
ENHANCING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE WITH ANGLO-OTTOMAN
COOPERATION IN THE (POST-UNKIAR SKELESSI) NEW ERA 1833-
1839*

HÜNKAR İSKELESİ ANTLAŞMASINDAN SONRAKİ YENİ DÖNEMDE
OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNU OSMANLI-İNGİLTERE İŞBİRLİĞİ
İLE GELİŞTİRMEK (1833-1839)

РАЗВИТИЕ ОСМАНСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ НА ОСНОВЕ ОСМАНСКО-
АНГЛИЙСКОГО СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО В НОВОЙ ЭПОХЕ ПОСЛЕ
ХУНКАР-ИССКЕЛЙССКОГО ДОГОВОРА (1833-1839)

Serkan DEMİRBAŞ*

ÖZET

Mehmed Ali Paşa Sorunu ve sonrası mevcut İngilizce ve Türkçe literatürde her daim Osmanlı Devleti'nin güçsüzlüğü ve II. Mahmud'un içine düştüğü çaresizlik tablosu olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte; Sultanla Valisi arasında sürecek olan (1831-1839) ve merkez açısından askeri olarak bir mağlubiyet serisi olarak görülebilecek bu uzun sürecin, aynı zamanda II. Mahmud'un ve devlet adamlarının diplomatik manevraları ve İmparatorluğu içinde bulunduğu zor şartlardan çıkarmak için Avrupalı devletlerle iş birliği yaptıkları, özellikle İngiltere, bir reform süreci olarak ele alınabileceği ise aşikar bir meseledir.

İşte bu makale II. Mahmud'un reformist karakteri hakkında kısa bir giriş yaptıktan sonra bütün ayrıntıları ile, yıl yıl, Osmanlı belgelerini bütün ayrıntıları ile kullanarak Sultanın ve devlet adamlarının, Hünkar İskeleye Antlaşmasından sonra oluşan yeni dönemde (1833-1839) en başta İngiltere olmak üzere, diğer Avrupalı devletlerle iş birliği içerisinde bütün alanlarda yaptıkları reform çalışmalarını en ince ayrıntısına kadar mercek altına almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Mahmud, Osmanlı Diplomasisi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Reform, Osmanlı-İngiltere İşbirliği, Hünkar İskeleye Antlaşması

ABSTRACT

* This article is based on a chapter from my PhD thesis: Serkan Demirbaş, '*Mahmud II and Ottoman Diplomacy in the context of Mehmed Ali Problem (1832-1839): with special reference to the Ottoman Archives in İstanbul*', (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2015).

* ORCID: [0000-0002-0118-4169](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0118-4169), Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, serkandemibas@hotmail.com

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

Both in English and Turkish historiography, the issue of Mehmet Ali Pasha of Egypt and its aftermath are always portrayed as a consequence of Ottoman weakness and Mahmud II's despair.

Nevertheless, the long course of events such as this that took place between the Sultan and his Governor was considered by the Ottoman administration as a series of military defeats. At the same time, it is obvious that this was clearly a process of reform when the diplomatic manoeuvres of Mahmud II and his civil servants, and their cooperation with European countries (esp the UK) with a view to raise the State from its dire conditions, took place.

Following a short introduction on Mahmud II's reformist character, this essay will focus on the works of the Sultan and his men on the reforms in the new era following the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833-1839), made in cooperation with chiefly the UK but also with all other European countries in every field. This study will use Ottoman documents in detail on a year-to-year basis.

Key Words: Mahmud II, Ottoman Diplomacy, The Ottoman Empire and Reform, Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation, The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

АННОТАЦИЯ

Проблема Мехмеда Али-паши и его последствия в английской и турецкой литературе оценивается как слабость Османской империи и Махмуд II. изображен как отчаянная личность. Наряду с этим, долгий период противостояния между султаном и его губернатором (1831-1839 гг.), который можно рассматривать как серию военных поражений центрального правительства. В то же время, совершенно очевидно, что Махмуд II и его государственные деятели, в качестве процесса реформ, сотрудничали с европейскими государствами, особенно Британцами, чтобы дипломатическими маневрами вывести государство из трудного положения.

В нижеследующей статье, после краткого представления о реформистском характере Махмуда II-го, основываясь на данные османских документов, до мельчайших деталей анализируются усилия по реформированию, предпринятые Султаном и его государственными деятелями в новый период после заключения Хюнкар-Искелейского договора (1833-1839 гг.), которое проводилось во всех областях, в сотрудничестве с другими европейскими государствами, в первую очередь с Англией.

Ключевые слова: Махмуд II, османская дипломатия, Османская империя и реформы, Османско-британское сотрудничество, Хюнкар-Искелейский договор

Introduction

The Russians' ambitions to enlarge their lands, reach the Aegean and Mediterranean and penetrate even further on the other side, plus Mehmet Ali's ambitions to gain independence from his sovereign, remained as reasons for the Ottomans and the British to be encouraged to reform and strengthen the Ottoman Empire, starting in 1834. This was largely because, should either of these ambitions be realized, they would cause immense damage to both the Ottoman and the British interests in the region. In particular, the rash and perilous diplomatic manoeuvres Mahmud II had made in order to get the British on his side, of calling the Russian warships to the Bosphorus¹ and ultimately forging the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, gave

¹ To see different perspective about calling the Russian Troops to İstanbul look at; Serkan Demirbaş, "A Fresh Look at Mahmud II's Purpose in Calling Russian Troops to İstanbul in 1833", Journal of History School, Sayı XXVIII, İzmir Aralık 2016, SS. 347-378.

the British many concerns about the continuation of the Ottoman Empire. As Bailey put it;

“The conclusion between Russia and Turkey of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in July, 1833, brought the Foreign Office and the British trader to a realization of the dangers ahead, and a positive interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman state developed which really constituted a new policy on the part of England.” (Bailey, 1940: 452)

Despite the prevalence of this newly-acquired positive attitude towards the Ottomans which had arisen within the British public, it was by no means unanimous. There was some opposition, in the form of the likes of Richard Cobden, a radical M.P in British Parliament who still viewed the Ottomans in a very negative light. However, this anti-Ottoman side was not to be as strong as was the pro-Ottoman side, at least in this period. As might be expected, this bloc was pro-Russian. Bolsover commented upon Cobden’s opinion about this conflict in London such that:

“Moreover, Richard Cobden published a striking pamphlet to show that the destruction of Turkey by Russia would be a triumph for civilization over barbarism and a much-needed stimulant to British trade.” (Bolsover, 1936: 462)

Cobden’s opinion was not only made up of positive feelings towards the Russians, but at the same time he harboured many prejudices against the Ottomans. According to him, *“the Ottoman Empire was a despotic Muslim State in decline and Russia was a peaceful, commercial, Christian Empire.”* (Guymer, 2009: 15) Despite the presence of this kind of opinion amongst the British, the Ottomans had even now started to reform their Empire under Mahmud’s guidance. These reform actions will be scrutinized, based on the Ottoman documents, in this article. This article will also be useful to help clarify the level of Anglo-Ottoman relations and how active a role Britain played in the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire.

Mahmud II’s Reformist Character

Palmerston’s main aim, after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, was to enhance the Ottoman Empire militarily, economically, and administratively against possible Russian attack. In fact, Mahmud II, at first, wanted to make only a military alliance with the British against his rebel governor Mehmet Ali, but later on he also started to lean towards an Anglo-Ottoman cooperation to modernise his Empire. Mustafa Resid Pasha, especially, with his diplomatic efforts, played a key role in encouraging the Sultan in this process.

Before giving detailed descriptions of exemplary acts of Anglo-Ottoman cooperation showing their combined efforts (1833–1839) to reform the Empire, and in order to see the whole picture, it will be useful to give a brief summary of the background of the Mahmud II’s reform programme and his reformist character.

Abdul Hamid II is known as an Ottoman Sultan, who laid in one sense the foundations of Republic of Turkey with his significant reforms. However, Mahmud II, who acceded to the throne almost seven decades earlier than Abdul Hamid II, established a lot of modern government organisations, which still continued their existence at the present time, and he also had struggled in order to regenerate many

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

bedraggled Ottoman State Institution. Despite Mahmud's reformist character, there are many different thoughts about him. Therefore, before examination, based on the primary sources, his and his diplomats' enormous diplomatic effort to resolve the Mehmed Ali Problem, giving the different thoughts of some historians with respect to "*the most amazing Sultan*" (Palmer, 2008: 99), Mahmud II, would make the reader's work easier to understand his period and also knowing these opinions would help the readers.

First of all, it should be known that Mahmud lived through very hard times at the beginning of his twenties, before he became the Sultan. His cousin, Selim III, was killed by the command of Mahmud's brother, Mustapha IV, and the same order was for Mahmud himself, however he escaped death at the last moment thanks to sacrifices some women of the Palace, particularly Cevri Kalfa. (Ortaylı, 2009: 40, Palmer, 2008: 95) Therefore it should be considered that when Mahmud became Sultan, he knew that he must have re-established his authority as a Sultan but at the same time he knew well that he had to sneakingly do that. In this topic Zürcher mentioned that Mahmud had two plans in his first fifteen years that the first one was that he assignment the statesmen, who supported the Sultan, to the key places of the government agencies and the army. The second aim of Mahmud was to weaken the landed proprietors, who put Mahmud into power. (Zürcher, 2009: 55) In this topic Findley also stated that Mahmud's first years were a preparation period in order to strengthen his political power. (Findley, 2014: 132) It can be said that he was to show success with his cunning abilities on the domestic policies as he had done in very complicated diplomatic game during Mehmed Ali Crisis.

