



Reception, Accommodation, and Farewell of the Sultan Abdülaziz in Britain

Sultan Abdülaziz'in İngiltere'de Karşlanması, Ağırlanması ve Uğurlanması

Emel Demir Görür* 



*Assoc. Prof. Dr., Dicle University, Ziya Gökalp Faculty of Education, Department of Turkish and Social Sciences Education, Diyarbakır, Türkiye

ORCID: E.D.G. 0000-0003-1408-1377

Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:

Emel Demir Görür,
Dicle University, Ziya Gökalp Faculty of Education, Department of Turkish and Social Sciences Education, Diyarbakır/Türkiye
E-mail/E-posta: emeldemirgorur@gmail.com

Submitted/Başvuru: 02.03.2024

Revision Requested/Revizyon Talebi:
24.05.2024

Last Revision Received/Son Revizyon:
08.06.2024

Accepted/Kabul: 09.06.2024

Citation/Atıf:

Demir Görür, Emel. "Reception, Accommodation, and Farewell of the Sultan Abdülaziz in Britain." *Tarih Dergisi - Turkish Journal of History*, 83 (2024): 111-144.
<https://doi.org/10.26650/iutd.1446043>

ABSTRACT

With the exception of military campaigns in Ottoman history, the only Sultan who traveled to foreign countries and the only caliph who went to Christian countries as an ally was Sultan Abdülaziz. One of the most important stops during Sultan's journey to Europe in 1867 was Britain. He visited many institutions here and stayed for more than ten days, participated in banquets and balls, was given in his honour and hosted many influential people and institutions at the reception he gave. Sultan's journey to Europe, the British leg of his travel in particular, aroused great interest in the British press, and liberal, conservative, and satirical newspapers kept a close eye on Sultan. There were page-by-page news about the balls given in the name of the Sultan, the entertainments organised, the apparel and attitudes of the Sultan and his entourage, and what they ate and drank. Accordingly, this study aims to convey the reflections of this journey in British liberal, conservative, and satirical newspapers and to exhibit the attitudes of dissidents and supporters towards the journey together with their impressions and reflections on the British front. The perception of Sultan and Islam that existed in Britain and changed during the journey will also be revealed.

Keywords: Sultan Abdülaziz, Ottoman Empire, Britain, journey, newspapers

ÖZ

Osmanlı tarihinde seferler istisna tutulmak koşuluyla yabancı memleketlere seyahate çıkmış yegâne Sultan, Hıristiyan memleketlere dost olarak gitmiş tek halife, Sultan Abdülaziz'dir. Sultan Abdülaziz'in 1867 tarihinde gerçekleştirdiği seyahatin en önemli duraklarından biri İngiltere'dir. 10 günü aşkın bir süre kaldığı bu topraklarda pek çok kurum gezmiş, şerefine verilen ziyafet ve balolara iştirak etmiştir. Verdiği resepsiyonda birçok etkin kişi ve kurum temsilcisini ağırlamıştır. Sultan'ın Avrupa seyahati, özelde ise seyahatin İngiltere ayağı İngiliz basınında mühim alaka uyandırmış; liberal, muhafazakâr ve hiciv gazeteleri Sultan'ı yakından takip etmişlerdir. Sultan adına verilen balolar, tertip edilen eğlenceler, Sultan ve maiyetinin giyim-kuşamları, tutumları, yedikleri-içtikleriyle ilgili sayfa sayfa haberler neşredilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, seyahatin İngiliz liberal, muhafazakâr ve de hiciv gazetelerine yansımaları aktarılacak, seyahate yönelik muhalif ve yanlıların tutumunu, İngiliz cephesindeki izlenimleri ve yansımaları sergilenmeye çalışılacak, İngiltere'de var olan ve seyahatle birlikte değişen Sultan ve Müslüman algısı gözler önüne serilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sultan Abdülaziz, Osmanlı Devleti, İngiltere, seyahat, gazeteler



Introduction

With the exception of military campaigns in Ottoman history, the only Sultan who travelled to foreign countries, and the only caliph who went to Christian countries as an ally was Sultan Abdülaziz¹. For the first time in the history of Britain, a great leader of Muslims, the representative of the Caliphate and the Sultans, landed on the shores of Britain². This trip, which occurred in 1867, happened was the first³ and last trip in the history of the Ottoman Empire⁴.

The journey occurred on the occasion of the invitation of Emperor Napoleon III to the International Paris Exhibition to be held in France. The apparent purpose of the journey was to visit the exhibition⁵. However, many ideas were put forward regarding the main purpose of the journey, both during and after it⁶. Although the obvious purpose was to visit the exhibition, it was alleged that there were political reasons behind it⁷. The most important of these reasons was the necessity of attempting in the presence of the European States in order to conclude the Cretan political trouble in favour of the Ottomans. Because at that time, the Crete issue had ceased to be a minor Greek case, had become an international issue⁸, and was going through its most depressive phase. In addition, during the invitation, Napoleon announced that there would be meetings and exchanges of ideas that would strengthen the general peace through the Ambassador in Istanbul⁹. Furthermore, from a diplomatic point of view the journey would have taken place at the point where French-Russian cooperation in the Cretan issue had declined¹⁰. On the Ottoman front, the Sultan's conveyance of the Ottoman thesis to Paris and explaining it to the emperor himself was seen as an appropriate move, and it was hoped that Napoleon's response would not offend his guest¹¹. At this point, Âli and Fuad Pashas considered it important to deliver the views on the Crete issue to the French through the most authoritative voice¹². This, in turn, strengthened and supported the idea of solving the trouble of Crete¹³. More than 10 years had passed since the Crimean War,

1 İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Türkiye Yayınevi, 4, İstanbul 1955, p. 217.

2 *The Essex Standard and Eastern Counties Advertiser*, July 17, 1867.

3 Nihat Karaer, *Paris, Londra, Viyana; Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati*, Phoenix Yayınları, Ankara 2012, p. 1.

4 Emre Aracı, "Londra Crystal Palace'ta Abdülaziz Şerefine Verilen Konser", *Toplumsal Tarih*, issue 49 (1988), p. 29.

5 Midhat Sertoğlu, *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi*, Güven Yayınevi, VI, İstanbul 1963, p. 3151.

6 Danişmend, p. 216.

7 Judy Upton-Ward, "Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati", *Osmanlı, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları*, II, Ankara 1999, p. 119.

8 Danişmend, p. 216.

9 Sertoğlu, p. 3148.

10 R. H. Davison, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Reform 1856-1876*, çev. Osman Akınhay, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul 2005, p. 247.

11 Sertoğlu, p. 3148.

12 Bedii Şehsuvaroğlu, "Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, issue 1 (1967), p. 41.

13 Sertoğlu, p. 3151.

in which Britain and France supported the Ottoman Empire, and the balances in Europe had changed in this process. The Serbian and Cretan revolts had reached a dangerous level. The Âli Pasha government considered it necessary to get the support of France and Britain with this journey¹⁴. An article referring to this idea was published in the satirical and humour magazine *Punch*, and even an illustration was published on the subject.



Figure 1. John Bull and Sultan Abdülaziz
Source: *Punch or the London Charivari*, July 20, 1867.

In the illustration titled “The Illustrious Convalescent”¹⁵, John Bull, a national and fictional character representing Britain¹⁶, shakes Sultan Abdülaziz’s hand with one hand and makes a gesture with the other, expressing peace and calmness, as if to appease the Sultan. The caption under the drawing reads, “ Mr. Bull ‘You a sick man! Ha! Ha!- I knew my Crimean doctors would set you up, and this visit will do you all the good in the world.’” It is implied that the powers that supported the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War between 1853 and 1856 would also support the Ottoman Empire with this visit¹⁷.

Besides the political reasons regarding Crete, another reason for the Sultan’s journey was his close observation of innovations and advancements in Europe, with the intention of implementing these developments in his own country¹⁸. Because Âli and Fuad Pashas found the journey useful and encouraged the young sultan to apply his innovations¹⁹. Through this opportunity, they believed that the Sultan himself would discover answers to the Ottoman Empire’s questions: “How is the East?” How is the West now?²⁰ In British newspapers, the

14 Nejdet Gök, “Mütercim Halimî Efendi’nin Notları Çerçevesinde Sultan Abdülaziz’in Avrupa Seyahati ve Sonuçları (21 Haziran 1867-7 Ağustos 1867)”, *Tarihin Peşinde Uluslararası Tarih ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, issue 7 (2012), p. 165.

15 *Punch or the London Charivari*, July 20, 1867.

16 *John Bull*, ed. Arthur William À Beckett, John Bull Press, I, London 1903, pp. 1, 3.

17 *Punch*, July 20, 1867.

18 Sertoğlu, p. 3151.

19 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 41.

20 Cemal Kutay, *Sultan Abdülaziz’in Avrupa Seyahati*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul 1991, p. 12.

prevailing view was that the expedition was organized for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire and the well-being of the people²¹. It was underlined that the Sultan would criticise the current state of Western civilisation, that he was likely to find an answer to the question²², “While decay seems to be a feature of the East, what was the reason for the development of the West?” and that it was significant for him to come to London at this point²³. It was stated that the issue of whether it would take the lead in the peaceful solution of the Eastern Question was another issue²⁴. Sultan himself expressed the reason for his journey on many occasions to Britain. According to these statements, one of the reasons for the trip was to properly complete the reform process initiated by the Ottoman Empire²⁵ and to see what more needed to be done in his own country to complete the work they had started in the civilisation centres he visited. Another reason was to establish a sense of brotherhood between the Ottoman subjects and other European nations²⁶. Within the scope of the first reason expressed by the Sultan, two civilisation centres and two great empires, France and Britain, were compared with some points. The question of which state was the antithesis of the Ottoman Empire, which state would be or could be the pioneer of the Ottoman Empire in this process has been examined. According to British public opinion, Britain was undertaking this mission in every respect. Britain, more than France or other continental European countries, gave to promote their own social interests. This could have set an example for the Ottomans regarding household life and equality between men and women. Even this point was thought-provoking when it was examined the Ottoman Empire, which learned that Britain was less inclined to intervene in the internal regulations of other nations than it always was, to see Britain as a friend on the way to progress²⁷. In terms of hospitality, some newspapers compared themselves to France. Describing France,

*When the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free
In the silken sail of infancy,*

expressions were included. It was stated that there, were no fairy lands to show, but the Sultan would witness the industriousness and energy of the British as he wandered the busy streets of London, where the world’s treasures were gathered, witnessed how justice was administered in the absence of soldiers, police, churches, and how loyal the rulers and people with right to vote were to their widowed queens. It was expressed that although France-style parties were not held, a free and self-governing public landscape would be presented, which

21 *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, July 27, 1867.

