.17%	16.80%	23.81%	10.00%	35.04%	17.61%	25.98%	1.59%	2.51%	2.13%	14.57%
Pickpocketing	0.66%	1.06%	3.51%	0.84%	0.41%	2.80%	0.00%	0.00%	2.34%	2.94%	1.06%	3.68%	2.57%	6.62%
Rape	1.98%	5.32%	1.75%	1.27%	0.41%	1.21%	0.00%	3.65%	1.72%	1.47%	2.65%	0.77%	1.57%	1.14%
Robbery	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.21%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.06%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.11%
Theft	6.85%	6.91%	8.19%	16.67%	13.73%	13.40%	12.50%	10.95%	23.29%	19.61%	25.99%	33.08%	30.09%	31.59%
Grand Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Table A.8: Percentages of criminal acts by offenders according to their professions

Category of Crime	Government officials ( <i>memurin</i> )	Doctors, attorneys, teachers, and other men of science ( <i>etibba, vikkelayi deavi ve muallimin vesair erbab-i funun</i> )	Merchants ( <i>ticarar</i> )	Farmers ( <i>zürra</i> )	Fishermen ( <i>balıkcı</i> )	Moneychangers ( <i>sarruf</i> )	Artisans ( <i>ehl-i sanat</i> )	Landlords ( <i>ashab-i akar</i> )	Laborers ( <i>amele</i> )	Ship captains and crew and boatmen ( <i>sefine kapitan ve taife ve kaykçı</i> )	Servants of merchants, money- changers and others ( <i>ticarar ve sarruf ve sair hademesi</i> )	House servants ( <i>ev hizmetçisi</i> )	All servants	Unemployed ( <i>ıssız</i> )
Arson	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	42.86%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%	7.14%	42.86%
Assault	7.82%	0.94%	0.93%	2.67%	3.92%	0.09%	44.18%	0.76%	17.24%	1.27%	1.83%	3.63%	5.46%	14.73%
Counterfeiting	2.50%	0.00%	0.00%	3.75%	2.50%	2.50%	57.50%	2.50%	12.50%	0.00%	1.25%	3.75%	5.00%	11.25%
Crimes Against the State	16.46%	2.53%	1.27%	7.59%	0.00%	0.00%	45.57%	0.00%	10.13%	7.59%	1.27%	0.00%	1.27%	7.59%
Disorderly Behaviour	9.57%	1.12%	0.84%	1.54%	2.64%	0.56%	44.61%	0.58%	15.79%	0.42%	3.39%	2.32%	5.71%	16.61%
Fraud	5.38%	1.88%	2.96%	4.84%	0.54%	0.00%	54.84%	0.00%	8.60%	1.08%	2.69%	1.08%	3.76%	16.13%
Homicide	18.18%	2.27%	2.27%	0.00%	4.55%	0.00%	36.36%	0.00%	15.91%	9.09%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	11.36%
Kidnapping	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	57.14%	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%
Murder	11.76%	7.84%	0.00%	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	29.41%	0.00%	23.53%	0.00%	1.96%	5.88%	7.84%	17.65%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	5.70%	1.33%	1.33%	3.98%	2.28%	0.11%	52.57%	1.33%	15.10%	1.47%	0.17%	0.36%	0.53%	14.26%
Pickpocketing	1.38%	0.35%	1.04%	0.69%	0.35%	0.00%	38.41%	0.00%	12.46%	1.04%	0.69%	3.29%	3.98%	40.31%
Rape	9.38%	3.91%	1.17%	2.34%	0.78%	0.00%	37.50%	1.95%	20.70%	1.17%	3.91%	1.56%	5.47%	15.63%
Robbery	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%
Theft	2.39%	0.37%	0.40%	2.27%	1.93%	0.14%	30.58%	0.43%	20.64%	1.15%	2.82%	4.92%	7.73%	31.96%
All Crime	6.60%	1.02%	0.93%	2.58%	2.66%	0.22%	43.28%	0.75%	16.80%	1.11%	2.05%	2.82%	4.87%	19.18%

Table A.9: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their *millet* identity

Category of Crime	Ottoman Subjects							Non-Ottoman Subjects					All Offenders
	All Ottoman Subjects	Muslims	Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Protestants	Armenians, Armenian Catholics, Protestants	Bulgarians, Serbians, Wallachians	Jews	Various Ottoman Communities	All non-Ottomans	All Western Nationals	Iranians	Greeks	Various Foreign Nationalities	
Arson	11	4	7	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	13
Assault	5087	3042	1473	417	1	154	0	419	150	73	187	9	5506
Counterfeiting	60	37	20	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	61
Crimes Against the State	73	40	20	8	0	5	0	7	1	1	5	0	80
Disorderly Behaviour	3961	2665	882	346	6	58	4	242	142	40	53	7	4203
Fraud	368	187	122	43	2	14	0	14	8	4	2	0	382
Homicide	49	33	5	2	4	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	50
Kidnapping	7	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Murder	46	39	7	0	0	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	50
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3615	2062	1125	339	5	79	5	154	72	17	54	11	3769
Pickpocketing	586	301	179	35	3	67	1	39	16	0	22	1	625
Rape	250	172	56	20	0	2	0	6	4	1	1	0	256
Robbery	8	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Theft	3321	1964	971	359	0	25	2	114	53	18	30	13	3435
<b>All Crime</b>	<b>17442</b>	<b>10552</b>	<b>4875</b>	<b>1570</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>18445</b>

Table A.10: Percentages of criminal acts by offenders according to their *millet* identity

Category of Crime	Ottoman Subjects							Non-Ottoman Subjects				
	All Ottoman Subjects	Muslims	Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Protestants	Armenians, Armenian Catholics, Protestants	Bulgarians, Serbians, Wallachians	Jews	Various Ottoman Communities	All non-Ottomans	All Western Nationals	Iranians	Greeks	Various Foreign Nationalities
Arson	84.62%	30.77%	53.85%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	15.38%	7.69%	0.00%	7.69%	0.00%
Assault	92.39%	55.25%	26.75%	7.57%	0.02%	2.80%	0.00%	7.61%	2.72%	1.33%	3.40%	0.16%
Counterfeiting	98.36%	60.66%	32.79%	0.00%	0.00%	4.92%	0.00%	1.64%	1.64%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Crimes Against the State	91.25%	50.00%	25.00%	10.00%	0.00%	6.25%	0.00%	8.75%	1.25%	1.25%	6.25%	0.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	94.24%	63.41%	20.99%	8.23%	0.14%	1.38%	0.10%	5.76%	3.38%	0.95%	1.26%	0.17%
Fraud	96.34%	48.95%	31.94%	11.26%	0.52%	3.66%	0.00%	3.66%	2.09%	1.05%	0.52%	0.00%
Homicide	98.00%	66.00%	10.00%	4.00%	8.00%	6.00%	4.00%	2.00%	2.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Kidnapping	100.00%	42.86%	57.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Murder	92.00%	78.00%	14.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.00%	4.00%	4.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	95.91%	54.71%	29.85%	8.99%	0.13%	2.10%	0.13%	4.09%	1.91%	0.45%	1.43%	0.29%
Pickpocketing	93.76%	48.16%	28.64%	5.60%	0.48%	10.72%	0.16%	6.24%	2.56%	0.00%	3.52%	0.16%
Rape	97.66%	67.19%	21.88%	7.81%	0.00%	0.78%	0.00%	2.34%	1.56%	0.39%	0.39%	0.00%
Robbery	100.00%	37.50%	50.00%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Theft	96.68%	57.18%	28.27%	10.45%	0.00%	0.73%	0.06%	3.32%	1.54%	0.52%	0.87%	0.38%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>94.56%</b>	<b>57.21%</b>	<b>26.43%</b>	<b>8.51%</b>	<b>0.11%</b>	<b>2.22%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>5.44%</b>	<b>2.45%</b>	<b>0.85%</b>	<b>1.92%</b>	<b>0.22%</b>

Table A.11: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their level of education

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Offenders Who Have Received Higher Education	Literate Offenders	Illiterate Offenders
Assault	5512	76	2449	2987
Disorderly Behaviour	4229	34	1996	2199
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3770	33	1836	1901
Theft	3484	8	1187	2289
Pickpocketing	578	4	215	359
Fraud	369	2	204	163
Rape	256	4	124	128
Counterfeiting	80	1	45	34
Crimes Against the State	79	4	41	34
Murder	51	3	28	20
Homicide	44	1	20	23
Arson	13	1	3	9
Robbery	8	0	2	6
Kidnapping	7	0	5	2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18480</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>8155</b>	<b>10154</b>

Table A.12: Crime distribution of offenders according to their level of education

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Offenders Who Have Received Higher Education	Literate Offenders	Illiterate Offenders
Assault	29.83%	44.44%	30.03%	29.42%
Disorderly Behaviour	22.88%	19.88%	24.48%	21.66%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	20.40%	19.30%	22.51%	18.72%
Theft	18.85%	4.68%	14.56%	22.54%
Pickpocketing	3.13%	2.34%	2.64%	3.54%
Fraud	2.00%	1.17%	2.50%	1.61%
Rape	1.39%	2.34%	1.52%	1.26%
Counterfeiting	0.43%	0.58%	0.55%	0.33%
Crimes Against the State	0.43%	2.34%	0.50%	0.33%
Murder	0.28%	1.75%	0.34%	0.20%
Homicide	0.24%	0.58%	0.25%	0.23%
Arson	0.07%	0.58%	0.04%	0.09%
Robbery	0.04%	0.00%	0.02%	0.06%
Kidnapping	0.04%	0.00%	0.06%	0.02%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table A.13: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their place of residence

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Offenders Who are Urbanites	Offenders Who are Villagers	Offenders without a Place of Residence
Assault	5512	4304	1198	10
Disorderly Behaviour	4178	3334	773	71
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3770	2849	914	7
Theft	3484	2405	1030	49
Pickpocketing	578	447	124	7
Fraud	375	272	103	0
Rape	256	201	54	1
Crimes Against the State	83	52	31	0
Counterfeiting	80	62	18	0
Murder	51	36	14	1
Homicide	44	39	5	0
Arson	13	11	2	0
Robbery	8	5	3	0
Kidnapping	7	7	0	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18439</b>	<b>14024</b>	<b>4269</b>	<b>146</b>

Table A.14: Crime distribution of offenders according to their place of residence

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Offenders Who are Urbanites	Offenders Who are Villagers	Offenders without a Place of Residence
Assault	29.89%	30.69%	28.06%	6.85%
Disorderly Behaviour	22.66%	23.77%	18.11%	48.63%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	20.45%	20.32%	21.41%	4.79%
Theft	18.89%	17.15%	24.13%	33.56%
Pickpocketing	3.13%	3.19%	2.90%	4.79%
Fraud	2.03%	1.94%	2.41%	0.00%
Rape	1.39%	1.43%	1.26%	0.68%
Crimes Against the State	0.45%	0.37%	0.73%	0.00%
Counterfeiting	0.43%	0.44%	0.42%	0.00%
Murder	0.28%	0.26%	0.33%	0.68%
Homicide	0.24%	0.28%	0.12%	0.00%
Arson	0.07%	0.08%	0.05%	0.00%
Robbery	0.04%	0.04%	0.07%	0.00%
Kidnapping	0.04%	0.05%	0.00%	0.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table A.15: Number of criminal acts by offenders according to their ages

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Under 14	14–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	Over 70
Arson	13	0	3	5	3	2	0	0	0
Assault	5612	113	1051	2323	1528	490	87	17	3
Counterfeiting	80	1	20	32	23	3	0	0	1
Crimes Against the State	79	0	8	33	24	12	1	1	0
Disorderly Behaviour	4227	11	536	2094	1187	313	70	15	1
Fraud	368	4	59	159	118	16	10	2	0
Homicide	44	0	7	21	7	7	2	0	0
Kidnapping	7	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
Murder	51	0	12	23	15	1	0	0	0
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3770	29	582	1506	1081	460	82	19	11
Pickpocketing	581	33	157	255	94	26	10	3	3
Rape	256	18	34	128	55	15	5	1	0
Robbery	8	0	1	4	3	0	0	0	0
Theft	3482	203	871	1300	769	248	58	32	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18578</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>3346</b>	<b>7884</b>	<b>4908</b>	<b>1593</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>20</b>

Table A.16: Share of criminal activity by age group

	Under 14	14–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	Over 70
<b>Share of Criminal Activity</b>	<b>2.22%</b>	<b>18.01%</b>	<b>42.44%</b>	<b>26.42%</b>	<b>8.57%</b>	<b>1.75%</b>	<b>0.48%</b>	<b>0.11%</b>

Table A.17: Crime distribution of offenders according to their ages

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Under 14	14–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	Over 70
Arson	0.07%	0.00%	0.09%	0.06%	0.06%	0.13%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Assault	30.21%	27.43%	31.41%	29.46%	31.13%	30.76%	26.77%	18.89%	15.00%
Counterfeiting	0.43%	0.24%	0.60%	0.41%	0.47%	0.19%	0.00%	0.00%	5.00%
Crimes Against the State	0.43%	0.00%	0.24%	0.42%	0.49%	0.75%	0.31%	1.11%	0.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	22.75%	2.67%	16.02%	26.56%	24.19%	19.65%	21.54%	16.67%	5.00%
Fraud	1.98%	0.97%	1.76%	2.02%	2.40%	1.00%	3.08%	2.22%	0.00%
Homicide	0.24%	0.00%	0.21%	0.27%	0.14%	0.44%	0.62%	0.00%	0.00%
Kidnapping	0.04%	0.00%	0.15%	0.01%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Murder	0.27%	0.00%	0.36%	0.29%	0.31%	0.06%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	20.29%	7.04%	17.39%	19.10%	22.03%	28.88%	25.23%	21.11%	55.00%
Pickpocketing	3.13%	8.01%	4.69%	3.23%	1.92%	1.63%	3.08%	3.33%	15.00%
Rape	1.38%	4.37%	1.02%	1.62%	1.12%	0.94%	1.54%	1.11%	0.00%
Robbery	0.04%	0.00%	0.03%	0.05%	0.06%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Theft	18.74%	49.27%	26.03%	16.49%	15.67%	15.57%	17.85%	35.56%	5.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table A.18: Detainment status of the offenders

Category of Crime	All Offenders	Detained	Not Detained
Arson	13	13	0
Assault	5512	5485	27
Counterfeiting	80	80	0
Crimes Against the State	79	79	0
Disorderly Behaviour	4223	4212	11
Fraud	375	361	14
Homicide	44	41	3
Kidnapping	7	7	0
Murder	51	46	5
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3770	3762	8
Pickpocketing	578	557	21
Rape	256	251	5
Robbery	8	7	1
Theft	3484	3394	90
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18480</b>	<b>18295</b>	<b>185</b>

Table A.19: Percentage-wise detainment status of the offenders

Category of Crime	Detained (%)	Not Detained (%)
Arson	100.00%	0.00%
Assault	99.51%	0.49%
Counterfeiting	100.00%	0.00%
Crimes Against the State	100.00%	0.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	99.74%	0.26%
Fraud	96.27%	3.73%
Homicide	93.18%	6.82%
Kidnapping	100.00%	0.00%
Murder	90.20%	9.80%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	99.79%	0.21%
Pickpocketing	96.37%	3.63%
Rape	98.05%	1.95%
Robbery	87.50%	12.50%
Theft	97.42%	2.58%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>99.00%</b>	<b>1.00%</b>

Table A.20 is a reproduction of the “Various crimes” table from the 1914 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal.<sup>2</sup> Table A.21 is derived from Table A.20. The data for both Table A.20 and Table A.21 pertains to the *Rumi* year 1330, corresponding roughly to 1914 in the Gregorian calendar.

2. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914*, 246–249.

Table A.20: Crime across the police headquarters of Istanbul for *Rumi* year 1330

Category of Crime	Istanbul Proper											Beyoğlu			Üsküdar		Aggregate		Total
	Bayezid	Eminönü	Unkapamı	Eyüp	Ayasofya	Samatya	Şhremini	Aksaray	Fatih	Kumkapı	Karagümruk	Deniz	Beyoğlu	Fener	Üsküdar	Istanbul Proper	Beyoğlu District	Aggregate Uskudar District	
Arson	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	1	0	10
Assault	154	224	126	83	103	145	123	139	104	123	115	48	1728	133	691	1487	1728	824	4039
Counterfeiting	0	11	1	1	0	1	1	5	0	1	1	1	25	0	4	23	25	4	52
Crimes Against the State	1	7	2	0	6	2	3	1	0	2	1	15	18	1	9	40	18	10	68
Disorderly Behaviour	94	279	62	27	78	72	54	64	41	49	96	19	1079	64	300	935	1079	364	2378
Fraud	22	27	6	1	11	9	2	13	1	1	3	39	90	4	32	135	90	36	261
Homicide	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	8	0	0	6	8	0	14
Kidnapping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	2	0	4
Murder	1	3	0	1	2	3	3	2	0	2	1	0	9	0	6	18	9	6	33
Other Crimes and	122	208	23	23	77	104	64	75	71	53	124	155	915	108	215	1099	915	323	2337
Misdemeanors	9	35	4	3	12	19	13	2	51	7	0	4	265	2	42	159	265	44	468
Pickpocketing	6	4	5	4	8	7	6	11	4	4	9	1	88	1	35	69	88	36	193
Rape	179	205	60	29	148	54	70	94	44	20	54	52	1097	57	402	1009	1097	459	2565
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>589</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>445</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>5325</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>1739</b>	<b>4991</b>	<b>5325</b>	<b>2109</b>	<b>12425</b>



Table A.21: Distribution of crime across the police headquarters of Istanbul for *Rumi* year 1330

Category of Crime	Istanbul Proper										Beyoğlu			Üsküdar			Aggregate		
	Bayezid	Eminönü	Unkapanı	Eyüp	Ayasofya	Samatya	Şehremini	Aksaray	Fatih	Kumkapı	Karagümrük	Deniz	Beyoğlu	Fener	Üsküdar	Istanbul Proper	Beyoğlu District	Üsküdar District	Total
Arson	7.69%	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%	0.00%	15.38%	7.69%	30.77%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%	0.00%	23.08%	69.23%	7.69%	23.08%	100.00%
Assault	3.81%	5.55%	3.12%	2.05%	2.55%	3.59%	3.05%	3.44%	2.57%	3.05%	2.85%	1.19%	42.78%	3.29%	17.11%	36.82%	42.78%	20.40%	100.00%
Counterfeiting	0.00%	21.15%	1.92%	1.92%	0.00%	1.92%	1.92%	9.62%	0.00%	1.92%	1.92%	1.92%	48.08%	0.00%	7.69%	44.23%	48.08%	7.69%	100.00%
Crimes Against the State	1.47%	10.29%	2.94%	0.00%	8.82%	2.94%	4.41%	1.47%	0.00%	2.94%	1.47%	22.06%	26.47%	1.47%	13.24%	58.82%	26.47%	14.71%	100.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	3.95%	11.73%	2.61%	1.14%	3.28%	3.03%	2.27%	2.69%	1.72%	2.06%	4.04%	0.80%	45.37%	2.69%	12.62%	39.32%	45.37%	15.31%	100.00%
Fraud	8.43%	10.34%	2.30%	0.38%	4.21%	3.45%	0.77%	4.98%	0.38%	0.38%	1.15%	14.94%	34.48%	1.53%	12.26%	51.72%	34.48%	13.79%	100.00%
Homicide	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	21.43%	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	57.14%	0.00%	0.00%	42.86%	57.14%	0.00%	100.00%
Kidnapping	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Murder	3.03%	9.09%	0.00%	3.03%	6.06%	9.09%	9.09%	6.06%	0.00%	6.06%	3.03%	0.00%	27.27%	0.00%	18.18%	54.55%	27.27%	18.18%	100.00%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	5.22%	8.90%	0.98%	0.98%	3.29%	4.45%	2.74%	3.21%	3.04%	2.27%	5.31%	6.63%	39.15%	4.62%	9.20%	47.03%	39.15%	13.82%	100.00%
Pickpocketing	1.92%	7.48%	0.85%	0.64%	2.56%	4.06%	2.78%	0.43%	10.90%	1.50%	0.00%	0.85%	56.62%	0.43%	8.97%	33.97%	56.62%	9.40%	100.00%
Rape	3.11%	2.07%	2.59%	2.07%	4.15%	3.63%	3.11%	5.70%	2.07%	2.07%	4.66%	0.52%	45.60%	0.52%	18.13%	35.75%	45.60%	18.65%	100.00%
Theft	6.98%	7.99%	2.34%	1.13%	5.77%	2.11%	2.73%	3.66%	1.72%	0.78%	2.11%	2.03%	42.77%	2.22%	15.67%	39.34%	42.77%	17.89%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4.74%</b>	<b>8.07%</b>	<b>2.33%</b>	<b>1.40%</b>	<b>3.58%</b>	<b>3.36%</b>	<b>2.76%</b>	<b>3.31%</b>	<b>2.54%</b>	<b>2.12%</b>	<b>3.26%</b>	<b>2.69%</b>	<b>42.86%</b>	<b>2.98%</b>	<b>14.00%</b>	<b>40.17%</b>	<b>42.86%</b>	<b>16.97%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table A.22 is a reproduction of the “Various crimes that occurred over the year” (“*Sene zarfında vuku‘agelen cerâim-i muhtelifi*”) from the 1919 volume of the Istanbul Statistics Journal<sup>3</sup> with some mistakes of the table corrected. For the mistakes and how they were corrected, see Chapter 2 of this thesis. Table A.23 is derived from Table A.22. The data for both Table A.22 and Table A.23 pertains to the *Rumi* year 1330, corresponding roughly to 1919 in the Gregorian calendar.

Table A.22: Distribution of crime in Istanbul over the *Rumi* year 1335

Category of Crime	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October ( <i>Tegrinievvel</i> )	November ( <i>Tegrinsânî</i> )	December ( <i>Kânuuevvel</i> )	January ( <i>Kânuusânî</i> )	February	Total
Arson	0	0	2	0	8	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	15
Assault	223	248	212	240	432	305	333	405	256	264	190	163	3271
Counterfeiting	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Disorderly Behaviour	317	276	268	193	517	424	442	478	423	405	369	248	4360
Fraud	46	61	28	4	1	0	4	0	1	1	34	68	248
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Kidnapping	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Murder	15	12	4	2	26	17	0	13	14	9	19	12	143
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	9	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	4	35
Pickpocketing	62	0	0	91	116	0	0	0	0	0	21	62	352
Rape	6	4	10	8	13	12	9	10	15	8	4	6	105
Theft	669	539	463	423	438	375	311	389	368	361	658	661	5655
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1352</b>	<b>1150</b>	<b>991</b>	<b>961</b>	<b>1552</b>	<b>1136</b>	<b>1099</b>	<b>1296</b>	<b>1078</b>	<b>1048</b>	<b>1309</b>	<b>1225</b>	<b>14197</b>

Table A.23: Percentage-wise distribution of crime in Istanbul over the *Rumi* year 1335

Category of Crime	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October ( <i>Tegrinievvel</i> )	November ( <i>Tegrinsânî</i> )	December ( <i>Kânuuevvel</i> )	January ( <i>Kânuusânî</i> )	February	Total
Arson	0.00%	0.00%	13.33%	0.00%	53.33%	20.00%	0.00%	6.67%	6.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Assault	6.82%	7.58%	6.48%	7.34%	13.21%	9.32%	10.18%	12.38%	7.83%	8.07%	5.81%	4.98%	100.00%
Counterfeiting	55.56%	0.00%	44.44%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	7.27%	6.33%	6.15%	4.43%	11.86%	9.72%	10.14%	10.96%	9.70%	9.29%	8.46%	5.69%	100.00%
Fraud	18.55%	24.60%	11.29%	1.61%	0.40%	0.00%	1.61%	0.00%	0.40%	0.40%	13.71%	27.42%	100.00%
Homicide	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Kidnapping	0.00%	66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	100.00%
Murder	10.49%	8.39%	2.80%	1.40%	18.18%	11.89%	0.00%	9.09%	9.79%	6.29%	13.29%	8.39%	100.00%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	25.71%	22.86%	0.00%	0.00%	2.86%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	37.14%	11.43%	100.00%
Pickpocketing	17.61%	0.00%	0.00%	25.85%	32.95%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.97%	17.61%	100.00%
Rape	5.71%	3.81%	9.52%	7.62%	12.38%	11.43%	8.57%	9.52%	14.29%	7.62%	3.81%	5.71%	100.00%
Theft	11.83%	9.53%	8.19%	7.48%	7.75%	6.63%	5.50%	6.88%	6.51%	6.38%	11.64%	11.69%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>9.52%</b>	<b>8.10%</b>	<b>6.98%</b>	<b>6.77%</b>	<b>10.93%</b>	<b>8.00%</b>	<b>7.74%</b>	<b>9.13%</b>	<b>7.59%</b>	<b>7.38%</b>	<b>9.22%</b>	<b>8.63%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

3. Sayın, “1919 Yılı İhsaiyat Mecmuası,” 210, 211.

## APPENDIX B: DATA FROM THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS

Unless otherwise stated, the data presented in Appendix B are from the crime news reports of *İkdam*, *Sabah*, and *Tanin* between 18 February 1909 and 13 April 1909, as stated in Chapter 3. When the Istanbul Statistics Journals are used, refer to Table A.1 in Appendix A for the classification of criminal activities.