After all mentioned preparations, when Mahmud felt the conditions were ready he started to realise the projects in his mind. There are many different approaches on his reformist character. The question is that whether he was a "*gavur*" (Berkes, 2004: 169)² (infidel) Sultan or he was a "*cruel despot*" (Engelhardt, 1999: 26) or he was a successful reformist Sultan with his a lot of reform projects in different fields (Shaw, 2000: 25-85) or he was an absolutist modernist (Ortaylı, 2009: 64) or he was the founder of the modern Turkish diplomacy with his cousin Selim III. (Findley, 2014: 147-163, Ortaylı, 2009: 145)³

First of all, it should be considered that Mahmud lived in such an age that saw a lot of negative developments. The lands of his Empire were as circle of fire. On the one hand many rebellions occurred against Istanbul, on the other hand the economic and military conditions were not in good shape. Mahmud had to find some solutions to rescue his Empire from these fatal problems. He was aware that this could be only via a sharp reform programme. However, because of the negative conditions the Empire had had, it is hard to say that his reform programme had solved every problem in the Empire. As Berkes mentioned that Mahmud's reform period was a beginning period for the reforms rather than an achievement one. (Berkes, 2004: 203)

² Because of Mahmud's Western reforms he was called with this epithet by some.

³ Also Ortaylı mentions that the administration of the chamber of translation was transferred to the Muslims as from Mahmud's Reign.

According to Findley the opinion of the Ottomans that reform was necessary was based on the ground of military defeats of the Empire. Therefore military reforms during Mahmud's reign had been considered on a preferential basis. (Findley, 2014: 133-134) However, until 1826 the army itself had been the most disincentive in front of the reform programme. Thus the most significant reform of Mahmud, which was to clear the way for other reforms, was abolishment of Janissaries, called Yeniçeri Ordusu, in 1826. This army had been one of the main obstacle for any kind of reform, particularly military ones, and none of the Ottoman Sultans had been able to do to set the seal on this big issue until Mahmud.⁴ However, it was not that easy to abolish Janissaries. Mahmud had made his preparations very snakingly in order to have necessary power for this dangerous aim. Uyar and Ericson expressed that Mahmud's decisive stance and measured approach had begun to bear its fruit since the year of 1822. According to these historians Mahmud discharged from the critical positions conservative wing, which was averse to the reform programme, and he appointed his own trustable statesmen. In this respect, he started to make an effort in order to form an alliance with bureaucrats, military leaders, and particularly top-class ulema (scholars). According to Uyar and Ericson Mahmud had attempted to reach this aim by making concessions and promises, if he could not, he purged those, who had not been persuaded. (Uyar and Ericson, 2014: 236-237)⁵

When Mahmud felt the conditions were ready for the big day he started to move for his big plan and he declared in June 1826 he want to establish a new troop among Janissaries. As it was expected Janissaries mutinied against the Sultan but this time everything was different since their rival, the Sultan, was ready for struggle, as mentioned Mahmud was making his preparations for this day, and therefore they could not find a Sultan like Osman II⁶ or Selim III. As it will be seen, in the very intensive diplomatic struggle during the Mehmet Ali Problem, 1832-1839, Mahmud was a very shrewd and vigilant Sultan in internal as well as in external affairs.

This was the general picture of the Ottoman Empire up until 1830s. These are not a political and diplomatic analysis of Anglo-Ottoman relations, instead; they aim to closely examine every development, however small, between 1833 and 1839, in order to illustrate the extent of the British contribution to this reform process.⁷ It

⁴ The most serious attemp in order to establish a new Ottoman Army, Nizami Cedid, came from Mahmud's cousin Selim III, however he was killed because of his this military plan.

⁵ Also to see every details of Mahmud's preparations to abolish Jannisaries look at Aksan, V.H., *Osmanlı Harpleri*, (İstanbul, 2010) pp. 328-343

⁶ Osman II was the first Sultan, who wanted to abolish the Janissaries in 1622. He was also first Sultan, who was killed by the Janissaries because of this dangereous plan.

⁷ In fact, Rodkey examined this reform process based on the British Foreign Office documents in his extensive articles but his work focused only on military relations, and he did not examine any other aspects of the Anglo-Ottoman cooperation to improve the Ottoman Empire. In addition to this, his work looks at the period solely from the British perspective. However, this article will try to examine every detail from the much-neglected Ottoman perspective and not only military developments or relations but also the other developments or relations in the reform process of the Ottoman Empire between 1833 and 1839. Also Rodkey approaches the results of this reform period in a very negative way based on

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

can be said that this article is an effort to write a social history, but at the same time it is necessary to put the new situation that came about after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi⁸, regarding the political and diplomatic relations between the two countries, into context. This will also be a very useful source for foreign researchers who do not have access to the Turkish language and are unable to use the Ottoman Archives. In order to attain this objective, all the Ottoman Archives with respect to British contribution to their developmental support, 1833-1839, have been examined in the context of the entire British assistance to the Ottoman reform programme. Of course, Britain was not the only Western country utilised to enhance the Empire. Prussia, Austria, Russia, and France were also amongst those countries who contributed assistance. In particular, up to the beginning of 1830, France was the country with the most influence on the Ottomans. When the French occupied Algeria in 1830, however, they plummeted in the estimation of all the Ottomans, especially Mahmud II. In fact, the personal friendships which Selim III, the predecessor Sultan to Mahmud II, had cemented with the French served to help maintain a French influence in Istanbul despite the French Army's attack on Egypt in 1798 under the command of Napoleon, but this time, with Sultan Mahmud, there was no such private connection with the French. In addition to this, the developing relations with the British, occurring after the Mehmet Ali problem, had brought Britain into the forefront in Istanbul, and as a result of this they had started to take on a supportive role and step in to help reform and improve the Ottoman Empire. Before starting on the main body of this article, it needs to be understood that the improved Anglo-Ottoman relationship after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had borne with it not only positive developments but also some problems. These problems appeared in the social and commercial life between the Ottoman people and the British, and will be propounded upon to clarify the whole picture, and include both the drawbacks and advantages. To separate each year in the light of the reform process would be easier and more useful, and work towards a better understanding of the whole period.

The second half of 1833

This year was a beginning in the utilization by the Ottomans of British support. In light of this fact there were not yet so many incidents to scrutinise in this year. However, the majority of the Ottoman requirements of the British seemed to come in the field of logistics support. For example, a contract was made with a British Jew to import a steamer from Britain. Two copies of this contract were

Pamerston's and Ponsonby's evaluations, however, when looking at the reform period from the Ottoman perspective, this period was a beginning of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire and after a very long journey resulted in the establishment of the modern Turkish state; the Republic of Turkey, almost eighty years later, on the 29th October 1923. Therefore every minor detail is vital to contribute to the generation of the big picture.

⁸To see the vital treaty from a different perspective than the literature look at; A New Perspective on the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi Mahmud II's Use of International Diplomacy to Resolve the Mehmet Ali Problem, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 17(2), Eskişehir Aralık 2016, SS. 1-16.

presented to the Sultan and this situation was brought to the attention of the Ottoman Prime Minister by the Acting Minister of Artillery; Tahir Pasha. (BOA., HAT., 585/28744) After a while, it was ordered that one thousand pouches of Ottoman gold would have to be paid to the Jewish middleman since the production of the steamer was almost finished. It was also ordered that construction works for another steamer should be started immediately. (BOA., HAT., 596/29288)

There was another equipment request, which was also indicated as another problem of the Ottoman Empire at that time. The request was about a machine and wheel in order to perforate rifle irons. However, the Ammunition Minister of the Ottoman Army reported that the intended equipment was redundant because its capacity was too big. The machine was able to perforate two hundred and fifty irons in a day; however there was no master and not enough tools to produce the other components to make 250 rifles in a day. (BOA., HAT., 585/28744 A) This is an interesting piece of information because it shows that in 1833, the Ottomans still lacked the technical competence to produce their own armaments and thus it seemed likely that British support would need to increase, in the following years, in this area as well.

Another notable thing related to this process in that year was that the Prime Minister strictly ordered that any gunpowder produced by the British should not be wasted. According to the Minister's order this new premium gunpowder should be kept for a possible war and only the old gunpowder should be used in military drills and festivals and not the British type. (BOA., C.AS., 447/18635) The intended meaning of 'war' would have been a reference to the possibility of a battle with Mehmet Ali. This order shows that the inclination to engage Mehmet Ali in full armed combat in the second half of 1833 was actually very strong.

Lastly in this year, a purchase that is worthy of note is that one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven swords with their belts, each of them costing fifty five Ottoman Kurus, were bought from a British merchant, (the documents record his name as Lionel) in order to use in the parade which was to take place in front of the Sultan. (BOA., C.AS., 398/16420)

As mentioned, this year was only the beginning of the new climate of friendly collaboration in diplomatic relations following on from the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and this Anglo-Ottoman cooperation to improve the Ottoman Empire was to continue without cessation.

1834

As might be expected the process started to accelerate in this year. A number of Turkish students were sent to London in order to learn the Western techniques. For instance, fourteen military officers were sent to receive education in London. Namik Pasha presented the official letter with respect to these officers to the British Foreign Minister. (BOA., HAT., 1181/46662 G) The letter expressed a wish that not only should these students be sent but also that reports should be received from them regularly, in Istanbul, about the experience they were gaining in London and what they were learning. (BOA., HAT., 1179/46582)

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

Factory building and modernisation gathered speed in this year. For example, some machines were imported from Britain in order to establish a rifle factory in Dolmabahçe, a district in Istanbul. The middleman was a civil servant stationed in Ali Bey. The iron used in the factory was sent from Sofia, and from Samokov, another city close to Sofia. (BOA., C..IKTS., 21/1020) Two British engineers were employed to work on the construction process in the factory and the same engineers also built a steam powered factory for serial production in the same district, Dolmabahçe. The Ottoman records give the British Engineers' names as Chris and Walker. All the expenses for what they did in the setting-up process were paid in full at the end of the construction as agreed. (BOA., C..AS., 940/40789)

Another significant incident about the factory improvement project was that the Ottomans did not only charge the British engineers with the task of building factories but they also sent some Ottoman officers to Britain to get an education in industrial science in order to be able to continue improving Ottoman industry into the future with the knowledge possessed by their own citizens. One of these officers was Colonel Bekir Bey. He was sent to England so that he might improve himself in this field. (BOA., HAT., 586/28821)