22 *The Glasgow Daily Herald*, July 5, 1867.

23 *The Christian Times*, July 12, 1867.

24 *Glasgow*, July 5, 1867.

25 *Christian Times*, July 19, 1867.

26 *The Burry and Norwich Post and Suffolk Herald*, July 23, 1867.

27 *Christian Times*, July 19, 1867.

could not be seen anywhere else in Europe²⁸.

Beginning of the Journey, Transition to Britain, and First Impressions

The Sultan began his European journey on 21 June 1867 by leaving the pier in Istanbul²⁹. He arrived in the Dardanelles, Messina, and Toulon, respectively, then went to Marseille by train, where he was greeted by Emperor Napoleon III at Paris Train Station on 30 June. He stayed in Paris for ten days, then left France with similar ceremonies³⁰.

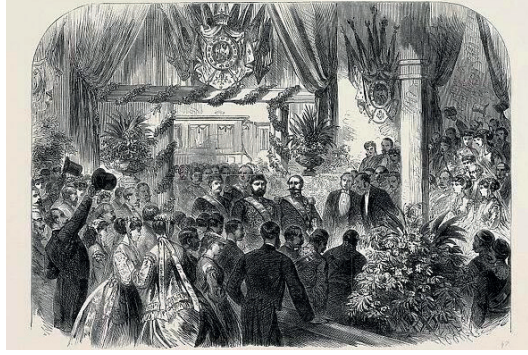


Figure 2. The Sultan and the Emperor Napoleon in Paris
Source: *The Illustrated London News*, July 13, 1867.

Preparations in Britain began days ago. Where the Sultan would reside and what entertainment and performances would be organised in his honour were organised by a committee, including Madam Musurus³¹. Dover station, where the Sultan would disembark in Britain, was beautifully decorated for the welcome, the road from the pier was covered with awnings and adorned with flowers. Shortly before the Sultan came ashore, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Sydney and the garrison commanders, followed by borough members, the Mayor and the Town Council took their places at the pier. At the reception, Turkish Ambassador Musurus and all the Embassy personnel³², İsmail Pasha, who had just received the title of Khedive at that time³³, and Nubar Pasha and the dignitaries of his entourage, took their places with their neat uniforms and

28 *Christian Times*, July 12, 1867.

29 *Ruznamçe-i Ceride-i Havadis*, Safer 19, 1284/June 22, 1867. During his European journey, Sultan boarded his private yacht, the *Sultaniye (Feyz-i Cihad)*. For detailed information, Ali Kemâlî Aksüt, *Sultan Aziz'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati*, Ahmet Sait Oğlu Kitabevi, İstanbul 1944, p. 9.

30 Gök, p. 165.

31 Şehsuvaroğlu, pp. 48-49.

32 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

33 Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Islahat Fermanı Devri (1861-1876)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 3, Ankara 1988, p. 43.

Mecidiye Orders³⁴. Finally, on the morning of 12 July³⁵, the Sultan landed in Dover Harbor and set foot in English country³⁶.



Figure 3. Illustration depicting Sultan's landing at Dover Harbour
Source: *The Illustrated London News*, 20 July, 1867.

In the first encounter, neither the Prince of Wales nor the Duke did not shake hands with the Sultan, according to Turkish etiquette. Sultan touched his fez and greeted those in front of him. Egypt's Khedive Ismail Pasha, who was in Britain at the time, was among those who came to greet him. The Sultan's greeting to the Egyptian Governor was ceremonial, and his cold attitude towards the governor was reflected in British newspapers. Meanwhile, all eyes were on the Sultan, his son Izzeddin Effendi, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha³⁷. Sultan was only 37 years old, but his long and wavy gray beard made him look old³⁸. The magnificence of the Sultan's nephews, later Sultans Murad and Hamid Effendi, were paler than the uniforms worn by many entourages. The most notable of the entourage were not high ministers and officials, but Arab chiefs, Circassians, and Albanian magnates who, stood out in their attire³⁹.

34 *Punch*, July 27, 1867.

35 Metin And, "Sultan Aziz'in Londra Seyahati", *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, issue 10 (1967), p. 15.

36 Halimi Efendi, *Sultan Abdülaziz Han Hazretlerinin Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*. This is the copy Behçet Bey, son of the Halimi Effendi, presented to the Sultan. Available at: Açikerişim@TBMM file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/3800.pdf (accessed April 5, 2023). For more details, Osman Köksal, "Sultan Aziz'in Avrupa Seyahati Dönüşü Münasebetiyle Yapılan Kutlamalar ve Bir Manzum Tarihçe", *Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, IV/1 (2003), p. 120.

37 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

38 *The Otley News and West Riding Advertiser*, July 12, 1867.

39 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

The ceremony started with an artillery fire as soon as the Sultan landed on the pier⁴⁰. Sultan was greeted with great enthusiasm⁴¹. After the ceremony, the Sultan boarded the state carriages waiting at the pier, and the train departed for the Lord Warden Hotel, where His Highness went to the room prepared for the reception and he had breakfast with his son and nephews. After a short rest, the Mayor delivered a welcome speech to the Sultan. The Sultan stated that he was pleased to be on these lands and left the hotel after a short ceremony. He arrived at Charing Cross Station around 3 p.m.⁴² The station was specially prepared for the Sultan by the South Eastern authorities and was, beautifully decorated and covered with flowers. As the Sultan got off the train, he was greeted with great enthusiasm by ladies and gentlemen. There were arranged guards of honour consisting of detachments of the Grenadier Guards and the Blues, the band of the Coldstream Guards, a brilliant staff of officers, some twelve or thirteen Royal carriages with their gorgeously dressed attendants and police and railway functionaries at the crossing⁴³.



Figure 4. Illustration depicting the Sultan's arrival at Charing Cross Station
Sources: *Illustrated London*, July 20, 1867; *The Illustrated Weekly News*, July 20, 1867.

One of the brightest processions London had seen in several years left Parliament Street to the cheers of the audience, continued on the Mall to Buckingham Palace⁴⁴, and another official ceremony was held in St. James's park⁴⁵. The Sultan then moved to Buckingham Palace, where he would reside until he died. The Belgian suite rooms reserved for the Sultan and his entourage were recently restored and redecorated for visitors⁴⁶. At the time the Sultan came to Britain, the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha and Belgian volunteers were also guests. Sultan's visit was a priority not only in terms of his rank and the extent of his territorial and spiritual dominance, but also in terms of being an unprecedented event in history⁴⁷.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 11, 1283/July 13, 1867.

42 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

43 *The Illustrated Weekly News*, July 20, 1867.

44 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

45 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 20, 1867.

46 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

47 *The Illustrated London News*, July 20, 1867.

While almost every newspaper published in Britain announced the Sultan's arrival in London, they provided information to their readers about the current situation of the Ottoman Empire and the image of the Sultan and the Muslims⁴⁸. When an evaluation was made within the framework of these data, it is clearly understood that the Muslim image formed in the minds of Europeans during the Crusades was quite different from the gentle and harmless appearance of the Sultan. Because all the differences in the dress, attitude and habits of the Turk were so distorted and exaggerated⁴⁹ that the Turk evoked the idea of a monster⁵⁰ as magnificent as a phoenix or a gryphon in the western mind⁵¹. The Turk was famous for his beard, and it would not be an exaggeration, according to this idea, the Sultan's beard was to be blue⁵². The bowstring and the machete must have been his constant toys. Once he captured a city, it was essential for him to kill all men, harass, and enslave all the women and children. All the northern nations were so hated that they insisted on classifying them as cannibals, gorgons, and beasts. The Sultan was the head of this vague fear and terrible doubt⁵³. However, during this journey, the appearance and attitude of the Sultan eliminated all these prejudices. He was quite plain, without a harem and, soldiers, and even he shrank from publicly accepting the bare arm of a handsome lady. He was accompanied by modern clothes on his travels, distinguished from Europeans only by his red fez. Many publications have stated that he was humble, sane, and far from ostentatious, and he was able to use his eyes, ears, tongue, and reasoning power well⁵⁴. It was emphasised that Sultan was a great musician and a good composer⁵⁵. Many newspapers noted that the Sultan abstained from alcohol⁵⁶, was true to the teachings of his faith, and consistently refused to drink wine and other alcohol⁵⁷. It was mentioned that he did not have a harem, that he fasted, and that he had many positive qualities that could set an example for his people⁵⁸. *Punch*, on the other hand, wrote that since his arrival in Britain coincided with Friday, the Sultan did not care about religious days. The *Christian Times* shared with its readers the information that the Ottoman Empire, which he described as a loyal ally of Britain, granted liberty of worship to subjects of all religions, regardless of religion, language, or race, and that no one could be forced to change their

48 *Glasgow*, July 5, 1867, *Christian Times*, July 12, 1867, *Illustrated London*, July 13, 1867, *Illustrated Sporting Theatrical News*, July 20, 1867.