Table B.1: Average word counts of different crime categories in newspapers

Category of the Crime	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Arson	22.00	0.00	0.00	22.00
Assault	38.47	41.54	49.35	42.47
Counterfeiting	49.25	95.50	50.00	62.57
Fraud	47.00	0.00	76.50	61.75
Manslaughter	67.50	0.00	55.00	63.33
Kidnapping	202.00	61.00	0.00	108.00
Murder	125.11	133.13	91.29	121.35
Pickpocketing	24.04	33.06	36.20	28.79
Poisoning	0.00	157.00	0.00	157.00
Rape	37.00	128.67	65.00	88.29
Robbery	45.88	50.71	57.83	49.54
Theft	31.90	33.76	40.39	35.06
Disorderly Behaviour	49.57	39.80	57.00	49.08
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>40.07</b>	<b>46.24</b>	<b>48.02</b>	<b>44.35</b>

Table B.2: Dates when the newspapers reported acts of reckless discharge of firearms, including accidental assault and homicide cases

Dates	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
18.02.1909	1	1	1	3
22.02.1909	1	1	0	2
2.03.1909	0	0	1	1
3.03.1909	0	0	1	1
6.03.1909	1	0	0	1
7.03.1909	0	1	0	1
20.03.1909	1	1	1	3
22.03.1909	1	0	0	1
23.03.1909	0	0	1	1
4.04.1909	1	1	0	2
5.04.1909	2	0	0	2
11.04.1909	2	2	0	4
12.04.1909	0	11	0	11
13.04.1909	9	3	2	14
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>47</b>

Figure B.1: Dates when the newspapers reported acts of reckless discharge of firearms, including accidental assault and homicide cases

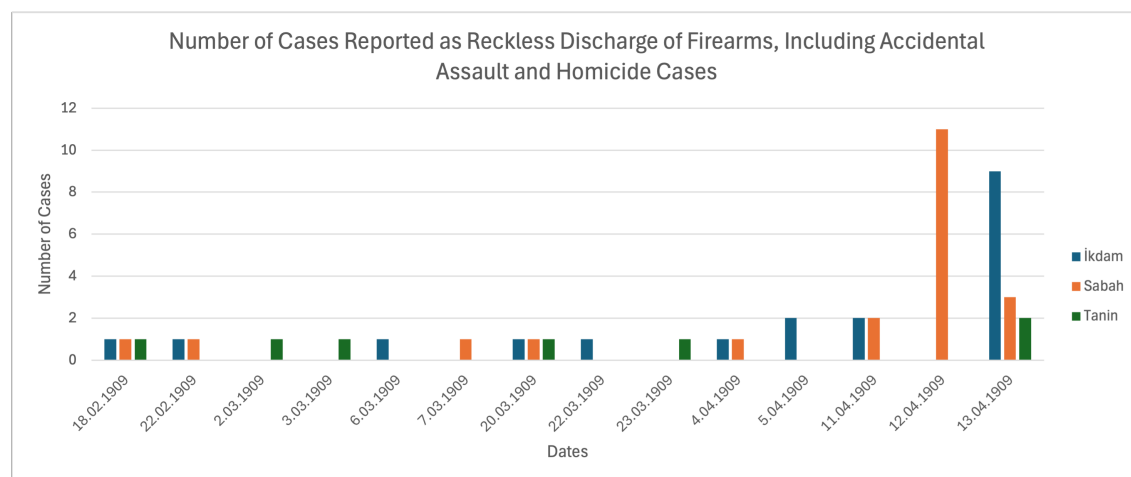


Table B.3: Number of cases in each newspapers for different categories

Category of Crime	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Assault	83	123	65	271
Theft	101	83	80	264
Robbery	34	21	12	67
Pickpocketing	24	18	5	47
Murder	9	15	7	31
Disorderly Behaviour	14	5	5	24
Rape	1	3	3	7
Counterfeiting	4	2	1	7
Fraud	2	0	2	4
Manslaughter	2	0	1	3
Kidnapping	1	2	0	3
Arson	1	0	0	1
Poisoning	0	1	0	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>730</b>

Tables B.4, B.5 and Figure B.2 use data from the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal.<sup>1</sup>

Table B.4: Percentages of cases in newspapers and the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal

Category of Crime	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers	1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal
Assault	30.07%	45.05%	35.91%	37.12%	29.83%
Theft	36.59%	30.40%	43.65%	36.03%	18.85%
Robbery	12.32%	7.69%	7.18%	9.32%	0.04%
Pickpocketing	8.70%	6.59%	2.76%	6.44%	3.13%
Murder	3.26%	5.49%	3.87%	4.25%	0.28%
Disorderly Behaviour	5.07%	1.83%	2.76%	3.29%	22.85%
Counterfeiting	1.45%	0.73%	0.55%	0.96%	0.43%
Rape	0.36%	1.10%	1.66%	0.96%	1.39%
Fraud	0.72%	0.00%	1.10%	0.55%	2.03%
Kidnapping	0.36%	0.73%	0.00%	0.41%	0.24%
Manslaughter	0.72%	0.00%	0.55%	0.41%	0.04%
Arson	0.36%	0.00%	0.00%	0.14%	0.07%
Poisoning	0.00%	0.37%	0.00%	0.14%	0.00%
Crimes Against the State	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.43%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	20.40%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

1. Bilmez et al., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1329/1913*, 216–49.

Table B.5: Number of cases and percentage of cases in the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal

Category of Crime	Number of Cases	Percentage of Cases
Assault	5512	29.83%
Disorderly Behaviour	4223	22.85%
Other Crimes and Misdemeanors	3770	20.40%
Theft	3484	18.85%
Pickpocketing	578	3.13%
Fraud	375	2.03%
Rape	256	1.39%
Counterfeiting	80	0.43%
Crimes Against the State	79	0.43%
Murder	51	0.28%
Homicide	44	0.24%
Arson	13	0.07%
Robbery	8	0.04%
Kidnapping	7	0.04%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18480</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Figure B.2: Percentage of cases in newspapers and the 1913 Istanbul Statistics Journal

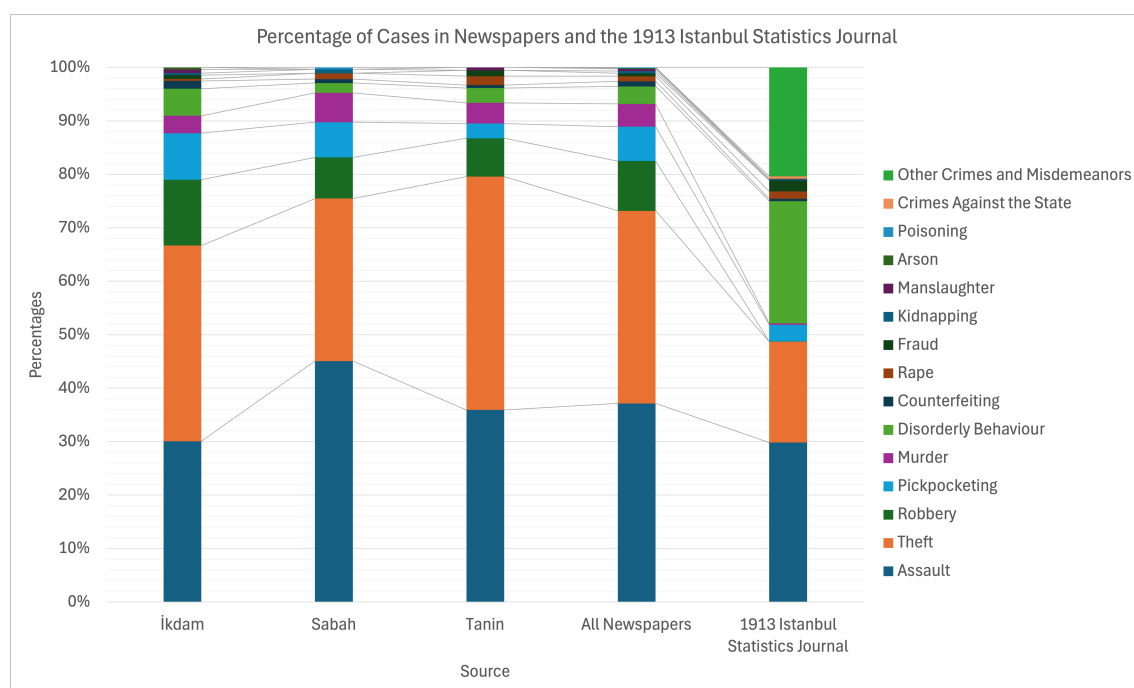


Table B.6: Professions of the offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 20 professions listed)

<b>Professions of the Offenders and their Crimes</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>365</b>
Arson	1	0	0	1
Assault	37	48	22	107
Counterfeiting	3	1	1	5
Fraud	1	0	1	2
Manslaughter	1	0	0	1
Kidnapping	0	1	0	1
Murder	4	6	4	14
Pickpocketing	10	9	3	22
Rape	0	1	1	2
Robbery	23	14	10	47
Theft	62	48	47	157
Disorderly Behaviour	2	2	2	6
<b>Multiple Offenders of Different Professions</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>
Assault	3	6	5	14
Fraud	1	0	0	1
Murder	0	1	0	1
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
Rape	0	1	1	2
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	1	2	4	7
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Vagabond</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>
Assault	1	3	3	7
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
Robbery	0	1	0	1
Theft	4	4	8	16
<b>Servant</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20</b>
Assault	2	3	1	6
Murder	0	1	0	1
Robbery	2	0	0	2
Theft	5	4	2	11
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18</b>
Assault	3	6	2	11
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	2	1	1	4
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Child</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>
Assault	0	4	2	6
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	2	3	1	6
Disorderly Behaviour	2	0	0	2
<b>Pickpocket</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>
Pickpocketing	10	1	2	13
Theft	1	0	0	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	1	2
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>
Assault	5	4	2	11
Murder	1	2	0	3
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
<b>Woman</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>
Assault	3	1	0	4
Murder	0	1	0	1
Poisoning	0	1	0	1
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	1	3	1	5
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	3	1	2	6
Manslaughter	1	0	1	2
Murder	0	1	0	1
Theft	1	0	1	2
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Porter</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	1	1	1	3
Theft	4	1	3	8
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Police</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	2	3	2	7
Rape	1	1	1	3
Robbery	0	1	0	1
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>
Assault	2	4	0	6

Continued on next page

Table B.6: Professions of the offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 20 professions listed) (continued)

<b>Profesions of the Offenders and their Crimes</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>All Newspapers</b>
Robbery	0	1	0	1
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	2	1	0	3
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	1	5	2	8
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
<b>Boatman</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	2	1	3	6
Murder	1	1	0	2
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Tobacco Smuggler</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
Assault	3	4	1	8
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Worker</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	1	2	2	5
Theft	0	1	0	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	1	0	2
<b>Army Officer</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	1	1	2	4
Robbery	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	2	1	0	3
<b>Student</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>
Assault	1	2	2	5
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Fireman</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>
Assault	0	4	2	6
Robbery	1	0	0	1



Table B.7: Professions of the identified offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 22 professions listed)

Professions of the Identified Offenders and their Crimes	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>166</b>
Assault	24	26	14	64
Counterfeiting	3	1	1	5
Fraud	1	0	1	2
Murder	3	5	4	12
Pickpocketing	4	4	1	9
Rape	0	1	1	2
Robbery	9	4	4	17
Theft	23	14	16	53
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	1	2
<b>Multiple Offenders of Different Professions</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>
Assault	3	6	5	14
Fraud	1	0	0	1
Murder	0	1	0	1
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
Rape	0	1	1	2
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	1	2	4	7
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Vagabond</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>
Assault	1	3	3	7
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
Robbery	0	1	0	1
Theft	4	4	8	16
<b>Servant</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>19</b>
Assault	2	3	1	6
Murder	0	1	0	1
Robbery	2	0	0	2
Theft	5	3	2	10
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18</b>
Assault	3	6	2	11
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	2	1	1	4
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Pickpocket</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>
Pickpocketing	10	1	2	13
Theft	1	0	0	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	1	2
<b>Child</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>
Assault	0	1	1	2
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	2	3	1	6
Disorderly Behaviour	2	0	0	2
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	3	1	2	6
Manslaughter	1	0	1	2
Murder	0	1	0	1
Theft	1	0	1	2
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>
Assault	2	4	0	6
Robbery	0	1	0	1
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	2	1	0	3
<b>Police</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>
Assault	2	3	2	7
Rape	1	1	1	3
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Porter</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>
Assault	1	1	1	3
Theft	4	1	2	7
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Woman</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	3	0	0	3
Poisoning	0	1	0	1
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	1	2	1	4
<b>Boatman</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	2	1	3	6
Murder	1	1	0	2
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>

Continued on next page

Table B.7: Professions of the identified offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 22 professions listed) (continued)

Profesions of the Identified Offenders and their Crimes	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Assault	1	5	1	7
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
Assault	3	2	1	6
Murder	1	1	0	2
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
<b>Worker</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	1	2	2	5
Theft	0	1	0	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	1	0	2
<b>Army Officer</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	1	1	2	4
Robbery	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	2	1	0	3
<b>Student</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>
Assault	1	2	2	5
Theft	0	0	1	1
Disorderly Behaviour	1	0	0	1
<b>Fireman</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>
Assault	0	4	2	6
Robbery	1	0	0	1
<b>Tobacco Smuggler</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
Assault	1	3	1	5
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Cart Driver</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Assault	0	1	1	2
Theft	2	0	2	4
<b>Sailor</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>
Assault	0	2	0	2
Theft	2	2	0	4
<b>Thief</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
Kidnapping	1	1	0	2
Theft	2	1	1	4

Table B.8: Professions of the unidentified offenders and their crimes

<b>Profesions of the Unidentified Offenders and their Crimes</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>All Newspapers</b>
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>199</b>
Arson	1	0	0	1
Assault	13	22	8	43
Manslaughter	1	0	0	1
Kidnapping	0	1	0	1
Murder	1	1	0	2
Pickpocketing	6	5	2	13
Robbery	14	10	6	30
Theft	39	34	31	104
Disorderly Behaviour	1	2	1	4
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
Assault	2	2	1	5
Murder	0	1	0	1
<b>Child</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>
Assault	0	3	1	4
<b>Tobacco Smuggler</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
Assault	2	1	0	3
<b>Woman</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
Assault	0	1	0	1
Murder	0	1	0	1
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Prostitue</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
Theft	1	1	0	2
<b>Porter</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Theft	0	0	1	1
<b>Watchman</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Theft	1	0	0	1
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Assault	0	0	1	1
<b>Servant</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Theft	0	1	0	1
<b>Newspaper Writer</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Robbery	1	0	0	1
<b>Police</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Robbery	0	1	0	1
<b>Roomkeeper</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Assault	0	0	1	1

Table B.9: Percentages of the professions of the offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 20 professions listed)

Professions of the Offenders and their Crimes	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>52.17%</b>	<b>47.62%</b>	<b>50.28%</b>	<b>50.00%</b>
Arson	0.69%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Assault	25.69%	36.92%	24.18%	29.32%
Counterfeiting	2.08%	0.77%	1.10%	1.37%
Fraud	0.69%	0.00%	1.10%	0.55%
Homicide	0.69%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Kidnapping	0.00%	0.77%	0.00%	0.27%
Murder	2.78%	4.62%	4.40%	3.84%
Pickpocketing	6.94%	6.92%	3.30%	6.03%
Rape	0.00%	0.77%	1.10%	0.55%
Robbery	15.97%	10.77%	10.99%	12.88%
Theft	43.06%	36.92%	51.65%	43.01%
Disorderly Behaviour	1.39%	1.54%	2.20%	1.64%
<b>Multiple Offenders of Different Professions</b>	<b>2.54%</b>	<b>4.03%</b>	<b>5.52%</b>	<b>3.84%</b>
Assault	42.86%	54.55%	50.00%	50.00%
Fraud	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	3.57%
Murder	0.00%	9.09%	0.00%	3.57%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	9.09%	0.00%	3.57%
Rape	0.00%	9.09%	10.00%	7.14%
Robbery	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	3.57%
Theft	14.29%	18.18%	40.00%	25.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	3.57%
<b>Vagabond</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>3.30%</b>	<b>6.08%</b>	<b>3.42%</b>
Assault	20.00%	33.33%	27.27%	28.00%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	11.11%	0.00%	4.00%
Robbery	0.00%	11.11%	0.00%	4.00%
Theft	80.00%	44.44%	72.73%	64.00%
<b>Servant</b>	<b>3.26%</b>	<b>2.93%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>2.74%</b>
Assault	22.22%	37.50%	33.33%	30.00%
Murder	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	5.00%
Robbery	22.22%	0.00%	0.00%	10.00%
Theft	55.56%	50.00%	66.67%	55.00%
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>2.93%</b>	<b>2.21%</b>	<b>2.47%</b>
Assault	50.00%	75.00%	50.00%	61.11%
Robbery	16.67%	12.50%	0.00%	11.11%
Theft	33.33%	12.50%	25.00%	22.22%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	5.56%
<b>Child</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>2.93%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>2.33%</b>
Assault	0.00%	50.00%	66.67%	35.29%
Pickpocketing	16.67%	12.50%	0.00%	11.76%
Robbery	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	5.88%
Theft	33.33%	37.50%	33.33%	35.29%
Disorderly Behaviour	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	11.76%
<b>Pickpocket</b>	<b>4.35%</b>	<b>0.37%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>
Pickpocketing	83.33%	100.00%	66.67%	81.25%
Theft	8.33%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%
Disorderly Behaviour	8.33%	0.00%	33.33%	12.50%
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>2.05%</b>
Assault	83.33%	57.14%	100.00%	73.33%
Murder	16.67%	28.57%	0.00%	20.00%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	6.67%
<b>Woman</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>	<b>1.78%</b>
Assault	60.00%	14.29%	0.00%	30.77%
Murder	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	7.69%
Poisoning	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	7.69%
Robbery	20.00%	14.29%	0.00%	15.38%
Theft	20.00%	42.86%	100.00%	38.46%
<b>Porter</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>0.73%</b>	<b>2.21%</b>	<b>1.64%</b>
Assault	16.67%	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%
Theft	66.67%	50.00%	75.00%	66.67%
Disorderly Behaviour	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	8.33%
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>0.73%</b>	<b>2.76%</b>	<b>1.64%</b>
Assault	60.00%	50.00%	40.00%	50.00%
Homicide	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%	16.67%
Murder	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	8.33%
Theft	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%	16.67%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	8.33%
<b>Police</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>2.20%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>1.64%</b>
Assault	66.67%	50.00%	66.67%	58.33%
Rape	33.33%	16.67%	33.33%	25.00%
Robbery	0.00%	16.67%	0.00%	8.33%
Theft	0.00%	16.67%	0.00%	8.33%
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>2.20%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>	<b>1.51%</b>
Assault	50.00%	66.67%	0.00%	54.55%

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Table B.9: Percentages of the professions of the offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 20 professions listed) (continued)

<b>Profesions of the Offenders and their Crimes</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>All Newspapers</b>
Robbery	0.00%	16.67%	0.00%	9.09%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	9.09%
Disorderly Behaviour	50.00%	16.67%	0.00%	27.27%
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>0.72%</b>	<b>2.20%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.37%</b>
Assault	50.00%	83.33%	100.00%	80.00%
Pickpocketing	50.00%	16.67%	0.00%	20.00%
<b>Boatman</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>0.73%</b>	<b>2.21%</b>	<b>1.37%</b>
Assault	50.00%	50.00%	75.00%	60.00%
Murder	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%	20.00%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	10.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	10.00%
<b>Tobacco Smuggler</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>1.83%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>	<b>1.23%</b>
Assault	100.00%	80.00%	100.00%	88.89%
Theft	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	11.11%
<b>Worker</b>	<b>0.72%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>
Assault	50.00%	50.00%	100.00%	62.50%
Theft	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%
Disorderly Behaviour	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%
<b>Army Officer</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>0.73%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>
Assault	33.33%	50.00%	66.67%	50.00%
Robbery	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	12.50%
Disorderly Behaviour	66.67%	50.00%	0.00%	37.50%
<b>Student</b>	<b>0.72%</b>	<b>0.73%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>0.96%</b>
Assault	50.00%	100.00%	66.67%	71.43%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	14.29%
Disorderly Behaviour	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%
<b>Fireman</b>	<b>0.36%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>0.96%</b>
Assault	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%	85.71%
Robbery	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%

Table B.10: Percentages of the professions of the identified offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 22 professions listed)

Professions of the Identified Offenders and their Crimes	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>35.23%</b>	<b>29.73%</b>	<b>33.59%</b>	<b>32.81%</b>
Assault	12.44%	14.05%	10.94%	12.65%
Counterfeiting	1.55%	0.54%	0.78%	0.99%
Fraud	0.52%	0.00%	0.78%	0.40%
Murder	1.55%	2.70%	3.13%	2.37%
Pickpocketing	2.07%	2.16%	0.78%	1.78%
Rape	0.00%	0.54%	0.78%	0.40%
Robbery	4.66%	2.16%	3.13%	3.36%
Theft	11.92%	7.57%	12.50%	10.47%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.78%	0.40%
<b>Multiple Offenders of Different Professions</b>	<b>3.63%</b>	<b>5.95%</b>	<b>7.81%</b>	<b>5.53%</b>
Assault	1.55%	3.24%	3.91%	2.77%
Fraud	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Murder	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Rape	0.00%	0.54%	0.78%	0.40%
Robbery	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Theft	0.52%	1.08%	3.13%	1.38%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Vagabond</b>	<b>2.59%</b>	<b>4.86%</b>	<b>8.59%</b>	<b>4.94%</b>
Assault	0.52%	1.62%	2.34%	1.38%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Robbery	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Theft	2.07%	2.16%	6.25%	3.16%
<b>Servant</b>	<b>4.66%</b>	<b>3.78%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>3.75%</b>
Assault	1.04%	1.62%	0.78%	1.19%
Murder	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Robbery	1.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%
Theft	2.59%	1.62%	1.56%	1.98%
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>3.11%</b>	<b>4.32%</b>	<b>3.13%</b>	<b>3.56%</b>
Assault	1.55%	3.24%	1.56%	2.17%
Robbery	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
Theft	1.04%	0.54%	0.78%	0.79%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
<b>Pickpocket</b>	<b>6.22%</b>	<b>0.54%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>3.16%</b>
Pickpocketing	5.18%	0.54%	1.56%	2.57%
Theft	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.78%	0.40%
<b>Child</b>	<b>3.11%</b>	<b>2.70%</b>	<b>1.56%</b>	<b>2.57%</b>
Assault	0.00%	0.54%	0.78%	0.40%
Pickpocketing	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
Robbery	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Theft	1.04%	1.62%	0.78%	1.19%
Disorderly Behaviour	1.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>2.59%</b>	<b>1.08%</b>	<b>3.91%</b>	<b>2.37%</b>
Assault	1.55%	0.54%	1.56%	1.19%
Homicide	0.52%	0.00%	0.78%	0.40%
Murder	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Theft	0.52%	0.00%	0.78%	0.40%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
<b>Porter</b>	<b>3.11%</b>	<b>1.08%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>2.17%</b>
Assault	0.52%	0.54%	0.78%	0.59%
Theft	2.07%	0.54%	1.56%	1.38%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Police</b>	<b>1.55%</b>	<b>2.70%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>2.17%</b>
Assault	1.04%	1.62%	1.56%	1.38%
Rape	0.52%	0.54%	0.78%	0.59%
Theft	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>2.07%</b>	<b>3.24%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>2.17%</b>
Assault	1.04%	2.16%	0.00%	1.19%
Robbery	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	1.04%	0.54%	0.00%	0.59%
<b>Boatman</b>	<b>2.07%</b>	<b>1.08%</b>	<b>3.13%</b>	<b>1.98%</b>
Assault	1.04%	0.54%	2.34%	1.19%
Murder	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Woman</b>	<b>2.59%</b>	<b>2.16%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>1.98%</b>
Assault	1.55%	0.00%	0.00%	0.59%
Poisoning	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Robbery	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
Theft	0.52%	1.08%	0.78%	0.79%
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>2.07%</b>	<b>2.16%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>1.78%</b>

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Table B.10: Percentages of the professions of the identified offenders and their crimes (only the most frequent 22 professions listed) (continued)

<b>Profesions of the Identified Offenders and their Crimes</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>All Newspapers</b>
Assault	1.55%	1.08%	0.78%	1.19%
Murder	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>1.04%</b>	<b>3.24%</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>1.78%</b>
Assault	0.52%	2.70%	0.78%	1.38%
Pickpocketing	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
<b>Worker</b>	<b>1.04%</b>	<b>2.16%</b>	<b>1.56%</b>	<b>1.58%</b>
Assault	0.52%	1.08%	1.56%	0.99%
Theft	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.54%	0.00%	0.40%
<b>Army Officer</b>	<b>1.55%</b>	<b>1.08%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>1.58%</b>
Assault	0.52%	0.54%	1.56%	0.79%
Robbery	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	1.04%	0.54%	0.00%	0.59%
<b>Student</b>	<b>1.04%</b>	<b>1.08%</b>	<b>2.34%</b>	<b>1.38%</b>
Assault	0.52%	1.08%	1.56%	0.99%
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	0.78%	0.20%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
<b>Fireman</b>	<b>0.52%</b>	<b>2.16%</b>	<b>1.56%</b>	<b>1.38%</b>
Assault	0.00%	2.16%	1.56%	1.19%
Robbery	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%

Table B.11: Percentages of the professions of the unidentified offenders and their crimes

Profesions of the Unidentified Offenders and their Crimes	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>91.57%</b>	<b>85.23%</b>	<b>90.57%</b>	<b>88.84%</b>
Arson	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.45%
Assault	15.66%	25.00%	15.09%	19.20%
Homicide	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.45%
Kidnapping	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
Murder	1.20%	1.14%	0.00%	0.89%
Pickpocketing	7.23%	5.68%	3.77%	5.80%
Robbery	16.87%	11.36%	11.32%	13.39%
Theft	46.99%	38.64%	58.49%	46.43%
Disorderly Behaviour	1.20%	2.27%	1.89%	1.79%
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>2.41%</b>	<b>3.41%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>2.68%</b>
Assault	2.41%	2.27%	1.89%	2.23%
Murder	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Child</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>3.41%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>1.79%</b>
Assault	0.00%	3.41%	1.89%	1.79%
<b>Tobacco Smuggler</b>	<b>2.41%</b>	<b>1.14%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.34%</b>
Assault	2.41%	1.14%	0.00%	1.34%
<b>Woman</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>3.41%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.34%</b>
Assault	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
Murder	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
Theft	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Prostitute</b>	<b>1.20%</b>	<b>1.14%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.89%</b>
Theft	1.20%	1.14%	0.00%	0.89%
<b>Porter</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Theft	0.00%	0.00%	1.89%	0.45%
<b>Watchman</b>	<b>1.20%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Theft	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Fisherman</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Assault	0.00%	0.00%	1.89%	0.45%
<b>Servant</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.14%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Theft	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Newspaper Writer</b>	<b>1.20%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Robbery	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Police</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.14%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Robbery	0.00%	1.14%	0.00%	0.45%
<b>Roomkeeper</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>
Assault	0.00%	0.00%	1.89%	0.45%



Table B.12: Professions of the victims and the crimes committed against them (only the most frequent 20 professions listed)

Professions of the Victims and the Crimes Committed Against Them	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>135</b>
Assault	19	19	13	51
Counterfeiting	2	1	1	4
Murder	5	7	4	16
Pickpocketing	4	3	0	7
Poisoning	1	0	0	1
Rape	1	0	0	1
Robbery	5	5	3	13
Theft	20	11	10	41
Disorderly Behaviour	0	1	0	1
<b>Woman</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>61</b>
Assault	8	9	2	19
Manslaughter	1	0	0	1
Murder	1	0	0	1
Pickpocketing	5	3	0	8
Rape	1	2	2	5
Robbery	4	2	0	6
Theft	7	4	7	18
Disorderly Behaviour	2	1	0	3
<b>NA</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>41</b>
Assault	1	0	0	1
Counterfeiting	1	0	0	1
Pickpocketing	0	0	1	1
Theft	10	7	8	25
Disorderly Behaviour	9	2	2	13
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>31</b>
Assault	2	1	1	4
Counterfeiting	1	1	0	2
Fraud	1	1	0	2
Manslaughter	1	0	0	1
Murder	1	0	0	1
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
Robbery	4	1	0	5
Theft	6	2	6	14
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>24</b>
Assault	4	2	5	11
Murder	1	0	0	1
Pickpocketing	1	2	1	4
Robbery	1	1	1	3
Theft	2	2	0	4
Disorderly Behaviour	0	1	0	1
<b>Army Official</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>
Arson	1	0	0	1
Assault	4	2	1	7
Pickpocketing	1	0	0	1
Theft	4	5	1	10
<b>Child</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>
Assault	2	7	3	12
Kidnapping	1	2	0	3
Rape	0	1	0	1
<b>Police</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>16</b>
Assault	3	5	3	11
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	0	2	2	4
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>16</b>
Assault	4	4	2	10
Murder	1	0	0	1
Theft	1	2	1	4
Disorderly Behaviour	0	1	0	1
<b>Official</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>
Assault	1	2	2	5
Robbery	2	0	0	2
Theft	1	3	4	8
<b>Student</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>
Assault	2	1	3	6
Pickpocketing	2	0	0	2
Robbery	2	1	0	3
Theft	1	2	0	3
<b>Merchant</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>
Assault	1	1	1	3
Theft	5	4	1	10
<b>Carpenter</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	2	2	1	5

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Table B.12: Professions of the victims and the crimes committed against them (only the most frequent 20 professions listed) (continued)

Professions of the Victims and the Crimes Committed Against Them	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Manslaughter	1	0	0	1
Murder	1	0	0	1
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	1	0	1	2
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>
Assault	2	5	1	8
Murder	1	1	0	2
Pickpocketing	0	1	0	1
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Porter</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>
Pickpocketing	0	0	1	1
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	2	3	2	7
Disorderly Behaviour	0	0	1	1
<b>Multiple Victims of Different Professions</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	5	4	1	10
<b>Moneychanger</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>
Assault	1	0	0	1
Pickpocketing	1	1	0	2
Theft	2	3	2	7
<b>Servant</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>
Assault	1	0	1	2
Pickpocketing	1	0	0	1
Robbery	1	1	0	2
Theft	3	0	1	4
<b>Tailor</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>
Assault	1	3	3	7
Theft	1	1	0	2
<b>Labourer</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	0	1	0	1
Pickpocketing	1	0	0	1
Robbery	1	1	1	3
Theft	0	2	1	3
<b>Cart Driver</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>
Assault	1	1	0	2
Robbery	1	0	0	1
Theft	2	2	1	5