Another support the Ottomans got from the British was in the field of British expertise. They did not only build, repair or establish technology in the Ottoman lands, but also more importantly, they tendered reports in whatever their specialty was. These kinds of reports would have been useful and beneficial for the Ottomans to help them continue to implement this progress in the following decades. One example of this kind of helpful report-making from the British can be seen in how a British expert in construction was sent to Samokov in order to produce iron and fix the roads. As part of his job, after his task had been completed, this engineer prepared a report based on his experiences in the production and fixing process, and presented it to the Ottoman government. (BOA., HAT., 593/29044 B) Another example of this conveying expertise by way of reports can be seen in how a British expert was sent to the Ottoman iron mines to examine how they were run, and after his investigation he prepared a report on the mines and he too presented his findings to the Ottoman government. (BOA., HAT., 593/29044 E) In addition to all these British experts, a British locksmith was employed as a servant in the Ottoman shipyards and his salary was one thousand five hundred Kurus a month. (BOA., C..BH., 76/3634)

The British officials who supported the Ottomans to help enhance the Empire were not only from amongst the British experts or military officers. It seems that the British ambassador, Ponsonby, sometimes helped the Ottoman government with his knowledge as well. In 1834, an epidemic of plague was seen in Tarabya, a district in Istanbul. Thereupon, Ponsonby suggested that in future, as a precaution against such a thing happening again, preventative measures concerning cleanliness and hygiene would have to be implemented in the region. (BOA., HAT., 1172/46376)

Meanwhile, an interesting law was passed by the British government concerning all the British officers and civil servants who were on duty in foreign lands. The law banned all these kinds of military and civil officials from accepting

any kind of gift given by any foreign state. (BOA., HAT., 1172/46406 A, BOA., HAT., 1172/46406) These officials would probably not have liked this law since this was the prime time to receive valuable gifts from the Ottoman government in return for their services, although of course they would still continue to be paid their fees, however much the remuneration was that they had agreed upon with the Ottoman government when the contracts were made. Giving gifts to the foreign officers had been a common thing in the Ottoman Empire, and the records of the previous years show that gifts were regularly given to the British diplomats. (BOA., HAT., 1172/46383, BOA., HAT., 1177/46496, BOA., HAT., 1178/46517)

Another important influence the British had on the Ottomans was in weapon-making skills and methods. For this purpose, two British rifles were sent, at the request of the Ottoman government, from London to Istanbul as a model for the future production of Ottoman rifles. (BOA., HAT., 738/34986 C) These British rifles were in (then) current use by the foot soldiers in the British army and these two rifles were submitted by Palmerston in person to the famous Ottoman Pasha, Namik. (BOA., HAT., 1181/46662 Ğ) It seems the Sultan had made a decision to renew all the equipment for his new army, the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye.

With this new period in the Anglo-Ottoman relations underway, the Ottoman government had started to charge some British diplomats in the Ottoman embassies of some of the cities in Europe. For example, a British man started to work as a diplomat in the Ottoman Embassy at Paris and after a while, he got into debt of five thousand Francs, in Paris. Thereupon, the French ambassador at Istanbul indicated this situation to the Ottoman Foreign Office and requested this amount should be paid by the Foreign Office. (BOA., HAT., 1191/46898 C)

As mentioned above, a British locksmith had been employed as a servant in the Ottoman shipyards. However, Mavroyani, the Ottoman charge d'affaires at Vienna, reported that there was a British law in effect that made it illegal for a British subject to work in a foreign state's military services as a servant. (BOA., HAT., 1206/47287 A)

At this stage, these examples can only be given as additional information, which describes how the Anglo-Ottoman negotiations on the customs tariffs started to accelerate.

As is common knowledge, Ottoman carpets were famous in the European countries for their ornate patterns and extremely high quality. However, mass production had now begun in Europe with the advent of the industrial revolution. This faster production method naturally influenced the Ottoman's hand-produced market. In this respect, an order was placed for a large quantity of British rugs costing a fair sum, to carpet some of the Ottoman state offices. (BOA., C.DH., 224/11186) Although their own carpets were the best in the world, the Ottomans were ordering mass produced British carpets! This order could be seen as an indication that with the beginning of the 1830s, because of the increasing relations with the European countries, imitation of European life had started amongst the Ottoman people. Some of the Ottoman people had started to prefer the European articles and styles to the Ottoman ones. This issue was discussed at length in Ottoman society then, and even

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

today it is still a regular topic of debate. In this context, this preference for British carpets in 1834 can be considered as one illustrative starting point to a nationwide inclination to imitate European styles starting with the state's example.

1835

1835 was a year that the Ottoman diplomatic attempts to obtain Anglo-Ottoman cooperation against Mehmet Ali and Russia increased, on account of the efforts of skilful Ottoman diplomats such Namık Pasha, Nuri Effendi, and Mustafa Resid.⁹ Of course, this situation positively affected Anglo-Ottoman cooperation in other areas, including the reformation of the Empire in line with Western scientific discoveries. In this respect, the most important strategy was that of sending students to Britain in order to witness first hand all the scientific developments in Europe which were ceaselessly advancing. The records are very detailed and indicate that there were four engineering students in Britain and their salaries were transferred to them once every three months. (BOA., C.BH., 67/3163)

At the same time, preparations within the Ottoman Army in the field of logistics reinforcement and the renewal process for a possible war with Mehmet Ali had continued and increased. As mentioned above, the Ottoman statesmen were so sensitive about economical gunpowder use that they had been very strict in their guidelines about not wasting it. Also, gunpowder making, based on the British and Dutch mode of manufacture, had begun in Azatlı Gunpowder Factory, in Istanbul. (BOA., C.AS., 602/25384)

Another feature of the construction process of the factories was that when the British engineers completed these factories, they did not remain in Istanbul but went back to Britain. In this respect, any last checks of an armoury or factory had to be done before this British engineer returned his country. (BOA., HAT., 575/28134 J)

Another significant development in the reform process according to the West was seen in the Ottoman press. *Takvim-i Vekayi* was the first Ottoman newspaper, and it was established in 1831 under Mahmud's order by Alexandre Blacque, who was called *Blak Bey* amongst the Ottomans, for his defending of the Ottoman rights against the European powers. However, this newspaper was extremely unsophisticated in comparison with the European press. For this reason, Mahmud decided to get support from the European press to improve his one and only newspaper. Therefore, he ordered that collaboration should be made with the British and French press to learn how best to improve *Takvim-i Vekayi*. (BOA., HAT., 664/32291 G)

Continuing from the above; economic negotiations on customs tariffs had commenced in the previous years and they remained on the agenda in 1835 as well. Nuri Effendi, the Ottoman ambassador at London, was responsible for the

⁹ To see some details of Ottoman diplomats' efforts to solve Mehmet Ali Problem in 1834-1835 look at Demirbaş, S. "*II Mahmud and His Statesmen's Diplomatic Manoeuvres to Solve Mehmet Ali Pasha Crisis*". *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi* 7 (2020): 2635-2661.

management of the process. He had been regularly sending reports from London about these negotiations to keep the Sultan informed with respect the process which was so vital to the Empire's economic life. (BOA., HAT., 677/33015., BOA., HAT., 677/33015 B) Therefore, Nuri Effendi had been very active in London and it can be said that he left no stone unturned in this period.

In these years, there were still French moneychangers in Istanbul and the Ottoman Government had been providing its needs for foreign currency from them. However, Nuri Effendi reported from London that the British moneychangers were not the same as the French ones and whenever it was necessary to get some money, the British ones supplied it immediately but the French ones did not. Thus, he mentioned that it would be more efficient if his expenses could be directly supplied from London instead of Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 677/33021 E)

As mentioned above, accepting gifts had been banned for all British civil servants and officers working abroad. Despite this, it seemed that Mustafa Resid Pasha did not like this prohibition very much since, as he reported to the Ottoman Foreign Minister, decorating Ponsonby and British Embassy secretaries for their services and giving them some gifts would be very useful for the service of Ottoman interests. (BOA., HAT., 737/34959 B) The Ottomans had been doing everything possible to improve Anglo-Ottoman relations; for example, Mahmud even sent his portrait, as a gift, through Nuri Effendi to King William. (BOA., HAT., 677/33020 B)

This gift issue seems to have been an interesting item on the agenda at that time. Esad Effendi was assigned as the Ottoman Ambassador to Iran and he was supposed to go there to start his mission shortly. Before he went, he met with some Iranian diplomats in Erzurum, an Ottoman city in the East. The Iranian diplomats mentioned that the British and the Russian ambassadors had brought some gifts with them to Iran and then they hinted that they were expecting the same reciprocal behaviour from Esad Effendi. (BOA., HAT., 804/37134 C)

Then an interesting development happened in Istanbul. As is well known, the Greeks rebelled in 1821 and gained their independence in 1829. The Greeks had been Ottoman citizens since the second half of the fifteenth century. They had been conducting commerce with foreign countries in the name of the Sultan as the Armenians had done. However, after their independence, Mahmud decided to eliminate the Greeks, who were still present in Istanbul as Ottoman citizens, from the commercial life of the Empire. In this respect, he banned the Greeks from any kind of commerce, even small retail businesses. (BOA., HAT., 1220/47731 H) Palmerston was unhappy about this last development and he met and negotiated with Nuri Effendi in this issue. (BOA., HAT., 1220/47736) Nevertheless Mahmud was determined to stand behind his decision and he declared to Palmerston through Nuri Effendi that he was not going to change his prohibition, but yet, he conceded, he would give the Greeks permission that at least, they could visit Istanbul to purchase goods in order to take them back to their cities. (BOA., HAT., 1220/47749)

Meanwhile, building construction had been carrying on without a pause. Another rifle factory was in the process of construction in the charge of Abdulaziz

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

Agah Effendi, the responsible officer for steam powered factories. In this project, some British experts and labourers were employed and their salaries paid regularly. (BOA., C..AS., 828/35276)