49 *Huddersfield*, July 27, 1867.

50 *Liverpool Daily Post*, July 5, 1860; *The Friend of India*, September 4, 1862; *Evening Mail*, October 25, 1822; *British Mercury or Wednesday Evening Post*, October 30, 1822.

51 *Huddersfield*, July 27, 1867.

52 *Friend of India*, August 29, 1867.

53 *Huddersfield*, July 27, 1867.

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 17, 1867.

56 *Leeds Mercury*, July 8, 1867; *Carlisle Examiner and North Western Advertiser*, July 9, 1867; *Banner of Ulster*, July 9, 1867; *Midland Counties Advertiser*, July 10, 1867; *Christian Times*, July 12, 1867; *Carlow Sentinel*, July 13, 1867; *Dublin Weekly Nation*, July 13, 1867; *London City Press*, July 20, 1867.

57 *Christian Times*, July 26, 1867.

58 *Christian Times*, July 12, 1867.

religion. This was reflected in, the Imperial Decree dated 1856⁵⁹. The *Christian Times* stated that such freedoms do not exist even in many Christian countries in continental Europe. The paper underlined that it should not be forgotten that the Sultan was not a Sultan Saladin or Harun Rashid, but a good Muslim educated in a more liberal school, the religious leader of approximately 20 million Muslims in India⁶⁰. At this point, The *Christian Times* evaluations of the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire were quite interesting. It was stated that the Sultan was perhaps the most absolute ruler of Europe, but his power was checked by the fatalism of the people, the manoeuvres of the Greeks and Russians, and the French emissaries who directed the European press, which and made it almost impossible to reach a true story about the Turks. It was stated that the Sultan opposed any interference in Turkey's internal affairs through foreign policy, and that what Turkey needed was independence. It was expressed that the negative view about the situation of Christian subjects and missionaries in the country did not reflect the facts that Christians lived freely in these lands, that the missionaries did not encounter any obstacles while carrying out their activities, and that they lived without fear. It was written that the poverty of the Turks was due to their laziness and indifference, that the capitalists of the east were Armenians and Greeks, and that the Turks lost their influence and power because of their religion. In fact, it was argued that the Qur'an should be amended according to the spirit of the age, and if this was not the case, the Christian supremacy would lead to the end of the Ottoman Empire⁶¹. In later issues of the same newspaper, it was noted that the Christians were not as faithful to the provisions of the religious books as the Turks. It was stated that it was wondered what people thought about the Christianity of a country with people walking around drunk on the streets. It was also stated that the East could respect the West's material superiority, mechanical victories, and scientific progress, but at this point, the West had a lot to learn from the East⁶².



Figure 5. Sultan Abdülaziz
Source: *The Graphic*, April 13, 1876.

59 *Punch*, July 20, 1867.

60 *Christian Times*, July 12, 1867.

61 *Christian Times*, July 19, 1867.

62 *Christian Times*, July 26, 1867.

Among the numerous questions discussed in the British press in connection with the Sultan's visit to London, there was the question of whether he would eat meat, and if he would, it was suitable for the Islamic slaughtering procedure. According to this method, a true believer should mention Allah's name when slaughtering an animal to eat. It was argued that under these circumstances, the sultan may have brought his butcher with him or avoided eating meat on the land of *giaoours*⁶³. The issue of eating meat was also raised in *Punch*, and this situation was ridiculed⁶⁴. Şehsuvaroğlu stated in his study that the Sultan brought chefs from Bolu to cook his special meals⁶⁵. But at banquets, did the cooks enter the kitchen? Or were the meals prepared with this sensitivity in mind at the banquets? No information was found about them.

Meeting of Sultan Abdülaziz and Queen Victoria: The Sultan in Windsor

Sultan realised the Britain part of his European trip on 12-21 July. He spent the evening of his arrival on July 12, resting⁶⁶, and on the morning of July 13, the day after his arrival, he departed for Windsor to visit the Queen⁶⁷. Paddington station, the first stop for departure was beautifully decorated for the Sultan. The station was full of visitors who wanted to see the Sultan. Then, he went to Windsor by State wagons. Sultan was also welcomed there with great enthusiasm. He responded to the cheers and the waving handkerchiefs by constantly touching his fez⁶⁸.



Figure 6. Visit of the Sultan to the Queen at Windsor Castle
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 20, 1867.

63 *Otley News*, July 12, 1867.

64 *Punch*, July 20, 1867.

65 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 45.

66 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 49.

67 *The Skibbereen and West Carbery Eagle or South Western Advertiser*, July 20, 1867.

68 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

The Queen, on the other hand, lived a life of seclusion after the death of her husband, Prince Albert. She rarely went, to London, spending most of her time in Windsor and Balmoral, Scotland⁶⁹. The Queen's reappearance on this occasion aroused extraordinary interest, and crowds filled all the streets where the procession had passed⁷⁰. The Queen greeted the Sultan on the stairs with earrings made from the diamonds on a brooch presented by Sultan Abdülmecid⁷¹. After a short conversation, moved on to lunch⁷². The Sultan then took a walk to till (a public resort) with the Queen on his arm and the Turkish princes and English princesses with him⁷³. After the meeting, the Sultan left the castle with his entourage at around 2-3 o'clock to return to the city⁷⁴. The short duration of the visit was ridiculed at *Punch*, and it was written that this warm hospitality was a great success not to be forgotten⁷⁵. In fact, the Queen was planning to receive the Sultan five days after his arrival in Britain, intending to host the Sultan on her yacht or to pass it off with a very short meeting to be held in *Osborne*. However, the Prime Minister Stanley was aware that this would be unpleasant, and because of the political significance of the matter, he persuaded the Queen to host the Sultan at Windsor⁷⁶. In this process, the Earl of Kimberley stated that the Queen neglected to entertain the Sultan and perform public duties and even said that she should abdicate. He also stated that the Queen was definitely not popular in London, and the crowd started talking about her very disrespectfully⁷⁷.

The Prince of Wales held a banquet in the Sultan's honour at Marlborough House on the evening of the meeting⁷⁸. All prominent figures of the kingdom and foreign ambassadors were present at the banquet⁷⁹.

Visitors of the Sultan

From the day he set foot in Britain, the Sultan received many visitors, even on Sunday when he was resting, and he took care of all his visitors one-on-one. On Sunday, 14 July 1867, the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha visited the Sultan at Buckingham Palace, where he resided. Then the Sultan visited the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge. On the same day, the Prince of Wales made a return visit to the Sultan, and then they all went

69 Aksüt, p. 158.

70 *Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

71 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 49.

72 *The Sun*, July 13, 1867; *The Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

73 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 14, 1283/July 16, 1867.

74 *Sun*, July 13, 1867; *The Essex Standard*, July 17, 1867.

75 *Punch*, July 27, 1867.

76 Upton-Ward, p. 121.

77 *The Journal of John Wodehouse, First Earl of Kimberley for 1862-1902*, ed. Angus Hawkins and John Powell, Camden Fifth Series, The Royal Historical Society, 9, London 1997, p. 205.

78 Upton-Ward, p. 121.

79 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 14, 1283/July 16, 1867.

to Richmond. Here the Sultan honoured the Duchess of Buccleuch by visiting the villas on the banks of the Thames⁸⁰.

The Sultan held a reception at Buckingham Palace on Monday, July 15. He received a Diplomatic Corps accreditation from the Court of St. James's, the members of her Majesty's Government, and deputations from the Corporations of Manchester, the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, the Ottoman Railway Company, the Varna Railway Company, the Armenian Community of Manchester, Liverpool, and London, and from the Community of British Jews⁸¹. He also received the title of Earl of Longford (Under Secretary of State for War), Lord Robert Montagu (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), Sir Frederick Rogers and C. B. Adderley (Under Secretaries for the Colonies), Rear Admiral G. H. Seymour and Rear Admiral Sir John Dalrymple Hay (Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty) and Captain Douglas Galton (Assistant Under Secretary of State for War)⁸². It is necessary to mention, especially the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, among these visitors. The association paid a visit to the Sultan to explain the measures taken for developing cotton agriculture and its initiative to work with them⁸³. Shortly after this meeting, the association invited the Sultan to Manchester, the metropolis of cotton trade. In case the Sultan could not come to Manchester due to his busy schedule, an address was prepared for him by a delegation:

“May it please your Majesty,—We, the mayor, alderman, and citizens of the city of Manchester, in the county palatine of Lancaster, hail with feelings of great satisfaction the presence of your Imperial Majesty in this country, and approach your Imperial Majesty for the purpose of offering our sincere congratulations upon the occasion of the visit of your Imperial Majesty to our be-loved sovereign Queen Victoria. We regard the auspicious visit of your Imperial Majesty with interest, not only as affording conclusive and satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of the alliance which has happily long existed between this country and Turkey, but also as an event of great interest and importance in the history of nations. As the municipal representatives of the capital of the manufacturing districts we venture to assure your Imperial Majesty that we have witnessed with gratitude the liberal and enlightened policy which has been adopted by your Imperial Majesty in relation especially to the growth and cultivation of cotton, by which your Imperial Majesty has wisely sought to secure that the vast capabilities of the country under your Imperial Majesty's rule should be made available to the largest extent for the production of a staple so important to the manufacturing industry of this country. We pray that the alliance between Turkey and Britain may long continue, that the same may be further strengthened by the extension of commercial relations, and that the personal intercourse now taking place between your Imperial Majesty and the rulers of other peoples may tend to perpetuate the peace of Europe and to promote the progress and prosperity of all nations.

Given under our common seal at Manchester this 17th day of July, 1867⁸⁴.”