Table B.13: Percentages of the professions of the victims and the crimes committed against them (only the most frequent 20 professions listed)

Professions of the Victims and the Crimes Committed Against Them	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
<b>Unspecified</b>	<b>19.93%</b>	<b>17.58%</b>	<b>17.68%</b>	<b>18.49%</b>
Assault	34.55%	39.58%	40.63%	37.78%
Counterfeiting	3.64%	2.08%	3.13%	2.96%
Murder	9.09%	14.58%	12.50%	11.85%
Pickpocketing	7.27%	6.25%	0.00%	5.19%
Poisoning	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.74%
Rape	0.00%	0.00%	3.13%	0.74%
Robbery	9.09%	10.42%	9.38%	9.63%
Theft	36.36%	22.92%	31.25%	30.37%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.74%
<b>Woman</b>	<b>10.14%</b>	<b>8.06%</b>	<b>6.08%</b>	<b>8.36%</b>
Assault	28.57%	40.91%	18.18%	31.15%
Homicide	3.57%	0.00%	0.00%	1.64%
Murder	0.00%	4.55%	0.00%	1.64%
Pickpocketing	17.86%	13.64%	0.00%	13.11%
Rape	3.57%	9.09%	18.18%	8.20%
Robbery	14.29%	9.09%	0.00%	9.84%
Theft	25.00%	18.18%	63.64%	29.51%
Disorderly Behaviour	7.14%	4.55%	0.00%	4.92%
<b>non-applicable</b>	<b>7.61%</b>	<b>3.30%</b>	<b>6.08%</b>	<b>5.62%</b>
Assault	0.00%	0.00%	9.09%	2.44%
Counterfeiting	4.76%	0.00%	0.00%	2.44%
Pickpocketing	4.76%	0.00%	0.00%	2.44%
Theft	47.62%	77.78%	72.73%	60.98%
Disorderly Behaviour	42.86%	22.22%	18.18%	31.71%
<b>Grocer</b>	<b>5.43%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>4.97%</b>	<b>4.25%</b>
Assault	13.33%	14.29%	11.11%	12.90%
Counterfeiting	6.67%	14.29%	0.00%	6.45%
Fraud	6.67%	0.00%	11.11%	6.45%
Homicide	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%	3.23%
Murder	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	3.23%
Pickpocketing	6.67%	14.29%	0.00%	6.45%
Robbery	26.67%	14.29%	0.00%	16.13%
Theft	40.00%	28.57%	66.67%	45.16%
<b>Clerk</b>	<b>3.26%</b>	<b>2.93%</b>	<b>3.87%</b>	<b>3.29%</b>
Assault	44.44%	25.00%	71.43%	45.83%
Murder	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	4.17%
Pickpocketing	11.11%	25.00%	14.29%	16.67%
Robbery	11.11%	12.50%	14.29%	12.50%
Theft	22.22%	25.00%	0.00%	16.67%
Disorderly Behaviour	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%
<b>Army Official</b>	<b>3.62%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>2.60%</b>
Arson	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.26%
Assault	40.00%	28.57%	50.00%	36.84%
Pickpocketing	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.26%
Theft	40.00%	71.43%	50.00%	52.63%
<b>Police</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>2.76%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>
Assault	75.00%	71.43%	60.00%	68.75%
Robbery	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%
Theft	0.00%	28.57%	40.00%	25.00%
<b>Child</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>3.66%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>
Assault	66.67%	70.00%	100.00%	75.00%
Kidnapping	33.33%	20.00%	0.00%	18.75%
Rape	0.00%	10.00%	0.00%	6.25%
<b>Coffee-house Keeper</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>2.21%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>
Assault	80.00%	57.14%	50.00%	62.50%
Murder	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	6.25%
Theft	20.00%	28.57%	25.00%	25.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	6.25%
<b>Official</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>1.83%</b>	<b>3.31%</b>	<b>2.05%</b>
Assault	25.00%	40.00%	33.33%	33.33%
Robbery	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	13.33%
Theft	25.00%	60.00%	66.67%	53.33%
<b>Student</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>2.76%</b>	<b>1.92%</b>
Assault	40.00%	25.00%	60.00%	42.86%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	14.29%
Robbery	40.00%	25.00%	0.00%	21.43%
Theft	20.00%	0.00%	40.00%	21.43%
<b>Merchant</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>1.83%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.78%</b>
Assault	16.67%	20.00%	50.00%	23.08%
Theft	83.33%	80.00%	50.00%	76.92%
<b>Carpenter</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>1.64%</b>
Assault	33.33%	66.67%	33.33%	41.67%

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Table B.13: Percentages of the professions of the victims and the crimes committed against them (only the most frequent 20 professions listed) (continued)

<b>Professions of the Victims and the Crimes Committed Against Them</b>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>All Newspapers</b>
Homicide	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	8.33%
Murder	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	8.33%
Robbery	16.67%	0.00%	33.33%	16.67%
Theft	16.67%	33.33%	0.00%	16.67%
Disorderly Behaviour	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	8.33%
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>2.56%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.64%</b>
Assault	66.67%	71.43%	50.00%	66.67%
Murder	33.33%	14.29%	0.00%	16.67%
Pickpocketing	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	8.33%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	8.33%
<b>Porter</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>2.21%</b>	<b>1.51%</b>
Pickpocketing	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	9.09%
Robbery	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	18.18%
Theft	66.67%	75.00%	50.00%	63.64%
Disorderly Behaviour	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	9.09%
<b>Multiple Victims of Different Professions</b>	<b>1.81%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>	<b>1.37%</b>
Assault	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Moneychanger</b>	<b>1.09%</b>	<b>1.83%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.37%</b>
Assault	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	10.00%
Pickpocketing	33.33%	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%
Theft	66.67%	60.00%	100.00%	70.00%
<b>Tailor</b>	<b>0.72%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	<b>1.66%</b>	<b>1.23%</b>
Assault	50.00%	75.00%	100.00%	77.78%
Theft	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%	22.22%
<b>Servant</b>	<b>2.17%</b>	<b>0.37%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>1.23%</b>
Assault	16.67%	100.00%	0.00%	22.22%
Pickpocketing	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%
Robbery	16.67%	0.00%	50.00%	22.22%
Theft	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	44.44%
<b>Cart Driver</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>	<b>1.10%</b>
Assault	25.00%	33.33%	0.00%	25.00%
Robbery	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%
Theft	50.00%	66.67%	100.00%	62.50%

Table B.14: Number of criminal acts according to the *millet* of the offenders

<i>Millet</i> Origin	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	Grand Total
Muslim	110	114	83	307
Unidentified	79	81	50	210
Rum	44	36	27	107
non-Muslim	14	16	4	34
Armenian	11	13	6	30
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	6	6	3	15
Citizen of Greece	5	4	4	13
Kipti	2	2	1	5
Jewish	2	1	1	4
Iranian	1		2	3
Westerner	2			2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>730</b>

Table B.15: Percentages of offenders from a specific *millet* among all the newspaper reports in the newspapers

<i>Millet</i> Origin	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	Grand Total
Muslim	39.86%	41.76%	45.86%	42.05%
Unidentified	28.62%	29.67%	27.62%	28.77%
Rum	15.94%	13.19%	14.92%	14.66%
non-Muslim	5.07%	5.86%	2.21%	4.66%
Armenian	3.99%	4.76%	3.31%	4.11%
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	2.17%	2.20%	1.66%	2.05%
Citizen of Greece	1.81%	1.47%	2.21%	1.78%
Kipti	0.72%	0.73%	0.55%	0.68%
Jewish	0.72%	0.37%	0.55%	0.55%
Iranian	0.36%	0.00%	1.10%	0.41%
Westerner	0.72%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table B.16: Number of criminal acts according to the *millet* of the offenders (excluding unidentified offenders)

<b>Millet Origin</b>	<b><i>İkdam</i></b>	<b><i>Sabah</i></b>	<b><i>Tanin</i></b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	107	110	82	299
Rum	43	34	26	103
non-Muslim	14	16	4	34
Armenian	11	12	6	29
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	6	6	3	15
Citizen of Greece	5	4	3	12
Kipti	2	2	1	5
Jewish	2	1	1	4
Iranian	1		2	3
Westerner	2			2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>506</b>

Table B.17: Percentages of offenders from a specific *millet* among all the newspapers (excluding unidentified offenders)

<b>Millet Origin</b>	<b><i>İkdam</i></b>	<b><i>Sabah</i></b>	<b><i>Tanin</i></b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	55.44%	59.46%	64.06%	59.09%
Rum	22.28%	18.38%	20.31%	20.36%
non-Muslim	7.25%	8.65%	3.13%	6.72%
Armenian	5.70%	6.49%	4.69%	5.73%
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	3.11%	3.24%	2.34%	2.96%
Citizen of Greece	2.59%	2.16%	2.34%	2.37%
Kipti	1.04%	1.08%	0.78%	0.99%
Jewish	1.04%	0.54%	0.78%	0.79%
Iranian	0.52%	0.00%	1.56%	0.59%
Westerner	1.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table B.18: *Millets* of the victims and the crimes committed against them

<i>Millet Origin</i>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	122	147	101	370
Rum	54	50	32	136
non-Muslim	22	17	7	46
Unidentified	17	16	9	42
non-applicable	21	9	11	41
Armenian	14	13	7	34
Jewish	10	8	4	22
Westerner	8	4	3	15
Iranian	4	5	3	12
Citizen of Greece	1	3	3	7
Multiple Victims of Different Origins	2	1		3
Kıpti	1	1		2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>730</b>

Table B.19: Percentages of the *millets* of the victims and the crimes committed against them

<i>Millet Origin</i>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	44.20%	53.85%	55.80%	50.68%
Rum	19.57%	18.32%	17.68%	18.63%
non-Muslim	7.97%	6.23%	3.87%	6.30%
Unidentified	6.16%	5.86%	4.97%	5.75%
non-applicable	7.61%	3.30%	6.08%	5.62%
Armenian	5.07%	4.76%	3.87%	4.66%
Jewish	3.62%	2.93%	2.21%	3.01%
Westerner	2.90%	1.47%	1.66%	2.05%
Iranian	1.45%	1.83%	1.66%	1.64%
Citizen of Greece	0.36%	1.10%	1.66%	0.96%
Multiple Victims of Different Origins	0.72%	0.00%	0.55%	0.41%
Kıpti	0.36%	0.37%	0.00%	0.27%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table B.20: *Millets* of the identified victims and the crimes committed against them

<i>Millet Origin</i>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	122	147	101	370
Rum	54	50	32	136
non-Muslim	22	17	7	46
Armenian	14	13	7	34
Jewish	10	8	4	22
Westerner	8	4	3	15
Iranian	4	5	3	12
Citizen of Greece	1	3	3	7
Multiple Victims of Different Origins	2	1		3
Kıpti	1	1		2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>647</b>

Table B.21: Percentages of the *millets* of the identified victims and the crimes committed against them

<i>Millet Origin</i>	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Muslim	51.26%	59.27%	62.73%	57.19%
Rum	22.69%	20.16%	19.88%	21.02%
non-Muslim	9.24%	6.85%	4.35%	7.11%
Armenian	5.88%	5.24%	4.35%	5.26%
Jewish	4.20%	3.23%	2.48%	3.40%
Westerner	3.36%	1.61%	1.86%	2.32%
Iranian	1.68%	2.02%	1.86%	1.85%
Citizen of Greece	0.42%	1.21%	1.86%	1.08%
Multiple Victims of Different Origins	0.84%	0.00%	0.62%	0.46%
Kıpti	0.42%	0.40%	0.00%	0.31%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>



Table B.22: Hometowns of the offenders (only hometowns with 3 or more entries listed)

Hometowns of the Offenders	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Unspecified	210	234	133	577
Astane	4	2	5	11
Yunanlı	5	3	3	11
Trabzon	3	3	2	8
Rize	2	1	3	6
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	2		4	6
Kastamonu	2	1	2	5
Bursa	1		3	4
Albanian	2		2	4
Sakız	2	1	1	4
Tatar	1	2	1	4
Tekfurdağı	2		1	3
İran	1		2	3
Ankara	2		1	3
Kemah	1		2	3
Debre	1	1	1	3
Niğde	2		1	3
Kipti	2		1	3
Kartal	1	1	1	3

Table B.23: Percentages of the hometowns of the offenders (only hometowns with 3 or more entries listed)

Hometowns of the Offenders	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Unspecified	76.09%	85.71%	73.48%	79.04%
Astane	1.45%	0.73%	2.76%	1.51%
Yunanlı	1.81%	1.10%	1.66%	1.51%
Trabzon	1.09%	1.10%	1.10%	1.10%
Rize	0.72%	0.37%	1.66%	0.82%
Multiple Perpetrators of Different Origins	0.72%	0.00%	2.21%	0.82%
Kastamonu	0.72%	0.37%	1.10%	0.68%
Bursa	0.36%	0.00%	1.66%	0.55%
Albanian	0.72%	0.73%	0.00%	0.55%
Sakız	0.72%	0.37%	0.55%	0.55%
Tatar	0.36%	0.73%	0.55%	0.55%
Tekfurdağı	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
İran	0.36%	0.00%	1.10%	0.41%
Ankara	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
Kemah	0.36%	0.00%	1.10%	0.41%
Debre	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Niğde	0.72%	0.00%	0.55%	0.41%
Kipti	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
Kartal	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%

Table B.24: Hometowns of the victims (only hometowns with 3 or more entries listed)

Hometowns of the Victims	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Unspecified	210	220	126	556
non-applicable	21	9	11	41
İran	4	5	3	12
<i>Yunanlı</i>	1	2	3	6
Eğin	2	3	1	6
Albanian	2	2	1	5
Astane	1	2	2	5
Bursa	3	1		4
Sürmene	1	1	1	3
Siirt	2	1		3
Selanik	2	1		3
Erzurum	1	1	1	3
Safranbolu	1	1	1	3
İşkodra	2	1		3
Niğde	1	2		3
Harpur	1	2		3
Nevşehir	1	1	1	3
Şiro	1	1	1	3
Kürt	1	1	1	3
Tatar	1	1	1	3

Table B.25: Percentages of the hometowns of the victims (only hometowns with 3 or more entries listed)

Hometowns of the Victims	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Unspecified	76.09%	80.59%	69.61%	76.16%
non-applicable	7.61%	3.30%	6.08%	5.62%
İran	1.45%	1.83%	1.66%	1.64%
<i>Yunanlı</i>	0.36%	0.73%	1.66%	0.82%
Eğin	0.72%	1.10%	0.55%	0.82%
Albanian	0.72%	0.73%	0.55%	0.68%
Astane	0.36%	0.73%	1.10%	0.68%
Bursa	0.00%	1.10%	0.55%	0.55%
Sürmene	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Siirt	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
Selanik	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
Erzurum	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Safranbolu	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
İşkodra	0.72%	0.37%	0.00%	0.41%
Niğde	0.00%	0.37%	1.10%	0.41%
Harpur	0.36%	0.00%	1.10%	0.41%
Nevşehir	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Şiro	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Kürt	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%
Tatar	0.36%	0.37%	0.55%	0.41%

Table B.26: Last known custodial status of the offenders

Last Known Custodial Status of the Offender	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Detained	122	109	94	325
Not Detained	98	95	61	254
Unspecified	49	62	15	126
Court News	4	3	9	16
Multiple Offenders of Differing Statuses	3	4	2	9
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>730</b>

Table B.27: Percentanges of the last known custodial status of the offenders

Last Known Custodial Status of the Offender	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Detained	44.20%	39.93%	51.93%	44.52%
Not Detained	35.51%	34.80%	33.70%	34.79%
Unspecified	17.75%	22.71%	8.29%	17.26%
Court News	1.45%	1.10%	4.97%	2.19%
Multiple Offenders of Differing Statuses	1.09%	1.47%	1.10%	1.23%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table B.28: Location of the crime

Location of the Crime	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers
Beyoğlu	159	136	55	350
Istanbul	71	101	85	257
Unspecified	21	26	24	71
Üsküdar	24	7	15	46
Galata Bridge	1	3	2	6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>730</b>

Table B.29: Percentages of the locations of crime

Location of the Crime	<i>İkdam</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Tanin</i>	All Newspapers	Population Percentage of the District According to the 1906 Census <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of Criminal Cases According to the 1914 Istanbul Statistics Journal <sup>2</sup>
Beyoğlu	57.61%	49.82%	30.39%	47.95%	48.15%	42.86%
Istanbul	25.72%	37.00%	46.96%	35.21%	38.41%	40.17%
Unspecified	7.61%	9.52%	13.26%	9.73%	-	-
Üsküdar	8.70%	2.56%	8.29%	6.30%	13.44%	16.97%
Galata Bridge	0.36%	1.10%	1.10%	0.82%	-	-
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> Using data from Bülent Bilmez et al., eds., *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası 1330/1914* (Istanbul: İBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2023), 246–49. This data pertains to the Rumi year 1330, corresponding roughly to 1914 in the Gregorian calendar.

Table B.30: Number of each criminal act in different locations according to news reports from all Newspapers

Category of Crime	Beyoğlu	Istanbul	Unspecified	Üsküdar	Galata Bridge	Grand Total
Assault	114	111	36	7	3	271
Theft	135	84	12	33		264
Robbery	33	26	3	4	1	67
Pickpocketing	33	6	5	1	2	47
Murder	6	14	11			31
Disorderly Behaviour	14	6	4			24
Rape	3	4				7
Counterfeiting	6			1		7
Fraud	1	3				4
Homicide	1	2				3
Kidnapping	3					3
Arson	1					1
Poisoning		1				1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>730</b>

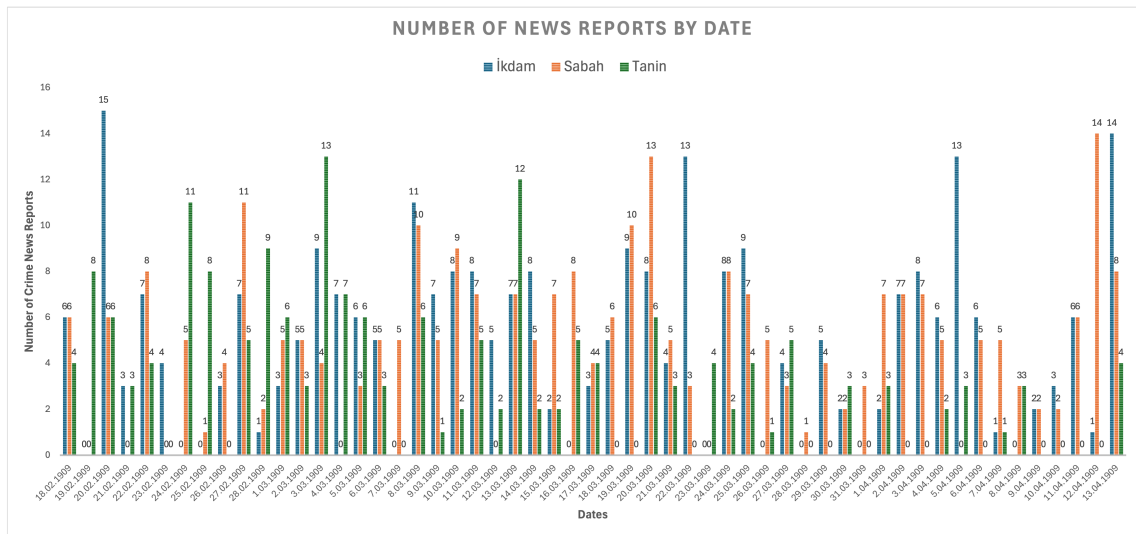
Table B.31: Percentages of each criminal act in different locations according to news reports from all newspapers

Category of Crime	Beyoğlu	Istanbul	Unspecified	Üsküdar	Galata Bridge	Grand Total
Assault	42.07%	40.96%	13.28%	2.58%	1.11%	100.00%
Theft	51.14%	31.82%	4.55%	12.50%	0.00%	100.00%
Robbery	49.25%	38.81%	4.48%	5.97%	1.49%	100.00%
Pickpocketing	70.21%	12.77%	10.64%	2.13%	4.26%	100.00%
Murder	19.35%	45.16%	35.48%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Disorderly Behaviour	58.33%	25.00%	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Rape	42.86%	57.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Counterfeiting	85.71%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	100.00%
Fraud	25.00%	75.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Homicide	33.33%	66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Kidnapping	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Arson	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Poisoning	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>47.95%</b>	<b>35.21%</b>	<b>9.73%</b>	<b>6.30%</b>	<b>0.82%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table B.32: Crime scenes from all newspapers (only locations with more than 5 entries are listed)

Crime Scene	Assault	Theft	Robbery	Pickpocketing	Murder	Disorderly Behaviour	Counterfeiting	Rape	Fraud	Kidnapping	Manslaughter	Arson	Poisoning	Grand Total
Outdoors	95	6	49	27	9	12	6	1		2				207
Home	25	79	10		3	3		6			1	1	1	129
Shop	4	79			3	1	1		4		2			94
Unspecified	65	10		5	8	3								91
Coffee-house	20	3			1	1			1					26
Tavern	20	1	3	1										25
Bachelor Room	3	21												24
Docks	4	7	1	10	2									24
Brothel	14	3	1	1		1								20
Inn	5	10				1								16
Mosque		12												12
Barn		10			2									12
Casino	5	1			1									7
Hotel		5	2											7
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>694</b>

Figure B.3: Number of crime news reports by date



## APPENDIX C: POPULATION FIGURES

Table C.1 shows the number of people belonging to different religions or nationalities living in different districts of greater Istanbul, or in Istanbul proper (Bayezid, Fatih, and Cerrahpaşa districts), Beyoğlu (Beşiktaş, Yeniköy, Beyoğlu, and Büyükdere districts), Üsküdar (Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi, Üsküdar, and Kadıköy districts) or in greater Istanbul as a whole.

Table C.1 is reproduced from Karpas, *Ottoman population, 1830-1914*, 162, 163. Karpas cites the original source as İstanbul Üniversitesi Kitaplığı Türkçe Yazmalar 947, “*Memalik-i Osmaniyyede Dehil-i Tahrir Olan Nüfusun İcmaii*” (The summary of Ottoman population included in the census). The last three rows and the district numbers are my addition. I have also divided all of the tables into two and placed them in landscape orientation so that they fit within the page layout.

Tables C.2, C.3, and C.4 are derived from Table C.1.

Table C.2 shows where members of each religion/nationality reside. To give an example, 8.63% of Muslim females live in Beşiktaş district.

Table C.3 shows the religious/national distribution of each district. To give an example, 44.53% of all females living in Beşiktaş district are Muslim.

The Grand Total rows of both Table C.2 and Table C.3 show the overall population percentage of each religion/nationality.

Table C.4 shows the religious population distribution of Istanbul excluding non-Ottoman subjects.

Table C.1: Population figures by district and religion/nationality according to the 1906 census

District		Total			Muslims			Greeks			Armenians			Bulgarians			Greek Catholics			Armenian Catholics		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	81459	48268	129727	57680	32809	90489	13771	7625	21396	6405	6168	12573	542	99	641	11	13	24	46	31	77
2	Fatih	43527	37321	80848	25710	22281	47991	9687	7410	17097	1156	1060	2216	138	29	167	2	3	5	150	153	303
3	Cerrahpaşa	47245	42663	89908	34679	32197	66876	7182	5731	12913	4012	4004	8016	386	84	470	0	0	0	12	12	24
4	Beşiktaş	39935	30672	70607	16797	13658	30455	12433	8789	21222	4838	3717	8555	171	50	221	0	0	0	491	515	1006
5	Yeniköy	6070	5265	11335	2393	2118	4511	2671	2349	5020	474	474	948	8	1	9	0	0	0	27	12	39
6	Beyoğlu	188054	93183	281237	39468	23867	63335	32660	22354	55014	7044	7206	14250	899	240	1139	141	117	258	3726	3536	7262
7	Büyükdere	7786	5680	13466	3335	2025	5360	3309	2828	6137	359	381	740	17	14	31	0	0	0	11	12	23
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	9089	7060	16149	5956	4829	10785	2402	1590	3992	216	204	420	10	12	22	0	0	0	8	9	17
9	Üsküdar	31986	28874	60860	19536	18412	37948	3861	2549	6410	3727	4007	7734	91	28	119	0	0	0	67	37	104
10	Kadıköy	14269	13821	28090	6597	5992	12589	3908	4056	7964	2181	2330	4511	28	22	50	14	16	30	232	245	477
Istanbul Total		172231	128252	300483	118069	87287	205356	30640	20766	51406	11573	11232	22805	1066	212	1278	13	16	29	208	196	404
Beyoğlu Total		241845	134800	376645	61993	41668	103661	51073	36320	87393	12715	11778	24493	1095	305	1400	141	117	258	4255	4075	8330
Üsküdar Total		55344	49755	105099	32089	29233	61322	10171	8195	18366	6124	6541	12665	129	62	191	14	16	30	307	291	598
Grand Total		469420	312807	782227	212151	158188	370339	91884	65281	157165	30412	29551	59963	2290	579	2869	168	149	317	4770	4562	9332

District		Protestants			Latins			Suryani (Syriac)			Chaldeans			Jews			Gypsies			Foreigners		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	96	102	198	25	16	41	16	2	18	0	0	0	569	516	1085	0	0	0	2298	887	3185
2	Fatih	152	152	304	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5293	5405	10698	3	0	3	1236	828	2064
3	Cerrahpaşa	1	2	3	35	53	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	147	147	294	0	3	3	791	430	1221
4	Beşiktaş	0	0	0	6	5	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	2233	2358	4591	0	0	0	2966	1580	4546
5	Yeniköy	220	32	252	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	79	72	151	0	0	0	197	207	404
6	Beyoğlu	190	162	352	1048	1331	2379	360	118	478	291	108	399	12263	12395	24658	80	88	168	89884	21661	111545
7	Büyükdere	13	10	23	26	30	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	100	191	0	0	0	625	280	905
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	142	140	282	0	0	0	352	276	628
9	Üsküdar	81	77	158	18	19	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	2042	2055	4097	46	45	91	2517	1645	4162
10	Kadıköy	44	33	77	25	24	49	8	14	22	0	0	0	887	845	1732	0	0	0	345	244	589
Istanbul Total		249	256	505	60	69	129	16	2	18	0	0	0	6009	6068	12077	3	3	6	4325	2145	6470
Beyoğlu Total		423	204	627	1081	1366	2447	360	118	478	291	108	399	14666	14925	29591	80	88	168	93672	23728	117400
Üsküdar Total		128	110	238	43	43	86	8	14	22	0	0	0	3071	3040	6111	46	45	91	3214	2165	5379
Grand Total		800	570	1370	1184	1478	2662	384	134	518	291	108	399	23746	24033	47779	129	136	265	101211	28038	129249



Table C.2: Where members of each religion/nationality reside according to the 1906 census