Mahmud would have been pleased when he saw the military ammunition that had started to be produced in Istanbul. For example, some artillery had been produced in the charge of Behri Bey and they had been tested with British and Russian cannonballs. It was a pleasing development for the Ottomans because the new army needed every kind of ammunition in case of a war with Mehmet Ali. Another reason for their satisfaction was that in Namik Pasha's first mission in London, before the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, William had been reluctant to send just fifteen pieces of artillery in reply to Mahmud's earlier request, when he had been in his most difficult position and seeking an Anglo-Ottoman military alliance but now, they had started to produce their own artillery in Istanbul! (BOA., HAT., 1251/48379 B) Another example of the Ottomans producing their own ammunition for themselves was when some artillery-stocks were brought from Britain in order to use in the Varna Castle but later on, artillery-stocks which had been produced in Sumnu, an Ottoman province in the Balkans, were purchased, in order to be used in Sumnu Castle. (BOA., HAT., 1255/48567)

Another important development in the reform process which occurred in these years was that a number of British officers began to come to Istanbul to drill the new Ottoman army according to British military techniques.(BOA., HAT., 954/40954)

1836

In this year, one of the important developments in the reform process was not only that British ammunition started to be imported directly to Istanbul, but also the process of learning how to make it continued. For example, the chief of gunpowder mills in the Ottoman Army, Ohannes, and his son Arakil, went to Britain and France in order to examine the British and French powder mills. They took notes based upon their observations and also investigated all machines used in the process of gunpowder production in the mill while they were there. At the end of their mission in Britain, the British Minister who was responsible for gunpowder factories in Britain, whose name is given as Thomas Modi, gave a testimonial saying that Ohannes and his son had learned how to produce gunpowder just like that produced by the British. (BOA., HAT., 588/28921) Also Palmerston indicated to Ponsonby that Ohannes had completely encompassed the process of gunpowder manufacture. (BOA., HAT., 588/28921 A) Ohannes bought from both countries the necessary implements for making gunpowder and brought them with him to Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 591/29016 A) When he returned to Istanbul he wrote a report about his experiences and explained in detail what was necessary to produce gunpowder like the British and French do and in accordance with this report, Azatlı Gunpowder Factory was modernised to encompass the European standards and methods. (BOA., HAT., 591/29016) Also he requested that the directors of the powder mills in Britain and France should be decorated since they had so kindly facilitated his work whilst

he had been learning the techniques of producing gunpowder. (BOA., HAT., 591/29016 B)

Sending Ohannes and his son to Britain and France in order to learn gunpowder production is a very good example of how the Ottomans had decided to take their own initiative in the reform programme. There was another example of this in that the Ottoman government issued a directive that it would be much better to manufacture their own ships in order to use them on their coast instead of importing them from Europe. However, the directive said, it would be necessary to import the ship making equipment required for this purpose from Britain so that they had the means to manufacture ships. (BOA., HAT., 1267/49040 B)

The Ottoman Empire was not only making preparations for war against Mehmet Ali, but they were also preparing for a possible war against Russia in some regions after the latest diplomatic developments in Europe. For instance, fifty-one big cannons were imported from Britain, through a British merchant, in order to use them in the Castle of Varna. The payment was made in two parts and the Sultan gave the direction to the head of the financial department that the second part of the payment should be made to the British merchant. (BOA., C..AS., 137/6086) In addition to this, some round shots were ordered from Britain for use in defending Bagdad and Ponsonby sent a letter about this to the British Government. (BOA., HAT., 1264/48951 C) There was a reason for the measures concerning Bagdad to be taken. The Ottoman Government had received some recent news about Mehmet Ali's designs upon Bagdad. Ponsonby had also received some similar information too. He indicated to the Ottoman Government that he had heard news that the Ottoman governor of Bagdad and an Iranian diplomat had met and talked about a rumour that Mehmet Ali had also been making preparations and at the first chance he got he intended to invade Bagdad. (BOA., HAT., 1176/46442 U)

Meanwhile, the construction of the mentioned rifle and armoury factories continued under the charge of Abdulaziz Agah Effendi. It had been decided that in order to facilitate arms manufacture, they needed to bring two qualified British engineers and also an ironmaster from Britain in addition to other British construction workers. The reserved budget for the construction expenses had been increased to include the salaries and the house rentals for these three British workers. (BOA., C..AS., 509/21254)

One of Mahmud's most important aims in the reform process was to renew and improve his maritime fleet based on European techniques. In this context, one hundred thousand Okka (almost one hundred thousand and twenty five kilograms) of European sheet copper had been imported from Britain, through British merchants, for use in the Ottoman Fleet. (BOA., C..BH., 65/3062) Moreover, Mahmud ordered his diplomats that they should negotiate with the British government for some British officers to come to Istanbul to train the Ottoman officers and at the same time modernise the new Ottoman army. Nuri Effendi reported from London and informed Istanbul about the negotiation process over these British Officers. (BOA., HAT., 1182/46669 B) Palmerston indicated to Nuri Effendi they had been leaning towards sending British officers to Istanbul and when

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

it was necessary, he added, they could send however many officers were required. (BOA., HAT., 1182/46669 D) After these negotiations some British officers were sent to Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 677/33016 B) Despite all these positive developments, this process was not problem-free. The aim of each side was different. As Rodkey examined in detail, Palmerston's main aim in sending the British officers to Istanbul was that he had desired these officers to take command of the Ottoman Army. (Rodkey, 1929:) However, this was not suitable from the Ottoman perspective, and this point was explained to the British officers, who were a senior grade officer and a colonel. (BOA., HAT., 1174/46427 C) Mahmud also ordered the Foreign Office to inform Ponsonby about this situation.

Another interesting development in these years was that some British merchants started to trade in the Ottoman lands, just as the local Ottoman merchants were doing. For example, a British merchant had been selling European coffee for a while but then, later on, his license to sell was cancelled. In response, the British Embassy deputy and Ponsonby requested that the Merchant should have his privileges to sell European coffee in the Ottoman lands given back. (BOA., C..HR., 37/1840) Another example of this kind was that a British merchant had licence to harvest the acorns of 1836's crop from Kızılcaturzla, an Ottoman province in the West. Later on, all of the figures pertaining to this trade were presented to the central government for scrutiny. (BOA., C..ML., 265/10852)

A remarkable incident happened in this year with respect to a British man. His name was William Churchill. He was to get a license from the Ottoman Government to buy olive oil in the Ottoman lands but before this permission was granted he was beset with a big problem. It was an ordinary situation but unexpectedly, it had had a big influence even though this influence lasted a very short time. Churchill was in Istanbul and one day he went hunting in Kadıköy where he had an accident. When he was shooting with a rifle, he accidentally wounded a little Turkish boy. This accident caused such indignation from the Turkish officers and people, who were there when the accident happened, that they beat Churchill up and the officers put him in prison by order of the Ottoman Foreign Minister, Akif Effendi. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 E) When Pizani, the translator of the British Embassy, learned of the situation he went to have him released from prison, however Akif Effendi was very strict over this incident and even though Pizani argued with Akif he still maintained he could not release Churchill. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 B) Thereupon, he communicated the situation to Ponsonby, and after he had explained the accident he stated that he could not even talk to Churchill. When he examined the injured Turkish boy, Pizani revealed that the boy's medical condition was good and said that there was no serious problem with his health and therefore the judgement of the Kadıköy Muslim Judge had been most excessive. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 A) There was somebody else, who got very tough with Churchill. It was Ahmet Fevzi Pasha, who was soon to be the Ottoman Navy Minister. Akif and Ahmet Pashas were not to be easily persuaded on this issue. Ponsonby was indignant at the Pashas' behaviours and told Pizani that beating Churchill and sending him to prison was an invective against Britain and the British dignity had been injured as a

result. Then he ordered Pizani that he was responsible for this issue and he should demand from the Ottoman Prime Minister that this affront to British standing should be rectified as soon as possible. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 C) Ponsonby was not even happy with this retort and he carried the crisis a step further when he demanded the dismissal of both Pashas from the government. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 F) Palmerston was united with his ambassador on this issue and he too demanded that the Pashas be replaced. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 I) Meanwhile, the Russians also wanted a say in the matter. They already felt aggrieved over the positive Anglo-Ottoman relations which were developing of late, so they saw this acrimonious dispute as a way to gain a potential advantage for themselves. After this last situation had developed, the Russian Ambassador stated in his official letter to the Ottoman Government that the British Government had been using the Churchill issue to destroy the Russian-Ottoman friendship, since there was a rumour that Akif Effendi and Ahmet Fevzi Pasha were pro-Russian. According to the Russian ambassador, Palmerston did not have any right to request a dismissal of the Pashas, on the contrary, he continued, the Ottoman Government should have requested the withdrawal of the British ambassador, Ponsonby.(BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 I.) Apparently the Russians were uncomfortable with the latest diplomatic developments in Anglo-Ottoman relations and the Churchill issue was a chance to eliminate one of the causes for the new improved Anglo-Ottoman relationship, which was Ponsonby. The incident did have a repercussion on diplomatic negotiations. First of all, Mustafa Resid Pasha was in London as the Ottoman Ambassador to Britain when the accident happened and he met with Palmerston to talk over the issue. He reported that Palmerston seemed that he was bent on ordering Ponsonby to insist upon the dismissal of the Pashas, Palmerston even, Reshid continued, construed his visiting as an irony. (BOA., HAT., 1174/46429 K) There was more diplomatic communication with respect to the incident found in the Austrian Ambassador's words. He sent a letter through his translator to the Ottoman Foreign Office. He stated in his letter that in his view of the incident based on the news he received from Vienna that the British Ministers in the cabinet did not place as much importance upon the situation as much as Ponsonby obviously did. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 G)

Nevertheless, the Sultan differed with the Russians because his first aim was to get the British on his side, and he could not allow one small accident to destroy the perfectly composed Anglo-Ottoman relations after the enormous diplomatic effort it had taken Mahmud and his best men from since the beginning of the Mehmet Ali problem until that time, to achieve.¹⁰ Thus, he tried not to let the matter get blown out of proportion and found a middle way for both sides. Akif Effendi was dismissed from government, however Ahmet Fevzi Pasha remained in office, and was even sent to be inducted into the Ottoman Navy Minister five months after the incident. Mahmud probably meant to show with this appointment that he valued the Anglo-

¹⁰ To see the details of this diplomatic struggle look at Demirbaş, S. “*Mahmud II and His Diplomats During The Mehmet Ali Problem*”, *Journal of History and Future*, 6/4 (December 2020).