80 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

81 *Ibid.*

82 *The Morning Herald*, July 17, 1867.

83 Aksüt, p. 159.

84 *Daily News*, July 18, 1867.

The British Government, particularly the textile industry, saw this visit as an opportunity to encourage industrialists and entrepreneurs to utilise the rich raw material fields and resources of the Ottoman Empire. In this context, they undertook various initiatives to promote cotton cultivation in Ottoman territories, with organisations such as the Cotton Supply Association actively seeking raw materials in the Ottoman Empire. The association undertook various efforts to promote cotton production in the Ottoman territories and to increase cotton imports to Britain⁸⁵. The address to the Sultan was part of these efforts, intended aiming to establish closer commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire and to increase cotton production.

It was decided to give a similar address to the Khedive of Egypt. On the same day, the Sultan also received other representatives and envoys⁸⁶. About 50 colony members from the Sultan's Armenian community residing in Britain, almost all of whom were merchants or agents of commercial establishments in Istanbul, formed a delegation to show their respect for the Sultan. The delegation, headed by a priest, met at Buckingham Palace with Fuad Pasha and the Sultan. The Sultan graciously greeted his loyal subjects and graciously returned their greetings. After meeting with the Sultan, the delegation left the palace to pay respect to the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha⁸⁷.

The arrival of the Sultan in Britain also prompted the Poles. Count Henry Krasinski, a Polish officer and author in exile in Britain, stated that Turkey had always shown goodwill towards the Poles and bestowed unlimited hospitality. He repeated the historical fact that the Turks, at great risk, had refused to surrender the Poles to the tyrants. The count recommended that the Poles present an address to the Sultan. He himself demonstrated the legacy of gratitude that his ancestors and father had inherited by writing a letter. The corresponding letter was published in *The Sun* on July 13, 1867⁸⁸.

Representation at the Royal Italian Opera House

After hosting his guests at Buckingham Palace on the morning of July 15,⁸⁹ the Sultan toured the Zoological Gardens in the afternoon⁹⁰ and visited the Royal Italian Opera House in his Marshal uniform in the evening. Before the performance, the Turkish national anthem was played to announce the arrival of the Sultan. The Sultan was greeted by a crowd with warm cheers. Welcoming the Sultan, the Prince of Wales, greeted him cordially, and the Sultan responded with the relaxed and elegant courtesy of an Easterner. He responded to

85 For detailed information, Emel Demir Görür, "Zirai Teşvik: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Pamuk Üretimini Arttırma Teşebbüsleri", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XXXVIII/2 (2023).

86 Nihat Karaer, "Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati ile Osmanlı ve Batı Kamuoyundaki Yankıları", Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara 2003, p. 114.

87 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 23, 1283/ July 25, 1867.

88 *Sun*, July 13, 1867.

89 *Morning Herald*, July 17, 1867.

90 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

the guests' respectful greetings with a slight nod of his head and a gesture of his arm.⁹¹ The Floral Hall was specially fitted for his reception. The Sultan sat between the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, and after the cheers had subsided, the choir and orchestra sang "God Save the Queen". And then, in honour of the Sultan, a eulogy composed for this event was recited by conductor Mr. Costa to the words of the librettist Mr. Bartholomew. Eulogy:

"God preserve thee, Sultan, long;
 Ever keep thee from all woe;
 May thy State and thee be strong,
 To dismay and resist thy foes!
 O may them continue great,
 Of thy nation's love secure,
 On then may all blessings wait,
 And remain for ever sure.
 O grant this, gracious God,
 And, by Thy mighty aid,
 Let his potent legal rod
 Be willingly obeyed.
 Let every art increase
 Throughout his beloved land,
 And may he deal the fruits of peace
 With an unsparing hand.
 God of all glory,
 Power, and renown,
 Grant he before Thee
 May still wear a crown!
 Then may he near Thee,
 Praise and adore,
 Joyfully hear Thee,
 His God, evermore⁹²."

Then, the first three acts of Auber's *Masaniello* were exhibited⁹³. The main parts of the opera by Madame L. Sherrington and M. Naudin⁹⁴ believed that Sultan was the centre of attention rather than opera⁹⁵. At the end of the opera, the British National Anthem was played

91 *Sun*, July 16, 1867.

92 *Sun*, July 16, 1867.

93 *Bury*, July 23, 1867.

94 *Sun*, July 16, 1867.

95 *Times*, July 16, 1867.

again, and during the performance, the Sultan, the inhabitants of the Imperial box and all the audience stood up. On this image, some media organs stated that “this magnificent view had probably not been seen in any theatre”⁹⁶. The Sultan’s departure from the opera was made with the same proud expression of respect as on his arrival⁹⁷.

Sultan’s Visit to Woolwich and Crystal Palace Entertainment

On Tuesday, July 16, the Sultan and his entourage, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge⁹⁸, visited the dockyard and the arsenal in Woolwich⁹⁹. After reviewing the batteries and brigades of the artillery and other units, the Sultan spent a long time in the arsenal and made many investigations, especially the casting of the Palliser bullet. On the same day, Yusuf Izzeddin Effendi, son of Sultan Abdülaziz, visited the South Kensington Museum and then St. Stephen’s Hall in Westminster Palace with the participation of Colonel A. Liddell. Sultan’s nephews, Murad Effendi and, Hamid Effendi visited, the South Kensington Museum and the Zoological Gardens¹⁰⁰.

After leaving Woolwich, the Sultan moved to Crystal Palace, where preparations were made for him¹⁰¹. By royal command, a great music festival was held in the Crystal Palace in honour of the Sultan.¹⁰² The festival was held with wide participation and great enthusiasm. Musical entertainment consisted of the entire staff of Her Majesty’s Theatre, as well as two military bands, the band of the Crystal Palace Company, and choirs in London, and the most famous choral societies. Signor (Luigi) Arditi and Mr. Manns directed the first part of the concert, which started at half past four¹⁰³. This part of the concert was performed not for the guests but, for the public¹⁰⁴, before the arrival of the Sultan. The Sultan watched the fountains performance before moving to the Royal Box, where dined in private accommodations with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge. The Sultan, who entered the palace after the meal, was greeted with great enthusiasm. In the second part of the concert, the piece “Ode to Sultan”, written by Zafiraki Effendi in Turkish and composed by Signor Artidi, was performed¹⁰⁵. The piece, which had text that praises the brotherhood between the East and West, was performed in Turkish. The choral piece brought together different languages,

96 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

97 *Sun*, July 16, 1867.

98 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

99 *Sun*, July 16, 1867; *Morning Herald*, July 17, 1867.

100 *Morning Herald*, July 17, 1867.

101 *Home News for India, China and the Colonies*, July 18, 1867; *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

102 *The Era*, July 21, 1867; *Reynold’s Newspaper*, July 21, 1867.

103 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867. The most important work composed and performed during his this trip was the ode written by Arditi. The piece was performed at the concert. See, Araci, “Londra Crystal Palace”, p. 31.

104 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867.

105 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

religions, and nationalities within the staff¹⁰⁶. It was performed by 2,000 people¹⁰⁷. This effusion was followed by several other songs of various genres. After the concert, a firework display was held under the direction of the Imperial and Royal group, Messrs. Brock and Co.¹⁰⁸ It was stated that the show surpassed all the shows held in Sydenham¹⁰⁹. After the performance, the Sultan left the palace with a cheer and returned to London¹¹⁰. Before leaving the palace, the Sultan made a generous donation of £1,000 for the building's restoration¹¹¹. When the Sultan left Toulon, France, he donated £20,000 to charities to be distributed to the poor¹¹².

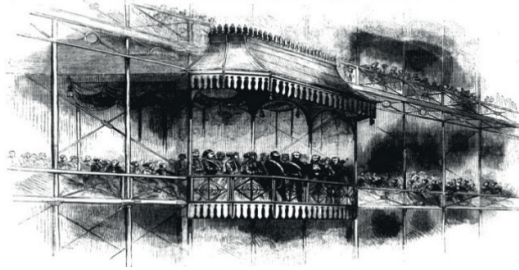


Figure 7. Illustration depicting the Sultan and his entourage at the Sydenham Crystal Palace
Source: *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867.

During Abdülaziz's visit to Britain, besides Artidi's Ode, the Aziziye March, accepted as "The Sultan's March" at that time and composed by Callisto Guatelli Pasha, who was the head of the Muzika-yi Hümayun, was also played. Even before the Sultan came to Britain, the English band chief had prepared the march adaptations and offered them for sale. It was also performed in "The Sultan Abdul's March"¹¹³/The Sultan's March" composed by Stephen Glover in connection with the Sultan's journey¹¹⁴.

The Naval Review

On Wednesday, July 17, a naval review, specifically prepared for the Sultan was held in Portsmouth. A spirited sham fight was maintained in this great show with the participation of the Queen. The Sultan joined the show on the Royal Yacht *Osborne* and was cheered by the sailors and people on the beach as he approached the shore¹¹⁵. The ships, with the Turkish

106 Emre Aracı, "Londra Belediyesi'nde Türk Kasidesi", *Andante*, issue 65 (Jan 2012), p. 51.

107 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 16, 1283/July 18, 1867.

108 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867.

109 *Punch*, July 27, 1867.

110 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

111 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867.

112 *Otley News*, July 12, 1867.

113 Aracı, "Londra Crystal Palace", 31.

114 *Sun*, August 1, 1867.

115 *Blackburn*, July 27, 1867.

and British flags hoisted¹¹⁶, performed their shows despite the bad weather conditions. Many warships were featured in the show¹¹⁷. Yachts *Osborne*, where the Sultan was, and *Victoria and Albert*, where the Queen was, saluted each other with cannons¹¹⁸.



Figure 8. The Naval review at Spithead
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 20, 1867.