District		Total			Muslims			Greeks			Armenians			Bulgarians			Greek Catholics			Armenian Catholics		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	17.35%	15.43%	16.58%	27.19%	20.74%	24.43%	14.99%	11.68%	13.61%	21.06%	20.87%	20.97%	23.67%	17.10%	22.34%	6.55%	8.72%	7.57%	0.96%	0.68%	0.83%
2	Fatih	9.27%	11.93%	10.34%	12.12%	14.09%	12.96%	10.54%	11.35%	10.88%	3.80%	3.59%	3.70%	6.03%	5.01%	5.82%	1.19%	2.01%	1.58%	3.14%	3.35%	3.25%
3	Cerrahpaşa	10.06%	13.64%	11.49%	16.35%	20.35%	18.06%	7.82%	8.78%	8.22%	13.19%	13.55%	13.37%	16.86%	14.51%	16.38%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%	0.26%	0.26%
4	Beşiktaş	8.51%	9.81%	9.03%	7.92%	8.63%	8.22%	13.53%	13.46%	13.50%	15.91%	12.58%	14.27%	7.47%	8.64%	7.70%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	10.29%	11.29%	10.78%
5	Yeniköy	1.29%	1.68%	1.45%	1.13%	1.34%	1.22%	2.91%	3.60%	3.19%	1.56%	1.60%	1.58%	0.35%	0.17%	0.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.57%	0.26%	0.42%
6	Beyoğlu	40.06%	29.79%	35.95%	18.60%	15.09%	17.10%	35.54%	34.24%	35.00%	23.16%	24.38%	23.76%	39.26%	41.45%	39.70%	83.93%	78.52%	81.39%	78.11%	77.51%	77.82%
7	Büyükdere	1.66%	1.82%	1.72%	1.57%	1.28%	1.45%	3.60%	4.33%	3.90%	1.18%	1.29%	1.23%	0.74%	2.42%	1.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.23%	0.26%	0.25%
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	1.94%	2.26%	2.06%	2.81%	3.05%	2.91%	2.61%	2.44%	2.54%	0.71%	0.69%	0.70%	0.44%	2.07%	0.77%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	0.20%	0.18%
9	Üsküdar	6.81%	9.23%	7.78%	9.21%	11.64%	10.25%	4.20%	3.90%	4.08%	12.26%	13.56%	12.90%	3.97%	4.84%	4.15%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.40%	0.81%	1.11%
10	Kadıköy	3.04%	4.42%	3.59%	3.11%	3.79%	3.40%	4.25%	6.21%	5.07%	7.17%	7.88%	7.52%	1.22%	3.80%	1.74%	8.33%	10.74%	9.46%	4.86%	5.37%	5.11%
	Istanbul Total	36.69%	41.00%	38.41%	55.65%	55.18%	55.45%	33.35%	31.81%	32.71%	38.05%	38.01%	38.03%	46.55%	36.61%	44.55%	7.74%	10.74%	9.15%	4.36%	4.30%	4.33%
	Beyoğlu Total	51.52%	43.09%	48.15%	29.22%	26.34%	27.99%	55.58%	55.64%	55.61%	41.81%	39.86%	40.85%	47.82%	52.68%	48.80%	83.93%	78.52%	81.39%	89.20%	89.32%	89.26%
	Üsküdar Total	11.79%	15.91%	13.44%	15.13%	18.48%	16.56%	11.07%	12.55%	11.69%	20.14%	22.13%	21.12%	5.63%	10.71%	6.66%	8.33%	10.74%	9.46%	6.44%	6.38%	6.41%
	Grand Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	45.19%	50.57%	47.34%	19.57%	20.87%	20.09%	6.48%	9.45%	7.67%	0.49%	0.19%	0.37%	0.04%	0.05%	0.04%	1.02%	1.46%	1.19%

District		Protestants			Latins			Suryani (Syriac)			Chaldeans			Jews			Gypsies			Foreigners		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	12.00%	17.89%	14.45%	2.11%	1.08%	1.54%	4.17%	1.49%	3.47%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.40%	2.15%	2.27%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.27%	3.16%	2.46%
2	Fatih	19.00%	26.67%	22.19%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	22.29%	22.49%	22.39%	2.33%	0.00%	1.13%	1.22%	2.95%	1.60%
3	Cerrahpaşa	0.13%	0.35%	0.22%	2.96%	3.59%	3.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%	0.61%	0.62%	0.00%	2.21%	1.13%	0.78%	1.53%	0.94%
4	Beşiktaş	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.51%	0.34%	0.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.40%	9.81%	9.61%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.93%	5.64%	3.52%
5	Yeniköy	27.50%	5.61%	18.39%	0.08%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.33%	0.30%	0.32%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%	0.74%	0.31%
6	Beyoğlu	23.75%	28.42%	25.69%	88.51%	90.05%	89.37%	93.75%	88.06%	92.28%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	51.64%	51.57%	51.61%	62.02%	64.71%	63.40%	88.81%	77.26%	86.30%
7	Büyükdere	1.63%	1.75%	1.68%	2.20%	2.03%	2.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.38%	0.42%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%	1.00%	0.70%
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	0.38%	0.00%	0.22%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	0.58%	0.59%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.35%	0.98%	0.49%
9	Üsküdar	10.13%	13.51%	11.53%	1.52%	1.29%	1.39%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.60%	8.55%	8.57%	35.66%	33.09%	34.34%	2.49%	5.87%	3.22%
10	Kadıköy	5.50%	5.79%	5.62%	2.11%	1.62%	1.84%	2.08%	10.45%	4.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.74%	3.52%	3.63%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.34%	0.87%	0.46%
	Istanbul Total	31.13%	44.91%	36.86%	5.07%	4.67%	4.85%	4.17%	1.49%	3.47%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.31%	25.25%	25.28%	2.33%	2.21%	2.26%	4.27%	7.65%	5.01%
	Beyoğlu Total	52.88%	35.79%	45.77%	91.30%	92.42%	91.92%	93.75%	88.06%	92.28%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	61.76%	62.10%	61.93%	62.02%	64.71%	63.40%	92.55%	84.63%	90.83%
	Üsküdar Total	16.00%	19.30%	17.37%	3.63%	2.91%	3.23%	2.08%	10.45%	4.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.93%	12.65%	12.79%	35.66%	33.09%	34.34%	3.18%	7.72%	4.16%
	Grand Total	0.17%	0.18%	0.18%	0.25%	0.47%	0.34%	0.08%	0.04%	0.07%	0.06%	0.03%	0.05%	5.06%	7.68%	6.11%	0.03%	0.04%	0.03%	21.56%	8.96%	16.52%

Table C.3: Religious/National distribution of districts according to the 1906 census

District		Total			Muslims			Greeks			Armenians			Bulgarians			Greek Catholics			Armenian Catholics		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	70.81%	67.97%	69.75%	16.91%	15.80%	16.49%	7.86%	12.78%	9.69%	0.67%	0.21%	0.49%	0.01%	0.03%	0.02%	0.06%	0.06%	0.06%
2	Fatih	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	59.07%	59.70%	59.36%	22.26%	19.85%	21.15%	2.66%	2.84%	2.74%	0.32%	0.08%	0.21%	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	0.34%	0.41%	0.37%
3	Cerrahpaşa	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	73.40%	75.47%	74.38%	15.20%	13.43%	14.36%	8.49%	9.39%	8.92%	0.82%	0.20%	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%
4	Beşiktaş	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	42.06%	44.53%	43.13%	31.13%	28.65%	30.06%	12.11%	12.12%	12.12%	0.43%	0.16%	0.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.23%	1.68%	1.42%
5	Yeniköy	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	39.42%	40.23%	39.80%	44.00%	44.62%	44.29%	7.81%	9.00%	8.36%	0.13%	0.02%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.44%	0.23%	0.34%
6	Beyoğlu	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	20.99%	25.61%	22.52%	17.37%	23.99%	19.56%	3.75%	7.73%	5.07%	0.48%	0.26%	0.40%	0.07%	0.13%	0.09%	1.98%	3.79%	2.58%
7	Büyükdere	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	42.83%	35.65%	39.80%	42.50%	49.79%	45.57%	4.61%	6.71%	5.50%	0.22%	0.25%	0.23%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.14%	0.21%	0.17%
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	65.53%	68.40%	66.78%	26.43%	22.52%	24.72%	2.38%	2.89%	2.60%	0.11%	0.17%	0.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.13%	0.11%
9	Üsküdar	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	61.08%	63.77%	62.35%	12.07%	8.83%	10.53%	11.65%	13.88%	12.71%	0.28%	0.10%	0.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.21%	0.13%	0.17%
10	Kadıköy	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	46.23%	43.35%	44.82%	27.39%	29.35%	28.35%	15.28%	16.86%	16.06%	0.20%	0.16%	0.18%	0.10%	0.12%	0.11%	1.63%	1.77%	1.70%
	Istanbul Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	68.55%	68.06%	68.34%	17.79%	16.19%	17.11%	6.72%	8.76%	7.59%	0.62%	0.17%	0.43%	0.01%	0.01%	0.01%	0.12%	0.15%	0.13%
	Beyoğlu Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	25.63%	30.91%	27.52%	21.12%	26.94%	23.20%	5.26%	8.74%	6.50%	0.45%	0.23%	0.37%	0.06%	0.09%	0.07%	1.76%	3.02%	2.21%
	Üsküdar Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	57.98%	58.75%	58.35%	18.38%	16.47%	17.47%	11.07%	13.15%	12.05%	0.23%	0.12%	0.18%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.55%	0.58%	0.57%
	Grand Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	45.19%	50.57%	47.34%	19.57%	20.87%	20.09%	6.48%	9.45%	7.67%	0.49%	0.19%	0.37%	0.04%	0.05%	0.04%	1.02%	1.46%	1.19%

District		Protestants			Latins			Suryani (Syriac)			Chaldeans			Jews			Gypsies			Foreigners		
No	Name	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Bayezid	0.12%	0.21%	0.15%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.02%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.70%	1.07%	0.84%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.82%	1.84%	2.46%
2	Fatih	0.35%	0.41%	0.38%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.16%	14.48%	13.23%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	2.84%	2.22%	2.55%
3	Cerrahpaşa	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.07%	0.12%	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.31%	0.34%	0.33%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	1.67%	1.01%	1.36%
4	Beşiktaş	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.59%	7.69%	6.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.43%	5.15%	6.44%
5	Yeniköy	3.62%	0.61%	2.22%	0.02%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.30%	1.37%	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.25%	3.93%	3.56%
6	Beyoğlu	0.10%	0.17%	0.13%	0.56%	1.43%	0.85%	0.19%	0.13%	0.17%	0.15%	0.12%	0.14%	6.52%	13.30%	8.77%	0.04%	0.09%	0.06%	47.80%	23.25%	39.66%
7	Büyükdere	0.17%	0.18%	0.17%	0.33%	0.53%	0.42%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.17%	1.76%	1.42%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.03%	4.93%	6.72%
8	Kanlıca-Anadolu Boğaziçi	0.03%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.56%	1.98%	1.75%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.87%	3.91%	3.89%
9	Üsküdar	0.25%	0.27%	0.26%	0.06%	0.07%	0.06%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.38%	7.12%	6.73%	0.14%	0.16%	0.15%	7.87%	5.70%	6.84%
10	Kadıköy	0.31%	0.24%	0.27%	0.18%	0.17%	0.17%	0.06%	0.10%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.22%	6.11%	6.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.42%	1.77%	2.10%
	Istanbul Total	0.14%	0.20%	0.17%	0.03%	0.05%	0.04%	0.01%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.49%	4.73%	4.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.51%	1.67%	2.15%
	Beyoğlu Total	0.17%	0.15%	0.17%	0.45%	1.01%	0.65%	0.15%	0.09%	0.13%	0.12%	0.08%	0.11%	6.06%	11.07%	7.86%	0.03%	0.07%	0.04%	38.73%	17.60%	31.17%
	Üsküdar Total	0.23%	0.22%	0.23%	0.08%	0.09%	0.08%	0.01%	0.03%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.55%	6.11%	5.81%	0.08%	0.09%	0.09%	5.81%	4.35%	5.12%
	Grand Total	0.17%	0.18%	0.18%	0.25%	0.47%	0.34%	0.08%	0.04%	0.07%	0.06%	0.03%	0.05%	5.06%	7.68%	6.11%	0.03%	0.04%	0.03%	21.56%	8.96%	16.52%

Table C.4: Religious distribution of Istanbul's population excluding non-Ottoman subjects)

<b>Religious Groups</b>	<b>Population Figure</b>	<b>Population Percentage</b>
Muslims	370339	56.72%
Greeks	157165	24.07%
Armenians	59963	9.18%
Bulgarians	2869	0.44%
Greek Catholics	317	0.05%
Armenian Catholics	9332	1.43%
Protestants	1370	0.21%
Latins	2662	0.41%
Suryani (Syriac)	518	0.08%
Chaldeans	399	0.06%
Jews	47779	7.32%
Gypsies	265	0.04%
<b>Total</b>	<b>652978</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

## APPENDIX D: SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL REGARDING THE BEYOĞLU INCIDENT

All the texts in this section are given with their transliteration to the Latin alphabet first, followed by their English translation. “Galatasaray” or “Galata Sarayı” was used to refer to the Beyoğlu District Administration building (“*Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflık dairesi*”) which housed a prison and stood very close to the Galatasaray High School. I retained “Galata Sarayı” in the original texts but translated it as “Galatasaray” in the English version.

***İkdam*, 25 March 1909**

### **Transliteration:**

Dün gece saat dört raddelerinde polisin derdest edip Galata Sarayı'na götürmekte olduğu bir sarhoş Galata Sarayı karşısında bazı eşhas önüne çıkararak polisi darp eylemek istemişlerdir. Polisin yanındaki asker havaya bir kaç el tüfek atmasıyla bini mütecaviz ahali birikmiş. Oradaki dükkanlar kapatılmış ve ahali bir heyecana düşmüştür. Güç halle polis kurtarılıp Galata Sarayı'na gönderilmiştir. Bu işin tahkikine giden muhabirimiz merkez komiseri [...] Efendi malumat vermedikten maada garip muamelede bulunmuştur. Bu ciheti bugün tahkik edeceğiz. Hariçten alabildiğimiz malumata nazaran bu arbede esnasında ahaliden bir kaç kişi mecruh düşmüştür. Bu vaka üzerine bir bölük asker ile elli kadar polis neferi kol olarak çıkarılmıştır.

### **Translation:**

Last night, around four o'clock, some individuals attempted to assault the police who were escorting a detained drunkard to Galatasaray. A crowd of over a thousand people gathered as the soldiers accompanying the police fired their rifles into the air a few times. Shops there were then closed and the people were anxious. The police officer was saved with difficulty and sent to Galatasaray. Our reporter who went to investigate this matter was not only given no information by the central commissioner but was also treated oddly. We will investigate this matter today. According to the information we received from outside sources, a few people from the crowd were wounded. Due to this event, a company of soldiers and around fifty police officers were deployed on patrol.

***Sabah*, 25 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

Ahval-i Nabeca

Dün gece saat üç raddelerinde Beyoğlu mutasarrıflık dairesi pişgahında dört yol ağzında bazı kendini bilmez kimseler tarafından polis koluna taarruz ve tecavüz vuku bulmuştur. Vaka bir polis memurunun sokak ortasında münazaaya tutuşmuş olan iki Rum'un beynlerini tefrik etmek için vaki olan teşebbüsten ileri gelmiştir.

Polis münazzayı bertaraf eylemek istediği halde bunlar polisi tahkire başlarlar. Etraftan bazı kimseler de işe karışarak polisi darba kadar cürret eylerler. Bunun üzerine askeri devriye kolu gelerek mütecasirleri derdest eylemek ister ise de mutarizler kola da karşı gelir ve küstahlığı daha ileri vardiirarak askerin üzerine hücum ve yakasına sarılmak cürret-i leimanesinde bulunurlar. Şu hal bir aralık haysiyet-i askeriye ve asayiş-i memleketi muhil bir raddeye vardiğundan asker silah mahza muhacimatı men' ve asayiş-i muhafaza için istimaline mecbur olur. Havaya iki el silah boşaltır. Silah sesi duyan mutarizler her biri bir tarafa dağılır, girecek fare deliği aramaya başlarlar. Mütecasir hakkında muamele-i kanuniye ifasına ibtidar edilmiştir.

**Translation:**

Indecent Situations

Last night, around three o'clock in front of the Beyoğlu administration building, on the crossroad, some people who don't know their place attacked and assaulted the police patrol. The incident occurred due to a police officer's attempt at separating two Rums who were fighting in the middle of the street. Although the police officer attempts to subdue the argument, these two start insulting [the police officer]. Some people from the surrounding area also intervene and dare to assault the police officer. In response to this, a military patrol arrives and attempts to detain the assailants, yet the assailants resist the patrol too and vilely dare to assault the soldiers and grab hold of them. As the situation reaches a point where the dignity of the military and the order of the homeland is compromised, the soldiers are forced to use their rifles only to restrain the assailants and preserve the order. Two shots are fired into the air. The assailants who hear the sounds of gunshots scatter in different directions, looking for ratholes to enter. Legal action against the assailants has been initiated.

***İkdam*, 26 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

Beyoğlu'ndaki Vaka

Evvelki Gece Beyoğlu'nda Galata Saray karşısında vukua gelen hadiseyi dünkü

nüşhamızda yazmış idik. Dün icra eylediğimiz tahkikata nazaran hadise-i mezkurenin esbab-ı zuhur ve suret-i cereyanı ber-vech-i atidir:

Beyoğlu'nda Çiçekçi Sokağında sakin garson Arstomani[?] bir refiği ile Anadolu lokantası önünde münazaa etmeye başlar. Oraya kırk elli kadar halk toplanır. Bu sırada oradan geçmekte olan polis Süleyman Efendi işi anlamak üzere kavga edenlerin yanlarına gelir. Yapmayın etmeyin diye nasihat eder ise de anlamazlar. Arstomani mumaleihin yakasına sarılıp kaputunu yırtar. Süleyman Efendi düdük çalıp muavenet için memur çağırmaya vakit bulamaksızın oradaki ahalinin hücumuna duçar olur ve darp edilir.

Bu mücadele hemen on dakika kadar devam eylediği ve vaka Galata Sarayı karşısında cereyan ettiği halde her neden ise hiç bir memur muavenete şitab etmez, nihayet iki asker ile oradan geçen polis Fahri Efendi işe müdahale eder. Süleyman Efendi Arstomani'yi derdestle Galata Sarayı'na göndereceği sırada orada müctemi bulunan bir kısım halk polisin yanına gelerek merkumu götürmemesini rica ederler. Süleyman Efendi mutasarrıflık dairesine kadar götürüleceğini söylemesiyle ahali polisin etrafını sarar Arstormani de gitmemekte ısrara başlar. Asker işe müdahale ederek Arstomani'yi tutup götürmek isterler. Ahali askere hitaben "Ne için vuruyorsunuz ki? Güzel götürseniz a!" diye yaygarayı koparırlar. Gittikçe kalabalık ziyadeleşir. Galata Sarayı önü, Hamalbaşı Caddesi dolar. Polis, Arastomani'yi Galata Sarayı'na götürür. Asker, halkın tehacümüyle uğraştığı ve tüfenk dipçığı ile kalabalığı dağıtmaya çalıştığı sırada ahalden bir kaç kişi askerlerin tüfeklerini tutarlar. Bu esnada Galata Sarayı pencereleri önünde bir el revolver patlar ve müteakiben ateş emri verilir. Askerlerden biri elindeki mavzeri havaya doğru iki üç el atmış ise de çıkan kurşunlar mahal-i mezkurda Papadopuolo'nun kahvesi camlarını kırarak tavana girmiş ve bir kurşun da yine mezkur kahvedeki lüks lambasına isabetle parçalamış ve ortalık zulmet içinde kalmıştır. Kahvede bulunan müşteriler son derece korkarak yerlere yatmışlar ve masa altlarına girmişlerdir sokaktaki ahali de birbirini çiğnercesine kaçtığından ortalıkta pek büyük bir kargaşalık meşhud olmuştur.

Bunun üzerine mutasarrıflık dairesinden polis memurları çıkarak ahaliyi dağıtmışlardır. Müteakiben Beyoğlu Mutasarrıfı Mazhar Bey dahi daireden çıkıp askere mütecevezatta bulunanlara silahla mukabele edileceğini söylemişlerdir. Bu ihtara rağmen ahalinin dağılması yine bir saatten fazla devam eylemiştir. Bu esnada Dimitri Ostvimin[?] namında biri elinden, Muhlid[?] Kostî[?] elinden, Nikol kulağı arkasından geçen kurşunlardan ehemmiyetsiz surette mecruh olmuşlardır. Münazaya sebebiyet veren Arstomani dahi zaten boynundan mecruh olmuş ve vücudunun bazı mahallerinden yaralanmış olduğundan bunlar hastahaneye gönderilmişlerdir. Dün bir heyet-i ettiba tarafından gerek polis Süleyman Efendi'nin ve gerek diğer mecruhların muayeneleri icra edilmiştir. Beyoğlu zabıtası dün geç vakte kadar mü-

tahkikat icrasına devam eylemiştir. Arstomani “Kalyoncu kolluğunda bir meyhaneden çıkıp gider iken bir şahıs saatini gasp ettiği arkasından koşarken polis tarafından durdurulup gasp edildim.” diyor imiş.

Merkez komiseri, polis Süleyman Efendi’yi “Böyle işleri niye yapıyorsunuz” diye mutasarraflık dairesinde darb etmiştir.

Bu mesele hakkında mebusandan bazıları dün Dahiliye Müsteşarı Adil Bey Efendi’ye müracaatla Zabtiye Nazırı Paşa’dan istizahatta bulunmuşlardır. Zabtiye Nazırı Paşa Bab-ı Ali’ye davet olunmuş ve ledel-istizah için izam edildiği derecede olmadığı ve bir sarhoşun polis memuru tarafından derdestine kıyam olunması üzerine polise tecavüz ve askere taarruz edilmesinden dolayı ahaliyi dağıtmak maksadıyla asker tarafından havaya iki el silah atıldığı ve tahkikat henüz hitam bulmadığından raporunun yarın (bugün) takdim kılınacağı cevabı alınmıştır.

Dün dahi yazdığımız vecihle esna-yı vakada orada bulunup tahkikat icra etmek üzere mutasarraflık dairesine müracaat eyleyen muhabirimizi merkez komiseri [. . .] Efendi “burada bulunmanız memnudur” diye odadan dışarı çıkarmak istemiş ve bu suretle tehcir etmiştir. Biz gazeteciler bu gibi ahvalde heyet-i zabıtanın teshilat görmek ister iken mumaileyhin şu hareketi mucib-i istiğrabımız olduğu hale böyle dağdaleli velveleli bir işi ketme çalışarak gazetelere malumat itasından tevakki eylemekteki hikmetsizliğe de akıl erdiremedik.

### **Translation:**

#### The Incident in Beyoğlu

We had written the incident that occurred the other night in Beyoğlu across Galatasaray, in our issue yesterday. According to our investigation yesterday, the reasons and the course of the aforementioned event are as follows:

Arstomani[?], a waiter residing in Beyoğlu in Çiçekçi Street, begins to argue with a friend of his in front of the Anadolu restaurant. Around forty to fifty people gather there. In the meantime, police officer Süleyman Efendi comes near the fighters to understand what is going on. Although he advises them not to do it, they do not comply. Arstomani[?] grabs the aforementioned by the collar and rips up his coat. Süleyman Efendi is assaulted by the crowd gathered there without having an opportunity to blow his whistle and call officers for help.

Although this confrontation goes on for around ten minutes and happens across Galatasaray, for whatever reason no officer rushes to help, finally, police officer Fahri Efendi, who was passing through there with two soldiers, intervenes. When Süleyman Efendi attempts to detain and take away Arstomani[?] to Galatasaray, some of the crowd gathered there approach him and implore him not to take him

away. As Süleyman Efendi says he will take [him] to the administration building, the crowd surrounds the police officer. Arstromani[?], too, starts to insist on not going. The soldiers attempt to intervene and take Arstomani away. The crowd shouts toward the soldiers, “Why are you hitting [him]? Take [him] away nicely!”. As time goes on, the crowd increases. The front of Galatasaray and the Hamalbaşı Avenue fills with people. The police take Aristomani to Galatasaray. As the soldiers try to deal with the crowd’s charge and dispense them with their rifle butts, some people among the crowd hold the soldiers’ rifles. Meanwhile, a revolver is shot in front of the windows of Galatasaray, and subsequently the order to fire is given. Although one of the soldiers shoots his rifle toward the air a few times, the bullets break the windows of Papadopulo’s coffee-house in the aforementioned location, go into the ceiling, and one of the bullets destroys the gas lamp in the aforementioned coffee-house leaving the area in darkness. The customers in the coffee-house laid down and hid under the tables in extreme fear, and as the crowd in the street ran away as though stamping over each other, a great disarray was witnessed.

In response, police officers came out of the administration building and dispensed the crowd. Later, even the *mutasarrıf* of Beyoğlu Mazhar Bey came out of the building and proclaimed that those who attack the soldiers will be responded in kind. Despite this warning, the crowd took more than an hour to dispense. Meanwhile, someone named Dimitri Ostvimin[?] [was wounded] in his hand, Muhlid Kosti[?] [was wounded] in his hand, Nikoli was wounded insignificantly as a bullet passed by the back of his ear. Arstomani too, who caused the argument, was wounded in his neck and some parts of his body, and these were sent to the hospital. Yesterday, a council of doctors treated both the police officer Süleyman Efendi and the other wounded. Yesterday the Beyoğlu police force carried out an investigation until late. Arstomani is reported to have been saying “I was assaulted by the police when I was running after someone as my watch was stolen as I exited a tavern in *Kalyoncu Kolluğu*.”

In the administration office, the central commissioner assaulted police officer Süleyman Efendi saying “Why are you doing these kinds of things?”

Some members of the parliament have appealed to the Interior Undersecretary Adil Bey Efendi and requested an explanation from the Minister of Police. The Minister of Police was invited to the Sublime Porte and in his explanation he declared that the affair was exaggerated and the soldiers fired two shots into the air in order to dispense the crowd since the police were assaulted and the soldiers were attacked after the detainment of a drunkard by a police officer was prevented and since the investigation was not complete his report will be presented tomorrow (today).



As we reported yesterday, in order to investigate the matter, our reporter who was there during the incident went into the administration building, and the central commissioner [...] Efendi forced him to leave, proclaiming, "Your presence here is forbidden." As we journalists want to see facilitation from the police committee, we could not understand the senselessness in this confusing behavior of the aforementioned to hide this tumultuous and fussy incident by not giving journalists any information.

***Sabah*, 26 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

Galata Sarayı Vakası

Düinkü nüshamızda yazdığımız vech ile evvelki gece saat üç raddelerinde İngiltere sefareti karşısındaki (Ladiranos) meyhanesinden çıkmakta olan üç Rum garson beyninde münazaa zuhur eder. Orada bulunan polis memuru Süleyman Efendi def-i münazaa maksadıyla müdahale eyler.

O sırada garsonlardan ikisi firar eder. Üçüncüsü derdest olunur. Merkum asıl derdest edilmesi lüzum gelenlerin firar ettiğini ve kendisinin kabahati olmadığını beyan ile merkeze gitmekten

imtina eder. Polis memuruyla aralarında bir arbede olur. Derken etrafından yüz, yüz elli kadar

Rum toplanarak bu adamın bi-günah olduğunu söylerler. Polis münazaaya dahil bulunduğu ve şimdi elde bulunduğu cihetle götürmeye mecbur olduğunu söyler. Bu esnada Rumlar polisin üzerine hücum ve kendisini darba başlarlar. Galata Sarayı'ndan istimdad olunur. Asker gelir. Ahali-i müctemie ziyadeleşir. O sırada bir silah sesi işitilir. Asker bu silahın ahali tarafından atıldığı zannıyla dağıtmaya mecbur olur. Ahali dinlemez. Polisin hayatı tehlikede kalır. Asker havaya üç el silah atar. Kurşunlardan üçü Apir[?] kahvehanesinin camını, mütakiben kahvede bulunan lüks lambasını kırar. Kahvede bulunan kahveci Dimitri sağ kulağından, mücellid Kosti sağ kulağından mecruh olur. Mecruhların yaraları ehemmiyetsizdir.

Vaka bundan ibaret iken Rumca refikamız ve bilhassa *Proodos* vakayı bir mutad-ı mübalağkarane yazarak buna kuvve-i zabıta tarafından ika edilmiş bir tecavüz şeklini vermişlerdir. Bu ise ne fikr-i vatanperveriye, ne de şime-i insafa muvaffaktır.