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

Ottoman cooperation which helped him against his enemies, however, he was still Sultan and he had to make his own decisions. After these positive actions from the Ottomans, Ponsonby, in spite of all his harsh and indignant statements since the beginning of the situation, stepped in to defuse the crisis. He secretly sent a letter to the Ottoman Foreign Office explaining that he felt no animosity towards Ahmet Fevzi Pasha, but Ponsonby's angry responses to the incident had resulted from his opinion that a state's officers should not have behaved as they did and should have found a different way instead of beating the suspect. (BOA., HAT., 1231/47986 H) That said, Ponsonby informed his government that the problem with Ahmet Fevzi Pasha had been resolved. (BOA., HAT., 1344/52524)

Another significant example of Mahmud's caring for the British and smoothing over the crisis, was that he gave a license to the main character of the story, Churchill, to buy five hundred and sixty-four tons olive oil from different provinces in the Ottoman lands. (BOA., HAT., 1172/46398) In fact, it was Churchill who first requested this license from the Ottoman Government in acknowledgment of the trials and tribulations he had suffered. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46438 I) Thereupon the Ottoman statesmen examined the practicability of this request, prepared reports, and informed the Sultan about Churchill's demand. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46438 I) For example, Istefenaki Bey prepared a report on olive oil and its possible taxes and presented it to the Sultan. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46438 I) After examining this, Mahmud gave permission to Churchill to conduct this trade and ordered his civil servant to help him with all kinds of oil in Edremit, an Ottoman province, and indicated him about his permission for Churchill and his assistant. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46438 K) In conclusion, an ordinary accident turned into a big upset in the Anglo-Ottoman relations and even became an international diplomatic incident.

Relations between Mahmud and William had remained on a good footing during this year. Mahmud had sent his portrait and various gifts earlier, and in response, William had sent some gifts back to Mahmud as well. As Palmerston mentioned when he met with Nuri Effendi, the Ottoman Ambassador at London, these gifts were not so valuable in a material sense but, he continued, they were very strong evidence to show Mehmet Ali and the Russians that the British would continue to stand by the Ottomans against all their enemies, and Palmerston believed this message would intimidate both of them. (BOA., HAT., 1190/46879 001) Mahmud would have been very pleased when he heard these words because his aim, an Anglo-Ottoman alliance in the region, which had been in his agenda since Mehmet Ali's army beat his army in Syria, was finally on the point of being achieved. These gifts were sent on separate occasions. They were five horses (BOA., HAT., 1236/48114) sent on one occasion, and on another occasion, fifteen horses and a British phaeton. (BOA., HAT., 1173/46419 D., BOA., HAT., 1180/46660)

Another interesting incident with respect to British merchants in the Ottoman commercial life was that one of them, called Barker in the document, borrowed eight hundred and eighty eight thousand Ottoman Kurus from the İzmir City Council but then went bankrupt without paying his debt to the Ottoman treasury.

The Mayor of Izmir reported that until the treasury had taken back the value of his loan from his goods and assets, nothing he owned while he was alive would be submitted to anybody else. (BOA., C..ML., 379/15563.) The Ottoman Government confiscated all his property in lieu of the debt he owed. (BOA., C..ML., 379/15570)

Meanwhile, Mustafa Resid Pasha in London found a medical book written by a British doctor about eye and ear diseases, and sent it to Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 712/34067 J) This incident is a good example of how the Ottomans were taking a keen interest in learning all kinds of European knowledge to enhance their Empire.

At the same time Mahmud was still determined to improve and renew his new army according to European military techniques. As a result of this intention the Ottomans continued to import European ammunition models and arrange for European officers to educate the Ottoman officers. In this respect, Reshid Pasha requested a howitzer model from Britain. (BOA., HAT., 677/33016 B) Moreover, the Ottomans requested more British military teachers to educate and improve the Ottoman Army (BOA., HAT., 747/35297) and in response to this request, a number of British officers and military teachers came to Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 677/33021 A., BOA., HAT., 677/33016 B)

While these many significant changes continued in many aspects of life in Istanbul, a similar change appeared in the Ottoman Embassies in other countries. For example, the Ottoman Embassy in London was completely refurnished in this year and all the furniture which was chosen was in the British style. (BOA., HAT., 678/33032 E)

The reform progress had not only been in military or industrial matters, but had also manifested in the cultural life of the Turkish people. In particular, Reshid Pasha had attached particular importance to the transfer of European cultural developments to the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned above, sometimes he sent some specialised book or other written on different subjects. For example, he sent English and French Grammar books, written by a British man. (BOA., HAT., 1185/46740 C) Reshid Pasha also indicated that there was a French pamphlet that had been published in Paris which was inciting the French to view an alliance with the Russians favourably on account of the successes of the Ottoman Empire. (BOA., HAT., 1185/46740 C)

1837

On account of all these positive diplomatic developments in Anglo-Ottoman relations, the reform process had been accelerated in this year. As mentioned above, Mahmud not only wanted transfer European techniques to his Empire, but he also wanted his statesmen to learn how to produce them on their own. In this respect, the practice of sending Ottomans to Europe for that purpose had increased. However, Britain was not the only European country he sent them to. Ottoman officers were sent to Austria as well. Metternich had been supporting the Ottoman Empire to enhance its strength against Mehmet Ali, and in the new diplomatic atmosphere after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Austria had become as close to the Ottoman Empire as Britain had become. For this reason, Mahmud sent some Ottomans to Austria to learn

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

the European system just as he had sent them to Britain. First of all, it should be mentioned that references in the Ottoman records related to this year carry more detailed information than can be previously found, when relating events concerning those Ottomans who had been sent to Europe. For example, some Ottoman officers had been sent to Britain for the purpose of learning warfare science. They had different ranks, such as, a sapper Colonel, Bekir Bey, a sapper lieutenant colonel, Emin Bey, and some were engineers, İbrahim, Derviş, Enis, Arif, Mahmud, and Halil Effendis. These officers had their own salaries for their expenses during the education process. (BOA., C..AS., 191/8251) After the Anatolian commander-in-chief, Sait Pasha, reported that some privates should be sent to Europe in order to learn European style clothing design and manufacture, six privates from the first and fourth regiment of the first brigade were sent to Vienna for the purpose of studying the design and manufacture of garments and three thousand Kurus were paid to each of them for their living expenses, the same as was paid to those officers who were sent to Britain. (BOA., C..AS., 191/8251)

In this year, it seems that the number of British merchants trading in the Ottoman lands increased. As a result of this, the number of problems they encountered during their trading increased as well; problems with both the Ottoman people themselves, and also with the Ottoman trading authorities. For instance, a British citizen called Nicholas Garbin had been trading in the Mentese Province, in the west. An Ottoman civil servant in the region, Mehmet Aga, borrowed six thousand six hundred and fifty Kurus from Nicholas. However, Mehmet Aga refused to pay the money back and even attacked and threatened Nicolas under some pretext or other, in order to avoid paying back what he owed to the merchant. Mehmet Aga even seized Nicholas's six hundred and sixty-three Ottoman gold coins and also three hundred and ninety kilograms bee wax. (BOA., C..AS.,143/7120) Thereupon, Ponsonby applied to the Ottoman government with an official letter and explained the situation. He requested a fair trial in the district court, otherwise, he said, he would go for an appeal to the high court and request to take Mehmet Aga to Istanbul. (BOA., C..AS.,143/7120) Judging by his involvement in this incident, Ponsonby seemed to be closely connected with not only diplomatic issues in Istanbul but also the British merchants' problems in the Ottoman lands.

This year was another significant year for Mahmud and his statesmen, striving as they were to implement the Anglo-Ottoman alliance plan, since the all developments had been most positive signs of good relations with the British. The Ottomans had started to benefit from the British techniques which did indeed seem to improve the Empire. As a matter of fact, the majority of this utilization of the various innovations had been, in the beginning stages, in the field of ameliorating the Ottoman army. It was a fact that the Ottoman economy had been having some difficulties in this period. An incident which can be given as an example of this is in how difficult it became to improve the Ottoman Army due to these economic conditions. As mentioned above, gunpowder was considered as a vital instrument by the Ottoman statesmen for a strong and self-sufficient army, and in light of this, Ottoman officers, such as Ohannes and his son, were sent to Britain and France in

the previous years to learn how the quality gunpowder could be produced. In accordance with the same purpose, another Ottoman master, Evan, was sent to Britain. Moreover, as already touched upon, the main aim of the Ottomans was not only to import European ammunition into the Ottoman Lands but more importantly they wanted to learn to produce, with their own means, ammunition of as high a quality as that of the Europeans. For this reason, Master Evan was instructed to buy a machine in order to produce the Ottoman gunpowder. Evan reported from Britain that he needed one thousand two hundred pouches Ottoman Akçe, (Ottoman currency), for both his expenses and the machine. (BOA., HAT., 588/28920) However, the Ottoman Ammunition Minister, Mehmet Emin, reported to the prime ministry that the budget of the Ottoman Powder Mill was insufficient to cover this payment. (BOA., HAT., 588/28920) After a while, he informed him that his department could only pay six hundred pouches; half of the requested amount. He also suggested that it might be possible to borrow the rest of the sum from the merchants, however, when the time to pay came, it would be a difficult bill to settle. (BOA., HAT., 588/28920 B) Another example in this matter was though the previously mentioned preparations for a possible battle with the Egyptian Army had been ongoing, economic problems had negatively affected these preparations as well. According to a report about the latest measures taken in strengthening the army against a possible Egyptian attack, despite all the positive developments in administrative and financial reforms and the efforts to improve the army, still, eight thousand pouches of Akçe were needed to correct the ammunition deficiencies in the army. This situation might have caused some difficulties in mounting an immediate response to an unexpected assault from Mehmet Ali's army. (BOA., HAT., 380/20558 C) Although this report is an ominous sign of financial difficulties, at the same time it does show that administrative and financial reforms were on the agenda.