The Sultan, the Imperial Princes, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, along with the Governor-General of Egypt and his entourage boarded the Queen's yacht *Victoria and Albert*, and the Sultan was received on board by the Queen. Here, the Queen handed the Sultan the Order of the Garter¹¹⁹.



Figure 9. Watercolour painting depicting the ceremony where the Queen presents the Order of the Garter to the Sultan.

Source: Royal Collection Trust, available at: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/450804/the-investiture-of-sultan-abdulaziz-i-with-the-order-of-the-garter-17-july-1867> (accessed March 28, 2023)

116 *Illustrated London*, July 20, 1867.

117 *Blackburn*, July 27, 1867.

118 And, pp. 16-17.

119 *Blackburn*, July 27, 1867. The Order of the Garter, established by King Edward III of England in 1348, is the oldest and most prestigious chivalric order in Britain. The Order holds significant importance in British state tradition and is bestowed only upon members of the Royal Family and distinguished individuals from Britain and around the world. For detailed information, The Royal Family, available at: <https://www.royal.uk/the-order-of-the-garter> (accessed April 20, 2024); St George's Chapel Archives & Chapter Library, available at: <https://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ResearchGuide1-The-Order-of-the-Garter.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2024).

After the ceremony, lunch was started. The royal and imperial party included the Queen and the members of the Royal Family, together with the Sultan and Imperial Princes. The Governor of Egypt and Fuad Pasha also attended the dinner. After the meal, Sultan returned to London via Osborne, Portsmouth and Clarence Yard¹²⁰.

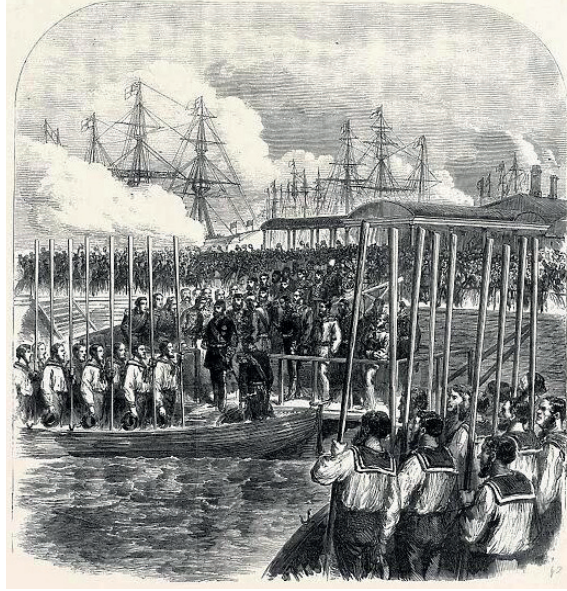


Figure 10. A naval review depicting the Sultan's embarkation at Clarence-Yard, Portsmouth.
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

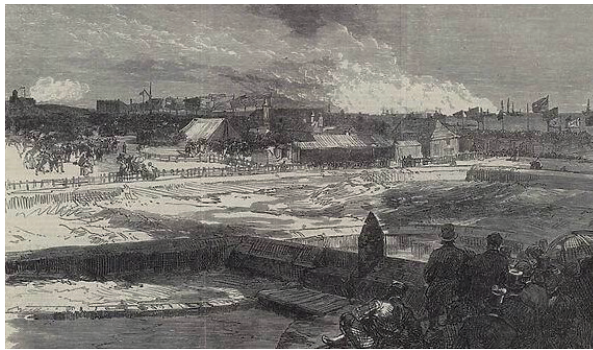


Figure 11. An illustration depicting the naval review: Gun-Boat attack on Southsea Castle
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

The Sultan placed great importance on naval affairs. During his European journey, he paid close attention to this matter and closely examined modern naval practices. The Sultan's interest played a significant role in the efforts to strengthen and modernise the Ottoman navy.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Reception by the Corporation of the City of London: Grand Entertainment in the Guildhall

On the evening of Thursday, July 18,¹²¹ a splendid banquet was held¹²² by the Lord Mayor and the City of London on behalf of the Sultan at the Guildhall¹²³. For more than a month, Mr. Deputy Fry and his colleagues of the arrangements committee had been hard at work for this great entertainment¹²⁴.



Figure 12. Invitation card for the reception at the Guildhall

Source: The British Museum, available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_EPH-ME-332 (accessed December 12, 2022)

The Sultan attended the party at around 7.30 pm and when he entered with his entourage, all the guests stood up. The Sultan shook hands with the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, Princess Alice and other members of the Royal family who were introduced to him¹²⁵.

121 *Blackburn*, July 27, 1867.

122 Ahmed Saib, *Vaka-ı Sultan Abdülaziz*, Mısır 1320, p. 44; Ahmed Saib, *Vaka-ı Sultan Abdülaziz*, yay. haz., Mehmet Köseoğlu, Cem Ofset Matbaacılık, Samsun 2014, p. 23.

123 *Blackburn*, July 27, 1867.

124 *Morning Herald*, July 19, 1867.

125 *Ibid.*

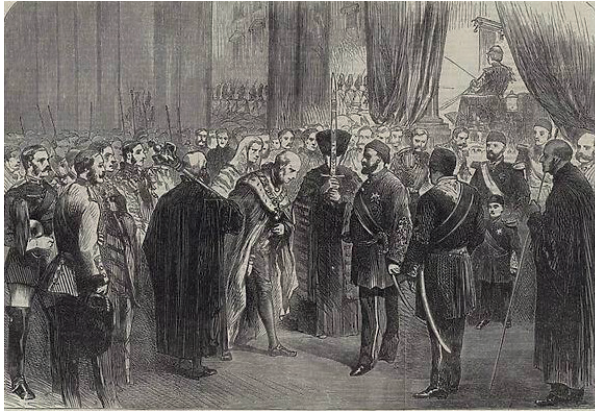


Figure 13. Reception of the Sultan at the Guildhall

Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

After reception, the Sultan delivered an address:

“May it please your Majesty,

We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners of City of London, in Common Council assemble desire offer to your Imperial Majesty the tribute of our sincere respect.

In common with the people of this country, we gladly and cordially welcome to our shore the Sovereign of an empire, with which this nation has long been in alliance, and in whose continued prosperity we take the deepest interest.

We rejoice, too, to see in your Imperial Majesty enlightened Sovereign, who unites to a firm attachment his own faith the desire to afford to all his subjects the free exercise of their religion.

We are anxious to recognize the honour conferred upon our ancient City by the visit of your Imperial Majesty this is the first occasion on which you or any of your predecessors have visited the kingdoms of the West, and we trust that the effect of this visit may be to strengthen the relations which have so long subsisted between this country the Ottoman Empire.

Signed by order of Court,
WOODTHORPE, Town Clerk¹²⁶.”

Musurus Pasha translated the address in a low voice to the Sultan. The address presented to the sultan was gifted to him in a casket made of 18 carat gold¹²⁷.

126 Benjamin Scott, Corporation of London (England), *London's Roll of Fame: Being Complimentary Notes and Addresses from the City of London, On Presentation of the Honorary Freedom of That City, and on Other Occasions*, Cassell & Company, Limited, London 1884, pp. 282-283.

127 *Morning Herald*, July 19, 1867. For detailed information, BOA., HR.SFR.3., 126/107, July 11, 1867.



Figure 14. The Sultan at Guildhall: presentation of the corporation to his Majesty
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

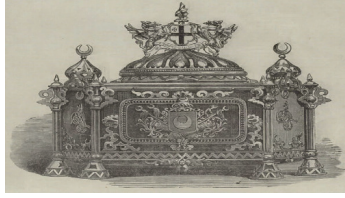


Figure 15. The casket in which the address of the city was presented to the Sultan
presenting the address of the city to the Sultan
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

The Sultan began his speech by expressing his gratitude to the Queen, the Prince of Wales and the English nation for the sincere and heartfelt welcome he received. He stated that he had two purposes while visiting Britain and other parts of Europe. He stated that the first was to see what more needed to be done in the Ottoman country to complete the work they started, in the centres of civilization he visited, and the second one was to show his desire to establish a sense of brotherhood between his own people and the other nations of Europe, which was the foundation of human progress and the glory of the age. After the ceremony, the Sultan was seated on a throne by the Mayor,¹²⁸ and then the concert began¹²⁹.

128 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

129 The following pieces were performed at the concert: Duo, “Venti Scudi” (L’Elisir) (Donizetti) — Signor Nandin and Signor Graziani. Aria, “Ah! Fors’ è lui” (La Traviata) (Verdi) — Mdile. Lucca. Song, “The Pilgrim of Love” (Sir H. Bishop) — Mr. Sims Reeves. Quartetto, “Un di se ben rammentoni” (Rigoletto) (Verdi) — Madame Lemmens- Sherrington, Mdile. Morensi, Naudin, and Signor Graziani. Aria, “Miei rampolli” (Cenerentola) (Rossini) — Signor Ciampi. Valse, “La Rosa” (Louis Engel) — Mdile. Lucca. Song, “Come into the garden, Maud” (Balfe) — Mr. Sims Reeves. Aria, “Della rosa il del vermiglio” (Bianca e Faliero) (Rossini)- Madame Lemmens-Sherrington. Romanza “Spirto gentil” (La Favorita) (Donizetti Signor Naudin) Quintetto, “E scherzo od è follia” (Un Ballo in maschera (Verdi) — Madame Lemmens-Sherrington, Mdile. Sinyor Naudin, Sinyor Graziani, and Sinyor Ciampi. At the Pianoforte (Erard’s) — Mr. Benedict. For detailed information, *Morning Herald*, July 23, 1867.

After the concert, they moved on to dinner¹³⁰.



Figure 16. The menu offered to the guests at the banquet
Source: BOA., TS.MA.d., 7766, Safer 25, 1284/June 28, 1867.