İşi ciddi, bi-taraf bir nazarla muhakeme edelim. Bir zabıta memuru münazaa çıkaranlara müdahale vazifesini haizdir. Lüzumunda tevkif eder. Ahali ise müdahaleye haiz-i salahiyet değildir.

Şunu da itiraf ederiz ki şahs-ı mevkuf polis memuruyla gitmekten imtina ederse

polis memurunun ona dayak atmaya hakkı yoktur. Polis bunu irtikab etmiş ise duçar ceza olur. Ancak bu gibi mümteniler sürükleye sürükleye ve cebren polis merkezine götürülür, teslim olunurlar. Eğer polis memuru Rumca gazetelerin dediği gibi tevkif olunan şahsı dövmüş ise polis memuruna hücum ve darp olunmaz. O polisin kendisinden daha büyük amiri, amirden daha büyük merciler de var. Oraya müracaat olunur. İhkak-ı hak edilir. Yoksa toplanarak, zabıta memurunu darp etmek, silah atmak, asayişi ihlal etmek gibi teşebbüsat had-i naşinasaneyeye kıyam edilirse zabıta kendini tehlikeli bir mevkide görür de istimal-i silaha mecbur olur.

Hükümet memurlarından terbiye-i medeniye arayan ahali o terbiyeyi kendisi daha evvel göstermelidir.

Her halde ümit ederiz ki Rum vatandaşlarımız bir his-i hamiyetle her hususta kanuna, kendilerine mutertib olan vazife-i riayetle eğer filhakika zabıtaca muhalif-i kanun hareket varsa kanun ile, sükunetle o harekete mümanaat ederler.

Tecemmü, hücum, darp, silah endahı hiç bir yerde kanuna muvafak ad edilmez. Bu gibi ahvale

cürret edenler haklı olsalar bile haklarını kayıp ettikten başka vatandaşları nazarından muateb olurlar.

Mebusandan Boşu[?] ve Hovaneios[?] Efendiler akib-i vakada Beyoğlu mutasarrıflık dairesine giderek polis Süleyman Efendi'nin üstü başı yırtılmış olduğunu bizzat görmüşlerdir.

Sakız mebusu Mihaki[?] Efendi vakayı anlamak üzere mutasarrıflığa gitmiş ise de mutasarrıf tarafından bir mebusa gösterilmesi icab eden his-i muamelenin dirliğ edildiği maatteessüf işitilmiştir.

Mutasarrıf Bey tarafından gösterilen şu muamelenin madune de sirayet eylediği devri-i munkariz-i istibdad bakiyesinden olan merkez komiserliğince muamele-i baridane tecviz edilmekte olmasıyla da maatteessüf rehin-i mevki sübut olmaktadır.

### **Translation:**

#### The Galatasaray Incident

As we reported in our issue yesterday, the other night around three o'clock, a dispute emerges among the three *Rum* waiters coming out of the (Ladiranos) tavern across from the British Embassy. Police officer Süleyman Efendi, who was there, intervenes in order to restrain the dispute. In the meantime, two of the waiters flee. The third one gets detained. The aforementioned refuses to go to the station by claiming the ones who were to be detained fled and he is not guilty. A brawl occurs between him and the police officer. Meanwhile, around a hundred, hundred and fifty *Rums* gather

around them and claim that the man is not guilty. The police officer declares that he was involved in the fight and since he is now in his hand, he is obliged to take him away. In the meantime, the Rums attack the police officer and start assaulting him. Backup is called from Galatasaray. Soldiers come. The gathered crowd enlarges. In the meantime, a gunshot is heard. The soldiers, thinking the gun was fired by the crowd, are compelled to disperse them. The crowd does not comply. The lives of the police are endangered. The soldiers fire three shots into the air. Three of the bullets shatter the windows of the Apir[?] coffee-house and subsequently break the gas lamp in the coffee-house. In the coffee-house, coffee-house keeper Dimitri gets wounded in his right ear, bookbinder Kosti gets wounded in his right ear. The wounds of the injured are not significant.

Although this is the extent of the affair, our Greek<sup>1</sup> friends, and especially *Proodos*, report the affair in their usual exaggerated way and portray it as a violation perpetrated by the police force. This is neither a patriotic thought nor a fair habit.

Let's judge this affair with a serious, unbiased view. It is imperative that a police officer should intervene in a brawl. If required, he will detain the brawlers. The people on the other hand do not have the authority to intervene.

And we admit that if the aforementioned individual does not comply with the police officer, the police officer does not have the right to beat them up. If the police officer had done this wrong, he would be punished. But these kinds of uncooperative individuals get dragged to the police station and handed over. If the police officer indeed beat up the detained individual, the police officer should not be assaulted or beaten. That police officer has his superiors, and his superiors have authorities greater than them. One should appeal to these authorities. Claim denial of justice. Otherwise, if unruly attempts such as assaulting police officers collectively, shooting guns, violating public order are performed and the police feel themselves in a dangerous position, they are bound to use their weapons.

The people who search for civil manners from the government officers should demonstrate those manners themselves beforehand.

In any case, we hope that our Rum citizens, with a sense of national pride, adhere to the law in all matters, and with their respectable duty, if the police truly act against the law, oppose these actions with serenity and legally.

Gathering, attacks, assaults, shooting guns are not in accordance with the law in any place. Those who have the audacity to do such acts even though they were in

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1. Greek here is used as the Greek language, ("*Rumca*"), rather than denoting subjecthood to Greece ("*Yunan*" or "*Yunanlı*").

the right, do not only lose their rights but are reprimanded by their compatriots.

Parliament members Boşu[?] and Hovaneions[?] Efendis who went to the Beyoğlu administration office following the event, personally witnessed that police officer Süleyman Efendi's clothes were tattered.

Although Sakız deputy Mihaki[?] Efendi went to the district administration office to understand the affair, regrettably, it is heard that he was denied the way a deputy should be treated by the district administrator.

This treatment by the district administrator has influenced the lower ranks as well. The central commissionership, which is a remnant of the extinct age of oppression, is sanctioning this behavior. Unfortunately, it is clear that the seat has been taken hostage.

**Tanin, 26 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

**Galata Sarayı Vakası**

Evvelki akşam saat dört raddelerinde karşıda balık pazarında iki kişi yekdiğeriyle münazaa ederlerken polis memurları işe müdahale eder. Fakat bu gibi hadiselerde daima olduğu gibi evvelce yekdiğeriyle kavga eden şahıslar polisin müdahalesi üzerine birbirlerini bırakarak müttefiken zabita memurlarına taarruz ederler. Biraz mücadeleden sonra polis memurları beray-ı muavenet Galata Sarayı'ndan memur gönderilmesini talep ederler. Fakat bu esnada bir sürü cehele-i nas memurların etrafına toplanarak kavga edenleri ellerinden kurtarmaya çalışırlar. Bu sırada polis müfettişlerinden Mösyö Ojanlofolon[?] mahal-i vakaya yetişerek herifleri cebren Galata Sarayı'na sevk etmese idi adeta herifler kaçacaklardı. Fakat şu sırada halkın ittihaz etmiş olduğu vaziyet, tehditkarane bir mahiyet aldı.

Bunun üzerine avcı taburundan bir müfreze mahal-i vakaya yetişti ve sağa sola dipçik vurmaya başladı. Fakat bu tarz şedid hareket halkın büsbütün teheyyücünü mucib oldu. Etraftan koşuşan meraklıların miktarı tezayüd ediyordu. Eski Asponi'nin[?] birahanesinin alt tarafında askerler havaya silah sıkmaya başlarlar. Hatta Oryan[?] Oteli'nin bazı camları da kırılır. Bu halden korkan halk dağılmaya başlar. Fakat meraklı olan bin beş yüz kadar kimse biraz sonra Galata Sarayı önüne tekrar toplanırlar ve orada kendilerine icra edilen nasihat ve vesayayı-ı müessire üzerine bir vukata meydan vermeksizin çekilirler.

Şu vakayı kendimiz tasvir ve hikaye etmeyerek *Istanbul*<sup>2</sup> refikamızdan tercüme etmeye tensib ettik, bundaki maksadımız başkadır. Çünkü biz kendi istihbaratımıza

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2. Most likely referring to French language newspaper *Stamboul*.

nazaren yazsak tarafgirlik ediyorsunuz diyebilirler.

Şimdi *Istanbul* gazetesinin tasvir ettiği şu vakayı bir de mahud *Proodos*'un ne suretle yazdığını göstererek ikisi de ecnebi, fakat biri namusluyla gazete neş etmek fikrinde, diğeri memlekette Yunanlılık emeline hizmetle iğtişaş çıkarmak maksadında bulunan iki gazete arasında bir mukayese yapmak üzere derc ediyoruz.

***Proodos* Diyor ki:**

**Beyoğlu'nda Vahşi Sahneler**

**Asker Ahaliye Kurşun Atıyor**

Dün zabıtamız yeni bir muharebe yapmıştır. Masum, muhib-i asayiş, aile sahibi hemşehriler askerlerin kurşunları altında mecruh düşüyorlar. Dün gece Alafranga saat dokuz buçukta İngiltere sefarethanesi karşısında kain “Lavirnitos[?]” meyhanesinden kahvehane müstehdimlerinden üç kişi çıkıyordu. Aralarında ihtilaf zuhur etmiş olmalı ki bu üç şahıs münazaaya başladılar. Bu sırada bunları tutmak için zabıta yetişir. İçlerinden ikisi firar etti. Yalnız Aristomanisi[?] namında bir kaç gün evvel hastahaneden çıkan, henüz başında sargılar bulunan biri kaldı. Zabıta memurlarını takip etmek istemediği için askerler göğsüne merhametsizcesine tüfenk dipçikleriyle vurmaya başladılar. Bu sırada ahali toplandı ve “vurmayınız, vurmayınız” diye bağırmaya başladılar. Bu sırada İpros[?] kahvehanesinin önünde avcı taburlarından bir asker Galata Sarayı zabıtasından aldığı emir üzerine mükerrer ateş etmeye başladı.

Ahali dehşet içinde kaçarken kurşunlar vızıltılarla kahvehane camlarını kırıyor, içinde bulunan yere yatıyor, kurşunlardan biri lüks lambasını düşürerek söndürüyordu. Bu sırada üç kişi yaralanmıştı. Zabıta tarafından yakalanan şahıs hal-i ihtizarda diğeri üç yaralılar Galata Sarayına nakl olundu. Zabıtanın bu hareketi umumun nefretini celb eyledi. Gece Aristomani'nin altıncı daire-i belediye hastahanesinde vefat eylediği şüyu bulunmuştur.

Şeytani tesadüf neticesi olarak bu defa da zabıtanın yaptığı şu yamyamlık Yunanlılar<sup>3</sup> aleyhinde tecelli etmiştir. Fakat madem ki zabıta cerh ve katl etmek için tesis edilmiş, buna ihtiyacımız olmadığını hükümet anlamadı mı? Anasır arasında tefrika düşürenler, heyecana vesile olanlar aranıyor! İşte bunlar *Tanin*'den sonra zabıtaadır! *Tanin* iftira ve küfür ediyor, zabıta öldürüyor.

Allah aşkına bizi zabıtanın kurtarınız! Cankurtaran yok mu!

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3. The word “*Yunanlılar*” is used in *Tanin*'s translation. I have not been able to locate *Proodos*' related issue and find out the original term used by *Proodos*. *Tanin*'s translation should not be taken as entirely accurate, especially given that different terms referring to Greeks (as an ethnicity) have important distinctions and nationalistic connotations.

## ***Tanin***

*Proodos*'un maksadı, mahiyeti malum olmasa idi yalnız şu satırlar memleketimizde ne gibi bir meslek-i müfsidane ve hainane takip ettiğini anlatmaya kifayet ederdi. Dünkü mitingde Osmanlıların böyle ar ve hayadan, insaftan mahrum bir takım döküntülere karşı izhar-ı nefret etmekte ne kadar hakları olduğu işte pek aşikar surette sabit oluyor. Aspanudi[?] gibi adi bir palikaryanın bidayet-i meşrutiyetten beri Osmanlıları ve muhterem Osmanlı askerini tahkir ettiği artık el vermedi mi[?] Bugün de muhterem ordumuzu “yamyamlık” ile itham ediyor. Halbuki Osmanlılarda bu süfli herifin isnad ettiği ahvalden zerresi bulunsa idi şimdiye kadar hükümetin sükut-ı hayret-bahşane rağmen ceza-yı sezasını çoktan görürdü. Fakat bu kadar nezaket zan ederiz ki meskenet derecesini bulur.

## **Dünkü Miting**

Memleketimizde münteşir ceraid-i ecnebiden bir ikisinin anasır-ı müttehede-i Osmaniye beynindeki vifak-ı tammı ihlal edecek surette neşr eyleyerek makalat-ı fesad-amız üzerine hükümetçe lüzum gelen tedabirin ittihazını talep için dün Sultan Ahmed meydanında saat dörtte büyük bir miting tertip edilmiştir. Mitingde üç dört bin zat hazır bulunmuştur. Mektep-i hukuk müntehi sınıf talebesinden Necmi Bey tarafından bir nutuk irad olunarak şiddetle alkışlanmıştır. Nutuğun bazı fıkraları ber-vech-i atidir.

“Sükut-ı edibanemizden bir ders-i intibah çıkarılmazsa Osmanlılar medeni insanların tevessül ettikleri vesaite müracaat etmesini pek güzel bilirlir. Yabancı olmayan ellerden gelen sitemleri, cevrleri ne kadar tatlılıkla telakki ettikse hayat-ı Osmaniyeimize yılanlar gibi sokulan ve her dakika anasır-ı mevcudiyetimizin bir rükun-ü mümtazı olan Rum vatandaşlarımızla aramıza kanlı zehirlerini saçmak hülyasında bulunan *Levant Herald*'ları, *Proodos*'ları, *Neologos*'ları da o kadar acı karşılırsınız. Ceraid-i Osmaniyeimizin bazı münakaşat ve mücadelatına bakıp da ahden ve siyaseten umur-i idare-i dahiliyeimize karışmaya hiç bir hak-ı kanunileri bulunmayan bu bir alay yabancı efendiler ne kadar aldandılar. Biz memleketimizi ihya için fırka fırka, taraf taraf münakaşa, mücadele edebiliyoruz. Çünkü bu memleket bizim yani Osmanlılarındır. O gibi mübahasat da memleketimizin hayrına, selametine aittir. O hayırdan, o selametten kendimize ve ahlafımıza karşı yalnız biz mesulüz. Bir *Levant Herald*, bir *Proodos*, bir *Neologos* hiç bir zaman mesail-i dahiliyeimizden mesul olmaz.”

Bir vafizemiz daha var.

O da memleketimizden tard olunmalarını talep ettiğimiz bu üç gazetenin vatan-ı mukaddesimizde icra eylediği tahribat-ı maneviye hepimizden evvel fark ederek

meydan-ı müdaafaya atılan ve millet-i Osmaniye'nin cidden tercüman-ı efkarı olan İstanbul mebusu Hüseyin Cahid Bey'e teşekkürat-ı samimiyezi beyan etmektir. O zat düşmanın tiğ-i hakaretine göğüs gererek muzafferiyetler kazanan ecdad-i iza-  
mın cesur ve hakiki bir oğlu olduğunu bu üç mütecavize karşı iktisab eylediği  
muvafakkiyet-i kalemiyesiyle yar ve ağyarın piş-i nigahında ispat eyledi. Var ol-  
sun mücahid-i gayurumuz. Yaşasın soylu Osmanlı vatani ve Osmanlılar!"

Bu nutuğu müteakib makam-ı sadarete, meclis-i mebusan riyasetine takdim kıla-  
cak olan muhtura Duyun-ı Umumiye'den Selahaddin Bey tarafından huzzara kıraat  
edilmiş ve cümlece rehin-i tasvib olarak zirleri imzalanmıştır. (Muhtranın sureti  
yarınki nüshamızda derc olunacaktır.)

Mitinge iştirak eden zevatın kaffesi bu muhtarının kıraatından sonra – henüz  
meclis-i mebusan'ın hal-i ictimada bulunmaması ve makam-ı sadarete müracaat  
için de vaktin erken bulunması hasbıyla hukuk-i Osmaniye'yi bütün mevcudiyetiyle  
müdafaadan bir an hali kalmayan *Tanin* hakkında bir eser-i iltifat ve muhabbet  
olmak üzere idarehanemize gelmişlerdir.

Ser muharririmiz kısa bir nutuk irad ederek “Vatandaşlarımı bu suretle müttehid  
görmek benim için en büyük şerefir, çünkü terakki ancak ittihad ile hasıl olur.” cüm-  
lesiyle sözüne hitam vermiştir. Badehü mitinge iştirak eden heyet namına vekaleten  
Selahaddin Bey matbaamızın balkonuna çıkarak sermuharririmizin hizmet-i vatan-  
perveranesini takdiren bir nutuk okumuştur. Heyet badehü bab-ı Ali'ye, oradan  
da meclis-i mebusan'a giderek muhturalarıyla bazı vesaik-i tahririyeyi sadrazam  
müsteşarına ve meclis-i mebusan reisine badeltakdim dağılmışlardır.

*Osmanlı, İkdam ve Yeni Gazete* refikalarımızın mitinge daveti mutazammin olan  
varakayı müracaat-ı mükerrerriye rağmen derc etmedikleri miting heyeti tarafından  
beyan olunmuştur.

### **Translation:**

#### **The Galatasaray Incident**

The other night, around four o'clock on the opposite bank in the Fish Bazaar, police  
officers intervene while two people are fighting each other. But as it always happens  
in such cases, when the police intervene, those who were against each other just  
before forget their dispute and attack the police together. After some struggle, the  
police officers request officers to be sent from Galatasaray for backup. But in the  
meanwhile, the ignorants of the crowd gather around the officers and try to rescue  
the ones who were fighting from their hands. In the meantime, if police inspector  
Mösyö Ojanlofolon[?] had not arrived at the scene of the incident and taken the

roughnecks<sup>4</sup> to Galatasaray by force, the roughnecks were going to flee. But at that moment the situation of the crowd had taken a threatening character.

In response to this, a detachment of soldiers from the Hunter Battalions reached the location of the incident and started using striking with their rifle butts in all directions. But this kind of forceful action agitated the people even more. The number of curious people running around was increasing. The soldiers started firing shots into the air under the beer house of old Asponi[?]. Even some of the windows of the Oryan[?] Hotel were shattered. The people fearing this situation start to disperse. But around fifteen hundred curious people gather in front of Galatasaray again after a short time and leave without any problems following the effective advice they are given.

We have seen it fit to not describe this event and translate it from our friend *Istanbul*,<sup>5</sup> our purpose in this is specific. Because if we described it according to our own information they could claim we are being biased.

Now let's show how the notorious *Proodos* reports this incident which has been described by the *Istanbul* newspaper and compare two foreign newspapers, but one publishing newspapers with integrity and the other in service of creating disorder in the country for Greek ambitions.

***Proodos* Says:**

### **Brutal Scenes in Beyoğlu**

#### **The Soldiers Are Shooting Civilians**

Yesterday our police took part in a new battle. Innocent, order-loving, family-man countrymen are being wounded by the bullets of the soldiers. Last night, at nine and a half o'clock European time, three coffee-house workers were leaving the "Lavirnitos[?]" tavern that is across the British embassy. A dispute must have emerged as the three individuals started fighting. In the meantime, police arrive to detain them. Two of them fled. Only someone called Aristomanisi[?], who just left the hospital a few days ago and still had bandages on his head, is left. The soldiers started to hit him mercilessly on his chest with the butts of their rifles because he did not want to follow the police officers. During this time, the people gathered and started shouting "Do not hit him, do not hit him.". In the meantime, a soldier from the Hunter Battalions in front of the İpros[?] coffee-house started shooting repeatedly following an order from the Galatasaray police.

While the people were fleeing in horror, whistling bullets were shattering the win-

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4. "*Herifleri*".

5. Most likely referring to French language newspaper *Stamboul*.



dows of the coffee-house, the patrons were ducking down, one of the bullets was extinguishing the gas lamp by dropping it to the ground. Three people were injured during this time. With the individual detained by the police in the throes of death, the other three injured were sent to Galatasaray. This action by the police provoked people's outrage. During the night, the news that Aristomani[?] died in the Sixth District Municipality Hospital became public knowledge.

As a diabolical coincidence, this act of cannibalism by the police has once again happened against the Greeks<sup>6</sup>. But seeing that the police force is established to wound and kill, doesn't the government understand that we do not need this? They are looking for those who sow division among the peoples, incite unrest! But those are foremost *Tanin* and then the police! *Tanin* slanders and curses, the police kill.

For God's sake save us from the police! Are there no lifeguards!

### ***Tanin***

If the purpose and the nature of *Proodos* were not clear, these sentences would be enough to tell what kind of traitorous and instigating agenda it follows. It is very evident how righteous the Ottomans were for announcing their hatred at yesterday's rally against these rags that are deprived of shame, modesty, and fairness. Isn't it enough that a vile *palikarya* such as Aspanudi[?] has been insulting the Ottomans and the honorable Ottoman military since the proclamation of the Constitution? Today, he is accusing our honorable army of "cannibalism". However, if the Ottomans had the slightest trace of the accusations this despicable man has made, he would have long been appropriately punished despite the government's senseless silence.

### **Yesterday's Rally**

Yesterday, at four o'clock in Sultan Ahmed Square, a great rally was organized to demand preventive action by the government against a few well-known foreign newspapers that publish malicious articles to damage the complete consensus between the united elements of society. Around three-four thousand people were present at the rally. Necmi Bey, a senior law school student, delivered a speech that was applauded vigorously. Some items of the speech are as follows.

"If no wake-up call is taken from our civil silence, the Ottomans know very well to employ the tools of civilized peoples. As smoothly as we accept the complaints, hurtful, unjust accusations from non-foreigners, we bitterly reject *Levant Herald*,

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6. The word "*Yunanlular*" is used in *Tanin's* translation. I have not been able to locate *Proodos'* related issue and find out the original term used by *Proodos*. *Tanin's* translation should not be taken as entirely accurate, especially given that different terms referring to Greeks (as an ethnicity) have important distinctions and nationalistic connotations.

*Proodos*, and *Neologos* who creep into Ottoman lives and at every moment dream of spreading their bloody poison between us and our Rum citizens, who are a distinguished pillar of the existence of our peoples. How deceived were this handful of foreign misters who have no legal rights politically or contractually to intervene in our internal administrative affairs, looking at some discussions and competition of our Ottoman newspapers. We can discuss and compete as different parties, different sides to revive our homeland. Because this homeland belongs to us, the Ottomans. And that conversation is for the good and salvation of our homeland. Only we are responsible for that good and salvation against ourselves and our descendants. *Levant Herald*, *Proodos*, *Neologos* can never be responsible for our internal affairs.”

We have another duty too.

And that is to express our sincere appreciation to Istanbul deputy Hüseyin Cahid Bey, who is the true representative of the thoughts of the Ottoman nation and who put himself into the line of defense after noticing before any of us did the moral destruction carried out in our sacred homeland by these three newspapers that we demand to be expelled from our country. He proved to both friends and strangers by the victory of his writing against these three assailants that he is a true son of our great ancestors who won victories by facing the sword of insults of the enemy. Long live our industrious champion. Long live the noble Ottoman land and the Ottomans!”

Following this speech, the memorandum that will be presented to the office of Grand Vizierate and the office of the President of the Chamber of Deputies was read by Selahaddin Bey from the Public Debt Administration to those who were present, and all endorsed and signed the paper. (A copy of the memorandum will be published in our next issue.)

After this reading, all of the people who attended the rally – since the Chamber of Deputies is not meeting yet and the hour was early to appeal to the office of the Grand Vizier, visited our office to show their fondness for *Tanin* which uses all of its energy to defend Ottoman justice.

Our editor-in-chief gave a short speech and ended his words with, “Seeing our citizens united in this way is a great honor for me because progress is only possible with union.” Later, Selahaddin Bey, as the representative of the delegation that attended the rally, went up to the balcony of our printing house and made a speech appreciating our editor-in-chief’s patriotic service. Later, the delegation first went to the Sublime Porte, and from there to the Chamber of Deputies with their memorandums and disbanded after presenting some written documents to the undersecretary of the Grand Vizier and to the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The rally delegation stated that our friends *Osmanlı*, *İkdam*, and *Yeni Gazete* did not publish the paper that announced the rally despite repeated applications.

***Tanin*, 27 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

### **Osmanlı Askerine Yeni Bir İftira**

Mahud *Proodos* dünkü nüshasında Osmanlı askerine karşı bi-edebane iftiralarına ber-vech-i ati devam ediyor:

Geçen gece Beyoğlu'nda tasvir eylediğimiz yamyamlıklar icra ediliyorken diğer bir nevi de İstanbul'da Validehanı[?] önünde cereyan ediyordu. Geçen gün akşamleyin herkes gibi üç Rum açık tütün satarken zabıta asker ile beraber bunları yakaladı.

Bu askerler Rum unsuru aleyhindeki bütün kuduzluklarını bu üç şahsa karşı göstermeye niyet ederek elbiselerini nameşhud bir vahşetle yırtarken tüfeklerinin kundaklarıyla dahi merhametsizce dipçikler vurmaya başladılar. Biçareler her ne kadar muhalefet etmeyeceklerini beyan ediyorlar ise de kundak dipçikleri yağmur gibi üzerlerine düşüyor, kurtların yırtılmış şikarları gibi biçareler sürükleniyordu. Halk bu yamyamlığa karşı protesto etmeye başladılar. Askerler ise daha ziyade kudurarak vurmaya devam ettiler. Birçok adamlar bunları (Fevkalade hırslanmış askerin) elinden kurtarmak istediler. Fakat bunlar silahlarını ahaliye karşı çevirdiler ve onları tefrik etmeye cesaret edeni vuracaklarını makam-ı tehditte söylediler. Osmanlı silahlarının bu gürültüleri arasında bir hoca geldi ve bir taş üzerinde askere "Vurun gavurlara!" diye bağırmaya başladı. Bu tehditattan halk kaçtı ve biçare yakalananlar zabıtamızın vahşetinin cizye-i mezalimini ödemek üzere kanlar içinde götürüldü. Zabıtanın ve askerin bu hareketine taassub denilmezse biz başka ne isim verecek vereceğimizi bilmiyoruz. Yoksa bir ihtilal-tamm arasında bulunup da herkes kendi sevk-i tabiisiyle kanunsuz, insaniyetsiz harekete serbest ise, başka.

***Tanin***

Hükümetin ve meclis-i mebusanın bilhassa nazar-ı dikkatini celb ederiz. Bu paçavra askerimizi böyle bireva tahkirde devam ettikçe galeyan-ı efkar ile ahalinin bizzat tedibe kıyam edeceği şüphesiz görülüyor. Hükümet artık vazifesini yapmalıdır.

**Translation:**

### **A New Slander Against Ottoman Soldiers**

The notorious *Proodos* continues their unmannered slander against Ottoman soldiers in their issue yesterday as follows:

The other night, while the cannibalism in Beyoğlu was being carried out as we

described, another of its kind was happening in Istanbul in front of Veledehani[?]. The other evening, three *Rum* youngsters were caught by the police and soldiers while they were selling loose tobacco like everybody else does.

These soldiers, attempting to manifest all of their rabidness against the *Rum* element on these three individuals started to beat them mercilessly with their gunstocks and rifle butts while tearing their clothes with an unwitnessed ferocity. Although the helpless announced that they were not going to object, gunstock and rifle butts were raining down, and the helpless were being dragged like the prey of wolves. The people start to protest this cannibalism. The soldiers, on the other hand, continued their beating with increased rabidness. A lot of men tried to rescue these from the hands of “the remarkably furious soldiers”. But these turned their weapons against the crowd and proclaimed in a threatening way that they would shoot anyone who dared to break them up. Amid the rumble of Ottoman weapons, a hodja showed up and started shouting “Beat those infidels!” on top of a stone. The people fled from these threats and the helpless ones who were caught were taken away drenched in blood to pay the jizya of the oppression of our police. If this behavior of the police and the military can not be called fanaticism, we do not know what else to call it. Unless we are in the midst of a total revolution and everyone is free to act lawless and inhuman by their instincts.