Nevertheless, positive developments in the process of renewing the Ottoman army were ongoing. The Ottoman officers, who had been sent to Britain to study the latest developments in the British army system in the beginning of this year, were now starting to send positive news to Istanbul about their experiences and progress. For example, Palmerston indicated that Sarım Effendi, a new Ottoman envoy in London with the British military committee, sent an official letter to Istanbul saying that the Ottoman officers studying in Britain had brought their education to a successful conclusion. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46438) In addition to this, some of the officers were continuing their education: – some engineers from the Ottoman Powder Mill and some from the Eastern Command of the Ottoman Army – and their salaries had been sent regularly despite the domestic economic difficulties encountered by the Ottomans. (BOA., C..HR., 80/3990) At the same time, European officers continued to take charge of enhancing the Ottoman Army in this year too. In honour of this valuable service rendered in the Ottoman Armoury, the Ottoman government decorated two British officers, one Prussian officer, and one Prussian translator. (BOA., HAT., 55/2740) Machines were also imported in order to use in the newly-founded Ottoman factories, however, these machines' instructions were in English and a translator was needed for their correct operation. For this purpose a British

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

translator was employed in the factories and his salary was even raised in 1837 in acknowledgement of his valuable services. (BOA., HAT., 1611/99)

Meanwhile, Palmerston met with an interesting request from Mehmet Ali. Mehmet Ali's biggest supporter since the early years of the nineteenth century was France, and he sometimes sent his officers to France to be educated there, in order to keep his army up to date with the latest scientific developments in Europe. However, after all the positive developments in Anglo-Ottoman relations, he probably felt he needed to do something to get British support especially since France's foreign policy was in accordance with Britain's over Eastern affairs after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. This might have been another reason for Mehmet Ali to feel the need to get closer to the British since his biggest supporter was now allied with them. So he requested, through Campbell, the British Consul in Egypt, to send fourteen Arab boys to Britain for the purpose of taking education in the British factories. (BOA., HAT., 829/37497 E)

When looking at the commercial life of 1837 in the light of the Anglo-Ottoman relations it can be seen that the number of British merchants increased and this state of affairs carried with it both positive and negative developments. As mentioned above, some problems did crop up between the British and the Ottoman public as had happened in the Churchill issue. This small issue surprisingly enough, almost caused a rupture of Anglo-Ottoman relations. After this incident, the Ottoman Government learnt something from the experience and issued a directive on all future arraignment of the British. This directive stated that the witnesses of the problem, whatever it was, and the translator for the accused British should attend during the suspect's questioning and the officers should be aware of this directive. (BOA., HAT., 1175/46434) Consequently, the increase in the British population in the Ottoman lands resulted in a new set of legal and social rights for the British in the Ottoman lands. Another example of this matter occurring this year was when a British merchant applied to the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior to request a license to operate a ferry for the sole use of the British and other European citizens living in Büyükdere and Tarabya, the districts in Istanbul, since according to this British merchant, these people had had some difficulties finding a ferry to take to them to the centre of Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 837/37748)

At the same time, as mentioned above, Ponsonby continued to defend the British merchants' rights. Two examples can be given of this happening in this year. An Ottoman citizen, Civanı Acı Ergiri, and his brother had been trading in Galata, the Ottoman district in Istanbul, and to do so they borrowed money from two British merchants. However, they ran away from Istanbul without paying the debt. Therefore Ponsonby applied to the Ottoman Government to help catch them and bring them to Istanbul for trial. (BOA., C..HR., 24/1189) The other example is that there was a lawsuit between an Armenian Ottoman and a British merchant in Bursa, a city in the Empire, and Ponsonby applied to the Ottoman Government to have this lawsuit moved to the high court in Istanbul. (BOA., C..HR., 24/1190)

Meanwhile, the works to improve the new Ottoman Army's infrastructure in terms of military education had been carrying on with all speed in 1837 despite all

the difficulties that the Ottoman Empire had encountered at that time. For example, some geometric equipment and books for the military school were ordered from Britain. (BOA., HAT., 1173/46425 A., BOA., HAT., 1173/46425 A) Moreover, some necessary equipment for the steel furnace, which was in the Armoury, was ordered from Britain through Sarım Effendi. (BOA., HAT., 586/28815) Other orders from Britain to improve ammunition production included a copper sieve, chemicals, a flask, and a thermometer for use in the Powder Mill. (BOA., HAT., 588/28925) The Powder Mill Minister indicated to the Ottoman Army Commander the need for these materials (BOA., HAT., 588/28924) and then they were bought from Britain through Sarım Effendi. (BOA., HAT., 588/28923) At this time, an important request came from the Ottomans. Sarım Effendi was instructed to request of the House of Lords that whatever the Ottoman officers who had been taking military education in Britain, learned in theory, they should put into practice in the British Army, if the House of Lords accepted this suggestion. After a while the request was accepted. (BOA., HAT., 827/37465 F)

On the other hand, not everything was progressing outstandingly well in the process. For instance, construction works by British engineers were continuing in Istanbul on a cannon factory and rifle factory. It was reported to the Prime Minister that because of some difficulties raised by the British engineers, the construction works were moving too slowly and this was causing a waste of money. The Ottoman civil servant responsible for this construction proposed in his report that paying extra money to the engineers could accelerate the process. In response, the Prime Minister ordered that the payment determined in the contract with the engineers should be increased to fifty thousand Ottoman Kurus (Ottoman money) and the salaries would have to be paid without delay. (BOA., C..AS., 302/12493)

Mahmud had also been following the European press very closely. The Ottoman diplomats, such as Nuri Effendi, Reshid Pasha, Namık Pasha, and Sarım Effendi, had been sending any articles they found from a European country which mentioned the Ottoman Empire. (BOA., HAT., 827/37465 E., BOA., HAT., 959/41180., BOA., HAT., 1190/46884)

Sometimes, interesting offers would come to the Ottoman Government from the British: such as a British painter applied to the Ottoman Government to paint the Sultan's portrait. (BOA., HAT., 1321/51608)

1838

From the point of view of cooperation, both in the diplomatic arena and the reform process, it seemed like the Anglo-Ottoman relations had reached its peak. It transpires that all Mahmud and his statesmen's diplomatic efforts had brought relations to their best position thus far. Although William died on 20 June 1837, there was no change in British policies with respect to Eastern affairs, with Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. Owing to the international relations between the Ottomans and the British being so cordial, this year was an active year for British support in the Ottoman's reform progress.

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

In 1838, significant developments appeared following the efforts to reinforce the army in every possible way. The reason for this was that the imminent war between the Sultan and his governor seemed to be becoming more likely with each passing day. Therefore, Mahmud and his governments felt motivated to actively strengthen the Ottoman Army as soon as they could. The most urgent aspect of this matter was to improve and augment the army munitions, as had been happening in the previous years but now needed to happen much faster. For instance, the decision was made to buy some ammunition and cannonballs to increase the artillery fire power of some of the Castles to five hundred shots. (BOA., C.AS.,1089/48073) In addition to this the Department of War ordered that six hundred locks should be immediately produced for use with for the iron cannonballs imported from Britain and the bronze cannonballs produced in Istanbul. (BOA., C.BH., 110/5305) The order was for the production should start immediately; Mahmud wanted a rapid victory against his rebel governor this time. Having good gunpowder was still very important during this year as well, so two hundred and eighty-two tons of gunpowder was ordered from Britain. (BOA., HAT., 381/20579 L) In addition to this, Hafiz Pasha, an Ottoman attendant in Sivas, had started to produce gunpowder there and he was able to inform central government that four kilograms gunpowder cost 18 Kurus. In response, they asked for the details of the costing such as whether the expenses of saltpetre, sulphur, and labourers were included in the price or not. (BOA., HAT., 381/20579 L) Hafiz Pasha had also begun to produce cannonballs. However, a warning came to the Ottoman Government from the British Embassy that these cannonballs might be of no use because of their size. (BOA., HAT., 373/20416 A) In addition, the Ottoman War Office was able to report that one hundred and sixty-nine tons of gunpowder had been produced in the Ottoman Powder Mill. (BOA., HAT., 381/20579 L)

Despite these kinds of preparations, Mahmud and his statesmen had never seen the purchase of the necessary munitions from Europe as the only way to enhance the army; they also searched for a lasting solution better than foreign imports. The best way to achieve this aim was to produce their own munitions in their own country even if this production had to be made with the support of British experts and equipment. Consequently, the works to implement this plan continued throughout this year. For example, it was decided to bring an expert from Britain through Sarım Effendi in order to produce cannonballs in the ironworks under the British expert's directorship. (BOA., HAT., 587/28870) Another example of this is found in the Pravişte iron foundry in Salonika, an Ottoman city in the Balkans, which was rented to the manager of the foundry, Haşim Bey, and they too decided to bring a British cannonball expert over to direct proceedings during the renewal process of the foundry. (BOA., HAT., 531/26180) To achieve the aim of independent manufacture, it had not only been beneficial to have British assistance to establish the factories in the short term, but also, for the long term, some Ottomans had been sent to Europe to learn how to establish these types of factories for themselves. One such emissary was Colonel Bekir Bey. He was sent to Britain in 1834 to improve himself in the field of industrial science, and after his training the Ottoman

government recalled him to Istanbul in 1838 to supervise the establishment of an ironworks in Istanbul for the production of equipment and machine tools to enable more factories to be set up in the Ottoman lands. (BOA., HAT., 587/28871) Mahmud had successfully reaped the fruits of his labour in the field of his endeavours to comprehensively renew the Empire, by sending his subjects to Europe to learn the European system and bring the knowledge back to their country.