After the meal, the Sultan and members of his royal family returned to the great hall. A ball began with a quadrille crowd, including the Lady Mayoress and the Prince of Wales, Prince Louis of Hesse, and the Princess Mary, Duke of Aosta with the Princess Louis of Hesse¹³¹.



Figure 17. Illustrations of the Sultan’s arrival in the hall and the crowd of people trying to see the Sultan during the quadrille

Source: *London Society*, “Treading the Mazy at Islington”, September 1867, 212-213.

¹³⁰ *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

After the ball, the Sultan left the ceremony with the royal members¹³². Many distinguished guests attended this event. Bishops and clergy who stayed away from the performances in honour of the Sultan also participated in the invitation¹³³. In fact, many people remained standing due to intense participation. This traditional dinner was organised again for the 11th President of the Turkish Republic, Abdullah Gül, exactly 144 years later, and the Turkish ode was recited once again. On this occasion, a reference was made to the history of amity between the two countries¹³⁴.

After the invitation given at the Guildhall, a big ball was held at Islington Agricultural Hall for the Belgian hearts to enjoy. Approximately 8,000 or 9,000 people, including 2,500 Belgians, came together for the ball. Since the Sultan and the Governor of Egypt were expected to attend the ball, besides the Prince and Princess of Wales, the seating arrangement of the hall was arranged in accordance with these prominent visitors. The Hall was decorated with British, Turkish, and Belgian flags. Yet, the Sultan did not attend the ball after the entertainment at the Guildhall¹³⁵. It had been announced long before that the Sultan would attend the ball¹³⁶. However, because of the research, no information could be found about why the Sultan did not attend the ball.

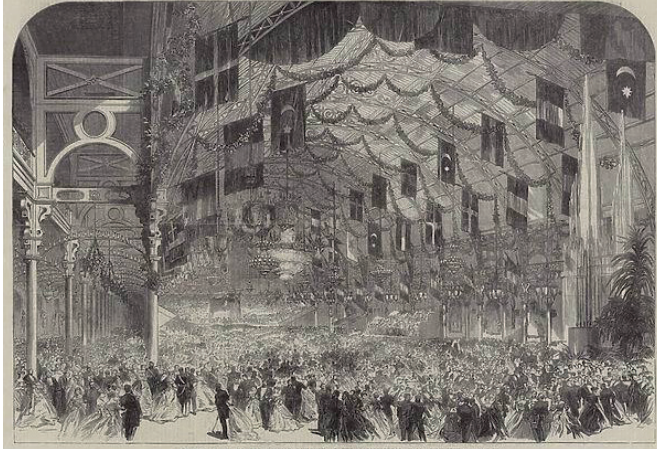


Figure 18. The ball given to the Belgian Riflemen at the Agricultural Hall, Islington.
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

132 *Ibid.*

133 *Morning Herald*, July 19, 1867.

134 Aracı, "Londra Belediyesi", 50-51.

135 *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

136 *Sun*, July 6, 1867.

State Ball Organised by the India Office

On Friday, July 19¹³⁷, the Sultan took a cruise on the Times river in a private yacht and visited the castle of London, the armory, the financial centre of London and the world, the banks, the post office, and other social facilities.¹³⁸ In the evening¹³⁹, at the new India House in Downing Street¹⁴⁰, the Secretary of State and the Council for India entertained Sultan at a grand ball¹⁴¹. The Lord of India, Sir Stafford Northcote, gave the invitation. It was claimed that the purpose of giving this invitation was to win the favour from the Muslim subjects of Britain¹⁴². It was declared that the invitation was essential for the interests of the Eastern empire¹⁴³. Hundreds of distinguished guests attended the event¹⁴⁴.

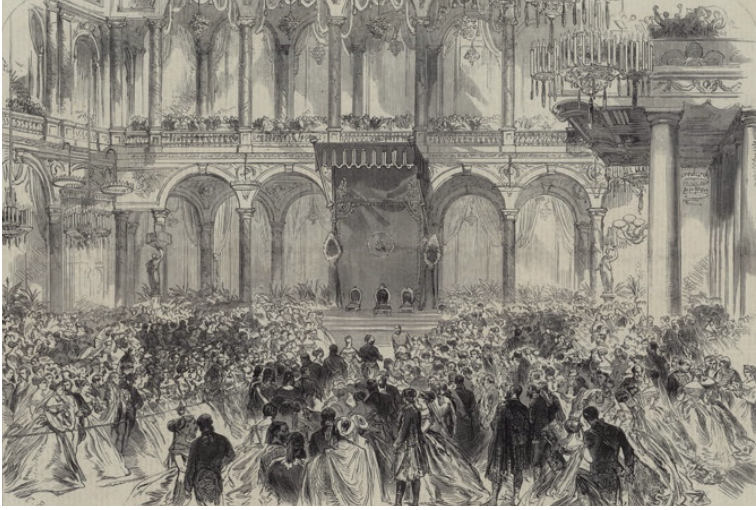


Figure 19. Ball in honour of the Sultan at the New India House Office, Westminster
Source: *Illustrated London*, July 27, 1867.

The building was specially prepared for this event¹⁴⁵. The expenditures made have caused criticism in some sections. It was declared that most of the Indian Muslims did not care about the caliph and that the treasury of the India Office was wasted. Even opposing newspapers, such as the *Daily News* and the *Saturday Review*, agreed on this point¹⁴⁶. *The Daily News* wrote

137 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

138 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 50.

139 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

140 *Sun*, July 20, 1867.

141 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

142 *Friend of India*, August 15, 1867; August 29, 1867.

143 *Punch*, July 27, 1867.

144 *Sun*, July 20, 1867.

145 *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867.

146 *Friend of India*, August 15, 1867; August 29, 1867.

that this hospitality was the most boring, inflated, laborious, and exorbitant public hospitality to be encountered and endured in the civilised world¹⁴⁷. *The Saturday Review* mockingly used the phrases, “We meet, as it were, in the name of the Prophet, and the Crescent is our common ensign.” In the opera, it was written that God was begged to keep the Sultan away from all wars and to frighten his enemies and resist; it was stated that this was flattery¹⁴⁸.

The closing of the festivities organised in honour of the Sultan’s visit to Britain was saddened by the death of Madam Musurus, a prominent name in London society for many years¹⁴⁹. Madam Musurus, who fell ill during the invitation, was immediately taken to the hospital and then died, without going to her private residence. The next day, the Sultan received distinguished guests, Duke of Argyll, Earl Russell, Earl of Ellenborough, Earl Kimberley, Earl Grosvenor, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Grey, Earl de Grey and Ripon, Earl of Cardigan, Earl of Westmeath, the Marquis of Hartington, Viscount Claiborne, Lord Elcho, Lord Lytton, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Taunton, Sir W. Codrington, Sir Roundel Palmer, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Kinglake, Mr. Henley, Mr. S. Laing, Mr. Graves, Mr. Cardwell, &c. at Buckingham Palace. He also received a delegation from the City of Manchester, chaired by the Mayor¹⁵⁰. Hereafter, the Sultan accepted the condolences of the diplomatic corps, members of the British parliament and government, and other prominent people at Buckingham Palace, and shared the pain of Musurus Pasha¹⁵¹. In fact, Musurus Pasha organized this invitation. However, Pasha could not attend the invitation due to the sudden death of his wife. Because Fuad Pasha did not know many people who came to the meeting, the meeting was short and not very productive. Earl Kimberley described Sultan as short, handsome, and smart looking after the meeting¹⁵². It should also be noted that during this visit, the Sultan gave Ambassador Kostaki Musurus the title of Mushir.¹⁵³ On this occasion, the Ambassador became the first non-Muslim pasha of the Ottoman Empire¹⁵⁴.

The Wimbledon Review and Last Visits

After the meetings and condolences held at Buckingham Palace on Saturday, July 20¹⁵⁵, the Sultan and his entourage spent the rest of the day touring London and its surroundings,

147 *Daily News*, July 25, 1867.

148 *The Saturday Review*, July 20, 1867.

149 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

150 *Sun*, July 20, 1867.

151 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 51.

152 *The Journal of John Wodehouse*, p. 207.

153 BOA., HR.SFR.3., 127/24, July 17, 1867.

The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin), Rebiülevvel 16, 1283/July 18, 1867.

154 Sinan Kunalp, “Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı Kostaki Musurus Paşa 1807-1891”, *Belleten*, XXXIV/135 (1970), p. 434.

155 *The Journal of John Wodehouse*, p. 207.

following the pre-planned program¹⁵⁶. Afterwards, the Sultan attended the review at Wimbledon and a party at Stafford House in the evening¹⁵⁷. He was in the volunteer parade at Wimbledon¹⁵⁸. It was greeted with great enthusiasm by the large audience gathered at Wimbledon Common¹⁵⁹.



Figure 20. Illustration of the Sultan on a horse with the guards and volunteers at Wimbledon
Sources: *Illustrated Weekly*, July 27, 1867; August 3, 1867.

Riding one of the Queen's Arabian horses, the Sultan rode at the head of his retinue, wearing the Order of the Garter, and holding at his side a magnificently jeweled scimitar. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, the son of the King of Italy, Prince d'Aosta and, Prince Teck went along on his right and left, followed by nearly ninety staff. Both British and foreign troops and volunteers were watched with great interest, but the highlights of the day were the Sultan and the Albanians, Turkish, Arab, Roumelian and Circassian chiefs in their ostentatious costumes. The Sultan was compared to the princes in Arabian Nights rather than a 19th century ruler on his white horse¹⁶⁰. After the parade, officers from India, Bengali, and all over the world who belonged to this group came to kiss the Sultan's skirt¹⁶¹. Sultan expressed his satisfaction with the appearances and marches of his volunteer soldiers¹⁶². At the end of the march, the Sultan went to Earl Spencer's cottage, where he dined with the Imperial Princes, the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal family¹⁶³.