### ***Tanin***

We call the attention of the government and the Chamber of Deputies especially.

As long as this rag continues to unjustly accuse our soldiers no doubt the people will attempt to discipline them themselves with agitated ideas. The government should perform its duty already.

***Tanin*, 28 March 1909**

### **Transliteration:**

### **Beyoğlu Vakası**

Beyoğlu'nda kavga etmekte olan bir iki sarhoşun vakaya müdahale eden zabıta memurunu tahkir ve darp etmeye cürret etmeleri üzerine Galata sarayına memur bir iki polis ve jandarma ile avcı taburundan iki nefer mahal-i vukuya yetişerek polis memurunu mütecavizlerin elinden kurtarmaya çalışırlar. Herifler askerlerin tüfeklerine sarılarak tecavüzlerini bir kat daha arttıırırlar. Askerler cümleten altı el silah atmaya mecbur olurlar. Üç kişi hafifçe yaralanır. Yaralananlardan biri Osmanlı tebaasından Niko, diğeri Yunan tebaasından Kosti ile Pandeli'dir.

Beyoğlu vakası namıyla birkaç günden beri gazetelere sermaye-i makal olan hadis-

enin mahiyeti işte bundan ibaret olduğu tahkik etti. Şu vakayı *Proodos* gazetesinin ne mübalâğa-alud bir suret-i garazkaranede tasvir ederek askerlerimize vahşilik ve yamyamlık isnad ile muhterem ordumuza hakarat ettiğini tercüme eylediğimiz neşriyatıyla nazar-ı ibrete vaz etmiştik. Muhterem Osmanlı ordusunun bir neferinin ayağındaki çarık kadar değeri olmayan bir Yunanlı palikaryanın Osmanlı toprağında neşr ettiği bir gazete ile böyle orduya hakaret etmesi zan ediyorduk ki bütün Osmanlı matbuatında müttehid ve müttefik nefretler ve lanetlerle telakki edilecektir. Bu Yunanlı palikarya şu cürret-i zelilanesini başka bir memlekette faraza Bulgaristan'da, Sırbistan'da, Fransa'da, ilah. göstermiş olsa idi idarehanesinin camlarını, tavanlarını başına indirirler, kendisine tokat atmayı tenzil sayarlarsa tükürük içinde boğarak sokağa çıkarmazlardı.

Halbuki buna mukabil ne görüyoruz? Matbuatın çoğu sükut ediyor! Bu kadarla kalsa teessürümüz yine kamil-i tahammül olacak. Fakat Ahrar Fırkası müessislerinden Ahmed Fazlı Bey'in idaresi altında müstakil olmak üzere çıkan "*Osmanlı*" gazetesinin *Proodos* sahifalarına yakışacak bir mübalâğa-ı bedbinane ile idare-i kalem ettiğini görünce kalbimizden kopup gelen feryad-i teessürü zapt edemedik.

*Osmanlı* gazetesi evvelki akşam Galata Sarayı karşısında (Avcı taburuna yaylım ateşi icra ettirildiğini) yazıyor. Osmanlı milletinin namusunu, kanununu teşahhüs ettiren bir polis memurunu Kefalonyalı, bilmem nereli palikaryaların tahkirlerinden, ayaklarından kurtarmak vazifesiyle yetişen iki avcı askeri kendilerine de teveccüh eden taaruzattan vikaye-i nefis ile vafize-i inzibatı temin için yalnız çoğu havaya olmak üzere altı el silah atıyor. Sonra bu, Ahrar Fırkası taraftarlarınca avcı taburuna yaylım ateşi icra ettirilmek tarzında bir iftira ile ilan olunuyor! Vaka Atina gazetelerine aksettiği zaman da bundan mübalâğalı yazılmayacaktır! Fakat sakın bu neşriyat da avcı taburlarının İstanbul'da tebedi esbabına zihinleri hazırlamak için olmasın?

*Osmanlı* gazetesi bu kadarla da kalmıyor. "Askeri oraya sevk etmek hata, bilasebeb istamele-i cebr ve silah ise hata ender hatadır" diyerek memlekette nüfuz-u hükümeti sokak çapkınlarının, sarhoş Yunanlı palikaryaların sefih ayakları altında çiğnetmek cihetinde kail oluyor. Zabıta memuru darp olunduğu, yetişen kol efradına karşı gelindiği, ellerinden tüfekleri alınmaya teşebbüs edildiği zaman da silah istimal olunmazsa acaba ne vakit istimal olunur? Bir Osmanlı askeri terk-i hayat eder; fakat elinden tüfeğini vermez.

Biz bu vakada zabıtamızı istimal-i şiddet etmekle değil bilakis luzumundan fazla rıfk ve mülayemet göstermekle itham edeceğiz. Böyle polis memurlarını dövmeye, askere taarruz etmeye kalkan palikaryaların orada kafaları patlatılmalı idi ki arkada kalanların kafalarına da Osmanlı polisinin şakaya gelmeyeceği fikri suret-i katiyyede yerleşmeli idi.

Osmanlı gazetesi bu vakayı ve fecayinin vatannın en nazik ve en mütemeddin bir noktasında, süfera-i ecnebinin nazar-ı takbih ve hayreti önünde cereyan etmesini de ayrıca mucib-i teessüf görüyor. Eğer böyle ahval-i dahiliyemizden bahs ederken tervic-i meram için süfera-yı ecnebiyeyi işe karıştırmak caiz ve hamiyet-i vataniye ile kabil-i telif ise temin ederiz ki her memlekette hemen her gün olan bu Beyoğlu vaka-ı adiyesi süferanın takbihi değil tahsinini davet etmiştir. Çünkü hayırhah devletler hükümetizi muntazam ve metin görmek isterler. Böyle namus-ı zabitanın kemal-i metanetiyle müdafaa edildiğini müşahede etmek onları hakkımızda ihtar-i itimaddan başka bir şeye sevk etmez. Meğer ki Yunan sefiri gibi işin içinde alakası buluna.

Çünkü mecruhlardan ikisinin Yunan tebaasından bulunması, bazı gazetelerin rivayetine nazaran, Yunan sefirinin Bab-ı Ali'ye müracaatına meydan vermiş. Kavga Osmanlı tebaasından Rumlar arasında başladığı ve polis bunları tevkif ettiği halde zabıtaya mümanaata kalkışanlar, mevkufu zabıttan istirdad etmek isteyenler arasına acaba Yunanlılar ne münasebetle sokulmuşlardır? Kendilerine dokunur ne vardı?

*Yeni Gazete* refikamız dün bundan bahs ederken şu yolda beyan-ı mütalaa ediyordu:

“Zannımızca zabıta memurlarının muhafaza-ı haysiyet ve hayat için silah istimal etmiş olmaları zaruri olup netice-i tahkikat-i müddeayı carih yolda bir şekil arz edecekti.

Beyoğlu'nda makam-ı müdaafada muhik olarak vuku bulan bu gibi tecavüzat-ı müddeabiha münasebetiyle hududda Yunan çeteleri tarafından ika edilmekte bulunan taaruzat hakkında da tahkikat icra ettirilmesi talep olursa müddeiler için daha vasi mikyasda bir cevab-ı müskit ihzar edilmiş olacaktır.”

İşte Osmanlılık yalnız isimde değil kalbinde olanlar bir müdahale-i ecnebiyeye karşı ancak bu suretle idare-i kalem ederler. Heyet-i vükelayı sevmeyebiliriz, mesleği mesleğimize uymaz, fakat hukuk-u milliyeyi ecanibe karşı müdafaa luzum geldiği zaman tutacağımız lisan ancak bir Atinali gazeteye yakışacak şekilde olursa hizmetimizi ifa etmemiş sayılırız.

Bu vesile ile “*Hukuk-u Umumiye*” gazetesine de beyan-ı memnuniyet etmeyi vazifeden ad ediyoruz. Çünkü dün yalnız “*Hukuk-u Umumiye*” gazetesi *Proodos*'un neşriyat-i müfteriyanesi aleyhinde yazdığımız fıkralar üzerine izhar-ı nefret eyliyor. Memnuniyetimiz pek tabiidir. Çünkü biz menafi-i umumiye-i memlekete taalluk eden mukaddes nokatalarda da birleşemeyerek menafi-i vatani ağraz-i şahsiyemize feda edersek bizi mahv olmuş bir millet diye ad edenlere hak vermiş oluruz.

**Translation:**

**The Beyoğlu Incident**

In Beyoğlu, after a few brawling drunkards dared to assault and insult the police officer who intervened in the affair, a few police gendarme officers from Galatasaray, and two soldiers from the Hunter Battalion arrived at the location of the incident and tried to rescue the police officer from the hands of the assailants. The roughnecks increase their attacks by grappling the rifles of the soldiers. The soldiers were forced to fire six shots in total. Three people got injured slightly. One of the injured is Niko, an Ottoman subject, the others are Kostı and Pandeli, subjects of Greece.

It became apparent this is the essence of the affair called the Beyoğlu Incident that has been the talking point of the newspapers for a few days. We had demonstrated how the *Prodios* newspaper accused our soldiers of savagery and cannibalism and insulted our honorable army by how they described this affair in a spiteful way and filled with exaggerations as we translated their writing. We thought that a Greek<sup>7</sup> *palikarya*, who is not worth even as much as the boot of a single soldier from the honorable Ottoman army, insulting the army using the newspaper that he is publishing in Ottoman land would be received with unified and allied hate by the Ottoman press. If this Greek *palikarya* had done this vile audacity in another country, say Bulgaria, Serbia, France, etc. they would have brought down the windows and the roof of his office on his head, would drown him with their spit if they considered slapping him beneath them and would not allow him to walk out on the streets.

But what do we see instead? Most of the press is keeping their silence. If this was the extent of it, our sorrow would be tolerable. But after seeing that the *Osmanlı* newspaper - which is wholly under the management of Ahmed Fazlı Bey, a founder of the Liberty Party<sup>8</sup> - took a stance of exaggerated pessimism that would fit right in with the pages of *Proodos*, we could not contain the cry of sorrow that erupted from our hearts.

The *Osmanlı* newspaper writes that the other night, “hunter battalions were ordered to fire a volley”. Two Hunter [Battalion] soldiers arrive to rescue a police officer embodying the laws and the dignity of the Ottoman people from the insults and the beatings of *palikaryas* from Cephalonia or from wherever; and fire six shots, most of them into the air, to save themselves from the assault that now targets them too and to perform their duty to preserve public order. Then, this is declared falsely by the supporters of the Liberty Party as if the hunter battalions were ordered to fire a volley! When the incident reaches the Athens newspapers, it will not be written in a more exaggerated way than this! But might this be published too, for the purpose of preparing the minds for the expulsion of the hunter battalions from Istanbul?

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7. *Yunanlı*”

8. “*Ahrar Fırkası*”

The *Osmanlı* newspaper does not stop at this. By saying “Sending the soldiers there is a mistake, using force and weapons without reason on the other hand is a mistake of unusual proportions.”, [*Osmanlı*] consents to the trampling of the authority of the government under the debauched feet of street rascals and drunkard Greek *palikaryas*. If weapons are not used when police officers are getting beat up, the arriving patrol force is opposed and their weapons are attempted to be taken away from their hands, when are weapons to be used? An Ottoman soldier gives his life before giving away his rifle.

We will accuse our police not of using violence but rather of showing too much kindness and easiness than necessary. *Palikaryas* such as these that attempt to beat up police officers and assault the soldiers should have had their heads bursted there, so that the remaining ones decisively understand the fact that the Ottoman police should not be messed with.

The *Osmanlı* newspaper also sees the fact that these affairs and tragedies happened in a most courteous and civilized point of the homeland, in front of the contemptuous and astonished gaze of foreign embassies as a reason for sorrow. If it is acceptable and fits with national patriotism to bring up the foreign embassies to strengthen one’s argument, we assure that this Beyoğlu incident, a common occurrence, that happens almost every day in every country, did not lead to contempt of the embassies but to their commendation. Because benevolent states want to see our government firm and determined. Witnessing that the dignity of the police is protected with total determination only reminds them to trust us. Unless they are involved in the affair like the Greek ambassador is.

Because, according to the stories of some newspapers, the fact that two of the injured were Greek citizens led to the Greek ambassador’s appeal to the Sublime Porte. Since the fight began between *Rums* who were Ottoman subjects and the police detained them, what business did the Greek citizens have in joining those who opposed the police? What did it have to do with them?

Our friend *Yeni Gazete* expressed their opinions on the matter yesterday as follows:

“We think that the police officers had to use weapons to protect their dignity and their lives, and it would take a form damaging the result of the investigation of the case.

It would be a silencing answer of greater proportions if this incident that took place in Beyoğlu in a state of justified self-defense is used to request to investigation of the assaults by the Greek bands on the border.”

This is how those who have Ottomanism not just in their names but in their hearts



write against a foreign intervention. We may not like the Council of Ministers,<sup>9</sup> our agendas might not align, but if our language is only fit for an Athenian newspaper when it is required to defend our national law against foreigners, then we cannot be said to have fulfilled our duty.

With this opportunity, we consider it a duty to express our gratitude towards the “*Hukuk-u Umumiye*” newspaper. Because yesterday, only the “*Hukuk-u Umumiye*” newspaper is expressing hatred as we wrote against *Proodos*’slanderous publications. Our gratitude is very sincere. Because if we can not unify in sacred points concerning the public interests of the homeland, and sacrifice the homeland’s interests for our personal purposes, then we would be justifying those who call us a ruined nation.

***Tanin*, 30 March 1909<sup>10</sup>**

### **Transliteration:**

### **Beyoğlu Vakası**

Evvvelki gece Beyoğlu mutassarraflık dairesi karşısında vuku bulan münazaayı mene giden polis memuruna ve askere tecavüzatta bulunulmasıyla istimal-i silaha mecburiyet hasıl olarak üç kişinin yaralandığına dair Beyoğlu polis meclisinden verilen ve Zabtiye Nezaret-i Aliyye’sinden batezkere Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesi’ne gönderilen raporun suretidir:

Dün gece saat üç raddelerinde Galata Sarayı karşısında Hamalbaşı caddesinde vuku bulan maddeye dair icra kılınan tahkikat neticesine nazaran meyhane garsonlarından olup şimdi boşta bulunan [...] tebaa-i devlet-i Aliye’den Ahile Saziso[?] ve Yani Adamasi[?] ve Tekfudarğlı Miço Raptakya[?] ve Kırkkiliseli Gavril Voçidis[?] ve [...] Espanoz Tome[?] ve Yunanlı Aristomani Korotyö[?] Hamalbaşı caddesinde Sagrodon’un[?] meyhanesinde akşamdan beir işret ederek bunlardan Yani Adamasi[?] ve Aristomani yekdiğeriyle münazaa etmişlerse de meyhane içerisinde münazaanın ilerilemesine meydan verilmeyerek Aristomani dışarıya çıkmış ve kendisinin gittiği zan edilmişken biraz sonra diğerleri de çıktığında Yani’yi biraz ötede beklemekte olan Aristomani merkurumun üzerine hücum etmekle orada tekrar münazaa ve müdarebeye başlamış ve o sırada tepebaşı’ndan Galata Sarayı’na doğru gelmekte olan Beyoğlu merkezinde müstahdem polis Süleyman Efendi vazife-i maniyayı ifa etmek üzere aralarına girdiğinde merkurumlardan Aristomani polisin müdahalesinden naşi tehevver ederek yakasından tutup kaputunu yırtmış ve mezkur

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9. “*Heyet-i Vükela*”

10. The following excerpt is a reproduction of the Ministry of Police’s report on the matter, originally published in the state newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi*, on 29 March 1909. *Tanin* publishes the report by quoting *Takvim-i Vakayi*. The date of the report is stated to be “*13 Mart Sene 1325*”, (26 March 1909). This date should not be confused with the date of the original *Takvim-i Vakayi* publication containing the report, which is 29 March 1909 (“*16 Mart 1325*”).

Alasami[?] arkadaşlarıyla beraber polisi darp etmeye başlamış olmakla polis merkumu derdest etmiş ve gerek arkadaşları gerek tecemmü eden ahalden bazıları polisin elinden Aristomani'yi bıraktırmak için fiilen taaruzata başlamış ve Galata Sarayı kapısına memur polis Kirkor devriye memuru Fahri Efendi ile Jandarma Ahmed onbaşı ve Fahri Efendi'nin refakatinde bulunan avcı üçüncü taburu efradından Tiranlı Abdül ve Üsküblü Tahir yetişerek polisler Süleman Efendi'ye muavenetle Aristomani'yi Galata Sarayı'na götürmeye çalıştıkları ve askerler de merkumun refikasının ve bunlara zahir olan ahalinin hücumunu defe uğraştıkları sırada Aristomani polisin diğer yakasını da yırtmış ve mütaarizler evvela sözle ve sonra dinlemedikleri için dipçikle ahaliyi dağıtmaya çalışan asker Abdül ve Tahir'in tüfenklerine sarılıp ellerinden almaya teşebbüs etmiş olduklarından askerler başka suretle tüfenklerini kurtaramayacaklarını ve mütecavizleri dağıtamayacaklarını kestirerek bilmeceburiye istimal-i silah etmiş ve merkumlardan Abdül bir el ve Tahir evvela havaya bir el attığı halde erbab-ı taaruzun dağılmadığını görmesiyle onlara doğru daha dört el atmış olduğu ve çıkan kurşunların isabetiyle İstanbullu tebaa-i devlet-i Aliye'den kahveci Niko cüzice kulağından ve Yunanlı mücellid Kosti elinden ve Kefalonyalı Pandeli kolundan yaralandığı anlaşılmıştır. Mücellid Kosti güya Papadoplott'un kahvehanesinde oturmakta iken silahlar patlayıp diğerleriyle beraber yere yatmış ve ol vakit elinden mecruh olmuş olduğunu söylemekte ise de rapordan müsteban buyurulacağı üzere merkum kahvehane içerisinde yaralanmayıp dışarıda vaka mahalinde cerihedar olmuş ve kahvehanede ikinci ifadesinde söylediği vaziyette durduğu halde hariçte kaimen atılan bir silah kurşununu merkumun eline isabet edemeyeceği ve mahal-i vukuda seyirci veya mütaarizler miyanında bulunduğu sırada husule gelmiş olacağı istidlal olunarak bu nokta-i şayan tamik bulunmuştur. Polis Süleyman Efendi ve mecruhlar ettıbaya muayene ettirilmiş ve verilen raporlarda Süleyman Efendi'nin unuku [...] darp veya sadmeden husula gelmiş ve üç dört günde zail olabilecek bir kedme ve diğer bir iki yerinde bere bulunduğu ve mücellid Kosti'nin sağ kolunda ve kahveci Nikola'nın sağ kulağındaki kurşunla husule gelmiş cerihler tehlikesiz olup sekiz gün sonra bir defa daha muayenelerinin icrası muktezi ettiği beyan olunmuş ve Aristomani'nin sekiz gün sonra yine muayene olunmak üzere hastahaneye nakline lüzum gösterilmiştir. Hülasa Yani, Gavril, Tome, Miço, Aristomani, Ahilesav[?] kendilerine iltihak eden daha bir kaç kişi arkalarında bir cemm-i gafır olduğu halde polis Süleyman Efendi'yi icrasına mübaderet eylediği hükm-i memuriyetten dolayı devamlıca darp ederek ve Aristomani polisin iki yakasını yırtarak polis asker ve jandarmadan mürekkeb kuvve-i zabıtaya karşı eşhas-ı merkume tarafından musırren muhalefet ve hakarete cürret ve Aristomani'yi zabıta memurlarının elinden cebren almak için savletkarane bir suretle mukavemet olunmakla beraber taaruzda daha ileriye varılıp bildefaat sözle ve dipçik ile vuku olan teklif ve teşebbüs üzerine dağılmayıp iki askerinin elindeki Mavzer

tüfenklerini almak için sarılmaya mücaheret edilmiş olmasına ve ahali memurin-i zabıtayı ihata ederek artık başka çare ile def-i taarruz edilememesine mebni askerlerin erbab-ı taarruz ve tecavüz aleyhine istimal-i silaha mecbur kaldıkları nümeyan olmuş ve Galata Sarayı'na hin-i naklinde burnundan gayr-i malum bir şeyce cüzice mecruh olan Aristomani tabib raporu mucibince hastahaneye yatırılmış ve merkumdan başka refikasından Ahilesade mevcut ve diğerleri hal-i firarda bulunmuş olmakla olbabda.

13 Mart Sene 1325

-*Takvim-i Vakayi*-

### **Translation:**

#### **The Beyoğlu Incident**

Below is a copy of the report of the Beyoğlu police council that was sent to the Esteemed Ministry of the Interior from the Sublime Ministry of the Police. The report concerns three people being injured after weapons had to be used as the police officer and soldiers who arrived to intervene in the fight in front of the Beyoğlu administration building the other night were assaulted:

Last night, around three o'clock, an incident occurred across Galatasaray on Hamalbaş Avenue. According to the investigations on this matter; Ahile Saziso[?], and Yani Adamasi[?] and Miço Raptakya[?] from Tekfurdağı, and Gavril Voçidis[?] from Kırkkilise, and Espanoz Tome[?] from [...] of the subjects of the Sublime State; and Aristomani Korotyö[?] from Greece; who were a tavern waiters but are now unemployed, were drinking all night in Sagrodon's[?] tavern on the Hamalbaş avenue. Of these people, Yani Adamasi[?] and Aristomani got into a fight with each other. To prevent the escalation of a fight in the tavern, Aristomani exited the tavern. Thinking that Aristomani left, the others exited [the tavern] too. Aristomani, who was waiting for Yani a short distance over, attacked the aforementioned and a new argument and fight began. Meanwhile, police officer Süleyman Efendi, stationed in the Beyoğlu police center, was walking from Tepebaşı to Galatasaray. He intervened in order to fulfill his duty of prevention. Enraged by the police's intervention, Aristomani of the aforementioned grabbed him by his collar and tore his coat. And Alasami[?] of the aforementioned started to beat up the police officer with his friends. Still, the police officer detained the aforementioned and both his friends and some of the crowd that gathered started to assault in order to force the police officer to release Aristomani. Abdül from Tiran and Tahir from Üsküb from the Third Hunter Battalion, accompanied by police officer Kirkor, patrol officer Fahri Efendi, and gendarme corporal Ahmed and Fahri Efendi, who are stationed at

Galatasaray arrived at the scene. They helped Süleyman Efendi to bring Aristomani to Galatasaray and blocked the attacks of the crowd that was trying to prevent this. In the meantime, Aristomani tore the other collar of the police officer [Süleyman Efendi] . The assailants tried to get a hold of the soldiers Abdül and Tahir's rifles, who had attempted to disperse the crowd first verbally, and then with the butts of their rifles when they did not comply. The soldiers were compelled to use their weapons after perceiving that there was no other way to save their rifles. Of the aforementioned, Abdül fired one shot and Tahir initially fired one shot into the air, but after seeing that the crowd did not disperse, fired four more shots toward them. It was discovered that the shots fired injured coffee house keeper Niko from Istanbul, of the subjects of the Sublime State, on the ear insignificantly; bookbinder Kostı from Greece in the hand; and Pandeli from Cephalonia. Although the bookbinder Kostı claims that he was injured in the hand while he lay down with the others when the guns were fired as he was sitting in Papadoplot's coffee house, the report clearly indicates that he was injured not in the coffee house but outside, at the scene of the incident. It was investigated that a bullet from a gun fired outside would not struck him in the coffee house in the position he claimed he was in during his second statement, and it was concluded that it would have happened while he was at the scene of the incident among the assailants or the audience. Police officer Süleyman Efendi and the other injured were treated by the doctors. The reports state that Süleyman Efendi has a bruise that resulted from an assault or an impact that would disappear in three-four days on his neck [...] and marks on one or two other places. The wounds caused by bullets on book binder Kostı's right arm and coffee house keeper Nikola's right ear are insignificant, and it is stated that they need to be examined eight days later again. Furthermore, it was deemed necessary to send Aristomani to the hospital, with another examination scheduled for eight days later. To sum up, Yani, Gavril, Tome, Miço, Aristomani, Ahilesav[?], and a few other persons that joined them, with a large crowd behind them, continuously assaulted Süleyman Efendi while he was attempting his official duty. Aristomani tore two collars of the police officer['s coat]. The aforementioned persons dared to persistently oppose and insult the police force consisting of police, soldiers, and gendarmes. They aggressively defied the police to take Aristomani from the hands of the police forcefully. They increased their attack even more and did not disperse after numerous advice and attempts verbally and by rifle butts. They dared to get a hold of the Mauser rifles in the hands of the two soldiers. The crowd surrounded the police officers. It was observed that, left with no other choices, the soldiers were forced to use their weapons against the assailant and attacking crowd. Aristomani, who was injured in the nose with an unknown object during his transfer to Galatasaray, was admitted to the hospital according to the doctor's report. Other

than him, his friend Ahilesade is present, and the others are at large.

13 March Year 1325

-*Takvim-i Vakayi*-

***Sabah*, 31 March 1909**

**Transliteration:**

**Beyođlu Mutasarraflıđından**

Geçen Perşembe gecesi Beyođlu'nda Hamalbaşı caddesinde Ağyalıya[?] isminde birini alenen darp etmekte iken polis tarafından derdest edilen Yunanlı Aristomen polise muhalefet ve ona dahi el kaldırmaya ve kaputunu yırtmaya cürret etmiştir. Merkumun bir kaç refikiyle arkalarında peydah olan cemm-i gafır kendisini polisin elinden almak için musırren sarf-i nüfuz ve kuvvetten başka polise muavenet için yetişmiş olan devriye neferlerinden iki askerın tüfenklerine sarılıp ahze kıyam gibi hareket-i küstaheneye tasaddi eylediklerinden ve dağılmaları için havaya iki el silah dahi endaht edildiđi halde dağılmadıklarından istimal-i silahtan başka bir suretle def-i taarruz mümkün olamayacağı anlaşılmasıyla emir ve talimat ile hareket eden neferler hücum ve tecavüz hususunda ilk defa olarak gördükleri taannüd üzerine mütarizler aleyhinde zararı mahdud bırakacak surette şayan-ı takdir bir maharet ve itidal ile istimal-i silah eylemişler ve merkum Aristomen ile diđer Yunanlı mücellid Kostı kahveci Pandeli kahveci İstanbullu Nikola hafifçe mecruh olduktan sonra mütecasirler dağılmışlardır. Herkes bilmelidir ki derdest olunan eşhası memurin-i zabitanın elinden kimse istirdad edemez asker ve zabıta hiçbir vecihle tahkir olunamaz. Evvelce ilan olunduđu üzere hukuk-ı hükümet ve milleti ve haysiyet ve resmiyeyi ihlal ve tedabir-i icraat-ı inzibatiyeyi takim ve işkal eden ahvale mütecasir olanlar derece-i cürümlerinin ihsas edeceđi mecburiyete göre mukabeleye hedef olacaklardır. Şurası da nazar-ı dikkate alınmalıdır ki kuvvetü'z-zahr olarak polise terfık olunan kol ve devriye ile kuvve-i müsellehe-i askeriyenin ne suretle hareket eyleyeceklerine dair tanzim ve ilan edilmiş olan talimatın bir fıkrasında kuvve-i askeriyenin karakolda nöbet bekledikleri veya devriye hizmetini ifa eyledikleri sırada yahud esna-ı sevkiyatta kendilerine hücum vuku bulunur ve bu hücumun defi için silah istimalinden başka çare kalmazsa ve hidemat-ı mezkureyi hin-i ifada bir guna-i mümaanat ve mukavemet tesadüf ettiler ve def-i mümaanat ve mukavemet başka suretle mümkün olmazsa istimal-i silaha mezun oldukları muharrer ve memurin-i zabitanın vazife-i memuriyetini icrada nizam-ı mahsusanın gösterdiđi mesađ üzerine ika edebilecekleri katl ve cerh ve darp fiillerinden mesul ve onlara mukabele edenler ber-vech ile mazur olamayacakları kanun-u cezanın yüz seksen dokuzuncu maddesinde musarrahtır. Salifüzzıkr vakada hakaret görmüş iken bilnefs mukabeleden izhar-i acz eden

polis memuru işten el çektirildiği gibi bundan böyle ahval-i mümasilede memurin-i askeriye ve zabıta daha seri ve katı surette icra-i faaliyet emrini almışlardır.

**Translation:**

**From the Beyoğlu District Administration:**

Last Thursday night, in Beyoğlu, in Hamambası Avenue, Aristomen from Greece was detained while he was publicly assaulting someone named Ağyalıya[?]. He dared to oppose the police and even lay hands on him and tore his coat off. A few friends of the aforementioned and the large crowd that appeared behind them exerted influence and force to get him out of the police's hands. Furthermore, they tried to get a hold of and take the rifles of the two soldiers from the patrol force that arrived to help the police officer. They did not disperse even after two shots were fired into the air. It was understood that there was no other way than to use weapons to prevent the attack and disperse the crowd. The soldiers acting in accordance to orders and instructions, and after witnessing for the first time the persistence of the assault and attack, used their weapons with a praiseworthy skill and caution to limit the damage on the assailants. The crowd dispersed after the aforementioned Aristomen and the other Greek book binder Kostı and coffee house keeper Pandeli and coffee house keeper Nikola from Istanbul were injured insignificantly. Everyone should know that no one can take the detained individuals from the hands of the police officers and the police can not be insulted in any way. Those who violate the laws of the government and the people, and dignity and formality, and those who dare to disrupt and obstruct the law enforcement acts and measures will be reciprocated to the degree of their offenses. It should also be taken into account that an article of the instructions that were set and declared regarding the movement of armed soldiers and patrol squads that are accompanying the police as reinforcement forces states the following: If the military force is assaulted while they are keeping watch in the police station or while they are on the patrol or while they are on the move, and if there is no other way to repel this assault but to use weapons, and if they encounter any form of objection or resistance while performing the aforementioned service and if the objection and the resistance can not be repelled in any other way, they are permitted to use their weapons. Furthermore, the one hundred and ninetieth article of the penal code states that the police officers will not be held responsible for the acts of killing, injuring, and assaulting that they might perform while on official duty that the special regulation permits. Likewise, those who go against them will not be excused. The police officer who demonstrated reluctance to confrontation in the aforementioned case has been suspended from duty, and soldiers and police officers have been ordered to act swifter and tougher in similar situations.

## APPENDIX E: NEARLY IDENTICAL CRIME NEWS FROM DIFFERENT NEWSPAPERS

### Example 1:

- Kızıltoprak'ta mukim Akif Paşa merhumun mahdumu Asakir-i Osmaniye binbaşlarından Nizameddin Bey'in yeğeni Erkan-ı Harb mirlivalarından Feyzi Paşazade Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye talebelerinden Fazıl Bey'in elinde oynamakta olduğu revolver her nasılsa ateş alarak çıkan kurşun mumaileyh Nizameddin Bey'in haremi Nazire hanımın boynuna isabetle cerh etmiştir.<sup>1</sup>
- Kızıltoprak'ta mukim Akif Paşa merhumun mahdumu binbaşı Nizameddin Bey'in yeğeni Erkan-ı Harbiye Mirlivalarından Feyzi Paşazade Mekteb-i Tıbbiye talebesinden Fazıl Bey elinde oynamakta olduğu revolver her nasılsa ateş alarak çıkan kurşun mumaileyh Nizameddin Bey'in haremi Nazire hanımın boynuna isabetle mühlik surette cerh eylemiştir.<sup>2</sup>
- Kızıltoprak'da mukim Erkan-ı Harb mirlivalarından Feyzi Paşazade Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane talebesinden Fazıl Bey'in elinde oynamakta olduğu revolver her nasılsa ateş alarak çıkan kurşun merhum Akif Paşazade Nizameddin Bey'in haremi Nazire hanımın boynuna isabetle cerh etmiştir.<sup>3</sup>

### Example 2:

- Kızıltoprak'da sakin Turşucuzade Esad Bey'in nezdinde arabacı iken yol verilmiş olan Diyarbakırlı Tevfik mumaileyhin köşkünün ahırına bilduhul arabacılara mahsus sutre ile bahçıvan Nikoli'nin [...] paltosunu sirkat etmiş ve merkum derdest-i taharri bulunmuştur.<sup>4</sup>
- Kızıltoprak'ta Turşucuzade Esad Bey'in köşkünde arabacı iken yol verilmiş olan Diyarbakırlı Tevfik köşkün ahırından arabacılara mahsus sutra ile bahçıvan Nikoli'nin [...] paltosunu sirkatle firar etmiştir.<sup>5</sup>

### Example 3:

- Nişantaşı'nda muhacir mahallesinde sakin Gazhane amelesinden Mehmed

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1. *İkdam*, 18 February 1909.

2. *Sabah*, 18 February 1909.

3. *Tanin*, 18 February 1909.

4. *İkdam*, 20 February 1909.

5. *Tanin*, 20 February 1909.

evvelki gece mahal-i mezkurda arabacı Şükrü ve kahveci Mehmed'i bilmünazaa bıçakla cerh etmiştir.<sup>6</sup>

- Nişantaşı'nda muhacir mahallesinde sakin Gazhane-i Amire amelesinden Mehmed evvelki gece mahal-i mezkurda arabacı Şükrü ile kahveci Mehmed'i tehlikeli surette cerh etmiş, carih derdest edilmiştir.<sup>7</sup>

#### Example 4:

- – Mahmud Paşa civarında Mengene'de[?] Kasım Konatı[?] ve [...] Hakim Çelebi camilerinden halı ve seccadeler sirkat edilmiştir.
- Kasımpaşa'da Büyük Piyale Cami- i Şerifiyle mahal-i mezkurda Cami-i Kebir mihrabındaki antika çini taşları sirkat olunmuştur.
- Üsküdar'da Sultantepe'sinde Şeyhülislam Mirzazade Mehmed Said Efendi Cami-i Şerifinden kebir bir halı seccade ile mihrabından çini taşları dahi çalınmıştır.<sup>8</sup>
- – Mengene'de[?] Kasım Konatı ve [...] Hekim Çelebi Cami-i Şerifinde halı ve seccade sirkat edilmiştir.
- Kasımpaşa'da Büyük Piyale Paşa Cami-i Şerifiyle mahal-i mezkurda Cami-i Kebir mihrabında bulunan antika çini taşları sirkat edilmiştir.
- Üsküdar Sultantepe'sinde Şeyhülislam Mirzazade Mehmed Said Efendi Cam-i Şerifinden büyük halı seccade ile mihrabında bulunan çini taşları sirkat edilmiştir.<sup>9</sup>

#### Example 5:

- – Üsküdar'da Ağa Hamamı'nda bir hanede sakin sabikalı takımından Ziya evvelki gece saat altı buçuk raddelerinde elinde bir bohça olduğu halde Sultantepe'si cihetinden geçtiği esnada şüphe üzerine çevrilerek bohça muayene oldukda derununda hava gazı kumpanyasına ait aletler zuhur etmiştir.
- Şubatın on yedinci gecesini Kadıköy'nde Acıbadem'de sakin Ermeni nisvanından Dorik[?] kadının hanesine sarık girmiş mezkur hanede bekçi Kastamonulu Şevki tarafından görülmüş olduğundan bir şey alamaksızın firar eylemiştir.<sup>10</sup>

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6. *İkdam*, 22 February 1909.

7. *Sabah*, 22 February 1909.

8. *İkdam*, 3 March 1909.

9. *Tanin*, 3 March 1909.

10. *İkdam*, 4 March 1909.



- – Üsküdar’da Ağa Hamamı’nda bir hanede sakin sabikalı takımından Ziya evvelki gün saat altı buçuk raddelerinde elinde bir bohça olduğu halde Sultantepeci cihetinden müruru esnasında şüphe üzerine çevrilerek bohça muayene oldukda derununda hava gazı kumpanyasına ait aletler zuhur etmiş ve hakkında tahkikat-ı lüzume icrasına mübaderat kılınmıştır.
- Evvelki gece Kadıkariyesi’nde Acıbadem’de sakin Ermeni nisvanından Dorik[?] kadının hanesine sarik duhul etmiş ve mezkur hanede bekçi Kastamonulu Şevki tarafından derdestine teşebbüs edilmiş ise de bir şey sirkat etmeksizin firar eylemiştir.<sup>11</sup>

### Example 6:

- – Feridiye’de sakin Eczacı Agop Efendi evvelki gece Beyoğlu’nda seyyar portakalçı Hasan’dan portakal mübayaa ederek kalp bir mecdiye sürmekte olduğu görüldüğünden bu babda zabıtaca tahkikat icrasına ibtidar olunmuştur.
- Taksim’de sakin mekteb muallimi Mihran Mozayan Efendi evvelki gece Taksim’de Abdullah Sokağı’ndan geçmekte iken önüne üç şahıs çıkıp silah çekerek tehditle parasını gasp eylemişlerdir.
- Aynalıçeşme’de sakin garson Darıcalı Yorgi evvelki gece saat sekiz raddelerinde yanında Mari namında bir kadın ile Venedik Sokağı’nda Hürriyet birahanesinde oturup işret ettikten sonra sokağa çıktığı sırada mezkur birahane oturmakta olan Keklik Sokağı’nda bir hanede uşak Bursalı Nikoli bunları takip eylemiş ve sokakta aralarında zuhur eden münazaada Yorgi Nikoli’yi sol eliyle çenesi altından, Nikoli de Yorgi’yi alnından, ayağından, sol omzundan cerh etmeleriyle zabıtaca merkumlar derdest olunmuştur.<sup>12</sup>
- – Feridiye’de eczacı Agop Efendi evvelki gece Beyoğlu’nda portakalçı Hasan’a bir adet kalp mecdiye vermekte iken derdest edilmiştir.
- Taksim’de Koyun[?] Sokağı’nda sakin muallim Mihran Mozayan[?] Efendi evvelki gece Beyoğlu’ndan geçerken önüne üç şahs-ı meçhul çıkarak silahla tehdit ederek parasını gasp eylemişlerdir.
- Aynalıçeşme’de sakin garson Darıcalı Yorgi evvelki gece Mari namında bir kadın ile Venedik Sokağı’nda Hürriyet gazinosunda bir müddet oturarak dışarıya çıkarlar. Mezkur gazinoda oturmakta olan uşak Nikoli dahi bunları takip ettiğinden aralarında münazaaa zuhur eder. Bu sırada Nikoli sol

11. *Tanin*, 4 March 1909.

12. *İkdam*, 10 March 1909.

eliyle çenesinden, Yorgi dahi elinden ve ayağından, sol omzundan mecruh olur. Cümlesi zabıtaca derdest edilmiştir.<sup>13</sup>

**Example 7:**

- Silivri Kapısında ikamet eden canbaz Osman evvelki gece saat iki buçukta Langa'da Sokrati'nin kahvesinde oturmakta iken Sakızlı Yani merkumu bıçakla cerh ederek firar etmiştir.<sup>14</sup>
- Silivri Kapısında canbaz Kemal evvelki gece saat iki buçuk kararlarında Langa'da Sokrat'ın kahvesinde oturmakta iken Sakızlı Yani namında biri tarafından bıçakla ağır surette cerh edilmiştir.<sup>15</sup>

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13. *Sabah*, 10 March 1909.

14. *İkdam*, 20 March 1909.

15. *Sabah*, 20 March 1909.

## APPENDIX F: THE VAGRANCY ACT OF 1909

Transliterated from *Düstur, II. Tertip*, volume 1, 169-173.

### Numero 90 – Serseri ve Mazanne-i Su-i Eşhas Hakkında Kanun

19 Rebiülahir 1327 - 26 Nisan 1325

(Takvim-i Vakayi ile Neşr ve İlanı: 24 Rebiülahir 1327, 1 Mayıs 1325 Numero 210)

#### Birinci Fası

#### Serseriler Hakkında

**Madde 1:** Hiçbir vasıta-i maişeti bulunmadığı ve çalışma kudreti olduğu halde, laakal 2 aydan beri bir gûna kâr ve kesp veya sanatla meşgul olmayan ve bu müddet zarfında iş bulmak için teşebbüsât-ı lâzımede bulunduğunu dahi ispat edemeyip şurada burada dolaşan kimselere serserilik olunur. Çalışmaya muktedir iken, teseülü vesile-i maişet ittihaz edenler dahi serseri addolunurlar.

**Madde 2:** Zabıtaca icra kılınacak tahkikat üzerine serseri olduğu anlaşıldıktan sonra derdest olunan eşhas, 24 saat zarfında evrak-ı tahkikiyesiyle birlikte müddeiumumiliğe teslim olunacaklardır.

**Madde 3:** Şahs-ı maznunun netice-i muhakemeye kadar zabıta dairesinde alıkonulması zımında müddeiumumi tarafından müzekkere verilip, evrakı derhal mahkemeye tevdi olunur.

Evrakın tevdiinden itibaren nihayet 24 saat zarfında icra-yı muhakemeye mübaşeret olunacaktır.

**Madde 4:** Bil-muhakeme serseriliği sabit olan şahsın umur-u nafia veya belediyede veyahut müessesat-ı umumiyenin birinde 2 mahdan 4 maha kadar istihdamına ve bu suretin icrasına ledeliptida imkânsızlığı görüldüğü takdirde memleketine veya iş bulması mümkün olan bir mahall-i münasibe sevk ve izamına birlikte karar verilecektir. İşbu karar kabil-i istinaf ve temyiz olmayıp derhal icra olunacaktır.

**Madde 5:** Madde-i sabıkada beyan olunan istihdam-ı ücret-i muarrefenin nisfi istihdam eden idare tarafından verilmek şartıyla o belde dahilinde veya civarında serserinin çalıştırılmasından ibarettir. Ancak mahall-i beytuteti olmayanlara idare-i mezkûre tarafından yatacak bir mahal gösterilecek ve bu takdirde serseriye ücreti muarrefenin yalnız sülüsü itâ olunacaktır.

**Madde 6:** Madde-i sâbika vechile istihdâmı mümkün olmayan serserinin îzâm olunacağı mahall, zabita ile bilmuhâbere müdde‘iumûmî tarafından tayin olunduktan sonra, îcâbı zabıtaca icrâ olunur. Mahkum-u aleyh esbab-ı makbule beyanıyla bir mahal tayin eder ve zabıtaca mahzur gösterilmez ise kendisinin arzu ettiği gönderilir.

**Madde 7:** Müddet-i istihdamını ikmal veyahut müddet-i mezkûre zarfında bir vasıta-i maişet tedarik ve temin eden serseriler Müddeiumumilikçe kaydına işaretle serbest bırakılacaktır.

**Madde 8:** Hizmetinden firar veya imtina eden veyahut bir sene zarfında mükerrer olan serseriler derdest edildiklerinde 3üncü madde mucibince zabita dairesine gönderilip muhakemeleri bilicra 3 aydan 1 seneye kadar nefy olunacaklardır.

**Madde 9:** Zabıtaca şüpheli addolunan mahallerde dolaşmayı itiyat eden veyahut dâi-i şüphe ahval ve harekâta bulunan serseriler 12’inci maddede muharrer usule tevfikan bit-tevkif muhakemeleri icra olunarak bir haftadan 6 maha kadar hapis veyahut 3 mahtan 2 seneye kadar nefy olunurlar.

## **İkinci Fasıl**

### **Mazanne-i Su Hakkındadır**

**Madde 10:** Cinayet ve sirket ve ahz ve yankesicilik ve sarıklere yataklık ve dolandırıcılık ve cebren fiil-i şeni icrasına tasaddi ceraiminden biriyle laakal iki defa mahkum olmuş ve cezasını çekmiş olanlardan veyahut Zaptiye Nezareti altında bulunanlardan zabıtaca dâi-i şüphe ahval ve harekâtı görülen eşhas mazanne-i su’ addolunurlar.

**Madde 11:** Mazannâ-i sû’ addolunan eşhas zabıtaca derdest edilerek ahval ve harekât-ı vâkıasını tasrih ve esbâb-ı sübûtiye ve delâilini tavzih edecek surette tanzim kılınacak zabıt varakası ile nihayet 48 saat zarfında müddeiumumiliğe teslim olunacaktır. Müddeiumumi tarafından itâ kılınacak müzekkere üzerine şahs-ı merkûm tevkif olup muhakemesi müstacelen bil-icrâ zabıt varakasının hilâfına ispat edemediği ve mazannâ-i sû’ olduğu tahakkuk eylediği takdirde 1 mahtan 1 seneye kadar hapis veyahut 3 mahtan 2 seneye kadar nefy cezasıyla mücâzât olunacaktır.

## **Üçüncü Fasıl**

### **Ahkâm-ı Müşterekeyi Havidir**

**Madde 12:** Ketm-i hüviyet maksadıyla her ne suretle olursa olsun tebdîl-i kıyâfet etmiş olanlar veyahut üzerlerinde eğe ve çengel ve maymuncuk gibi kilit ve kapı ve pencere küşâdiyle hırsızlık ve cerâim-i saire irtikâbına ve mesâkin ve dekâkîne duhûle medâr olacak âlet ve edevât bulunduğu hâlde eşyâ-yı mezkûreyi ol zaman bir maksad-ı meşrûa mebnî taşıdıklarını ispat edemeyenler serseri makûlesinden ise

5 kamçıdan 20 kamçıya kadar darp olunduktan sonra 9'uncu madde mucibince mücazat edilir veyahut bunlara bedel 1 aydan 1 seneye kadar hapis olunur ve eğer bu makule-i eşhas-ı mazannâ-i sû' takımından ise 15 kamçıdan 35 kamçıya kadar darp olunduktan sonra 11'inci madde mucibince mücazat olunur veyahut bu cezalara bedel 2 aydan 2 seneye kadar hapis edilir.

**Madde 13:** Eşhâsa fiilen taarruz veya tehdit eyleyen serseriler 10 kamçıdan 30 kamçıya kadar darp olunduktan sonra 9'uncu madde mucibince mücazat edilir veyahut bunlara bedel 1.5 aydan bir buçuk seneye kadar hapis olunur ve mazannâ-i sû' takımından buna mütecasir olanlar 20 kamçıdan 39 kamçıya kadar darp olunduktan sonra 11'inci madde mucibince mücazat olunur veyahut buna bedel üç aydan iki buçuk seneye kadar hapis olunur. Fakat harekât-ı vâkıaları kânûnen daha şedîd bir cezâyı müstelzim olursa haklarında ol ceza tertîb olunur.

**Madde 14:** Sekizinci maddede tasrih edilen suretten maade ahvalde mükerrirlerin cezaları teşdid olunacaktır.

**Madde 15:** 9'ncu ve 11'nci ve 13'ncü ve 14'ncü maddelerde zikr ve ta'dâd olunan cezâlardan biriyle mahkûm olan eşhâs müddet-i cezâiyelerini ikmâl ettikten sonra 6 aydan 3 seneye kadar Zaptiye Nezâreti altına alınmak cezâsıyla dahi mahkûm olacaklardır; fakat evvelce başka bir cürümden dolayı Zaptiye Nezâreti altında bulunmaya mahkûm olmuşlar ise müddet-i mahkûmiyetlerini ikmâl ettikten sonra işbu madde mucibince müstehak oldukları cezâ başkaca icrâ olunacaktır.

**Madde 16:** 15 yaşını ikmâl etmeyen çocuklar serseri addolunamazlar. Bu kabîl çocuklar ebeveyni veyahut şer'an infâk ve terbiyeleriyle mükellef olan akrabası muktedir oldukları halde infâk etmezler ve şurada burada serseriyâne dolaşmalarına müsaade ve müsamaha ederler ise 20 kuruştan 300 kuruşa kadar cezâ-i nakdî alınır veyahut buna mukâbil 24 saatten 15 güne kadar hapis ile mücâzât edilirler.

**Madde 17:** 15 yaşından aşağı çocukları istifâde maksadıyla teseüle sevk ve teşvik edenler hakkında madde-i sâbıkada muharrer cezâ-i nakdî ve hapis cezâları birlikte hükmolunacaktır.

**Madde 18:** Serseri ve mazannâ-i sû' takımından olan eşhâs teb'a-i ecnebiyeden oldukları hâlde mücâzât-ı mahkûmiyeleri icrâ edildikten sonra zabıtaca Memâlik-i Osmâniyye'den tard ve ihrâc olunacaklardır.

**Madde 19:** Darb cezâsı müdde'iumûmî veya vekîli ile tabîb huzûrunda ve hapishane derûnunda bir metre tulunda ve bir buçuk santimetre kutrunda öküz derisinden mamul ve düğümsüz kamçı ile darb-ı mutavassıt ile icrâ olunur. Fakat her hâlde tabîbin istisnâ edeceği mahale vurulmayacaktır.

**Madde 20:** Darb cezâsı ile mahkûm olan eşhâsın hükmolunan darbe âdem-i taham-

mülü müdde'iumûmî nezdinde tabîb raporuyla sâbit olduğu takdirde, mütehammil olduğu kadar darb edilerek tahammülü olmayan miktar hakkında her kamçıya bedel başkaca 2 gün müddetle hapis olunacaktır.

**Madde 21:** Serseri ve mazannâ-i sû' eşhâs haklarında işbu kânûnı neşrinden mukaddem meriyyü'l-icrâ olan bilcümle ahkâm-ı nizâmiyye mefsûhtur.

**Madde 22:** Dâhiliye ve Adliye Nezâretleri işbu kânûn'un icrâ-yı ahkâmına memurdur.

19 Rebiülahir 1327 - 26 Nisan 1325

## APPENDIX G: TRANSLITERATIONS OF SOME SELECT NEWSPAPER PIECES

This section contains the original Turkish translations of some of the referenced materials that were deemed too long to include in the main body of the thesis.

### Appendix G.1

#### ***Tanin* Hakikatten Ayrılmaz**

##### *İkdam*'a

Havadis-i adliye cümlesinden olmak üzere gazetemize derc edilen ithamnamenin bir fıkrası olmaksad ihtisar edilmiş olduğu beyanıyla *İkdam* bize taarruz ediyor. Bu havadisi matbaamıza veren esasen *İkdam* gazetesinin de muhabiridir. Bize havadis verdiği gibi diğer bir gazeteye de havadis verir. Tashihine muhtaç olmayan havadisler yani resmi evrak suretleri okunmaya lüzum görülmeksizin mürettibhaneye verilir. Eğer bir noksan varsa o esasen *İkdam* muhabiri olan zatın kusurudur. Bizim kasten ihtisar etmediğimizi *İkdam* kendi muhabirinden sorup anlayabilirler.

Tayy edilen fıkrada Bahaddin Şakir Bey'in ismi mezkur olması tarafımızdan bir kast eseri değildir ve eğer bir kast olsa yine evvelce buna dair *Tanin*'de derc edilen fıkralarda mumaileyhin ismi tayy olunacak idi. Halbuki 23 Kanun-i Sani tarihili nüshamızda Fedakaran-ı Millet hakkındaki takibat-ı kanuniyeden bahs bir fırkamızda Bahaddin Şakir Bey'in ismi sarahatan mezkurdur.

Eğer hakikaten şu meselede bir garaz ve maksad-ı mahsus başlamış, hakikatten cidden tebaad etmek istemiş olsa idik o ithamnameyi esasen derc bile etmez ve tayy ve tahrife muhtaç bile olmaz idik.

*İkdam*'ın bizi mal bulmuş mağribi gibi aleyhimizde bir alet makamında istimal etmesine şaşarız. Cevap verecekse şimdiye kadar kendisine karşı vuku olan sarih ithamlarımıza cevap versin. . . <sup>1</sup>

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1. *Tanin*, 12 March 1909.

## Appendix G.2

### Mürur Tezkireleri

Bazı vilayetce mürur ve pasaport nizamnamelerinin tatbikince müsamaha edilmekte bulunmasından dolayı bir çok kimseler tezkere almaksızın Dersaadet'e gelmekte ve bunlar meyanında bulunan serseri ve meçhul el ahval bir takım eşhas yankesicilik ve sirkat gibi muhil-i inzibat ve emniyeti ifale cerait etmekte oldukları Zabtiye Nezaret-i Behiyyesi'nin işarından anlaşılmasıyla mürur tezkiresi olmayanlar yahut vizesiz bulunanların mürurlarına meydan verilmemesi Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celile'sinden ta'mîmen tebliğ kılınmıştır.<sup>2</sup>

## Appendix G.3

### Serseri

Galata ve mevakiinden üç gün zarfında iki yüzü mütecaviz serseri derdest edilerek Galata Sarayı'na izam edildiği gibi evvelki gün dahi Kemeraltı'ndaki harik esnasında bir sandık eşya ve mücevheratı sirkat ile firar etmekte iken derdest edilen Toma dahi gönderilmiştir. Bu serserilerin nisfından ziyadesi ile merkurum Toma Galata Sarayı'na izamlarından bir gün sonra tekrar salıverilmiştir. Zabita memurlarının bir gün evvel cürm-ı meşhud halinde karşılarında bulunan sarık ve serserilerin bir gün sonra tekrar bir tavır-ı istihza ile önlerine geçmelerinden dolayı yeisleri büsbütün artarak hal ve hareketlerine bir rehavet olduğu rivayet olunur. Şu hale bir çare bulunması temenni olunur.<sup>3</sup>

## Appendix G.4

Sirkat ve yankesicilik ve gasp fillerine cüret etmelerinden veyahut sabıkalı ve mazanne-i su takımından olmalarından dolayı derdest ve cihet-i adliyeye teslim edilen eşhasın birinci kısmından yalnız ikametgah senedi ahzine lüzum gösterilmekte ve kısım-ı diğerinin de haklarında hiç bir muamele yapılmayarak salıverilmekte olmasından naşi hürriyetini su-i telakki eden eşhas-ı merkume memurin-i zabıtayı istihza ve tehdit ile hareket-i kanuñşikenlerini ziyade cüret etmekte oldukları ve mukaddema taşraya tebid edildikleri halde ahiren Dersaadet'e avdet eden yankesici makulesinin günden güne tezayüd ederek memurin-i zabitanın bu babdaki mesai

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2. *Tanin*, 19 February 1909.

3. *Sabah*, 20 February 1909.



ve İkdameti semeresiz kalkmakta bulunduđu cihetle bu makuleler hakkında cihet-i adliyece mevkufen tahkikat icra edilmedikçe vukuatın önü alınamayacağından bu babda ona göre muamele ifası Zabtiye Nezareti'nden makamat-i aidesine işar edilmiştir..<sup>4</sup>

## Appendix G.5

Dün Salim Efendi namında fakir bir gazete muvezzi' matbaamıza gelip ağlayarak şu vakayı hikaye eyledi: 'Dün saat dörtte Mimar Sinan mahallesinden geçtiğim sırada önüme biri çıkıp iki *İkdam* gazetesi istedi. Bugünkü kalmadı, dünkü var dedim. Dünkü olsun dedi. Gazeteleri verdim. Mecidiye kuruşu vereceğinden bahsle yirmi para talep etti ve benden yirmi parayı alarak (Yüzlüğüm yok imiş. Şurada haneden alayım da vereyim) diyerek ileriye doğru yürümeye başladı. Biraz gittikten sonra karşımıza iki kişi çıktı. Müşteri ile bunlar birleşerek üzerime hücum ettiler ve elbisemi parça parça yırtıp bugünkü gazete satışım olan yedi buçuk kuruşu gasp ile firar eylediler. Eski Ali Paşa karakoluna girip anlattım ise de aldırın olmadı. İşte hali görünüz, gazetenize yazınız.' Bu adamın hali bizi pek ziyade müteessir ettiği gibi şu vaka da hayli düşündürdü. Artık gündüzleri de sokaklarda adam soyulur ise hakikaten şehrimizde asayiş yok demektir. Zabtiye Nazırı paşa hazretlerinin tekrar nazar-ı dikkatlerini celb eyleriz.<sup>5</sup>

## Appendix G.6

Soğukçeşme'de sakin rençber Erzurumlu Mehmed'in geçen gece Maarif Nezareti önünden geçtiği sırada Kazım namında biri tarafından iki mecdiyesi ahz ve gasp olunduğunu dünkü nüshamızda yazmış idik. Bu havadisın mevsukiyetine emin olmakla beraber sirkatin mahal-i vuku olan Maarif Nezareti dairesinin bulunduđu Divan Yolu caddesinde, bu dairenin ittisalinde karakolhaneyi gözümüzün önüne getirdikçe gecenin hangi saatinde olursa olsun öyle bir mahalde gasp suretinde bir sirkatin keyfiyet ikasına bir türlü inanmak istemiyoruz ve işte bir yanlışlık olduğuna hüküm ediyoruz. İzah-ı keyfiyet olmasını Zabtiye Nazırı Paşa hazretlerinden bekleriz.<sup>6</sup>

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4. *Sabah*, 22 February 1909. *İkdam*, 22 February 1909. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909.

5. *İkdam*, 6 March 1909.

6. *İkdam*, 4 March 1909.

## Appendix G.7

Aldığımız bir varakada deniliyor ki:

Gazetelerin her gün vuku bulan ihtarat-i mütemadiyesine rağmen memurin-i zabıta elan vazifelerinde fevkalade tekasül göstermekteydiler. Karakollar, polis merkezleri kurbunda bulunan mevkilerde bile her gün yüzlerce vukuat zuhur etmektedir. Ezcümle, geçen Cuma günü, saat beş buçuk raddelerinde, Aksaray'da Gazi Oruç İsmail mahallesinde mektep mubassırlarından Şükrü Efendi'nin hanesine kimse bulunmamasından istifade ile sarık girer. Dolabı kırar ve derunundan beş mecdiye, bir çift elmas küpe, bir elmas yüzük, yukarı katta mumaileyh Şükrü Efendi'nin mahdumu Rıza Efendi'nin çekmece sandığından sekiz lira, on mecdiye ve bir kıta beşinci rütbeden Mecdiye nişanı çalar, firar eder. Ve kapıdan çıkacağı sırada küpeler ile yüzüğü düşürür.

Meselenin garabeti hanenin on adım ilerisinde polis karakolu bulunduğu ve vakada gündüzen cereyan eylediği halde memurin-i zabitanın vakadan katiyen haberdar olmamasıdır.<sup>7</sup>

## Appendix G.8

Dün saat iki raddelerinde Beyoğlu'nda Yeni Çarşı'da sekiz on el tabanca atılmasıyla herkes heyecana düşmüş ve silahların mahal-i mezkurda Olga'nın umumhanesinde Trabzonlu Galip Bey, yaverlikten muhrec Yüzbaşı Vahab Bey, Beşiktaşlı Halil Bey tarafından atıldığı anlaşılmıştır. Mumaileyhim mezkur umumhanede Sabaha kadar çalgı çaldırıp sarhoş olduktan sonra hanenin arka cihetindeki apartmanlara doğru tabanca atmaya başlamışlardır. Mahal-i mezkura gelen zabıta memurları bu babda amirlerinden bir emir almadıkları beyanıyla bırakıp gitmişler ve avdetlerine kadar tabanca atanlar da biltabii firar etmişlerdir. Zabıta aradan on saat geçtikten sonra tahkikata ibtidar eylemiştir.<sup>8</sup>

## Appendix G.9

Cumartesi gecesı Kadıköyü'nde eczacı Sotiryadi[?] Efendi'nin Kirilos[?] sokağında Aya Triyadi kilisesi karşısında kain hanesine hırsız girerek alt kattaki salonda mevcut eşyayı dolaşmış ve götürmek üzere bulunmuş iken hanenin üst katında yatan mu-

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7. *İkdam*, 21 March 1909.

8. *İkdam*, 12 March 1909.

maileyh Sotiryadi Efendi ve ailesi patırtıdan uyanarak pencereye koşmuşlardır. Bu sırada elinde bir bohça olduğu halde bir şahsın pencereden bahçeye atladığı ve vuku bulan feryad üzerine bu bohçayı bahçede terk ile firar eylediği görülmüştür. Komşulardan biri o esnada Sotiryadi Efendi'nin bahçesi ittisalindeki diğer bir bahçede bir şahs-ı meçhulun durmakta olduğunu müşahede ederek seslenmesiyle merhum dahi firar eylemiştir. Sarıklar hiç bir şey almaya muvaffak olamamışlardır. Sotiryadi Efendi pencereden bir çok bağırp çağırılmış ve aradan bir hayli bir zaman mürur etmiş olduğu halde gelen giden olmamıştır. Hırsızlar kaçacakları yerden kaçtıktan sonra ola mahallenin bekçisi, sonra zabıta memurları mahal-i vukuya şitaban (!) [sic] eylemişlerdir. Failleri henüz bulunamamıştır. Kadıköy'ünde bu kabil vukuatın pek ziyade tekessür ettiğinden ve zabitanın kayıtsızlığından şikayet ediliyor. Zabtiye nazırı paşanın kemal-i ehemmiyetle nazar-ı dikkatine celb ederiz.<sup>9</sup>

## Appendix G.10

### Zabıtanın Şikayet

Büyükdere'de mukim Artin Efendi tarafından matbaamıza gönderilen bir varakada zabitanın büyük bir yolsuzluğundan şikayet ediliyor. Mumaileyh Artin Efendi gece saat dörtte, hanesine giren bir İslam sariki tevkif ettirmek üzere karakola malumat vermiş ve polis komiseri ifadesinin zabtı için kendisini karakola davet zemininde bir polis ile iki nefer göndermiştir. Artin Efendi karakola girince polis ile maiyyeti neferler mumaileyhin davet-i kanuniye icabet etmek istemediği yolunda isnadata kıyam etmişler ise de Artin Efendi beyanat-ı vakayı tekzib ile kendisi müddei olmak hasbiyle, hatta davet bile edilmese yine icabat eyleyeceğini söylemiş ve fakat neferler tarafından üzerine hücum ile darba kıyam olunmuştur. Orada mevcut memurin-i zabıta da bu hale karşı adeta birer seyirci gibi kalmıştır. Eğer şu vakanın aslı varsa mütecasirlerinin tedibini mercinin himmet-i vazifeperveranesinden bekleriz.<sup>10</sup>

## Appendix G.11

### *Zabtiye Nezareti'nin Nazar-ı Dikkatine*

*Samatya'da Hacı Hasan Ağa mahallesi namına varid olan bir varakada o taraflarda bilhassa geceleri bir takım muhtel-i asayiş ahval zuhura geldiği ve bu hususta müteaddid defalar karakolhaneye şikayette bulunulduğu halde alınan tedabir katiyen mani-*

9. *İkdam*, 6 April 1909.

10. *İkdam*, 4 April 1909.

*aya tevessül edilmemiş olduğundan şikayet ediliyor. Keyfiyet-i kemal-i ehemmiyetle merci-i aidiyenin piş-i dikkatine vaz eyleriz.*<sup>11</sup>

## Appendix G.12

### *Zabtiye Nezaretinin Nazar-ı Dikkatine*

Zaten تنها olan Sultanahmet meydanında geceleri amed şüd bütün bütün seyrekleştiğinden hasb el maslah geç vakit oradan geçenler sirkat tehlikesine her yerden fazla maruz bulunuyorlar. Onun için meydanın münasip noktalarında bir iki polis bulundurulması hiç değilse üç beş sokağa hakim olan Orman Nezareti önünde geceleri bir polis ikame edilse selamet-i mürur ve ubur temin edilerek bir hizmet edilmiş olur.<sup>12</sup>

## Appendix G.13

### *Zabitanın Nazar-ı Dikkatine*

Geçen cuma havanın letafetinden istifade etmek arzusuyla Kağıthane tepesine kadar şitaban olan şehrimiz ahali mütemadi silah sedaları karşısında duçar havf ve hiras olmuşlardır. Her silah sahibi bilaperva silahını prova etmiş ve muntazam bir ateş talimi icrasından çekinmemişlerdir. Bundan en ziyade kadınlar duçar heyecan olmuşlardır. Silah atmak şehrimizde artık adet hükmüne girmiştir. Ahali kendisini kuyudat ve müdahalet-i zabıtanın tamamen vareste kalarak böyle umumi yerlerde, mesirelerde, silah atmak küstahlığında devam ederse bahusus önümüzdeki ilkbahar mevsiminde Kağıthane teferrücleri bu itiyad-ı sakime feda edilecek ve belki de maazallah feci kazalara meydan verilecektir. Asıl garibi bu bitmez tükenmez silah sedalarına karşı o gün orada mevcut bulunan zabıta memurini tarafından asla ses seda çıkarılmamış binaenaleyh birçok muhadderat korkularından duramayıp hemen avdete mecbur olmuşlardır.<sup>13</sup>

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11. *Tanin*, 15 March 1909.

12. *Tanin*, 22 February 1909.

13. *Tanin*, 8 March 1909.

## Appendix G.14

Şubatın birinci gününden yirmi ikinci gününe kadar Beyoğlu polis idaresi dahilinde silah endahat etmelerinden dolayı derdest olunan elli yedi şahsın silahları müsadere ve haklarında muamele-i luzume ifa kılınmış ve iki şahs-ı meçhul revolverlarını bırakarak firar eylediklerinden derdest olunamamışlardır.<sup>14</sup>

## Appendix G.15

### Ayasofya'da Saile

Dilenciler yeni bir vasıta-i kar ve kesb keşif ettiler: Ayasofya cami-i şerifi etrafına toplanmak, cami-i ziyarete gelen ecnebilerin etrafını sararak izacatta bulunmak suretiyle para koparmak. Vakıa öteden beri orası zaten dilenciler merkezi idi. Fakat, hiç bir zaman bu derece kesretle hücum ettikleri görülmemiş değildi. Biltabi müteakib yeni Türkiye'yi görmek fikriyle her taraftan, Avrupa ve Amerika'dan pekçok seyyah geliyor. İstanbul'a gelen seyyahların mutlaka Ayasofya'yı da ziyaret eyleyeceklerini pekala bilen dilenciler cami-i şerif kapılarını tutuyor, her gelen seyyahın etrafını alarak bin türlü izacat ile para koparıyorlar. Mesela seyyahın biri ruzname-i seyyahatine Ayasofya'ya vuku bulan ziyaretini kaydederken: "Bir sürü dilenci etrafa hücum etti. Dört beş Frank vererek aralarından kendimi güç kurtarabildim." fıkrasını da kaydediyor. Diğer memleketine gittiği zaman İstanbul'da gördüklerini hikaye ederken dilencilerin yaptıklarını da unutmuyor. Ecanibe karşı dilencilerin bu hareketi hiç de hoş görülür bir şey olamaz. Zabtiye Nezareti bunun bir çaresini bulursa pek iyi bir iş görmüş olur.<sup>15</sup>

## Appendix G.16

### Dilenciler

Dün Ayasofya cami-i şerifi havalisinde ve civarında bulunan kırk elli kadar kadın erkek çocuk dilenciler Zabtiye Nezareti tarafından münasib suretle toplandırılarak Daire-i Zabtiye'ye götürülmüştür. Memleketlerine gönderilmek üzere müzakeratda bulunulmuştur.<sup>16</sup>

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14. *Tanin*, 9 March 1909.

15. *Tanin*, 3 April 1909.

16. *Tanin*, 5 April 1909. *İkdam* had also made the same news on April 5. *İkdam*, 5 April 1909.

## Appendix G.17

### Eracifin

Bir iki gündən beri Tatavla'da bir masal dilden dile tedavül ediyor. Mezkur mahalle sakinlerinden birinin zevcesi hamile olmakla gece vaz-ı haml esnasında güçlük his etmiş. Bunun üzerine zevci bir doktor celb eylemek üzere haneden çıkmış. Güya oralarda bir sokakta üç şahıs merkumun önüne geçerek kendilerine para vermesini teklif etmişler. Bu adamın üzerinde de sekiz lira varmış. Bunlara altı lirasını vermiş. İki lirasının da karısının hasta olduğundan bahsle kendisinde kalmasını rica eylemiş ise de merhamet etmediklerini görünce kemal-i yeisinden hamil bulunduğu revolverını bilteşhir o üç şahsı cerh eylemiş. Silah sesi üzerine etraftan yetişilerek mecruhların polis olduğu görülmüş imiş.

Bu gibi eracif erbab-ı nazar ve imanca haiz-i tesir olmaz ise de avam nezdinde hayli kilukal-ı mucib olur. Devr-i istibdatta zabıta memurlarımız epeyce lekelenmiştir. Fakat şu zamanda onları çirkin göstermek haysiyet ve tesir-i hükümete asla tevafuk etmez. Ahalimizden bundan daha ziyade hayırhahlık temenni eyleriz. Zabıtamızdan da daima dikkat, basiret bekleriz.<sup>17</sup>

## Appendix G.18

### *Eracif İşaa Edenlere*

Asayiş-i memleketin muhtel olduğuna dair bazı eşhas-ı şerire tarafından limaksadin aralık aralık işaa olunan eracifin şu sırada her tarafta tekessürüne binaen bu gibi şayiati tekrar halinde derhal hakikat-i halin neşri ve eracifin tekzibi ile beraber bu gibi şayiati ika edenlerin behemehal zahire-i ihracıyla haklarında takibat-ı adliye ve kanuniye icrası için cihet-i adliyeye tevdi zemininde tamimem tebligat icra kılınmıştır.<sup>18</sup>

## Appendix G.19

Evvəlki gece Bayezid civarında Tavşantaşı'nda bir haneden çıkıp o yöne avdet etmek üzere bulunan Rusumat Emaneti evrak müdür muavini Behçet Bey'in karşısına bir şahs-ı meçhul çıkar. Sokağın dar ve karanlık olduğundan kendisinin kim olduğu sorulur. Polis memuru olduğunu ifade eder ise de üzerindeki elbise-i resmiyesine

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17. *Sabah*, 13 March 1909.

18. *Sabah*, 15 March 1909.

muhalik olarak vazifesine dair mumaileyhin sorduđu suallere cevap veremez. Őüphe büsbütün arttıđından sahte polis civar karakollardan birine azimet tekalif olunur. Beş on adım ilerleyince herif tabana kuvvet kaçar.<sup>19</sup>

## Appendix G.20

### Yaftalar

Evvelki gün saat on bir buçuk raddelerinde Őehzade cami-i Őerif civarında Emin Nureddin Mahallesi'ndeki sokaklara geceleri yanında yetmiş bir (!) [sic] kuruş buldurmaksızın Salı Pazarı meydanından ve ona civar mahallerden geçenler olur ise yakalamıp kulađı kesileceđi beyan yaftalar talik olmuştur. Failleri zabıtaca taharri edilmekte imiş.<sup>20</sup>

## Appendix G.21

Evvelki gün on bir buçuk raddelerinde Őehzade cami-i Őerif civarında Emin Nureddin Mahallesi'nde Maliye veznedarının hanesi kapısına ufak bir varaka talik edilmiştir. Varakada eđer bir kimse gece yetmiş bir kuruşsuz Salı Pazarı Meydanı'nda veya sair mahallerde yakalanırsa hem ırzına tecavüz ve hem de kulađını keseceklerini muharrer imiş. Bunu yazan şahıs memurin-i zabıta tarafından Őiddetle takip ve taharri olunmaktadır.<sup>21</sup>

## Appendix G.22

### 70 Kuruşu Olmayanlar

Yafta meselesi hatırlarda ya. . . Her türlü eracifin zaman-ı revacı olduđundan Őehirde hırsızlık vukuatı çođalır çođalmaz meseleye münasib bir yalan uyduruldu. Hırsızlar “yetmiş kuruşu olmadan sokađa çıkanların burnunu kesecekler imiş.” Bu rivayet de tellendi pullandı. Yaftaları gördük diyenler oldu. Zabıta bu türlü talikatı bulamadı. Őimdi hırsızlık vukuatı kesb-i nedret etti. Fakat bundan canı sıkılan bir külhanbey gösteriş için olacak hakikaten böyle bir yafta yapıp bir evin kapısına asmış, vuku şu suretle cereyan etmiştir: Dün sabah saat on buçuk raddelerinde Őehzade civarında

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19. *Sabah*, 22 March 1909.

20. *İkdam*, 17 March 1909.

21. *Tanin*, 17 March 1909.

Emin Nureddin Mahallesinde Maliye Nezareti veznedarlarından bir zatın kapısına bir yafta yapıştırıldığı oradan geçenler taraflarından görülür. Derhal zabıtaya ihbar olunur. Polis memurları koşarlar. Yaftayı tetkik ederler. Yazısı fena ve şu mealde imiş: “Eğer bir kimseyi üzerinde yetmiş kuruş olmadığı halde Şehzadebaşı’ndaki Salı Pazarı Meydanı’nda ve saire yerlerde yakalar isek ırzına tecavüz ve hem de kulağımı keseceğiz.” Şu edepsizlik üzerine zabıtaca tahkikata başlanmıştır. Oradan geçenlerin ifadesine göre yaftayı on dokuz, yirmi yaşlarında biri yapıştırmış. O gece alelade bir ilan telakki edilmiş. Sonra hezeyan vaki görür görmez polise bildirmişler. Eğer yapıştıran tutulup getirilirse tanıyacaktırlar. Zabıta serseriye arıyor.<sup>22</sup>

## Appendix G.23

### Beyoğlu Cihetinde Yaftalar

Tatavla’da Duvarcı Mahallesi’nde Papaz Sokağı’nda bakkal Vasil’in hanesi karşısında sakin haffaf Nikoli’nin dükkanı yanındaki duvarda mezkur hanenin Bostan Sokağı cihetine açılan kapısına evvelki gece tebeşir ve Rumca lisan ile hırsızların tutacağı kişilerin üzerlerinde elli kuruştan aşağı para çıkarsa burun ve kulaklarının kesileceğini muharrer olduğu görülmesiyle zabıtaca icra kılınan tahkikat neticesinde bakkal Vasil’in tezgahtarı Vasil’den şüphe edilerek merkurum derdest olunmuştur. Vasil karakolhanede pek ziyade asar-ı telaş gösterdiğinden o civar ahali ile zabıta memurları muvacehesinden merkuma yazı yazdırıldıkda duvar ve kapıdaki yazıların aynı olduğu görülmüştür.

*İkdam*: Beyoğlu yaftacıları İstanbul yaftacılarından daha insafıca davranıyorlar. Bakalım İstanbul’dakiler de bunlara karşı tenzilat icra edecekler mi?<sup>23</sup>

## Appendix G.24

### Yaftalar

Üzerlerinde 71 kuruş olmadığı halde geceleri Salı Pazarı meydanıyla oraya civar mahallerden geçenlerin yakalanıp kulakları kesileceğine dair Şehzadebaşı civarında Emin Nureddin Mahallesi’ndeki sokaklara

yaftalar talik edilmiş ve faileri zabıtaca taharri edilmekte bulunmuş olduğunu dün yazmış idik.

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22. *Sabah*, 17 March 1909.

23. *İkdam*, 19 March 1909.



Şehzadebaşı Merkezi polislerinden Geredeli Hüseyin Avni Efendi bu fiilin mütecasirlerini taharriye başlayarak Mahmud Paşa'da Sultan odalarında terlikçi Dede Ali Usta'nın yanında kalfa Japon Mehmed ve yine mezkur odalarda terlikçi Tatar Hasan Ustanın yanında kalfa Tatar Mehmed'in sabıkalı ve mazanne-i su takımından olmaları sebebiyle bunlardan şüphelenerek her ikisini derdest etmiş üzerlerinde talik olunan yaftanın yazısına müşabih bazı evrak zuhur eylemekle Zabıta Nezareti'nce tahkikat-ı evveliyası bilahare ol babdaki evrak-ı merkumlarla birlikte cihet-i adliyeye tevdi kılınmıştır.<sup>24</sup>

### **Yafta Meselesi**

Sokaklara yafta yapıştırılmalarından dolayı derdest edildiklerini dünkü nüshamızda yazdığımız Japon

Mehmed'le Tatar Mehmed dün adliye mustantıklığınca isticvabları icra kılınmış ve bunlardan Japon Mehmed'in üzerinde zuhur eden varakanın yapıştırılan yafta ile müşabehet ve münasebeti mevcut olduğu cihetle merkum tevfik diğeri kefaletle tahliye olunmuştur.<sup>25</sup>

## **Appendix G.25**

### **Vukuat-ı Zabıta – Sebatsızlık**

Dün vasıl-ı nazar-ı mütalaamız olan Şam'da münteşir bir gazetede şehri mezkurda vuku bulan her nev-i cürüm ve vukuatın tafsilatını havi mahalli zabıtasının güzel bir beyannamesini gördük.

Bir şehirde vukuat-ı zabıta o şehrin mizan-ı asayiş-i demektir. Asayiş-i memleket, hükümete taalluğu kadar ahaliye dahi taalluk ettiği cihetle efkar-ı umumiyeyi mutmain ve müsterih kılmak için o nevi vukatın neşr ve ilanı zabıtaya terettüb eden vezaif-i esasiye cümlesinden maduddur.

Zabıta Nezareti bundan hayli aylar evvel bu vazifeyi takdir ederek Dersaadet'te yirmi dört saat zarfında tekevvün eden vukuatı gazetelerle ilana karar vermiş ve mukaddeme-i icraat üzere bir, yahud iki defa dahi tebliğ eylemiş ise de daha sonra her nasılsa azminde sebat ve devam edememiştir.

Bilinemez ne hikmettir, hiçbir işte sebatımız yok. . . Azm ederiz, devam eylemeyiz. Yapmak isteriz, yapamayız. Buna sebep olsa olsa yapmak usulünü bilmediğimizdir. Filhakika Zabıta Nezareti'nin o sıralarda gazetelere gönderdiği tebligat bizzat

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24. *İkdam*, 18 March 1909.

25. *İkdam*, 19 March 1909.

gazetelerin daha evvel yazdıkları vukuattan ibaret olduğu için gazeteler o tebligatı hoş görmemişlerdi. Hoş görmemekte de haklı idiler. Çünkü “dün filan saatte filan mahalde . . . filan şahsın filanı darp veya cerh etmiş” olduğuna dair mafsal yirmi otuz fıkranın derciyle gazeteler doldurulamaz. Gazeteler yalnız vukuat-ı zabıtaya o kadar büyük bir yer tahsis ederlerse sair havadis için yer kalmaz. Her şeyin usulü var. Vukuatın tebliği için de başka usul vardır. Vukuatı, bahusus mühimlerini tafsilatıyla günü gününe yazmak esasen gazeteciliğe mahsus bir iştir. Halk bunları daha evvel gazetelerde okur. Zabitanın tebligatını beklemez.

Şu kadar ki efkar-ı umumiyenin zabıtabadan beklediği şey bir hafta zarfında veyahut daha az veyahut çok bir zaman zarfında ne kadar katl, cerh, sirkat, darp, intihar, cünha, kabahat vukuatı olmuştur? Katillerden, carih ve sariklerden sair mücriminden kaçtı derdest edilmiş, kaçtı derdest edilmemiştir, izahatını havi muhtasar malumatdır.

Bu malumat güzelce ve muhtasarca tanzim ve gazetelere ita olunursa hem gazeteler maalmemnûniye derc eder, hem halk memlekette ne oluyor anlar da memnun olur.

Bu vezaiife Şam gibi Dersaadet'ten daha küçük ve daha az mühim bir şehir zabıtasınca güzelce icra olunur da daha mükemmel ve vazifesince daha ziyade itinakar olmak lüzüm gelen Payitaht zabıtası o kadcarcık olsun bir eser-i intizam ve tekemmül göstermezse buna karşı ancak hayret olunur.<sup>26</sup>

## Appendix G.26

Geçen Salı günü az kaldı Beşiktaş Vakası'nın bir ayını da Galata'da balıkhane önünde vukua gelecekti. Yunanlı perokar[?] Apostol refakatinde ehibbasından kömür tüccarı Larus[?] bulunduğu halde gidip gelme dört kuruşa pazarlık ederek balıkhane önünden bir kayığa rakiben Fener'e azimet etmişlerdir. Avdette Apostol çıkarıp dört kuruş vermiş ise de kayıkçı laz altı kuruş istemiş. Apostol dahi vermek istemediğinden kayıkçı merkumun göğsüne şiddetli bir yumruk indirerek çamura yatırmıştır. Bunun üzerine Apostol ile kayıkçı arasında bir münazaa zuhur ederek kayıkçı merkumu boğazından yakalayıp boğmak derecesinde sıkıştır. Zavallı adamcağız istimdad eyledikçe kayıkçı hiddetlenerek etrafındaki müslümanları adama davet eylemiş ve derhal üç yüz kadar Kürd ve Laz toplanmıştır. O esnada Apostol zabıta memurundan kimseyi görememeyince tesadüf ettiği hristiyanlardan birinden gidip Yunan konsoloshanesine ihbar-ı keyfiyet eylemesini istirham eylemiştir.

Bunun üzerine hamallar daha ziyade pür hiddet olarak hristiyanlara da Yunanlara

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26. *Sabah*, 9 April 1909.

da küfür edip biçareyi yere bihoş halde yatırıncaya kadar darp etmişler ve kanlar içerisinde bırakmışlardır. Bu vaka-yı hun-rizane bir saat kadar devam ettiği halde bir zabita memuru bile görülmemiştir. Neden sonra üç polis gelmiş ve o esnada hamallar dağılmış olduğundan memurin-i zabita mecruhu derdest etmeğe muvaffak olmuştur! Nihayet orada bulunan bir hristiyanın ısrarı üzerine hamallardan en ziyade ibraz-ı şiddet edenlerden birini de derdest edip karakolhaneye götürmüşlerdir. Ancak orada tarafgirane muamele edildiğinden merkur bırakılıp mecruh bab-ı zabıtaya gönderilmiştir.<sup>27</sup>

### Appendix G.27

Galata'da Karaoğlan sokağında sakin hamal Niğdeli Kiryako sarhoş olarak dün Sabah mahal-i mezkurda galbelik[?] arasında bir kaç el revolver atmasıyla polis Süleyman Efendi kol heyetiyle merkurumu derdest ederek Voyvoda merkezine götürmek istemiş ise de Kiryako sarhoşluktan Karakuş(?) oteli önünde düşüp kalmıştır. Bu sırada Aya Nikola kilisesi heyeti dahi merasim-i mahsusayla Voyvoda karakoluna gelmekte olduklarından Rum ahali merkurumu polis memurunun elinden almak teşebbüsünde bulunmuşlardır. Polis memuru Kiryako'yu tabanca atmasından dolayı karakola görümekte olduğunu söylemiş ve fakat bunlara anlatamamıştır. Rumlar Kiryako'yu almadan gitmemekte ısrar göstermişlerdir. Bu suretle bir fenalık zuhuruna ramak kalmış iken serkomiser Emrah ve komiser Mustafa Efendi yetişip ahaliyi teskin ve merkurumu karakola götürmüşlerdir. Bilahare voyvoda karakolhanesi önünde dualar kıraat edilmiş ve ahali Kiryaki'nin salıverilmesinde tekrar ısrar etmeye başlamış olduğundan Emrah Efendi merkurunun tabancasını alıp Despot Efendi'ye teslim eylemiştir. Ahalinin bir kısmı Yaşasın Yunanistan (!) [sic] diye bağırılmışlardır.<sup>28</sup>

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27. *İkdam*, 21 March 1909.

28. *İkdam*, 12 April 1909.