As well as these ongoing developments in the reform programme the British continued to visit Istanbul in this year for the purpose of educating the Ottoman officers. Quite interestingly, British tutors were not only brought for the instruction of the Ottoman officers, but also they were also even brought in for the Ottoman labourers. With the aid of this method it was possible to establish iron foundries in different regions in the Empire such as Samakofçuk, Pravişte, and Samokov. Subsequently, a British tutor who was an expert in his field, a British engineer, and a British translator were brought to the Empire to train the labourers, to work in these iron foundries producing the cannonballs. For some time they were unable to receive their salaries, then the Ottoman government ordered that their accumulated salaries be paid to them in full. (BOA., HAT., 190/8221) Mahmud, again not content with merely bringing British tutors to educate the Ottoman labourers, also sent some labourers to Britain in order to learn the new techniques in smelting and casting for use in the new iron foundry in Samakofçuk. (BOA., HAT., 16/1254 N)

The British had not just come to the Ottoman lands to educate Ottoman officers and labourers or only for commerce with the Ottoman Empire; they also visited the Empire for scientific research, even though the real aim of that research was commercial. Likewise, in 1838, three British researchers came to the Empire sponsored by Britain in order to investigate the mines and vegetation in the Anatolian region. Ponsonby, who continued to play the role of advocate for British subjects' rights, asked the Ottoman Government for their protection by the state officers wherever they went for their investigation. (BOA., HAT., 95/4745) One of these cases was when a British citizen, who lived in Çesme – an Ottoman county in the west – died, and the Ottoman civil servant in the county, Ali Bey, seized possession of his field, which was two hundred and twenty acres. However; his inheritors had already sold the field to a man named Solomon. Despite this sale, the Foreign Minister ordered the expropriation of the field but Ponsonby put in a request to the Government to cancel this order. (BOA., C..HR., 119/5910) Thereupon, as a last resort, the problem was brought to the Ottoman Court in Istanbul, and the Judge of Çeşme was instructed that he should not make any ruling on this issue until after the result of the Court. (BOA., HAT., 139/6930)

The much-debated issue of these years was that of the employment of the British officers. Many articles can be found in the UK records with respect to topic¹¹; however, something should be said from the Ottoman' point of view of the matter. The perspective of Mahmud and his statesmen on these British Officers was

¹¹ For instance, Rodkey's mentioned article is a nice example to look at the issue from the point of view of Foreign Office such as Palmerston and Ponsonby.

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

completely different from that of Palmerston, whose main aim in sending these officers to Istanbul was that they should be employed in the Ottoman Army. However, the Ottomans' aim was to use the British officers to provide training for the Ottoman Officers, and thereby, by extension, improve the whole army. (BOA., HAT., 1174/46427 C)

Nevertheless, it transpires from the Ottoman records that when it came to 1838, the Ottoman statesmen were not so sure what they wanted to do with these officers and because of this, many secret negotiations took place amongst the Ottoman statesmen to determine this issue. First of all, it must be considered that although Mahmud and his statesmen's main goal was to make an alliance with Britain, at the same time they had to consider keeping the balance of the diplomatic process in the region. They had to ensure that any action they embarked on would still appear to the Russians as if they were united allies. The majority of the documents reveal that whenever Mahmud made an order, or an Ottoman diplomat prepared a report in order to promote the benefits in making Anglo-Ottoman alliance, at the same time whoever was dealing with the diplomacy had warned that they should have to be very careful about how it would look to the Russians. For example, Mustafa Resid prepared a secret report, and after explaining the benefits of employing British navy officers in the Ottoman Fleet, he warned that the Russians would have to be persuaded on this matter. (BOA., HAT., 628/31066) The responsible diplomat for arranging the British officers' employment in the Ottoman Fleet was Ahmet Fethi Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris. His opinion, stated in his report, was united with that of Reshid Pasha in that he thought to employ the British officers in the Fleet would be very beneficial for improvement but this situation would have to be implemented without upsetting the Russians – and he also mentioned that he was in agreement with Kaptan Pasha, the Ottoman Foreign Minister, on this matter. (BOA., HAT., 661/32268) Ahmet Fethi Pasha also met with the British ambassador to Paris and negotiated several times over this issue, (BOA., HAT., 661/32268 D) also sending several encoded reports on it from Paris. (BOA., HAT., 661/32268 F) Despite all these negotiations, in the end, Mahmud decided not to give his permission for the employment of these officers in the Ottoman Fleet. He gave a rescript on this issue which he ordered the Ottoman Navy Undersecretary to draught in the field, stating he would not be employing any foreign officers in the Ottoman Army and Navy. The Government responded that there was already a draft prepared for the British Officers for just such an eventuality, and it would be more useful to send it with the new one prepared by the Navy Undersecretary, to the Ministry of Justice. (BOA., HAT., 298/17701 D)

Although there had been that clash of ideas about the employment of British officers in the Ottoman Army, Anglo-Ottoman relations still remained very positive, since the Russian danger motivated the British to seek the benefits of good Ottoman relations, and the Mehmet Ali problem for the Ottomans remained a motivating factor on the agenda. And so, in British public opinion also, a positive feeling had been engendered for the Ottomans. As a result of this, a British community interested in Eastern culture and morality was started in London. (BOA., HAT., 830/37506 F)

The Ottoman Envoy, Sarım Effendi, reported to Istanbul imparting some information about this group. He mentioned that this community regarded the Ottoman Empire as the biggest and most significant representative of the Eastern world, so it might be useful to send some handwriting books and printed Ottoman text and an appreciative letter from Istanbul. (BOA., HAT., 830/37506 F) The same kind of warm affinity had manifested itself in British diplomacy as well. The Ottoman ambassador at Prussia, Kamil Pasha, reported from Berlin that the Russian ambassador to Prussia threw a ballroom party in Berlin and the British ambassador to Prussia came to the party wearing some Ottoman clothes and a shawl. (BOA., HAT., 1209/47373 M) This is a prime example showing what good standing both countries' relations were in at that moment.

Reshid Pasha was daily increasing the good impression he had upon Mahmud. First he was appointed as the Ottoman Ambassador to Paris in 1834, and then he was appointed as the Ottoman Ambassador to London in 1836. Eventually, Mahmud appointed him as head of the Foreign Office. He had sent many detailed reports from Europe to inform Mahmud about the latest developments in Europe, generally with respect to the European Powers' current attitudes to the Mehmet Ali problem, and he did not like either the French or the Russians. As a matter of fact he was pro-British and had very much wanted to achieve this alliance with the British against all the Ottoman enemies: the first and foremost of these being Mehmet Ali, as his sovereign had wanted. Therefore, Reshid Pasha's appointment to the Foreign Office was perfectly suited to Mahmud's plan and it was the reason behind the rapid increase in Ottoman diplomatic success. In this area, Reshid achieved many useful things, not only diplomatically and politically, but also he had embarked on some enterprises to establish close ties with eminent people in London to improve Anglo-Ottoman relations, such as to request from Mahmud permission to give some gifts to these kinds of people. For example, a medal studded with some precious stones was presented to Palmerston. (BOA., C..HR., 185/9237) Moreover, some gifts were given by Reshid Pasha to Queen Victoria and interestingly Palmerston's mother. (BOA., HAT., 1179/46569 E) He also gave some gifts to the British ministers. (BOA., HAT., 382/20584) Lastly, he gave some gifts to the Queen's mother which Palmerston submitted to her and then informed Reshid Pasha he had done so. (BOA., HAT., 1179/46569 J) These things may have been just token gifts but they were given in an effort to improve Anglo-Ottoman relations, even if only slightly.

As mentioned, the employment of British Officers in the Ottoman Army was problematic; however, the same problem was not the rule for the other departments. On the contrary, employing British workers in other departments was seen as an advantage, to help improve the Empire in a positive way. For example, at the beginning of the 1830s, some councils on different subjects were established for the purpose of the enhancement of state and society. In order to improve these councils, a British man was employed. According to the records, he was an expert in agriculture and craft and it was considered beneficial to employ him on one of the Ottoman councils, such as farming, agriculture, handicraft, or industry. (BOA., C..İKTS., 18/861)

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

Moreover, the former British translator Sapper so called in the records, requested a license from the Sultan to build and run a bake house in Istanbul. After a while, Mahmud gave his permission and in addition to this he also gave him twenty thousand Kurus to repair his house. (BOA., HAT., 1211/47432 A) The Ottoman chamberlain, who was responsible for all bakery houses in Istanbul, was also notified of this. (BOA., HAT., 951/40844 C)

Ponsonby, as previously illustrated, sometimes stood in as advocate for the British merchants' rights to the Ottoman Central Government. However, this time, interestingly enough, he advocated for an internal issue in favour of the Ottoman Empire. The British Consul at Erzurum, a city in the East, informed Ponsonby that the richest person in the city had been oppressing the public in the city and consequently, the public rose up against him. (BOA., HAT., 702/33738 A) Thereupon, central government was informed of the incident by Ponsonby and it sent an official letter to warn the person involved. (BOA., HAT., 695/33497) This situation shows how the British expanded their influence throughout the Empire from the second half of 1830s.

1839

This year's most significant feature in terms of commercial life in the Empire was the increasing number of British merchants trading in the Ottoman lands as local merchants. The biggest reason for this was the treaty of Balta Limani. After this Treaty, British merchants only paid twelve percent on exports and five percent on imports. In addition to these tariffs, there was an eight percent duty required from Ottomans who carried on domestic trade. (Kütükoğlu, 1974: 215) However, while the Ottoman merchants had to pay this duty, foreign merchants did not have to pay it any more after Balta Limani. So from every point of view, foreign merchants had been given an advantage over Ottoman merchants in domestic competition.