The Sultan also visited the British parliament, which was in an assembly¹⁶⁴. Along with his entourage, he witnessed how deputies examined government action. Istanbul Şehremini (Mayor) Ömer Faiz Effendi, who witnessed this moment, expressed in his *Ruzname* that

156 Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 51.

157 *Burry*, July 23, 1867.

158 Kutay, p. 57.

159 *Illustrated Weekly*, August 3, 1867.

160 *Ibid.*

161 Kutay, p. 57.

162 *Morning Herald*, August 1, 1867; Sun, August 1, 1867.

163 *Illustrated Weekly*, August 3, 1867.

164 Aksüt, p. 175.

everyone who saw this scene while leaving the parliament wished the same sensitivity to be present in the country, but very few could express this desire¹⁶⁵.

On July 22, the Sultan organised a series of visits to members of the royal family.¹⁶⁶ He also visited Lord Palmerstone's family. Lady Palmerstone was the only non-royal visitor on the Sultan's trip to Britain. This visit was interpreted as a sign of the Sultan's appreciation, and it was welcomed by the British¹⁶⁷. It was also accepted as a sign of Ottoman gratitude¹⁶⁸. Palmerstone followed the policy of protecting Ottoman territorial integrity during his prime ministership and, did not give up on the principle of Ottoman territorial integrity and independence until his death¹⁶⁹.

On 22 July, Mr. Layard and the directors of the Imperial Ottoman Bank entertained Fuad Pasha at breakfast at the Star and Garter in Richmond¹⁷⁰. Fuad Pasha, in his speech here:

“The Eastern question was more truly one of economics than politics; and railroads, commercial activity, and progress would soon give a different aspect to the tangled skein of Eastern affairs¹⁷¹.”

Fuad Pasha, who also spoke a few words about the Ottoman-British amity, said that the Sultan was fascinated by the cordial hospitality of the British¹⁷². His Majesty concluded by toasting the alliance of Britain and Turkey. The Sultan, on the other hand, reiterated his purpose in making this visit¹⁷³.

The Sultan's Departure from Britain and the End of the Journey

The Sultan ended his journey earlier than planned because of the death of Lady Musurus¹⁷⁴. His visit to London ended on the morning of Tuesday, 23 July¹⁷⁵. On the day of the Sultan's departure from British territory, around 9 am, the Queen sent him a telegraph wishing him well for his safe return to his country and offering all the best wishes for his well-being and happiness. Before leaving Buckingham Palace, the Sultan replied to the Queen by telegraph:

165 Kutay, p. 57.

166 Judy Upton-Ward, p. 123.

167 *Friend of India*, August 29, 1867.

168 Süleyman Kani İrtem, *Sultan Abdülaziz ve Bir Seraskerin İhtilâli*, haz. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, Temel Yayınları, İstanbul 2004, p. 68.

169 Bayram Soy, “Lord Palmerston'un Osmanlı Toprak Bütünlüğünü Koruma Siyâseti”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, issue 7 (2007), pp. 141, 166.

170 *Morning Post*, July 23, 1867; *Cork Constitution*, July 25, 1867; *Oxford Journal*, July 27, 1867.

171 *Nonconformist*, July 24, 1867; *Greenock Advertiser*, July 25, 1867; *Cardiff Times*, July 27, 1867.

172 Karaer, “Sultan Abdülaziz”, 127.

173 *Friend of India*, August 29, 1867.

174 Kunceralp, p. 434.

175 *Stourbridge Observer*, June 27, 1867.

“I thank your Majesty for this fresh mark of kindness which I receive from you at the moment of my departure. I shall ever remain grateful for the cordial reception accorded to me by you and by your royal family and people. I sincerely trust that the precious days of your Majesty will be preserved, and I shall retain an eternal recollection of the agreeable days I have spent upon the hospitable soil of Britain¹⁷⁶.”

In the morning, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge came to Buckingham Palace and had a short meeting with the Sultan. The Sultan then left the palace and proceeded to Charing-Cross Station via the Mall, Horse Guards, and Parliament Street. The road was taken by the Cavalry Regiments. Many spectators gathered in Charing-Cross and Trafalgar Square to see the Sultan for the last time. The Sultan was cheered at many points along the route¹⁷⁷. When Sultan got out the car, the Turkish national air was played and he politely responded to the cheers¹⁷⁸. The train left the station at 11 a.m. amid the cheers of the spectators. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge accompanied the Sultan to Dover¹⁷⁹. At Dover, a similar preparation was made for the Sultan’s departure. After having a drink at the Lord Warden Hotel, the stop on his arrival, he boarded the *Osborne* at around 2 pm and left British territory¹⁸⁰. On the day of his departure, the Sultan donated a generous sum of £2,500 by courier to the Lord Mayor to be distributed among the poor of the city¹⁸¹, to show his appreciation for the hospitality of the Municipality of London and the people of the city. He also donated £500 to be distributed to officers working on the Southeastern railroad before leaving Dover¹⁸². In addition, Sultan gave Lady Mayoress a brooch consisting of a large pear-shaped pearl surrounded by sixteen big diamonds for her hospitality¹⁸³. The Sultan left Dover at 2 pm.¹⁸⁴ Shortly after the Sultan left the English coast, he sent a telegraph from Calais to the Prince of Wales:

“Calais, July 23, 1867.

To his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, London.

At the moment of quitting the Royal yacht and of separating myself from the British flag, I wish more to express my thanks to her Majesty the Queen for her kindness towards me, and to her people for the reception which they gave me. I am equally grateful to your Royal Highness for all your attentions. I pray you to have the kindness to transmit the expression of my sentiments to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and at the same time to inform the valiant army of the Queen, by the voice of its illustrious chief, how deeply I feel

176 *The Express*, July 26, 1867.

177 *Stourbridge*, June 27, 1867.

178 *Morning Herald*, July 24, 1867.

179 *The Manchester Weekly Times*, July 27, 1867.

180 *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, July 27, 1867.

181 *Morning Herald*, July 24, 1867.

182 *Blackburn*, July 31, 1867.

183 *Stourbridge*, June 27, 1867.

184 *The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin)*, Rebiülevvel 23, 1283/July 25, 1867.

the sympathies which it has manifested towards me, and how much I admire it.

I also request your Royal Highness to kindly communicate my thanks to the brave and brilliant Royal Marine, which afforded me such a splendid spectacle of its strength and magnificent condition.

ABDUL AZIZ KHAN

(On Board the Royal yacht Osborne)¹⁸⁵ .”

Leaving the British waters, the Sultan, with this telegraph, expressed his gratitude to the Queen and the English nation, the Duke of Cambridge and the Queen’s army, in the presence of the Prince of Wales, for their hospitality¹⁸⁶. And the Sultan met with monarchs such as French Emperor Napoleon III, Queen Victoria of Britain, King of Belgium Léopold II, King of Prussia Wilhelm I, Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary François-Joseph I during his European journey. He saw countries such as Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria and Hungary by stopping by, passing, and staying for a while¹⁸⁷. The Sultan and his entourage arrived in Istanbul on August 7,¹⁸⁸ and great festivities were held in the city on the occasion of his return. The festivities were not limited to Istanbul; celebrations were also held in places such as Albania, Lebanon, Bosnia, and the Hejaz¹⁸⁹. Poems were penned in honour of the Sultan who had returned from his journey¹⁹⁰.

Conclusion

With the exception of military campaigns in Ottoman history, the only Sultan who travelled to foreign countries and the only caliph who went to Christian countries as an ally was Sultan Abdülaziz. Despite all prejudices, the Sultan visited Christian capitals to glorify the survival of the state and the conditions of its people. He visited many institutions here and stayed for more than ten days, participated in banquets and balls, was given in his honour and hosted many influential people and institutions at the reception he gave, and spent the British leg of the trip quite intensely. He personally observed the current state of Western civilisation on the spot.

Sultan’s journey to Europe, the British leg of the travel in particular, aroused great interest in the British press, and liberal, conservative, and satirical newspapers kept a close rein on Sultan. There were page-by-page news about the balls given in the name of the Sultan, the entertainments organised, the apparel and attitudes of the Sultan and his entourage, and what they ate and drank. The British free press, which was not exposed to any censorship, had

185 *Morning Herald*, July 24, 1867.

186 *Stourbridge*, June 27, 1867; *Blackburn Standard*, July 31, 1867.

187 *Danışmend*, p. 222.

188 BOA., HR.SFR.3., 128/17, August 8, 1867.

189 Köksal, p. 124.

190 BOA., İ.DH., 565/39341, Rebiülahir 17, 1284/ August 18, 1867.

hundreds of newspapers that broadcast centrally and locally, advocating different political ideas. This diversity and richness allowed us to objectively see the process from objectively from different perspectives, and gave us the opportunity to learn about the political, social and economic implications of the journey. Within the scope of the study, the Sultan's programme in Britain was presented chronologically.

This journey provided a positive change in the perception of Sultan, Turkish, and Muslims in Britain. The headlines against the Ottoman Empire due to the Cretan Revolt began to evolve positively because of this travel, and the negative atmosphere in favour of the Ottoman Empire in Europe dissipated, albeit partially. The British press covered the details of the visit for days and praised Sultan Abdülaziz and his entourage. Most of the public did not get tired of applauding the Sultan, and even the elite of society entered into friendly competition to honour the Sultan and, express their satisfaction with the arrival of the glorious foreigners among them. However, although few in number, some newspapers wrote that the Sultan captured Istanbul's modern passion for travel. They stated that the invitations and entertainment given to the Sick Man and the words spoken for him consisted of flattery, and that the expenses were beyond their limits. Many articles were written about the Muslim image represented by the Sultan. These articles have made us recognize the Muslim image in the minds of the British, revealing the West's image of Sultan, Turkish, and Muslims, albeit partially. Because of their clothing, habits, and attitudes, the image formed in the minds of the British was like that of a monster. The Muslim looked like cannibals with guns and blue beards. However, the gentlemanly harmless appearance of the Sultan eliminated all the prejudices that had formed in European minds. In addition, Murad Effendi's attitude and words had a positive effect on the Muslim image, and he soon won the trust and love of the British through his stance, speech and demeanour¹⁹¹.

Of course, this journey, besides the change of mind of the British, also affected Sultan Abdülaziz. The Sultan, who did not shake hands with anyone in accordance with Ottoman formality and ceremonies when he first set foot in Britain, soon adapted to some rules and principles of the place he went to, and began to shake hands with royal family members at receptions given in his name. He was greatly influenced by the majesty of the Paris Palaces, the navy of Britain, and the army of Prussia¹⁹². After he returned to his lands, he had built equally good palaces with his European counterparts, had an orchestra and band set up in the palace again, increased the number of army¹⁹³, and gave more importance to the army and navy than before¹⁹⁴. During his reign, the Ottoman navy became the third largest in the world. Particularly after the Sultan's European journey, British influence became prominent in the naval reforms

191 Mahmud Celeleddin Paşa, *Mir'ât-i Hakikat Tarihi Hakikatların Aynası*, haz. İsmet Miroğlu, Berekât Yayınevi, İstanbul 1983, p. 105.

192 Karal, p. 119.

193 Cevdet Küçük, "Abdülaziz", *DİA*, I, p. 184.

194 Karal, p. 119.

that were implemented. Several ships that formed the armoured battle fleet of the Ottoman navy were purchased from Britain¹⁹⁵. Therefore, this visit brought about significant developments in strengthening naval relations and advancing naval modernisation, which could be traced back to 1876.

The appeals of France to Fuad Pasha regarding the Crete issue, which had been put forward as a reason for the trip, were inconclusive¹⁹⁶. Discussions on this issue in Britain remained behind closed doors. However, when we look at the policies followed by Prime Minister Stanley and Lord Clarendon in the next period, it is seen that Fuad Pasha obtained the desired result.

With some positive developments because of the journey, the expenses of the treasury increased. While the Sultan was praised for his thriftiness before the trip, his extravagance was mentioned after the journey, and even this was seen as one of the reasons for his dethronement. The preparatory phase of the second most criticised period of his reign emerged as a result of the Sultan's European Journey. The Sultan, who reduced some of the expenses left by his brother Abdülmecid Effendi and reduced the expenses and allocations of the palace during his accession to the throne, increased the treasury expenditures many times after the travel.

As a result of this journey, the changing perceptions of the Sultan, Turkish and Muslims in Britain were tried to be reveal, albeit partially. Compared to before, it was observed in the light of the data presented to the public that this perception changed positively after seeing the Sultan.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

Çıkar Çatışması: Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Finansal Destek: Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

References/Kaynakça

1. Archival Documents

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA.).

Hariciye Nezâreti Londra Sefareti Belgeleri (HR.SFR.3).

195 Mehmet Beşirli, "Sultan Abdülaziz'den Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Osmanlı Donanması", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XI/25 (2004), pp. 249-250.

196 Kenneth Bourne, "Great Britain and the Cretan Revolt, 1866-1869", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXV/84 (1956), p. 87.

İrade Dahiliye (İ.DH.)

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defterleri (TS.MA.d.).

2. Periodical Publications

Banner of Ulster.

Blackburn Standard.

British Mercury or Wednesday Evening Post.

Cardiff Times.

Carlisle Examiner and North Western Advertiser.

Carlow Sentinel.

Cork Constitution.

Daily News.

Dublin Weekly Nation.

Essex Standard.

Evening Mail.

Glasgow.

Greenock Advertiser.

Home News for India, China and the Colonies.

Huddersfield.

Illustrated Sporting Theatrical News.

Leeds Mercury.

Liverpool Daily Post.

London City Press.

London Society.

Midland Counties Advertiser.

Morning Herald.

Morning Post.

Nonconformist.

Otley News.

Oxford Journal.

Pall Mall Gazette.

Punch or the London Charivari.

Reynold's Newspaper.

Ruznamçe-i Ceride-i Havadis.

Stourbridge Observer.

Stourbridge.

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
 The Burry and Norwich Post and Suffolk Herald.
 The Christian Times.
 The Essex Standard, And Eastern Counties Advertiser.
 The Express.
 The Friend of India.
 The Glasgow Daily Herald.
 The Graphic.
 The Huddersfield Chronicle.
 The Illustrated London News.
 The Illustrated Weekly News.
 The Levant Herald (Daily Bulletin).
 The Manchester Weekly Times.
 The Otley News and West Riding Advertiser.
 The Saturday Review.
 The Skibbereen and West Carbery Eagle or South Western Advertiser.
 The Sun.
 The Times.

3. Books and Articles

- Ahmed Saib, *Vaka-ı Sultan Abdülaziz*, 1320 Mısır.
- Ahmed Saib, *Vaka-ı Sultan Abdülaziz*, yay. haz. Mehmet Köseoğlu, Cem Ofset Matbaacılık, Samsun 2014.
- Aksüt, Ali Kemâlî, *Sultan Azizin Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati*, Ahmet Sait Oğlu Kitabevi, İstanbul 1944.
- And, Metin, "Sultan Aziz'in Londra Seyahati", *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, issue 10 (1967), pp.15-19.
- Aracı, Emre, "Londra Crystal Palace'ta Abdülaziz Şerefine Verilen Konser", *Toplumsal Tarih*, issue 49 (1988), pp. 29-33.
- _____, "Londra Belediyesi'nde Türk Kasidesi", *Andante*, issue 65 (Jan 2012), pp. 50-52.
- Beşirli, Mehmet, "Sultan Abdülaziz'den Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Osmanlı Donanması", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XI/25 (2004), pp. 243-274.
- Bourne, Kenneth, "Great Britain and the Cretan Revolt, 1866-1869", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXV/84 (1956), pp. 74-94.
- Danişmend, İsmail Hami, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Türkiye Yayınevi, 4, İstanbul 1955.
- Davison, Roderic H., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Reform 1856-1876*, çev. Osman Akinhay, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul 2005.
- Demir Görür, Emel, "Zirai Teşvik: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Pamuk Üretimini Arttırma Teşebbüsleri", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XXXVIII/2 (2023), pp. 497-522.
- Gök, Nejdet, "Mütercim Halimî Efendi'nin Notları Çerçevesinde Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati ve Sonuçları (21 Haziran 1867-7 Ağustos 1867)", *Tarihin Peşinde Uluslararası Tarih ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, issue 7 (2012), pp. 165-188.

- Halîmi Efendi, *Sultan Abdülaziz Han Hazretlerinin Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, available at: Açık erişim@TBMM file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/3800.pdf (accessed April 5, 2023).
- İrtem, Süleyman Kani, *Sultan Abdülaziz ve Bir Seraskerin İhtilâli*, haz. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, Temel Yayınları, İstanbul 2004.
- Karaer, Nihat, "Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati ile Osmanlı ve Batı Kamuoyundaki Yankıları", Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara 2003.
- Karaer, Nihat, *Paris, Londra, Viyana; Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati*, Phoenix Yayınları, Ankara 2012.
- Karal, Enver Ziya, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Islahat Fermanı Devri (1861-1876)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 3, Ankara 1988.
- Köksal, Osman, "Sultan Aziz'in Avrupa Seyahati Dönüşü Münasebetiyle Yapılan Kutlamalar ve Bir Manzum Tarihçe", *Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, IV/1, pp. 117-134.
- Kuneralp, Sinan, "Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı Kostaki Musurus Paşa 1807-1891", *Belleten*, XXXIV/135 (1970), pp. 421-435.
- Kutay, Cemal, *Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati*, Boğaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul 1991.
- Küçük, Cevdet, "Abdülaziz", *DİA*, I, pp. 179-185.
- Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, *Mir'ât-i Hakikat Tarihi Hakikatların Aynası*, haz. İsmet Miroğlu, Berekât Yayınevi, İstanbul 1983.
- Scott, Benjamin, *Corporation of London (England), London's Roll of Fame: Being Complimentary Notes and Addresses from the City of London, On Presentation of the Honorary Freedom of That City, and on Other Occasions*, Cassell & Company, Limited, London 1884.
- Sertoğlu, Midhat, *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi*, Güven Yayınevi, VI, İstanbul 1963.
- Soy, Bayram, "Lord Palmerston'un Osmanlı Toprak Bütünlüğünü Koruma Siyâseti", *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, issue 7 (2007), pp. 141-167.
- Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedii, "Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, issue 1 (1967), pp. 41-51.
- The Journal of John Wodehouse, First Earl of Kimberley for 1862-1902*, ed. Angus Hawkins and John Powell, Camden Fifth Series, The Royal Historical Society, 9, London 1997.
- Upton-Ward, Judy, "Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati", *Osmanlı*, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, II, Ankara 1999, pp. 119-129.
- 4. Electronic Resources**
- Royal Collection Trust, available at: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/450804/the-investiture-of-sultan-abdulaziz-i-with-the-order-of-the-garter-17-july-1867> (accessed March 28, 2023).
- St. George's Chapel Archives & Chapter Library, available at: <https://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ResearchGuide1-The-Order-of-the-Garter.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2024).
- The British Museum, available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_EPH-ME-332 (accessed December 12, 2022).
- The Royal Family, available at: <https://www.royal.uk/the-order-of-the-garter> (accessed April 20, 2024).