The increasing number of British merchants in Ottoman life after the Treaty of Balta Limani brought many problems with it. For example, a British citizen, called Marcus in the document, emigrated and got married in Silivri, a district close to Istanbul, and began to trade there. However, he had some problems with the locals and the Ottoman authorities. The public in Silivri complained about Marcus's inappropriate behaviour. According to them this kind of behaviour offended their sensibilities and the dignity of Islam. (BOA., C..HR., 58/2870) This man also had some problems with the authorities with respect to payment of the customs duties due on his imports of coffee and sugar, and had disputes with the Ottoman officials. For all these reasons, the Ottoman Foreign Office made a ruling on the matter, and gave notice to the British Embassy that Marcus was to be moved somewhere else in Istanbul or he would be sent back to his own country, Britain. (BOA., C..HR., 11/539)

Another interesting matter in the commercial life after the Balta Limani happened when the British and French Embassies' translators brought some elephant's tusks and dates from Tripoli and also some bathrobes from Tunis for trading purposes. They wanted to take advantage of the privileges of the treaty of the

Balta Limani regarding payment of the customs tariffs; however, this request was not accepted by the Ottoman Government. (BOA., C..HR., 169/8419)

Meanwhile, a conflict arose between the Ottoman authorities and the British Consul at Salonika. A Russian Merchant ship had an accident off the coast of Aynaroz, an Ottoman district in the Balkans. Some of the money and goods on the ship belonged to a British merchant. All the goods on the ship were under the governor and his officers' supervision and then submitted to the shipmaster's brother and agent and in return for a written document from the agent. After a while, the British Consul applied and indicated that the British merchant's goods and money had been seized and therefore, he requested their return to the merchant. Following this request, the problem was investigated by the Central Government and the Ottoman Foreign Minister was able to inform Ponsonby that the money and goods had already been submitted earlier and thus the Consul's application was in error. (BOA., C..HR., 7/311)

Another interesting incident with respect to a British merchant was that he was dismissed from his coffee shop in Beyoğlu, which is a famous district in Istanbul, since he was mixing fake substances such as chickpea and so on with his coffee. (BOA., C..HR., 103/5115) This is a very clear example how, in the new atmosphere in Istanbul after Unkiar Skelessi, the British had taken their place in the Ottoman life with all their pluses and minuses. Another example of this matter was when an Arabic odalisque, or slave girl, was found in a British citizen's house and was taken from the house and returned. (BOA., C..HR., 104/5200)

Meanwhile, the Ottoman government issued a decree that any civil trials needed for British and French citizens should be processed with their ambassadors and consuls or agents in attendance. This was in accordance with the treaties, which had been struck with these countries. (BOA., C..HR., 12/586) It seems that the Ottoman politicians were trying to bring their procedures in line with the rest of European society.

Increasing inter-Anglo-Ottoman trade triggered the significant issue of piracy. With increasing trade, pirates started to operate in the seas. There were many incidents of piracy on the seas but it will suffice to provide only a few to convey understanding of this new issue which was a feature of this period.

An Ottoman citizen, was called Yani Eksino, was carrying some goods in a Swedish ship towards Algeria. British pirates attacked the ship and seized all Yani's goods saying they were French goods. The French were historically rivals of the British in the Mediterranean. (BOA., C..HR., 123/6149) Thereupon, the Ottoman civil servant Ali Pasha prepared a report and suggested that the value of the merchant's assets should be requested from the British Embassy. (BOA., C..HR., 9/448) Another similar incident seen in this year was when a Muslim merchant was carrying his goods from Alexandria to Istanbul in a French ship and his goods were extorted from him after a British pirate ship attack. His assets' value was requested from the British Embassy as well. (BOA., C..HR., 23/1109) Nevertheless, it wasn't only British pirates who had been attacking ships, but there were also some Ottoman pirates. Ibrahim Reis attacked a British ship and seized the goods of a British

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

merchant and this time the British ambassador applied to the governor of Rumelia to get the merchant's assets back. (BOA., HAT., 23/1108)

On the other hand, the positive contributions from the British had continued to improve the Ottoman Empire in this year as well. In this respect, a British engineer Mister Tyler was decorated for his valuable services in the Ottoman Armoury. (BOA., C..AS., 1/1202) Also, another British engineer, Roberson, had prepared an explanatory document about the necessity to establish an iron foundry in the Keban Mine. (BOA., C..DRB., 31/1515)

There is a purchase record showing the Ottoman mentality in export operations. A British merchant bought twenty thousand barrel staves in order to take them to Malta, and Ponsonby requested permission for the ship to pass thorough the straits. However, at first, the head of the shipyard was asked whether these barrel staves were a needed in the shipyard or not. His reply was that there was no need for them in there, whereupon the ship was allowed to pass. (BOA., C..HR., 102/5080) In the Empire the keynote principal before permission for an export had been to give priority for domestic use of the supplies.

There are many such incidents from this period but the most important thing to consider in the light of the main argument is that Mahmud's plan, to make an alliance with Britain against Mehmet Ali, was conducive to a new period in the Anglo-Ottoman cooperation to improve and enhance the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, before the 1830s, Mahmud had already achieved the status of being one of the most significant reformer Sultans, maybe even the first. However, the gravity of the Mehmet Ali problem had impelled him to give priority to the British in modernising his Empire according to Western principles. All incidents not just in theory but in reality, the level of influence the British had in the Ottoman reform period in the new period that had been brought about after Unkiar Skelessi. It must be acknowledged that Mahmud was not alone in the task of getting British support in the reform process; he had the help of some skilled and determined diplomats, such as Mustafa Resid, Namık Pasha, Nuri Effendi, Sarım Effendi etc. Mahmud's and all these diplomats' vigorous efforts irreversibly lead the Empire to totally a new age. This age came to be called the Tanzimat Era, and it was to make all the efforts mentioned inscriptive; more lasting and purposeful than spontaneous or haphazard decisions. By this means the reform period gained international recognition and a more organised atmosphere, even though Mahmud did not live long enough to see his top diplomat, Mustafa Resid, make his announcement of the script, Imperial Edict of Reorganization, on 3 November 1839, to the Ottoman public and all the ambassadors, including Ponsonby.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)

BOA, HAT., 16/1254 N, 23/1108, 55/2740, 95/4745, 139/6930, 190/8221, 298/17701 D, 373/20416 A, 380/20558 C, 381/20579 L, 382/20584, 531/26180,

575/28134 J, 585/28744, 585/28744 A, 586/28815, 586/28821, 587/28870, 587/28871, 588/28920, 588/28920 B, 588/28921, 588/28921 A, 588/28923, 588/28924, 588/28925, 591/29016, 591/29016 A, 591/29016 B, 593/29044 B, 593/29044 E, 596/29288, 628/31066, 661/32268, 661/32268 D, 661/32268 F, 664/32291 G, 677/33015, 677/33015 B, 677/33016 B, 677/33020 B, 677/33021 A, 677/33021 E, 678/33032 E, 695/33497, 702/33738 A, 712/34067 J, 737/34959 B, 738/34986, 738/34986 C, 747/35297, 804/37134 C, 827/37465 E, 827/37465 F, 829/37497 E, 830/37506 F, 837/37748, 951/40844 C, 954/40954, 959/41180, 1172/46376, 1172/46383, 1172/46398, 1172/46406, 1172/46406 A, 1173/46419 D, 1173/46425 A, 1174/46427 C, 1174/46429 K, 1175/46434, 1175/46438, 1175/46438 I, 1175/46438 K, 1176/46442 U, 1177/46496, 1179/46569 E, 1179/46569 J, 1179/46582, 1180/46660, 1181/46662 G, 1181/46662 Ğ, 1182/46669 B, 1182/46669 D, 1185/46740 C, 1190/46879 001, 1190/46884, 1191/46898 C, 1206/47287 A, 1209/47373 M, 1211/47432 A, 1220/47731 H, 1220/47736, 1220/47749, 1231/47986 A, 1231/47986 B, 1231/47986 C, 1231/47986 E, 1231/47986 F, 1231/47986 G, 1231/47986 H, 1231/47986 I, 1236/48114, 1251/48379 B, 1255/48567, 1264/48951 C, 1267/49040 B, 1321/51608, 1344/52524, 1611/99.

BOA, C.AS., 1/1202, 137/6086, 143/7120, 191/8251, 302/12493, 398/16420, 447/18635, 509/21254, 602/25384, 828/35276, 940/40789, 1089/48073.

BOA, C.HR., 7/311, 9/448, 11/539, 12/586, 23/1109, 24/1189, 24/1190, 37/1840, 58/2870, 80/3990, 102/5080, 103/5115, 104/5200, 119/5910, 123/6149, 169/8419, 185/9237.

BOA, C.BH., 65/3062, 67/3163, 76/3634, 110/5305.

BOA, C.ML., 265/10852, 379/15563, 379/15570.

BOA, C.IKTS., 18/861, 21/1020.

BOA, C.SM., 585/30142

BOA, C.DH., 224/11186.

BOA, C.DRB., 31/1515.

Secondary Sources

Aksan, V.H. (2010) *Osmanlı Harpleri*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Bailey, F.E. (1940). "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Issue-December, pp. 449-484.

Berkes, N. (2004). *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Bolsover, G.H. (1936). "David Urquhart and the Eastern Question 1833-1837: A Study in Publicity and Diplomacy", *The Journal of Modern History*, vol.8, no.4, pp. 444-467.

Demirbaş, S., (2016). "A New Perspective on the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi Mahmud II's Use of International Diplomacy to Resolve the Mehmet Ali Problem", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No 17(2), Eskişehir, Issue-December pp. 1-16.

Enhancing The Ottoman Empire With Anglo-Ottoman Cooperation In The...

- (2016). "A Fresh Look at Mahmud II's Purpose in Calling Russian Troops to İstanbul in 1833", *Journal of History School*, No XXVIII, İzmir, pp. 347-378.
- (2020). "Mahmud II and His Diplomats During The Mehmet Ali Problem", *Journal of History and Future*, 6/4 Issue-December pp. 1312-1324.
- (2020) "II Mahmud and His Statesmen's Diplomatic Manoeuvres to Solve Mehmet Ali Pasha Crisis". *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi* 7, Issue-December, pp. 2635-2661.
- Engelhardt E. (1999). *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları.
- Findley, C.V. (2014). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bürokratik Reform*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Guymer, L.M. (2009). "Sir Henry Bulwer and the Ottoman Empire 1858-1865" [unpublished UEA Phd. thesis].
- Kütükoğlu, M.S. (1974). *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri 1580-1838* Vol.I. İstanbul: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Ortaylı, İ. (2009). *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.
- Palmer, A. (2008). *Bir Çöküşün Yeni Tarihi*. İstanbul: Turkuvaz Kitap.
- Rodkey, F.S. (1929). "Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-41", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Issue-December.
- Shaw, S. and E.K. (2000). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*. İstanbul: E Yayınları.
- Uyar, M. and Ericson, E.J. (2014). *Osmanlı Askeri Tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Zürcher, E.J. (2009). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık