

Volga Tatar Jadidism and Its Effects on the Ottoman Protectionist Economic Thought

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Abstract

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for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2019

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This thesis deals with the influence of the Jadid movement of the Volga Tatars in the formation of the Ottoman protectionist economic thought. It analyzes the subjects of the economic and cultural history of the Volga Tatars, their intellectual approach to the economic issues shaped around the Jadid movement under the effects of the Russian modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century, and its influence on the development of the Ottoman protectionist economic thought through a Jadidist Volga Tatar intellectual named Akyığıtzade Musa who migrated to the Ottoman Empire in the 1880s. The thesis is consisted of 3 chapters, and in the first chapter, the development of the Jadidist approach to the economic issues is analyzed with the factors which contributed to its development. In the second chapter, the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought is reviewed until the development of the Ottoman protectionism with the contribution of Akyığıtzade Musa who migrated to the Ottoman Empire when there was a heated debate between the supporters of free trade and protectionism. In the last chapter, the contribution of Akyığıtzade Musa to the Ottoman protectionist thought is examined in the lights of these two chapters.

31,000 words

Özet

“Volga Tatar Cedidçiliği Ve Osmanlı Korumacı Fikirlerine Etkisi”

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Profesör Nadir Özbek, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, Volga Tatarlarının Cedid hareketinin Osmanlı korumacı iktisadi fikirlerinin oluşması üzerindeki etkisini ele almaktadır. Tez, Volga Tatarlarının ekonomik ve kültürel tarihi ekseninde, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında şekillenen Cedid hareketinin iktisadi meselelere entelektüel yaklaşımlarını ve bu etkenlerin Osmanlı korumacı politikalarının gelişimi üzerindeki etkisini, 1880’lerde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na göç etmiş Cedidçi bir Volga Tatar aydını olan Akyiğitzade Musa üzerinden analiz etmektedir. Üç bölümden oluşan bu tezin ilk bölümünde, Cedid hareketinin iktisadi meselelere yaklaşımı, bu yaklaşımın gelişimine katkı sağlayan faktörler ile birlikte analiz edilmektedir. İkinci bölümünde ise Cedidçi aydın Akyiğitzade Musa’nın katkılarıyla Osmanlı iktisadi korumacılığının gelişimine kadar olan iktisadi fikirlerin modernleşmesi süreci incelenmektedir. Son bölümde ise bu iki bölümün ışığında Akyiğitzade Musa’nın Osmanlı korumacı fikirlerine katkılarından bahsedilmektedir.

31.000 kelime

Dedicated to my parents and my beloved wife

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*Dikkate deęerdir bugünkü Tatar gençleri.
Anlamak, bilmek, ilerlemek, marifetle, hikmetle,
Dönmekte ve aydınlanmakta her zaman kafaları.
Bu hâlin sevincini, ben öteden beri bilirim.
Bize sâdece onlar gerek, onlar, denizaltı dalgıçları.
Gökteki sevimsiz bulutlar çekilir, yağmur yağar,
Yağar yere, rahmet gibi, gençlerin iyi niyetleri.
Çağlayıp akan sularla dolar dağların zirveleri, etekleri.
Gök gibi gürlür havada, hür yaşama dâvaları,
Parlar, iyi fikirlerin hançeri, elmasları.
Gitmesin kırın millet, takarak kaşsız yüzük,
Biziz, onun övünülecek, gerçek pırlantı kaşları!*

– Abdullah Tukay, *Tatar Gençleri*

Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century, thousands of migrants from various Muslim groups in the Russian Empire flocked to the Ottoman Empire. The Volga Tatars were among these groups. They had a leading position among the Russian Muslims as a group with a developed trade bourgeoisie and an intellectual cadre who initiated the Muslim enlightenment movement called *Jadidism*. Some of the *Jadidist* Volga Tatar intellectuals immigrated to the Ottoman Empire as a result of mounting political pressure in the Russian Empire. These intellectuals made serious contributions to the Ottoman Empire which constituted the bases of the important steps towards Westernization. While the effects of these intellectuals in the Ottoman Westernization have been mentioned, their contributions to the formation of Turkish national identity and the development of the educational institutions have been taken into consideration in detail and to the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought have been briefly covered. However, when examined carefully, it is seen that they made serious contributions to the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought. At this point, when the development of the protectionist economic thought in the Ottoman Empire is reviewed, there is a Tatar intellectual from the Volga region named Akyiğitzade Musa who is usually mentioned briefly in the works covering the history of the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought. Akyiğitzade, one of the Volga Tatar intellectuals belonging to the *Jadid* movement who emigrated from the Russian

Empire to the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century, shaped the Ottoman protectionist economic thought in accordance with the economic conditions of his period and wrote two books in which he mentions his ideas on the protectionist thought systematically in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Volga Tatars, of which Akyiğitzade was a member, brought up a well-educated group of intellectuals called the *Jadidists* who were better adapted to the Western ideas than the Ottoman Turks. As members of a bourgeois society, these Tatar intellectuals had a better understanding of modern economics than the Ottoman Muslim intellectuals. This thesis aims to show how the Volga Tatars produced this class of intellectuals called the *Jadidists* and how the *Jadidists* influenced the Ottoman protectionist economic thought through the contributions of Akyiğitzade Musa.

The Volga Tatars as the heirs of a deep-rooted trade culture as a result of their geographic position on the busy trade routes, produced an economic mentality affected by the different factors in their history. To understand to what extent the factors shaped the Tatar economic mentality along with their national identity, it seems imminent to mention their history from the very beginning. The Volga region was an important hub for the East-West and the North-South trade routes. The Turkic groups who settled down in the region participated in the trade activities and formed political entities which were based on the wealth coming from trade. In the tenth century, they converted to Islam. Since the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, they began to be known as the Tatars. In the sixteenth century, the Volga Tatars were subjugated by the Russians who were Orthodox Christians since the tenth century and the period of the Russian oppression on the Tatars began. Their role in the trade activities declined as the Russians imposed restrictions on the Muslim Tatars to convert them to Christianity. These oppressive policies triggered insurgencies in the region which began to threaten the Russian rule. In the eighteenth century, a period of tolerance began and the restrictions were removed as a strategy to underpin the Russian rule and to use the Tatars as a political apparatus to broaden the Russian sphere of influence by Tsarina Catherine II. Under the new ruling mentality, the Tatars experienced a period of economic and cultural revival and they began to take their dominant role back on the

trade routes thanks to the trade culture they inherited and their religious and linguistic ties with the people of Central Asia. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Tatar bourgeoisie and an intellectual class emerged. As the Russian Empire was modernized in the nineteenth century, the Tatar economic and cultural gains came under threat. The modernization process was accelerated as the Russian ruling elite tried to strengthen the empire against the threats. The Tatars were also seen as a threat to the Russian rule and the modernization process turned out to be an assimilation process for the Tatars. In the economic arena, the modernization resulted in a rapid development of the Russian industry and trade which was in favor of the Russian businessmen. It eventually began to shake the Tatars' position in the trade and the Tatars' economic activities suffered a severe blow. To provide a resistance to the cultural assimilation policies and a successful adaptation to the changing economic conditions, the Tatar intellectuals who allied with the Tatar bourgeoisie formed an enlightenment movement called *Jadidism* which aimed at strengthening the Tatar identity by modernizing every aspect of the Tatars' life. Forming a modern Tatar economic thought was among the targets of the *Jadid* movement. As a bourgeois nation, to successfully adapt to the new economic conditions in the modernizing Russia was essential for the Tatars. As a result of this process, a *Jadidist* Tatar intellectual class who had a deep understanding of economics with a care for the national interests emerged. As mentioned above, a group of these Tatar intellectuals came to İstanbul to flee from the Russian oppression in the second half of the nineteenth century. Akyığıtzade was among them and he came to İstanbul in the 1880s when there was a heated debate on the economic policies in the Ottoman Empire.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to adopt Western norms and institutions to adapt the changing conditions. After the Baltalimanı Trade Agreement signed in 1838, the economic norms and institutions also came under the effect of the Westernization trend and the Ottoman economic system went under a dramatic transformation. Along with the free trade policies which began to be applied after the signature of the agreement, liberalism dominated the intellectual sphere of the Ottoman Empire. Even if there were some oppositions to the free trade policies in the empire, the Ottoman intellectuals were predominantly supporting liberalism.

The reforms made after the declaration of the Tanzimat edict in 1839 also underpinned the liberalization of the Ottoman economy. The free trade policies and the capitulations were used by the industrialized countries to dominate the Ottoman economy in this period and the Ottoman Empire became an open market for their products and a raw material provider for their industries. When the Ottoman Empire started to borrow from the European creditors in the 1850s, the financial dependency of the empire on the West increased. In the 1870s, the Ottoman Empire went bankrupt and declared that it was no longer available to make payments to the creditors.

The position of the liberal thought was shaken with the economic crisis. The Ottoman intellectuals began to put forward different theses for the economic development. The Ottoman protectionism emerged in this process and a debate between the supporters of liberalism and protectionism began in the 1880s. This was the time period when the Volga Tatar *Jadidist* Akyığıtzade Musa arrived in İstanbul and brought the *Jadidist* economic understanding interwoven with the Tatar-Muslim nationalism and bourgeois concerns to the Ottoman Empire. In the 1890s, he made a great deal of contribution to the development of the Ottoman protectionism.

The subject of the thesis has never been reviewed in an academic study by covering all of its parts. However, the different dimensions of the subject were analyzed in separate academic studies. The development of the Tatar identity and economic mentality are mentioned in the books written by the scholars and the emigre intellectuals from Russia. Abdullah Battal-Taymas's book *Kazan Türkleri* (The Kazan Turks) in which he narrates the history of the Volga Tatars from the fourth century to the twentieth century as a *Jadidist* Tatar intellectual from the Volga region, Serge Zenkovsky's book *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* in which he covers the history of Tatars from a perspective with an emphasis on the Tatar economic development as a Russian historian specialized in economic history and Galina Yemelianova's book *Russia and Islam* in which she covers the history of the Russian-Tatar relations as a historian specialized in the Muslims of Eurasia, and Azade-Ayşe Rorlich's book called *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience* in which she recounts the Volga Tatar history with an emphasis on the flexibility of the Tatar culture towards the changes as a Tatar historian who specialized in the history of the

Russian Muslims are the books which provide a great deal of information on the Tatar history from various aspects. In addition to these books, the book *The Russian Empire: A Multi-Ethnic History* written by a prominent Swiss historian Andreas Kappeler provides a comprehensive understanding of the relations of the ethnic groups in the Russian Empire, and Mustafa Tuna's *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire and European Modernity, 1788–1914* provides the Tatar experience in a period of rapid change to give an understanding of the interrelation between the factors who shaped the Tatar identity and economic mentality.

To have a considerable information on the Tatar bourgeoisie, Alfred J. Rieber's *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* in which he mentions the businessmen of the Russian Empire and their competitions and collaborations according to the socio-political conditions from the eighteenth century to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 is an important source to understand the development of the Tatar bourgeoisie and their strategies in a competitive economic structure shaped around the cultural groups.

Gadilya Kornoukhova who is a Russian historian specialized in the Russian economic history provides a great deal of information on the relation between the change in the Tatar religious understanding and the economic thought in her paper called *Did Islam Impede or Conduce the Development of Muslim Entrepreneurship in the Russian Empire in Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries?*. The *Jadid* movement is attached in this process as a general reform movement. The book called *Basics of Islamic Economics: Theory and Business Practices* written in Russian by Marat Zufarovich Gibadullin and Tamara Mikhailovna Vahitova describes the process in which the *Jadidists* put their works forward to create a modern Tatar economic thought.

Some of the academic works covering the Westernization of the Ottoman economic thought put an emphasis on Akyiğitzade's contribution to the development of the Ottoman protectionism. His intellectual legacy is mentioned in Tevfik Çavdar's book *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu* (The Birth of Liberalism in Turkey) by reviewing his book on protectionism called *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadeği-i Ticaret ve Usul-ü Himaye* (Economics or the Science of Wealth: Freedom of Exchange and Protectionism). Sarp Balcı's master's thesis

called *Two Versions of Enlightenment State in the Late Ottoman Era: Protectionist State VS Liberal State in the Works of Akyiğitzade Musa and Mehmed Cavid* provides a review of Akyiğitzade's thoughts by comparing them with Mehmet Cavid's. In the second volume of his economic history book called *Osmanlı İktisat Tarihi* (The Ottoman Economic History), Niyazi Berkes emphasizes Akyiğitzade's importance in the Ottoman economic history. Ömer Karaoğlu reviews his life and book on economics called *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisad* (The Science of Wealth or the Science of Economics) in his article called *Akyiğitzade Musa ve İlm-i İktisat* (Akyiğitzade Musa and Economics). Deniz Taner Kılınçoğlu's PhD dissertation called *the Political Economy of Ottoman Modernity: Ottoman Economic Thought during the Reign of Abdülhamid II* gives brief information on Akyiğitzade's works on economics since the dissertation is about the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought. Hilmi Ziya Ülken's *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (The History of Modern Thought in Turkey) also mentions Akyiğitzade's works that contributed to the modernization of the Ottoman economic thought. Ali Çankaya's book called *Son Asir Türk Tarihinin Onemli Olaylari İle Birlikde Yeni Mulkiye Tarihi ve Mulkiyeliler: Mulkiye Seref Kitabi* on the graduates of *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (Imperial School of Administration), Ismail Türkoğlu's entry on Akyiğitzade's life in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (The Encyclopaedia of Islam) published by Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı are the sources which mention Akyiğitzade's efforts in the field of economics.

In this thesis which is composed of 3 chapters, the first chapter gives a detailed understanding of the development of the *Jadid* movement and the Tatar economic thought with the contributions of the *Jadidist* intellectuals along with the social, political and economic changes who played significant roles in the process. In this chapter, the developments in the economic thought are also mentioned to give a theoretical basis for the development of the Tatar economic thought. The book called *the National System of Political Economy* written by Friedrich List is referred in detail as a primary source in this chapter. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the *Jadidists'* economic thought, the book called *Muharrrik al-Afkar* (The Engine of Thoughts) written by the prominent *Jadidist* economist Abdulalam Feyizhanov who remained in the Russian Empire is shortly reviewed.

In the second chapter, the introduction of the modern economic thought to the Ottoman Empire is examined to track the changing patterns in the Ottoman mentality in order to emphasize the contribution of Akyiğitzade Musa to the development of the Ottoman protectionist economic thought. The number of books written by the Ottoman intellectuals on economics are examined and a special place is left to the book called *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Principles of the Science of the Wealth of Nations) written by Ohannes Paşa since he was one of the most capable economists of the Ottoman liberal economic thought.

In the last chapter, the emergence of the Ottoman protectionism and Akyiğitzade's contribution to it are mentioned. The books written by Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Akyiğitzade Musa are benefited to a great extent as primary sources. Ahmed Midhat's book called *Ekonomi Politik* (Political Economy) and Akyiğitzade's books *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadeği-i Ticaret ve Usul-ü Himaye* (Economics or the Science of Wealth: Freedom of Exchange and Protectionism) and *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat* (The Science of Wealth or the Science of Economics) are referred to provide a detailed review of the development of the Ottoman protectionism and Akyiğitzade's contribution. *Sicil-i Ahval* notebooks, which were the records of the public servants are also benefited to get information about Akyiğitzade Musa.

The Tatar Response to the Reforms and Capitalism: The Emergence of Jadidism and the Tatar Economic Thought

The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century can be considered as the period of the economic and the cultural revival for the Volga Tatars with the beginning of the reign of Catherine II. In this period, the commercial relations of the Volga cities with the eastern trade centers became more frequent and the Tatars participated in this trade and entered the competition with the Russian merchants. Because of their close cultural connections, they had a superiority over the Russian merchants and had a say on the much of the trade in the region. In the eighteenth century, there were workshops operated by the Tatars in the Volga region and their products were being transported to the Central Asian cities by the Tatar merchants for sale. In addition to this connection, there was a flow of students from the region to the Islamic educational institutions in Bukhara and Semerkand. Those who completed their education turned back to their hometowns and opened madrasas with the support of merchants enriched by the regional trade. As a result, a Tatar bourgeoisie and intellectual class emerged. These were the consequences of the economic and cultural revitalization of the Volga-Ural region. Commercial centers like Kazan, Orenburg, Troysk, and Kargala were the cities where the major madrasas opened, the scholars who received a strict Islamic education began to teach in the region

and the Bukharan understanding of Islam began to establish its hegemony among the Volga Tatars.¹

While the Tatars experienced an economic and cultural revival, the Volga region also went under a period of cultural development in modern terms. With the beginning of the nineteenth century, modern schools, printing houses and a university were founded and the cultural climate of the city changed along with the Islamic revivalism of the Tatars. It was inevitable that the cultural development of the Tatars was also influenced by development in modern terms.

After one of the two cases with Arabic script of the Asia Printing House in Saint Petersburg was sent to the gymnasium in Kazan in 1801, the book printing was on the rise. Initially, religious books and *Qur'an* were printed. The proliferation of the printing press and diversification of the book subjects added momentum to the intellectual development of the Tatars.² Between 1854 and 1864, the number of books published solely by the Tatars exceeded one million.³ Literacy is important among the Tatars. Dr. Karl Fuchs (1776-1846) who was a professor at Kazan University wrote, "A Tatar who does not know how to read and write is looked down upon by his people, and as a citizen, he does not enjoy the respect of others."⁴

Kazan began to host modern education institutions with the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1804, during the reign of Alexander I, a university was opened. This university is the second university opened in Russia after Moscow University. The university was opened at Kazan Gymnasium and the first instructors were mostly Germans such as Martin Bartels and Karl Fuchs. At that time, the education of the Oriental languages was strengthened in Kazan and the history and ethnographic structure of the region were subjected

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- 1 Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1966), 114.
 - 2 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 103.
 - 3 Serge Zenkovsky, *Rusya'da Pan-Türkizm Ve Müslümanlık*, trans. İzzet Kantemir (İstanbul: İpek Matbaası, 1971), 40.
 - 4 Azade-Ayşe Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience* (Hoover Institution Press, 1986), 84.

to academic researches.⁵Kazan University was not an institution where children of the people of the region were registered in numbers.⁶ However, the ideas and the discussion environment that the university brought to the region attracted some people who were studying in the madrasa, and they had the opportunity to discuss their ideas at the university.⁷Since the Kazan University was a center of the oriental science, researches on history, culture, and language, the Tatar interaction with the university provided a self-awareness in the Tatars intellectual circles.⁸ The pioneers of the later Tatar modernization movement like Mercani, Nasiri were the outstanding figures of the generation of intellectuals who were in contact with the university.

In the culturally and economically changing atmosphere of the Volga region, a number of Tatar intellectuals who were aware of the needs of their developing society put forward arguments which differed from the traditional Islamic understanding and education. Most of them graduated from the Bukharan madrasas who had a deep understanding of what the classical Islamic education of Bukhara and Samarkand could provide to the burgeoning Volga Tatars. The geographic position of the Tatars to the regions where the modernization could be closely observed also prompted the emergence of the Tatar reformation among the educated elite of the Tatar community.

One of the first opposition to the Bukharan school was ignited by a distinguished cleric, Abdunasır Kursavi (1775-1813). When he was in Bukhara, he opposed the Bukharan Islamic understanding based on *taqlid* (imitation) and dogma, and argued that *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) was a way of liberating Islam from superstition and corruption.⁹ He was aware that the Bukharan interpretation of Islam was archaic and stagnant which was not appropriate for the changing world. He was dismissed from Bukhara because of his opinions, but his views became an inspiration for the Tatar Islamic reformation

5 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 119.

6 Ibid., 120.

7 Ibid., 120-121.

8 Ibid.

9 Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars*, 49.

movement. His criticism to the Bukharan interpretation has also remarked the decline of the Bukharan effect on the Volga Tatars.¹⁰

Later on, Şehabettin Mercani (1815-1889), like Kursavi, contradicted Bukharan Islamic understanding and his educational institutions and argued that *ijtihad* was a necessary practice to get rid of the Bukharan understanding in order to reach an understanding which is compatible to the modern science and developments. He was the first Tatar historian and reformer.¹¹ He became famous with his works on the Tatar and the Turkic history in the intellectual circles¹² and became a member of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography of Kazan University.¹³

Mercani returned to the Volga region from Bukhara, where he got acquainted with Kursavi's reformist ideas, after 12-year-long study, and began working on the Tatar reformation and the development of the Muslim schools.¹⁴ He advocated a practical education instead of a scholastic education system and argued that religious books should be understood as being primarily the *Qur'an* to make *ijtihad* a general practice.¹⁵ He was also aware the developments in the Russian Empire and argued that learning Russian was important to be able to adapt to the changing conditions, defended that it would increase the level of culture and wealth of the Muslims in Russia. After 20 years of struggle for educational reform, he persuaded İbrahim Yunusov, a wealthy Tatar merchant from Kazan, to help to establish a new school in which he could realize his ideas on the education which was an act remarked the collaboration between the Tatar bourgeoisie and the ulama to improve the Muslim education in the region.¹⁶ In 1876, he became a teacher at the Kazan Teacher's Seminary where the new generation of the Tatar reformists was ed-

10 Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 155-156.

11 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 37.

12 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 130.

13 Galina Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam: A Historical Survey* (Springer, 2002), 77.

14 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 37.

15 Ibid., 38.

16 Ibid.

ucated. Mercani wrote works on the history of the Volga Bulgars and the Tatars, like the book called *Kitab Mustafad al Akhbar fil Ahwal Qazan wa Bulgar* (The Book of Used information on the thie history of Kazan and Bulgar, 1885) which was written in the Volga dialect.¹⁷ This book was the first attempt to present the Volga Tatars with their own history and language.¹⁸ He argued that the Tatars of that day were the successors of the Bulgars, the Kipchaks, the Khazars and contributed a lot to the formation of the Tatar identity.¹⁹ These works increased the interest of the Tatars to their own history and national consciousness. With his efforts, many Tatars changed their ideas against the Russians and the Western ideas and opened up the gates of progress in this respect.²⁰

Hüseyin Feyizhanov (1826-1866), one of the leading students of Mercani, served as a lecturer at Kazan and the Petersburg Universities.²¹ He was the first western style intellectual of the Volga Tatars.²² As a student of Mercani, he followed the reformist path in educational issues and designed an education reform plan between the years 1861 and 1862.²³ According to this plan, the Tatar history and culture would meet the standards of gymnasiums to found a new, modern education system.²⁴ His educational reform program influenced other Tatar intellectuals, such as Abdulkayyum Nasiri.²⁵ Nasiri (1824-1907) was a pioneer in the creation of the written language of Tatar and gave many didactic works, just like Ahmed Midhat Efendi in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ While he was a student at a madrasa, he learned Russian secretly because it was a shame to learn Russian among the Tatars at that time.²⁷ He followed the courses at

17 Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars*, 51.

18 Ibid.,

19 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 131.

20 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 38.

21 Ibid., 39.

22 Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars*, 69.

23 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 75.

24 Ibid.

25 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 39.

26 Ibid.

27 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 121.

the university without being registered.²⁸ He wrote Tatar and Russian grammar books and dictionaries.²⁹

The ideas of the intellectuals in question softened the resistance of the Tatars against the modern ideas and laid the ground for the Tatar modernization. The new generation of the Tatar reformists, who went on the same way, introduced modern ideas in various fields and economics was one of them.

In parallel to these developments, various European ideas began to become influential in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. A liberal movement against the autocratic structure of the empire emerged, and in 1825 it showed itself with the Decembrist rebellion. In addition to this, a bloody revolt which arose in Poland in 1830 with the influence of the nationalist movement and the turmoil that emerged during the 1848 revolution directed the Russian ruling elite to a defensive way. The reign of Nicholas I (1796-1855) between 1825 and 1855 was characterized with an idea of preservation of the integrity of the empire against the coming waves of danger from various sides.³⁰ A Muslim Tatar revival was not welcomed under such conditions.

The period of economic and cultural development in the Tatar population created discontent among the Russians. They were worried about the rapid progress of the Tatars. Gradually this discontent turned into a series of restrictive measures to block the development of a Tatar power in the second half of the nineteenth century. There was also a reason to increase the discomfort of the Russians in this regard that the population of Muslim and Turkic minority of the Russian Empire was increasing rapidly which eventually reached 10 million in 1865.³¹ The Tatars were the leaders of the Turkic minority in Russia.

By the 1830s, growing Pan-Slavism and nationalist movements in Russia worsened the Russian-Tatar relations.³² Nonetheless, the Tatars reached an ethnic consciousness. At those times, nationalism was spreading rapidly in

28 Ibid.

29 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 39.

30 Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multi-Ethnic History*, trans. by Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 248.

31 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 41.

32 Ibid.

Europe. As a result of the developments in transportation, the relationship of the Turkic peoples with each other and the Ottoman Turks strengthened.³³ This also contributed to the emergence of ethnic consciousness. The Caliphate of the Ottoman Sultan had an important influence on the Muslim Turkic groups, as the sacred places of Islam were under the Ottoman rule.

Economic rivalry between the Tatar and the Russian merchants also became a factor which increased the tension between the Tatars and the Russians. As the nationalist tendencies grew stronger, the economic rivalry between the cultural commercial groups competed to get a bigger share from the pie became an issue of nationalism. The Slavophiles supported the Russian merchants against the other commercial groups and turned their discomfort into a national issue.³⁴ In this context, the Tatar economic success would begin to disturb the Russian merchants and the Slavophiles.

The period of reforms in the reign of Alexander II (1818-1881) between 1855 and 1881 was the beginning of a new era for the Russian-Tatar relations. After the defeat of Russia in the Crimean war (1853-1856), it was understood that the empire was lagged behind the Western powers and the modernization of the empire was necessary. This reform period, which began in 1861 with the abolition of serfdom by Tsar Alexander II, was called "the Great Reforms".³⁵ In this period, Russia underwent a lot of economic, political and social changes which laid the foundations of capitalist development in Russia and led to the acceleration of the development of the national movements of the Russians and other ethnic groups.³⁶ Alexander III (1845-1894) who ascended to the throne after Alexander II was assassinated, continued the modernization process with a more autocratic approach and as the changes went deeper in the body politics, the Tatars' experience differed from what they were accustomed to under the imperial rule. The reforms changed the relations between the political power and the subjects which undermined the Tatars' cultural and eco-

33 Ibid.

34 Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 55.

35 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 69.

36 Ibid.

conomic domains. In this process, the Tatars embarked their own modernization movement called *Jadidism* to protect their identity and economic interests in the modernizing Russian Empire. The Tatar economic thought emerged as a result of this counter modernization movement.

§ 2.1 The Modernization of the Russian Empire and the Russification Policies

As the imperial system went under a dramatic change, the understanding of authority and subject relations evolved into a more direct one with a more modernist perspective which aimed to transform the population into a more unified entity.³⁷ Russianness and Orthodox Christianity were placed as the pillars of this new understanding and the mediation distance was narrowed to be able to create a more homogeneous structure on these pillars.³⁸

The Polish problem showed itself for the second time with a bloody rebellion. Alexander II, who ruled in a more liberal way than Nicholas I, chose to resort to oppressive methods after the Poles revolted for the second time in 1863.³⁹ The Tatars who were thought to resemble the Poles, since they had their own elite, bourgeoisie, and intellectuals, also got their share from this policy change as they were seen potentially dangerous.⁴⁰

In this context, the Islamic cultural and economic revival in the Volga region were regarded as another source of the challenges from a different angle to the imperial power. The Christian Tatars or *Krashens*, who had previously been forcibly Christianized, turned to Islam and gave up their crypto lives.⁴¹ As a result of the Muslim missionary activities, some non-Turkic elements also

37 Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire and European Modernity, 1788–1914. Critical Perspectives on Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15.

38 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 73.

39 Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 252.

40 Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 65.

41 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 42

became Muslims.⁴² The Islamic transitions worried the Russians and the government began to take measures in this regard.⁴³ These measures caused a reaction among the Tatars.⁴⁴ Education was considered as the most important tool for the Russification policies and new techniques were developed to be applied among the Muslim Tatar population. In addition to this, the capitalist development in Russia required an educational reform. An educational system under the control of a unified and centralized authority should be designed to meet the educated labor force deficit that capitalist developments led to. For this reason, the Russian Muslims should be integrated into the changing empire.⁴⁵

As before, the members of the Orthodox Church played a very important role in the reform of education for the Muslims. These people, who regarded the Muslims as a threat, demanded the state to intervene in the Muslim question and support their mission. They used the education reform as a tool for this purpose and designed it within the scope of the assimilation policy.⁴⁶

Names like M. A. Miropiev, N.I. Baratynskii, P.D. Shestakov, M.A. Mashanov and N.I. Il'minskii were the missionaries who set out the projects for Russification. Some of them had strong ties with the government, reaching the point where they could influence government policies. These religious intellectuals shared the same intentions, but the ways which they recommended to follow differed. Baratynskii, for example, was a supporter of direct Russification, and he argued that languages other than Russian should have been banned. Shestakov and Il'minskii defended a more secular Russification policy. Shestakov and Il'minskii, who took Russification and Christianization as the main issues, argued that the language of education might be something else other than Russian.⁴⁷ Their education system contained three kinds of schools: The Russian-Tatar School, the Central School for Baptized Tatars and

42 Ibid.

43 Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 65.

44 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 42.

45 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 72.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 73.

Kazan Teacher's Seminary. In 1870, this approach was adopted by the government and the same year the first Russian-Tatar school was opened in Kazan. In 1871, a similar one opened in Simferopol. Tatar was the language of the school in Kazan, Russian in the school in Simferopol, but Tatar language and Islam were in the curriculum of this school. In 1876, the Kazan Teacher's Seminary was opened. Graduates from this school formed the core of the Tatar intellectuals and eventually these intellectuals stimulated the Tatar national awakening. In 1884, Russian-native schools opened in Kazakhstan and in Turkistan. These schools offered Muslims a limited higher education opportunity.⁴⁸

Il'minskii also designed a modified Cyrillic alphabet for Tatar. Il'minskii's alphabet was learned by the Tatar students successfully because it was simpler than the Arabic letters. Initially, the Russian conservatives were suspicious about the Il'minskii's method and it was argued that it would lead to the emergence of nationalist movements among the non-Russian people. However, it was also supported by Pobedonostsev, the inspector of the Holy Synod, and was seen as a successful model. Then the same model was applied to other minorities. The Il'minskii method was later adopted by Soviet Russia and used on minorities, including the method of designing alphabets.⁴⁹ The Tatars did not show interest in the schools the Russians founded. They opposed the imposition of Russian in their own religious education institutions. The idea that all these policies were to Russianize the Tatars was common and historical experiences were justifying the Tatars anxiety in this regard. As a matter of fact, the statues of Il'minskii schools proved that their fears were not unreasonable. In the statues, it was stated that Russianization would only take place through education and dissemination of the Russian language.⁵⁰

The education policies of the Russians did not remain a project carried out only through the opening of new schools. At the same time, the Muslim schools, such as maktab and madrasas were tried to be brought under control. In 1870, all newly opened schools, both maktab and madrasas, were

48 Ibid., 74.

49 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 45.

50 Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars*, 86.

obliged to teach Russian. In 1884, all these schools were taken under the supervision of the ministry of education. With this arrangement, it also became compulsory for the staff in these schools to know Russian. In these regulations, the main purpose of the government was to control these schools. They did not have any aim to improve the education system with comprehensive reforms.⁵¹ As a result, these policies created a common resistance among the Volga Muslims and peasants refused to open of the Russian schools in their villages and introduction of Russian to the religious education. The waves of petitions began to deter the government from these policies.⁵² These were the reactions of common people. A new form of the reaction was formalized among the intellectuals and this led to an education movement later evolved into an enlightenment movement.

§ 2.2 The Tatar Bourgeoisie under the Threat of the Russian Modernization

The reforms in the second half of the nineteenth century brought not only a change in the authority and subject relations but also an economic and technological improvement in the Russian Empire. As technological developments emerging in Western Europe were being imported increasingly, it was possible to feel their effects in every area. The Russian industry gained significant momentum, railways were built and transportation was improved.⁵³ The separate parts of Russia became more interconnected. Some developments in the political arena increased the Russian access to natural resources. The Kazakh Steppes were strictly included in the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Central Asian Khanates also entered into the Russian domination in the second half of the nineteenth century. The resources in the region led to a growing direct relationship with the region for raw material

51 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 75.

52 Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 80.

53 Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Quelquejay, *Sultan Galiyev ve Sovyet Müslümanları*, trans. Nezih Uzel (İstanbul: Hür Yayın, 1981), 27.

provision to the developing Russian industry.⁵⁴ This emerging picture began to shake the Tatars' economic superiority in the region in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the Russian industry, which caught up with new technology, caused the Tatar industry, which emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, to collapse.⁵⁵ In this sense, the Tatars faced not only the cultural assimilation policy of Russian modernization but also the loss of their supremacy in the Russia-East trade, which was the basis of their wealth.

The defeat in the Crimean War led the Russian ruling class to see the need for a breakthrough in the economic arena. For this reason, the reform period that started in the 1860s was also the beginning of an economic change. In 1861, the Russians accelerated their adaptation to the capitalist world economy with the abolishment of the serfdom, and in the 1870s they increased their industrial investments. In the 1890s, it reached its peak level. Railways became the backbone of this industrial development. With the introduction of modern techniques and tools, the Russian economy reached high growth rates until the 1900s.

Railway construction has an important place in the economic history of Russia. The first railway construction began in the 1830s.⁵⁶ Up to the 1880s, railway construction was at a low level but in 1880s and 1890s, it showed a huge boom during this period.⁵⁷ The length of the Russian railways in 1857 was 750 miles; in 1874, the length was 11,300 miles.⁵⁸ In the 1870s, the railway construction slowed down since there was an economic crisis; but, in 1880s and 1890s, it was accelerated and its length reached 36,400 miles at the end of the century.⁵⁹

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Karl E. M. Starns, *The Russian Railways and Imperial Intersections in the Russian Empire*, Master's thesis, University of Washington, 2012, 6.

57 Ibid., 7.

58 Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 109.

59 Ibid.

The use of river routes also became more efficient with the introduction of steamboats. River routes were being used with sailboats, but in the 1860s, steamboats began to be used on rivers routes, which was moving with steam power and could transport loads and passengers in large quantities.⁶⁰ For Russia, which has a very large river network, it has an important place in the development of trade and economy. The telegraph line also improved significantly. In 1860, there was just 11,000 miles-long telegraph line in Russia and it reached 164,000 miles in 1910.⁶¹

Russia was one of the leading exporters of agricultural products in the world. It became one of the major grain exporting countries in the world with the 1840s.⁶² However, agriculture production was a sector that could be affected by the fluctuations in the world markets quite easily. For this reason, the Russian ruling elite initiated a pace of industrialization with the above-mentioned developments. This industrialization, which reached a peak in the 1890s, started in the 1870s, resulted in the development of heavy industry in Russia.⁶³ In the second half of the nineteenth century, an average growth rate of 5% was recorded, which was 8% in the 1890s.⁶⁴ The number of workers doubled from the 1860s to the 1890s.⁶⁵

The trade routes between Russia and the Central Asian Khanates were active since the sixteenth century but the Russian merchants couldn't get into the Central Asian markets due to the cultural and religious differences.⁶⁶ Therefore, the trade was carried out by the Central Asian merchants and the Volga Tatars. As the Russian industry developed in the second half of the nineteenth century⁶⁷ and imperial struggle escalated between Great Britain which annexed India in 1854 and the Russian Empire which put the Kazakh steppes under its direct control in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1864, the

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., 110.

62 Ibid., 111.

63 Ibid., 112.

64 Ibid.

65 Malcolm E. Falkus, *The Industrialisation of Russia, 1700-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 51.

66 Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 192.

67 Ibid., 193.

Russians directed their military forces to Central Asia after the Caucasian resistance was broken.⁶⁸ The textile industry in European Russia made great progress and the need for cotton increased dramatically. In the 1860s, the United States of America, the biggest supplier of cotton to the world market, ceased cotton exports due to the civil war between the South and the North, and thus, the Central Asian cotton supplies gained importance.⁶⁹ With the Russian dominance of Turkestan in 1870, it became easier for the Russian businessmen to enter the region and the numbers of the Russian merchants increased rapidly.⁷⁰ The main product that the Russians took from the area was cotton. The Russian cotton industry began to be supplied from the region.⁷¹ The growing importance of cotton in Turkestan and the enormous investment of the Russian businessmen broke the Tatar monopoly in the region.⁷²

The role of the Tatars as intermediaries was also damaged by the construction of railways to the region.⁷³ The railways built towards Central Asia led to a growth in trade and facilitated the transport of the finished goods to the markets in the region and the transfer of the raw materials to industrial centers.⁷⁴ In 1881, the construction of the Transcaspian railway began. Later, new lines were built and the railway was delivered to Marv, Bukhara and Samarkand in the 1890s.⁷⁵ Russian direct trade relations increased in volume, and at the end of the nineteenth century, it reached 70,200,000 rubles.⁷⁶

There was also a cultural side of the Russian penetration into the Central Asian markets. After the Russians businessmen learnt Kazakh language and culture, the Tatar cultural hegemony in the Kazakh steppes was also broken and the Tatars turned into agents and small partners beside the Russians who

68 Ibid., 192.

69 Ibid., 193.

70 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 34.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., 35.

74 Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 199.

75 Ibid.

76 Bennigsen and Quelquejay, *Sultan Galiyev ve Sovyet Müslümanları*, 27.

gradually dominated cotton business.⁷⁷ The Tatars continued to compete with the Russian businessmen to a certain extent with the advantage of the religious and linguistic similarities with the people of the region.⁷⁸

As a consequence of the growing importance of the industrialization policies, the Russian industrialists began to found factories with modern techniques. The Tatar industry, which had developed since the beginning of the nineteenth century, couldn't keep up with this change and began to retreat in the 1880s. At the same time, with the development of the railways bypassing the Tatar trade network, the Tatars faced an economic crisis in this period. The Russians saw this crisis as a chance to undermine the Tatar power in the region and the demand of Orenburg Spiritual Assembly to use its legal power in Kazakh steppes and Turkistan was rejected and an enactment was put into action which deprived the Tatars of having estate and founding anonymous companies in Central Asia.⁷⁹

In the face of these economic and technological changes in Russia, the Tatar bourgeoisie began to lose the ground under its control and faced an economic crisis in the second half of the nineteenth century. The unification of the bourgeoisie did not emerge as a result of the cultural affiliation of the trading groups in the Empire.⁸⁰ The capitalist development did not break the cultural differences and the competition that they caused at this stage, but instead, it broke down the traditional economic order and brought modern production and transportation techniques.⁸¹ This situation caused the Tatar merchant and industrialist class to get trapped and enter a period of decline.

77 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 35.

78 Ibid.

79 Bennigsen and Quelquejay, *Sultan Galiyev ve Sovyet Müslümanları*, 27.

80 Rieber, *Merchants*, 54.

81 Ibid., 56.

§ 2.3 Usul-i Jadid as a Reaction to the Cultural and Economic Russification

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Bukharan intellectual hegemony declined when a new insight was revealed in accordance with the developments the Volga Tatars and the Russian Empire experienced in that period. Towards the mid-nineteenth century, on the reformist path opened by Abdülnasır Kursavi, the Tatar reformation movement, aimed at adapting to the changing world, started with the works of intellectuals such as Şehabeddin Mercani, Abdülkayyum Nasiri and Hüseyin Feyizhanov. These intellectuals argued that traditional madrasa education could not keep up with the changing, modernizing Russia, and manifested that the new institutions that conform to the modern standards, which strengthen the Muslim Tatar culture and economy, should be established in the field of education to change the society within the framework of the reformist ideas. The Tatar bourgeoisie also shared the same understanding with the reform-minded intellectuals since the economic development required a generation equipped with modern knowledge in a rapidly capitalizing world.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the increasingly intensified Russification and Christianization policies and the economic crisis as a result of the economic modernization led to a reaction among the Tatar intellectuals and bourgeoisie. The need for a modern education, which was free from the classical Islamic education approach, increased to protect the Tatar identity and economic interests. The emergence of a new intellectual class, which was educated in the western style educational institutions also facilitated the emergence of the *Jadid* movement. The movement which advocated the modernization of the Muslim education system turned into a Muslim Tatar enlightenment movement aimed at modernizing the Tatar population in various aspects.

Even the Tatar reformation movement began in the Volga region, İsmail Gasprinskii, as a Crimean Tatar intellectual, took the first step and became the pioneer of the education movement. İsmail Gasprinskii was born in 1851 in

Avcıköy, a village close to Bahçesaray which was the capital of Crimea.⁸² Since his family had a lower level in the gentry as *mirzas*, he had the opportunity to study at the modern educational institutions established by the Russians.⁸³ He went to Moscow to continue his education, where he met with pan-Slavic ideas, which had an important influence on shaping his own nationalist ideas later.⁸⁴ He could not complete his education in Moscow but he had chances to live in important centers such as Paris and Istanbul.⁸⁵ Having lived in Paris and Istanbul, he was able to gain a better chance of getting acquainted with liberalism and formed his own liberal nationalist ideas.⁸⁶ Apart from pan-Slavism and the influence of having lived in France, the Ottoman Tanzimat also had a great influence on him.⁸⁷ The idea of pan-Islamism of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani also affected him.⁸⁸

Gasprinskii began his work after returning to Crimea, and after 1881, he started pan-Islamist propaganda on Afghani's recommendations. He wanted to unite the Muslims in Russia. On April 10, 1883, he began to publish his journal *Tercüman* (The Interpreter) which he named it by being inspired by Şinasi's *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (The Interpreter of the Conditions). He published this newspaper for 25 years. He was propagating his ideas with his journal, was trying to unite various Muslim communities in Russia with personal visits. Between 1880 and 1890, his fame increased considerably and he became a leader that was respected by the Russian Muslims and other Muslims around the world.⁸⁹

The unity of the Russian Muslims is one of the pillars of Gasprinskii's ideas. Gasprinskii treated the ideas of unity based on three things: "unity in language, in idea, in work." The vast majority of the Muslims in Russia were

82 James H. Meyer, *Turks across Empires Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands, 1856-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 37.

83 Ibid., 37.

84 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 46.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid., 47.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 48.

Turkic communities. This is the reason why his call of unity actually came to mean the union of the Turkic people in Russia. He was trying to create a common language and he used this language in the newspaper *Tercüman* (The Interpreter). This language was simplified Ottoman Turkic, but it couldn't be spread enough to be a common language between the Turkic people due to geographical, political and cultural reasons.⁹⁰

For Gasprinskii, education was the most important weapon to protect and unite the Muslim community. As a result, his endeavors were directed at education and reforming primary schools.⁹¹ In Bahçesaray, he founded a school according to the new method he argued.⁹² This new education program was called *Usul-i Jadid* (the new method) and the supporters of this program were called the *Jadidists*. The word *Jadid* means new in Arabic and as the movement turned into a general enlightenment movement, the word *Jadidist* became the synonym of the reformist. The others who defend the old method and everything related to the old Tatar institutions were called *Qadimists* since the word *Qadim* means old in Arabic.⁹³

It was 1884 when he put his projection into action in his own village school.⁹⁴ In this new system, the language of the books used for education changed from Arabic and Persian to Turkish and Tatar. According to *Usul-i Jadid*, the primary schools, the maktab, would have a separate building from the madrasas, their own teachers, and teachers would receive a monthly salary instead of *sadaqa*. It would be important for girls to read. Teaching would be done according to a curriculum, and textbooks would be used suitably according to the ages.⁹⁵

Gasprinskii did not remove the Islamic sciences from the educational program but included courses such as mathematics, history and geography. This new method of Gasprinskii brought worldliness and religion together. Until

90 Ibid, 49.

91 Ibid., 53.

92 Ibid.

93 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 75.

94 Ibid.

95 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 162.

1914, 5000 schools adopted this system and 25,000 Tatar schools were opened all over the empire, and the rate of reading and writing among the Tatars began to get closer to the Russians'. With this education system, to a certain level, primary school education was restored. For higher education, reformist mad-rasas were opened in Orenburg, Ufa, and Kazan.⁹⁶

There were a number of challenges of the *Jadid* movement but the primary challenges were lack of financial support from the state⁹⁷, the *Qadimists*' attacks to protect their position and the resistance against the Russian government and the Orthodox Church.⁹⁸ Financial support was provided by the Tatar bourgeoisie. In the beginning, the Tatar bourgeoisie was approaching to Gasprinskii's method skeptically, then with the growing of nationalist and capitalist sentiments, they gradually supported it financially.⁹⁹ Compared to the old method of the *Qadimists*, the new method of the *Jadidists* was better adapted to the modern world. For this reason, the *Qadimists* were hostile to the *Jadidists* since they were losing ground against the progressive cadres of the *Jadid* movement.¹⁰⁰

The Russian government and the Orthodox Church saw the *Jadidists* as an obstacle to the Russification policies.¹⁰¹ Regardless of all these obstacles, the *Usul-i Jadid* movement progressed at an ever-increasing pace. In the period between 1884 and 1905, 80 teachers from various Muslim lands came to learn the principles of *Jadidism* in Bahçesaray, and about 5000 schools were opened and the old ones were restored.¹⁰²

Despite the rapid success of this method, a Muslim education system couldn't have been fully established, and the education in the schools remained at a lower level than the Russian high schools.¹⁰³ It may also be a sign of the situation that most of the Tatar intellectuals came from the western style

96 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 54.

97 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 163.

98 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 76.

99 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 54-55.

100 Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam*, 76.

101 Ibid.

102 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 166.

103 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Türkizm*, 54.

educational institutions in the Russian Empire, in the Ottoman Empire and in France.¹⁰⁴ The Tatars were a community with international connections. That's why, they were fed from various sources.

The Volga Tatars were included in the *Jadid* movement. Most of his followers who devoted themselves to this movement were the Volga Tatars. Most of the businessmen who made financial aids to this movement came out of the Volga Tatars who had emigrated to the outside of the region.¹⁰⁵ The Kazanians opposed the movement of *Usul-i Jadid* under the influence of the *Qadimists*. However, due to being a culturally and economically developed city, Kazan was open to the ideas and became the center of the intellectuals who worked for the movement. The pioneers of the national reformation movement like Mercani, Hüseyin Feyizhanov and Nasiri came out of this city. *Usul-i Jadid* ideas were cultivated and mixed with their reformist ideas emerged in the Volga region and the spread from Kazan to other places as a Muslim enlightenment movement. The *Jadidists* such as Hadi Maksudi, Şakircan Tahiri and Alimcan Barudi also came out of Kazan.¹⁰⁶

The *Jadid* movement, which initially advocated the inclusion of positive sciences in primary schools as well as literacy teaching and western style education, became a Muslim enlightenment movement which aimed to remedy the backwardness of the Muslim Turkic groups in the Russian Empire with the contributions of Gasprinskii and other intellectuals. They emphasized the importance of modernization in every aspect of life at every opportunity. Economics also became a part of the Tatar modernization movement and some of the *Jadidists* took the lead to reform the Tatar mentality in order to provide a Tatar adaptation to the economic development in the empire. Since the Tatars were a bourgeois nation with a deep-rooted trade culture and all the Tatar power in the empire was based on the bourgeoisie, to adopt the mentality of the new economic order became vital. In this respect, they opened up all their perceptions and tried to develop an economic thought in which the interests of their people were protected by taking lessons from the experiences of the Russians. So, before concentrating on the effort of the Tatar reformists to form

104 Ibid.

105 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 160.

106 Ibid.

a Tatar economic understanding, it is essential to understand the change in the economic thought behind the Russian economic development in the second half of the nineteenth century.

§ 2.4 The Russian Economic Thought in the Period of Development

In parallel with the cultural and economic developments, Russia was experiencing different processes in the field of economic thought and politics, trying to find its way to catch up with the economic development in the world. Especially with the Westernization movement started from the Petrine reforms, the effects of economic thoughts emerging in Europe and their political repercussions could be monitored periodically in the Russian Empire. Before discussing the implications of the modern economic thought over the Russian economic thought, it is necessary to mention the development of the liberal and the protectionist approach in brief.

As the world experienced a dramatic change with the technological developments, the world economy went under a period of growth. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a new era was heralded with the proliferation of usage of the steam power in the production, Britain became the center of the world capitalism since it was the birthplace of the developments and the dominant naval power which was controlling the major trade routes. The flexibility it showed in the adoption of the technology lent impetus to become the leading industrial power. In the early periods of the emerging Industrial Revolution which transformed capitalism dramatically, Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) published his *magnum opus* entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776¹⁰⁷ and drew the necessary path for the market operations in a highly connected market-based world economy. In an environment experiencing a change which was gaining momentum and in which the enlightenment ideas glorifying science and development, Adam

107 Roger Middleton, “England,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Global Economic Thought*, ed. by Vincent Barnett (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 22.

Smith appeared as a canonical figure who systematized the idea of world capitalist economy and based it on alleged scientific laws with his theories of division of labor which promotes specialization and professionalism¹⁰⁸, free trade or *laissez-faire* which advocates a highly integrated world economy in which raw materials and products can be exchanged freely,¹⁰⁹ labor theory which measures the price of a product with the labor invested in the production of it ¹¹⁰, and theory of invisible hand which advocates markets regulate themselves and need minimum government intervention in their operations.¹¹¹ The theoretical basis needed by the growing world economy was provided on these aforementioned pillars.¹¹² With their accepted scientific characteristics, these theories were the prescriptions of classical economics.

In Smithian approach, there was a little gap left for the flexibility of the theories to orient them according to the policies of Britain. It left a gap for the roles of the rest of the actual conditions of the world economy and David Ricardo (1772–1823) with his comparative advantage theory (1817), in which he took into account the nation-states and their conflicting interests in their integration to the world economy, relaxed the classical approach.¹¹³ According to Ricardian comparative advantage, each country should be directed to the product it best produces and thus a mutual dependency which is based on the global division of labor is formed.

At the beginning of the 1820s, England had completed the Industrial Revolution, and by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, it had come to an unrivalled position, after beating France. There was no country in the world market that could compete with the British industry. However, while it was in search of

108 Alexander Dow and Sheila Dow, "Scotland," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Global Economic Thought*, ed. by Vincent Barnett (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 42.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid., 42-43.

111 Ibid., 43.

112 Sarp Balçı, "Two Versions of Enlightenment State in the Late Ottoman Era: Protectionist State VS Liberal State in the Works of Akyiğitzade Musa and Mehmed Cavid" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004), 39.

113 Ibid., 42-43.

markets, other European countries prevented the British from entering their markets with protective measures.¹¹⁴

There was a number of oppositions to the British economic expansion emerged from different sources in the process. The United States of America, France and the German States reacted to these theories claimed to be scientific therefore universal as they faced with the British economic domination. Peculiarities should have been concerned, according to the opposing ideas. Among the oppositions, the German Historical School which grew up together with the nation-state ideology emphasized on differences and peculiarities between the countries which naturally challenged the liberal ideas and their prescriptions which were claimed to be universal and applicable like laws of the natural sciences. The leading economist of the school was Friedrich List (1789–1846) who adopted Alexander Hamilton’s ideas and constructed a national economic theory which supported protectionism.¹¹⁵

In 1841, Friedrich List published his sizable book called *The National System of Political Economy* to put his arguments clearly against the Smithian classical economics. As it can be understood from the name of the school, the history of a nation can be a determinant of the characteristics of the economic policies. His points against the liberal theories bear the imprints of a historical approach which remarks distinctive paths of development.

Friedrich List criticizes the ideas of classic economics under certain themes. The Smithian economics argues that *laissez-faire* policies cause establishment of a cosmopolitical union of all nations which is expected to bring peace and prosperity to the whole world¹¹⁶, on the other hand, List argues that such a thing was not possible under the circumstances of their time. According to List, the application of *laissez-faire* rules between developed industrial

114 Şevket Pamuk, “19.yy’da Osmanlı Dış Ticareti,” in *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 3 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), 653–654.

115 Balci, “Two Versions,” 45.

116 Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy*, transl. from the Original German by Sampson S. Lloyd (New York: Kelley, 1966), 98.

countries like Britain and underdeveloped countries will cause underdeveloped countries to be dominated and exploited by industrialized countries.¹¹⁷ For the establishment of a *laissez-faire* system and the emergence of a "universal republic", it is necessary to remove the developmental distinctions between the countries. This can only happen through the implementation of protectionism rather than *laissez-faire* policies to lift up the underdeveloped countries.¹¹⁸ For him, the economic strength and wealth of a nation are to be determined with its productive power. According to List, the productive power of a country depends not only on the material conditions but also on the richness and development of its scientific and cultural heritage. From this point of view, according to List, Smith has a materialist viewpoint and ignores the authenticity of nations.¹¹⁹ National interests, culture, consciousness are effective in the productive power of a nation along with political power, mental capital and human development.¹²⁰

According to him, in order to increase the productive power, an economic environment based on a protective economic policy must be provided. Protective measures trigger development in the economic capacity of a nation.¹²¹ If we take the value of exchange as the basic criteria to determine what kind of policies to be applied, free trade appears as the primary option. But if the productive power is the main scale of wealth, the protective measures are to be applied to increase productive power.¹²²

He argues that the most important catalyzer of productive power is the manufacturing sector. The development of the industry in a country will cause the development of agriculture. The industry will get the raw material it needs from the agricultural sector. At the same time, productivity will increase in agriculture with technical developments provided by the industry. This, as the classical economists claim, removes the necessity to be concentrated either on

117 Ibid., 105-107.

118 Ibid., 103.

119 Ibid., 111.

120 Ibid., 108-120.

121 Ibid., 117-118.

122 Ibid.

industry or agriculture. In a country, these two sectors can emerge through this reciprocal relationship.¹²³

According to the development model put forward by List in his book, there are 5 stages of development. These were listed as “original barbarism, pastoral condition, agricultural condition, agricultural-manufacturing condition, and agricultural- manufacturing-commercial condition.”¹²⁴ He claims that as it was proved with the historical facts, Britain was the first country who passed through these phases and attained a dominant position in the world.¹²⁵ To attain a certain level of development, it is necessary to apply free trade in the barbarism period. As the level of development goes up, the level of protectionism goes up too till the country reaches a considerable level of development which favors free trade.¹²⁶

As he states in his book, “a nation which only carries on agriculture, is an individual who in his material production lacks one arm.”¹²⁷ Only nations with economics based on agriculture have to stay connected to industrialized nations. In the event of war, the industrialized countries can supply their requirements from the agricultural sector, while the agricultural countries cannot supply the industrial products in a difficult situation because they cannot trade with the industrialized countries.¹²⁸ He argues that these two sectors should be developed within the country and that troubles can be eliminated in times of war and crisis.¹²⁹

He emphasizes that countries should follow policies that are appropriate for their own developmental levels and should not accept liberal economics. He also says that protective measures should be moderate if there is a developing industry. The level of protection must then be increased. Protective policies should be applied only in the sectors that are important.¹³⁰

123 Ibid., 121-131.

124 Ibid., 143.

125 Ibid., 144.

126 Ibid., 93.

127 Ibid., 130.

128 Ibid., 145-147.

129 Ibid., 147.

130 Ibid., 144-145.

Russia was not indifferent to the economic models discussed and applied in the world and the economic thoughts that outlined them. For the development of economic thought, the 1870s has been set as a milestone in Russia when it made a major breakthrough in the economy.¹³¹ The dominant view of the intellectuals and the ruling elite in the pre-1870s period is the Smithian economy.¹³² This did not mean that the liberal economy was firmly accepted. The Russian economists also brought their own comments on these ideas.¹³³ J. F. Normano claimed that the Russian economic thought was influenced by three sources: English, French and German. The level of impact of these sources was related to political reasons, personal ties and commercial affairs. After 1870, it can be argued that German influence was gradually increasing in this regard and the Russian economic thought was under the influence of the German economic thought.¹³⁴

Under the influence of different economic schools, the discussion of liberalism versus protectionism found its supporters from the very beginning of the emergence of the modern Russian economic thought. Despite the dominance of the liberal ideas in the first half of the nineteenth century, ideas against free trade principles and economic policies were adopted, but these were not accepted as generally supported ideas and practices. Admiral Mordvinov was the first Russian intellectual to oppose free trade in the nineteenth century. In his book, *Some Considerations on Manufactures in Russia and of the Tariff of 1815*, he wrote that the protectionist policies must be applied in order to encourage the production in Russia.¹³⁵

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the influence of German protectionist economic thoughts increased in Russia with the increase in the influence of German Historical School. The factors such as the geographical

131 Vincent Barnett, *A History of Russian Economic Thought* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2005), 19.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid., 21.

134 Ibid., 19-20.

135 Ibid., 24.

proximity of Germany, the activity of the Baltic Germans between the intellectuals and the ruling class, and the identification of Russia in economic terms with Germany, influenced the Russian economic thoughts in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ Intellectuals such as I.K. Babst and A.I. Chuprov pioneered the introduction of the German historical school into Russia. Babst (1823-1881) taught economics at Kazan University between 1851 and 1857, then taught at Moscow University from 1857 to 1874.¹³⁷ The ideas which he discussed at Kazan University were also published in a monthly periodical under the title *Zapiski Kazanskogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva* (Notes of the Kazan Economic Society) which began to be published in 1854. In general, the periodical had articles which scientifically analyzed the economic issues with a developmental approach. As a periodical published in Kazan, it was effective in the formation of the economic thought in the Tatar intellectual circles.¹³⁸

Chuprov (1842-1908) continued at Moscow University on the road Babst opened.¹³⁹ While Chuprov was in Germany as part of an educational program, in 1873, he sent writings which emphasized the similarity of economic conditions between Russia and Bavaria to be published in a newspaper.¹⁴⁰ Plekhanov, who was considered as the father of the Russian Marxism, also contributed to the development of German Historical School in Russia and he advocated that the Listian approach was related to the Russian case.¹⁴¹

Together with the 1870s, the ministers of economy, who grew up in this environment. N. Kh. Bunge was appointed as the minister of economy in 1881 and he made a major contribution to the Russian railroads, while adopting a

136 Ibid., 33.

137 Ibid.

138 Gulnara Nasimovna Khadiullina, "Формирование и развитие экономических идей в татарском обществе (XVIII – начало XX вв.) [Formation and Development of Economic Thoughts in Tatar Society (XVIII - Early XX Centuries)]," *РОССИЙСКОЕ ПРЕДПРИНИМАТЕЛЬСТВО* [*Russian Entrepreneurship*], N.10, transl. by the author (2005): 129-130.

139 Barnett, *Russian* 34.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid., 38.

protectionist policy against free trade at the same time. Bunge, who is a Baltic German, also became one of the successful practitioners of German ideas in Russia. In 1886, Vyshnegradsky took office from Bunge and similar economic policies continued.¹⁴² In the 1890s, Sergei Witte, another Baltic German, came to the office and protectionism and industrialization reached the top. Sergei Witte was also influenced by the German school.¹⁴³ From this point of view, in Russia, the German Historical School and its economic footprint, the Listian economy became quite influential with the 1870s and contributed to Russia's economic development. The Tatar intelligentsia who were already in interaction with the Kazan University circles with various channels might have been affected by the Russian economic success as the empire showed an economic development at an unprecedented level in its history.

§ 2.5 The Emergence of the Modern Tatar Economic Thought

In the seventeenth century when the Russian oppression alleviated, the Tatars, the heirs of the deep-rooted business culture which was being formed since the period of the Volga Bulgars, started to have a say in the trade between Russia and its eastern neighbors with the help of this business culture and their geographic location despite the restrictions implied by the Russians after the fall of Kazan. In the development process that started from the second half of the eighteenth century until the second half of the nineteenth century, a strong Tatar bourgeoisie was formed and a new economic understanding emerged along with the Tatar reformation movement in accordance with the economic development. As a result of the Russian reform movement that started in the second half of the nineteenth century, the economic domains of the Tatars as well as the cultural domains were endangered and it was essential to keep up with the new conditions. At this point, the *Jadidists*, who collaborated with the Tatar bourgeoisie in the education reform, began to work for a modern economic understanding in accordance with the new conditions. As the enlight-

142 Ibid., 42-45.

143 Ibid., 63.

enment movement of a bourgeois nation, *Jadidism* produced a number of sophisticated economists, and one of them, Akyığitzade Musa became a leading figure in the development of the Ottoman protectionist thought.

The correlation between developments in the economic sphere and the religious sphere were mentioned above. In this sense, pursuing the change in religious understanding is a prelude to understand the emergence of the Tatar economic thought. The most important side of the change in the religious sphere can be attributed to orienting the Muslim Tatars to earthly activities and dynamizing them in order to provide a successful adaptation to changing conditions.¹⁴⁴

In this regard, it is very important to mention that the teachings of Muhammed bin Pir Ali el-Birgivi (1522-1573), who was an Islamic scholar in the sixteenth century, began to spread in the beginning of the nineteenth century among the Volga Tatars.¹⁴⁵ His book was published in the printing press of the Kazan Gymnasium in the early nineteenth century and received a great deal of attention.¹⁴⁶ According to him, earning wealth was a gift from Allah, and for this reason, it was a way to get closer to Allah.¹⁴⁷ Spending these gains for the benefit of the *ummah* could also be an escape from the danger that money could lead.¹⁴⁸ This understanding was against Sufism, which ignored worldliness, and encouraged people to work and make money.

A blow to the classical understanding was inflicted by A. Utiz Imani (1754–1834). He argued that the *Qur'an* was a sufficient guide in this respect that one didn't have to follow the path of the sheikhs to understand religion. In this sense, this argument emerged as an understanding of the individual ways of seeking the truth by moving Muslim life beyond the boundaries of the Sufis and the sheikhs.¹⁴⁹

144 Gadilya Kornoukhova. "Did Islam Impede or Conduce the Development of Muslim Entrepreneurship in the Russian Empire in Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries?" (Paper presented at 17th Annual Congress of the European Business History Association, Uppsala, 2013), 1.

145 Ibid., 2.

146 Ibid., 6.

147 Ibid., 2.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., 4.

Alimcan Barudi (1857-1921) argued that the guiding of the *Qur'an* could only take place by the execution of its orders. The *Qur'an* was reconsidered as a set of rules that should be applied in this world that made the *Qur'an* as the mere source of Islam. From this point, it was thought that an Islamic understanding merely based on the *Qur'an* would create a more active and participatory ummah, in which superstitions inactivating society would disappear.¹⁵⁰

The *Jadidists* as the students of the early Tatar reformists supported the religious reform based on *ijtihad*. One of those who wanted to adopt the religious worldly life going from the *ijtihad* path that Kursavi had opened was Musa Carullah Bigi (1875-1949), one of the students of Mercani. Bigi suggested a proper arrangement of fasting times during Ramadan month to prevent a decline in the productivity of the Volga Tatars living on a geographical area where fasting periods are difficult to adjust. In this respect, a religious understanding that adapted to the earthly conditions began to develop with the contribution of such scholars who were challenging the traditional interpretation of Islam.¹⁵¹

The spread of this understanding among the Tatars was tried to be realized through the *Usul-i Jadid* schools and various publications.¹⁵² Although a very successful picture cannot be drawn for the dissemination of the reformist approach, the Tatar bourgeoisie adopted this understanding and regarded it as a key to change.¹⁵³ They financially supported this understanding.¹⁵⁴ The *Jadidists* helped spread the publications to the mosques and the schools. They tried to ensure that Birgivi's teachings became widespread and kept it constantly on the agenda. In this respect, Birgivi's teachings were among the topics discussed during the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵

The Tatar bourgeoisie interpreted this teaching as a way to protect a wealthy person from hell and to provide an entrance to heaven. With wealth,

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid., 2.

152 Ibid., 4-6.

153 Ibid., 5-6.

154 Ibid., 6.

155 Ibid.

God's orders could be fulfilled. From a materialistic perspective, in the predominantly religious Tatar community whose prime target was to go to the heaven, the fact that the rich had similar things that Islam promised in the heaven also revealed the idea of blessing wealth and working for it and strengthened the place of the bourgeoisie in the society.¹⁵⁶ In the light of these teachings and changes, it became easier for the Tatars to integrate to the capitalist system and the information sets that would provide this integration towards the end of the nineteenth century began to be adopted and propagated by the Tatar intellectuals.

The changes described above provided a suitable basis for the Tatar attempts to keep up with capitalism. The fact that the Tatar bourgeoisie began to lose its former position as a result of economic and political developments in Russia had also made it necessary for this adaptation process. For this reason, the *Jadidist* intellectuals worked to constitute a Tatar understanding of the modern economy. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some of the *Jadidist* intellectuals took the lead to create a modern Tatar economic thought in the Russian Empire.

Abdulalam Feyizhanov (1850-1910) was one of the most prominent figures worked in this field and introduced the modern economic thoughts to the Tatar community. He tried to spread the theoretical comprehension of economic processes among the Tatars. With his books called *Kitab Majalis as-Sarvat Vall-Magash* (The Book of Interviews (Treatises) on the Means of Living and Abundance, 1892) and *Muharrik al-Afkar* (The Engine of Thoughts, 1893), he was the first intellectual in the Tatar literature to give a systematic exposition of the foundations of classical economic theory, its scientific and conceptual apparatuses.¹⁵⁷ He revealed the place and role of economics in the life of soci-

156 Liliya Gabdrafikova, "'There Were Not Any Luxurious Passages in Kazan That Belonged to Tatar Merchants,'" - RealnoeVremya.com, March 22, 2016, accessed June 15, 2018, <https://realnoevremya.com/articles/282>.

157 Marat Zufarovich Gibadullin and Tamara Mikhailovna Vahitova, *Основы исламской экономики: теория и практика хозяйствования* [Basics of Islamic Economics: Theory and

ety, justified the Tatars' need to master economic knowledge to adapt to market-based capitalist relations and addressed pressing social and economic problems.¹⁵⁸ In his book *Kitab Majalis as-Sarvat Vall-Magash*, he wrote the basic concept of a capitalist society like needs, abundance and productivity and the relationships among them.¹⁵⁹ In the second book *Muharrik al-Afkar*, he described the economic and political situation of the Tatars in the late nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ In this book, he emphasized that the Tatars had been economically depressed recently. He also pointed out that productivity in the modern sense should be adopted by the Tatars to get out of this situation.¹⁶¹

Another person who contributed works to this area was Ataullah Bayazitov (1847-1911), a renowned religious scholar. He came out of the clergy. He was one of the most important figures that the *Jadidists* brought out to this area. Ataullah Bayazitov was a theologian and a translator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, an instructor of the Asian Department, the Corps of Pages in St. Petersburg.¹⁶² In his works called *Vozrazheniye na rech' Ernesta Renana. Islam i nauka* (Objection to the speech of Ernest Renan, Islam and Science, 1883), *Islam i progress* (Islam and Science, 1898), *Otnosheniye Islama k nauke i inovertsam* (The Relationship of Islam to Science and the Gentiles, 1906), the main idea was the compatibility of Islam with the modern science and modern economic condition.¹⁶³ He emphasized the importance of labor

Business Practices], transl. by the author (Kazan: Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, 2009), 35.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

160 Abdulalam Feyizhanov, *Muharrik Al-Afkar*, transl. by the author (Kazan: Tipo-lithography of the Imperial University, 1893), 1.

161 Ibid., 9-10.

162 Firdaus Gubaydullovich Gazizullin, "К ВОПРОСУ ОБ ОСНОВНЫХ ПРИНЦИПАХ СООТНОШЕНИЯ ИСЛАМА И НАУКИ В ТРУДАХ АЯТУЛЛЫ БАЯЗИТОВА (1847-1911 гг.) [To the Question about the Basic Principles of the Relation of Islam and Science in the Works of Ayatullah Bayazitov (1847-1911)]," in *Проблемы современной экономики [Problems of the Modern Economy]* N 3/4 (15/16), 2005, transl. by the author, 404-406.

163 Ibid.

theory and put it as the basis of the wealth and argued that Islam also encourages to work and forbids laziness and shows labor as the main source of wealth.¹⁶⁴ He took the Islamic reformism on the way of capitalism to a different phase which aimed to convince the Muslim Tatars to embrace changes without hesitation.

Modern Tatar economists were not limited to those who remained in the Russian Empire. Some of the *Jadidist* intellectuals migrated to the Ottoman Empire, and among them, there were also some intellectuals who transferred the economic perspective which was shaped around the Tatar culture and the enlightenment movement to the Ottoman Turks. Akyiğitzade Musa, a *Jadidist* Tatar intellectual, had a great role in the development of the protectionist economic thought in the Ottoman Empire on a modern economic basis.

Akyiğitzade was one of the new generation intellectuals who grew up in the second half of the nineteenth century. He was one of the Tatar intellectuals who was educated at the western style educational institutions established by the Russians. He was a reformist Tatar intellectual who established relations with the *Jadidist* circles, worked with them and moved to Istanbul via their connections. He brought the Tatar economic mentality which got its modern shape with *Jadidism* to the Ottoman Empire. In the next chapters, to understand to what extent *Jadidism* affected the Ottoman protectionist economic thought, the introduction of the modern economic thought to the Ottoman Empire and Akyiğitzade's contribution to the Ottoman protectionism towards the end of the nineteenth century will be mentioned.

164 Ibid.

The Introduction of the Modern Economics to the Ottoman Empire: Debating Free Trade vs. Protectionism

Parallel to the economic developments in the West, the developments of economic thoughts had been mentioned previously came to the fore. In the Ottoman Empire, the idea that the developments in the West should be pursued began to be discussed at the beginning of the economic debates in the West. With the enthronement of Selim III, Western ideas began to enter to the empire. The liberal ideas that emerged parallel to the developments in Europe were seen as architects of this success by the Ottomans with the influence of urgency to solve the problems of the empire to preserve its vitality and liberalism became the dominant idea among the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals. The process was simply a process of transformation of the Ottoman mentality from its archaic form to a western style understanding. The long nineteenth century is known as a century of fighting for survival for the Ottoman Empire and the history of Ottoman economic thought was one of the fields which shows how the empire tried to equip itself to resist the attacks of its adversaries in this fight.

To understand the extent of the change in the Ottoman economic mentality, it is necessary to know the basics of the old mentality. According to Mehmet Genç, the principles of the Ottoman economic mentality were provisionism, fiscalism, and traditionalism and these principles seem to be influen-

tial on the decisions of the Ottoman State concerning the economic life between 1500 and 1800. The principle of provisionism is to protect the consumer in the producer-consumer relationship in economic activity. According to this principle, the aim is to meet people's needs. The goods and services produced should be as abundant, cheap and high quality as possible.¹ In order to be able to apply the provisionism principle, the Ottomans established a strict control mechanism on the trade to keep the amount of goods high and to keep the price low.²

In the Ottoman Empire, after the domestic needs were met, it was allowed to export. The aim of production activities was not to export but to meet the demand in the domestic market. If there were extra goods after the needs in the country were met, exports of the goods would be provided with special permission. In addition, the customs tariffs of exports were to be kept high. On the other hand, imports were encouraged, no barriers were encountered.³ The Ottoman foreign trade policy hardened exports and eased imports.

Fiscalism means keeping the treasury revenues as high as possible and preventing the decline of the level it reached.⁴ Traditionalism is the practice of keeping the balances and tendencies intact in social and economic relations and preventing the possibility of change and trying to turn back to the old values in case of any change. The aim of the Ottomans in the adoption of traditionalism as economic policy was to keep the existing order they established unchanged.⁵ In the Westernization process, these basic principles left their places to Western ideas.

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- 1 Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 3,1 (1989): 177-178.
 - 2 Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet Ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2000), 60.
 - 3 Ibid., 47.
 - 4 Genç, "Osmanlı," 182-183
 - 5 Ibid., 48-49.

§ 3.1 The Introduction of Liberalism to the Ottoman Empire

As the West established its domination both politically and economically on the other parts of the world towards the end of the eighteenth century, it was obligatory for the Ottoman Empire to formulate and adopt the European system to maintain its vitality. Selim III (1761-1808), who reigned between 1789 and 1807, saw this situation and set a series of problems he believed that they were to be solved with radical reforms.⁶

Sultan Selim III ordered the prominent statesmen to write memorandums to put forward solutions to the problems. Among these memorandums written by Defterdar Şerif Efendi (1717-1790) and Abdullah Molla seem outstanding.⁷ Defterdar Şerif Efendi referred to the financial and economic issues and recommended that the muqata and waqfs should be restored and the land regime should be reorganized in his comprehensive memorandum.⁸

Abdullah Molla (1730-1797) warned Selim III about the negative effects of the debasement on the public and the treasury, and the absence of defence mechanism against the effects of European trade. He also remarked that without the defence mechanism the wealth the empire would vanish. However, these warnings were not taken into account as the Ottoman statesmen were not mercantilists.⁹

The memorandums given to Selim III do not reveal any information about Western economic thought. All of the suggestions made in the memorandums refer to the same solution mentality. Suggested thoughts mostly involved old economic thought. Among the statesmen of the Selim III's reign, it is seen that there were not so many statesmen who think on the economic affairs as the age required.¹⁰

6 Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2000), 168-169.

7 Ibid., 179.

8 Ibid.

9 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 103.

10 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 180.

Looking at the contents of the Selim's imperial orders, it is seen that the liberal thoughts were in the minds of the Ottoman statesmen, Selim III had liberal points expressed in his imperial orders.¹¹ There is a change seen in imperial orders on the concepts such as the right to own private property, freedom of travel, and the right of inheritance. These trends in the direction of change were preparing the ideological base of the serious changes in the Tanzimat period.¹² Ahmed Güner Sayar argues that it is more plausible to see this liberalization as a measure that was introduced not as a change under the Western influence but as an escape from the difficult situation.¹³

During the reign of Sultan Selim III, ambassadors were sent to Europe, and *Sefaretnames* (book of an embassy) written by these ambassadors became one of the first open doors of the Ottoman Empire to the Western economic understanding. The *Sefaretname* written by Ebubekir Ratib Efendi (1750-1799) was one of the important examples of the works issued economy. Ratib Efendi was sent as the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna in 1791. The sultan ordered him to observe the system, customs, administration, in short, every aspect of life in Austria.¹⁴ Ratib Efendi mentions that the system protected the poor, encouraged working, and people were enjoying the freedom of choice and they wore whatever they wished in any colour, the right of private property was under protection.¹⁵ He states in his *Sefaretname* that Austria attached great importance to agriculture, encouraged the people to improve agriculture, and provided the necessary tools and equipment for people. The land in the places where he passed was always cultivated as opposed to the Ottoman lands remained largely uncultivated.¹⁶ He states that the state attached importance to the provision of budgetary equilibrium, the development of domestic trade, and domestic arts. According to Ratib Efendi, the development of a state re-

11 Ibid., 181-182.

12 Ibid., 182.

13 Ibid., 184.

14 Ibid., 172.

15 Ibid., 173.

16 Ibid.

quires the rule of law, a disciplined army, a competent bureaucracy, and a correct government spending. Under the influence of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi in the reign of Selim, it was understood that returning to the old was not going to be beneficial and this new idea was beginning to be effective in the governmental affairs.¹⁷

It can be seen that liberal economic thought had stepped in the Ottoman Empire through a peace treaty in this period. According to the seventh article of the Treaty of Edirne signed with the Russians in 1829, the Russians would apply free trade in all commercial activities with the Ottomans. According to this article, the obstacles in front of free trade with the Russian Empire were being lifted. The idea of economic liberalism in the next 10 years after the treaty was gradually transferred to the Ottoman economic thought with various channels. In the 1820s, the Ottoman State became one of the sought-after markets for the problems of the British economy. And finally, signing the 1838 trade agreement created a legal basis for the spread of cheap British goods as well as free market considerations into the country.¹⁸

This initiative of the Russians led the British to intervene in this issue which aimed at preventing the Russians from threatening British interests by establishing a political and economic hegemony on the Ottoman Empire. They increased their efforts to hinder the Russian influence, which was strengthened by the Hünkâr İskelesi Agreement (1833). In this respect, it can be said that between 1829 and 1838, the liberal ideas were pumped out to the Ottoman Empire from foreign resources. At the time period, Britain was also in the search of new markets to overcome the Ricardian model anticipated for 1820s Britain. The Ottoman Empire was one of the markets to be opened up in order to overcome the model. In the light of these developments, the way to the Baltalimanı Trade Agreement signed in 1838 can be analyzed more clearly.¹⁹

Under these circumstances, the 1830s is seen as a milestone in reaching a peak in the call for accepting Western norms. At the same time, this period

17 Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 3 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), 619.

18 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 188-189.

19 Ibid., 188.

was the period when Western economic thoughts were introduced to the country and steps were taken to make it possible. The reforms were being resorted to in order to prevent dissolution, and this was laying the groundwork for the spread of Western ideas.²⁰

The Janissary corps, the most important guard of the old order, was removed in 1826. Thus, there were no obstacles to experience changes in the 1830s. With the beginning of the publication of the *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), a channel emerged where economic issues could be discussed. Until the establishment of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1831, there was no movement in terms of economic thoughts.²¹ *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, the French version of the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, played an important role in discussing economic thoughts and contributed to the spread of liberal thought.

Other newspapers published in French except the government's newspaper were the channels of liberal in the empire. Among these newspapers, *Le Smyrneen* has an important place. There is no evidence of the influence of this journal, but an inference can be made based on the activity of the writers. The newspaper became a channel for the transfer of the economic thoughts to the Ottoman Empire, after Alexander Blacque (1794-1836), the trade representative of French merchants, took over the newspaper. If it is taken into account the fact that Alexander Blacque was influential in the court, it is easy to predict the influence of the journal.²² Later on, Mahmud II (1785-1839), who reigned between 1808 and 1839, appointed Alexander Blacque at the head of *Le Moniteur Ottoman*.²³ In *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, apart from *Takvim-i Vekayi*, there was a separate part to express ideas on certain economic topics. This section was the entrance gate of the liberal economic thoughts to the Ottoman Empire with the articles written by Alexander Blacque and David Urquhart (1805-1877). After the death of Blacque in 1836, the British faction, led by David Urquhart, became more influential around the palace and the Sultan.²⁴

20 Ibid., 187.

21 Ibid., 188.

22 Ibid., 189.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 190.

The other person who defended the free market in these years was a British named David Urquhart, who served as the chief executive in the British Embassy in Istanbul from the early 1830s until 1837. He was one of the chief architects of the 1838 trade agreement.²⁵ The most important reason why Urquhart looked at the Ottomans with admiration was that there was no indirect tax in the country. David Urquhart stated that there were none of the state interventions which Adam Smith proposed to remove in the Ottoman Empire and that the empire was the ideal place for free trade. Urquhart described all his theses in his book *Turkey and Its Resources* (1833).²⁶ Urquhart tried to spend his entire energy to make the Ottoman Empire a free trade center. He argued the abolishment the trade monopolies and internal customs, the old economic and monetary policies of the Ottoman Empire, and the application of the free trade policies and low customs. He claimed that this would develop the Ottoman Empire.²⁷

All these efforts to liberalize the Ottoman economy had a very important consequence when the Ottoman Empire was put into a difficult situation by one of its governors, Mehmed Ali Paşa (1769-1849).²⁸ Mahmud II decided to change economic policy in order to receive support from Britain against Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt and a trade deal between Britain and the Ottoman Empire was signed in 1838 called Baltalimanı Trade Agreement or the Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement.²⁹ Mustafa Reşit Paşa (1800-1858), who started to climb the bureaucratic stairs up at that time, also agreed with these ideas. If Urquhart's system were to be applied for the whole the Ottoman lands with a contemplative plan, then the economic policy of Mehmed Ali would be destroyed and his political and military power would be ruined if it was to be imposed on Egypt as well. This idea seems to have played the greatest role in

25 Ibid., 196.

26 Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan," 621-622.

27 Niyazi Berkes, *100 Soruda Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Cilt 2* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1975), 330.

28 Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*, 200.

29 Ibid.

bringing the Sultan to the liberal path. He also really believed that liberal policies were beneficial for the Ottoman Empire.³⁰

The Urquhart's campaign and those who followed him produced a result embodied in the 1838 trade agreement, which was signed in the kiosk of Reşit Paşa in Baltalimanı. Under the conditions of Urquhart's liberalism, Reşit Paşa statism, a statism deprived of power, based on the consumption of bureaucracy appeared.³¹ The 1838 Baltalimanı Trade Agreement was the beginning of the internalization of the economic liberalism, and a period of the structural change in the Ottoman economy (development of private property right, land code, penal code, civil rights).³² This agreement put down a deadly blow to the understanding of the economy that the state had followed for centuries. As a consequence of the Baltalimanı Agreement, the traditional economy and its elements were eliminated.³³ The nature of this agreement and the understanding of its consequences were realized many years later. At that time there was no intellectual to analyze them in deep based on principles of economics.³⁴

With the agreement, Britain prevented the Russian hegemony on the Ottoman Empire and turned it into an open market and natural resources hub for its industry.³⁵ Prince Metternich voiced his doubt that this agreement was a useful deal for the Ottomans. According to the views of the German Historical School, Friedrich List was ridiculing this agreement.³⁶ In 1839, the Tanzimat edict declared by Mustafa Reşit Paşa. In the first years of Tanzimat, many steps were taken to change the old Ottoman system. The amendments to the secularization of the trade courts and facilitation of commercial transactions since 1839 were at the forefront. Parallel to this, the 1858 Land Code was a step towards the provision of mobility in the system based on individual savings as in the case of independent small farmers with a Western understanding of

30 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 331.

31 Ibid.

32 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 204.

33 Ibid., 205.

34 Ibid., 206.

35 Ibid., 208.

36 Ibid., 209.

ownership to get rid of the system in which the property right belonged to the state.

It was intended to take a step on the way of capitalization and development but with the 1838 agreement, establishing industries in the Ottoman Empire became extremely difficult. The Ottoman statesmen did not realize how difficult it would be to try to establish an industry when this treaty was in force. These difficulties were the result of applying a 3% customs tax from the importation of Western goods, without considering the superiority of the Western industry, and without considering the direction of the development either agricultural or industrial.³⁷

Liberalism was the first economic thought to welcome the Ottomans when they opened their doors to Western ideas. For this reason, they perceived Europe's economic superiority as a result of liberal ideas, and since the beginning, liberalism had a pre-acceptance associated with success.³⁸

Even so, there were some opposing figures among the Ottoman statesmen against liberalism and free trade in the Ottoman Empire. One of these figures was Sadık Rıfat Paşa (1807-1857). Sadık Rıfat Paşa, as a statesman who had been a diplomat in Europe in 1830, opposed Urquhart liberalism with the idea that a Western economic structure could not be established without state intervention and role in the Ottoman Empire. He was the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna and was affected by Cameralism. He was also affected by Prince Metternich whom he was discussing the situation of the Ottoman Empire.³⁹ He made an assessment on economic and administrative issues based on his observations in Europe in his treatise called *Avrupa'nın Ahvâline Dâ'ir Risâle* (A Treatise on the Conditions in Europe, 1837). This work provided a new understanding to the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals.⁴⁰ Sadık Rıfat Paşa believed the necessity of the balance of trade in which exports were more than

37 Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan," 623-624.

38 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 198.

39 Ibid.

40 Deniz Taner Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy of Ottoman Modernity: Ottoman Economic Thought during the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012), 46.

imports (mercantile trade balance).⁴¹ The reaction that started against British liberalism in the West brought out protectionism. Sadık Rıfat Paşa was also trying to protect the Ottoman economy. In addition to the Cameralist influence on him, Niyazi Berkes argues that Palmerston also influenced Sadık Rıfat Paşa.⁴² Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), British Foreign Minister at that time, was one of the influential figures among the Ottoman intellectuals with his recommendation to the Ottoman Empire to have a state regulation in the liberalization process to which he gave his full support and achieved the signature of 1838 trade agreement.⁴³

A new channel opened for the spread of liberalism as a result of a tragic event. In 1840, two years after the trade agreement was signed, the first private newspaper began to be published as a result of a so-called accident. William Churchill (1796-1846) who was a trader in Istanbul and a representative of some British trade houses accidentally shot a child. The treatment of the man in response to the accident became a diplomatic crisis in the hands of Lord Ponsonby, the British ambassador to Istanbul at that time. Churchill was given a newspaper concession to keep him calm. *Ceride-i Havadis* (Journal of News) began to be published as a product of this event.⁴⁴ In the 1840s, through his newspaper, he started the long-lasting discussion of industry versus agriculture and supported agricultural development in the empire as a liberal, in accordance with the Urquhart's theses on the Ottoman economy.⁴⁵ He was trying to show that free trade would be even more beneficial by comparing protectionism with free trade policies through Armenian writers who had considerable knowledge of the economy and commercial affairs.⁴⁶

Reşit Paşa and his pupils, Ali Paşa (1815-1871) and Fuat Paşa (1814-1868) were the prominent figures who were determining the state policy in every aspect during the Tanzimat period. They were devoted liberals as it can be

41 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 217.

42 Ibid., 220.

43 Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan," 622.

44 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 331.

45 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 47-48.

46 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 331.

understood from the policies they followed. But there are some other sources that show their thoughts on economic issues. Ali and Fuat Paşas left testimonies when they died, the economic views of Ali and Fuat Paşas can be reviewed more clearly from them. Even if they made some recommendations against the liberal ideas, a deep support to liberalism can be seen in general in both of the testimonies written by the leading statesmen of the Tanzimat era.⁴⁷

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895), a colleague and contemporary of Ali and Fuat Paşas criticized their liberal ideas in various aspects in his book called *Tezâkir*⁴⁸, just as Sadık Rıfat Paşa who opposed liberal ideas of Reşit Paşa. He argued different theses contrary to Ali and Fuat Paşas' liberal and western-centered approaches.⁴⁹ He emphasized that the Ottoman Empire couldn't be westernized because there were differences between the Western and the Ottoman values and Islam was the main difference which was the cement of the Ottoman unity.⁵⁰

For him, prospering the country could be achieved through developing agriculture, industry and trade. He emphasized that the most important part of this trio was the development in trade. He argued that *laissez-faire* was the most secure way to develop trade in the Ottoman Empire. He recommended that there should be no restriction on the trade, especially via price regulation. He argued that free trade is proper to Islamic values and interpretations.⁵¹

But after noting his support to *laissez-faire*, he began to mention the side effects of the free trade policies adopted by the Ottoman ruling elite. He wrote that free trade policies were undoubtedly beneficial but the results in the Ottoman Empire after the adoption of the *laissez-faire* policies were disastrous. He noted that Ottoman artisans were ruined and the foreigners came and did business, used the free trade conditions to the fullest to exploit the resources of the empire. The number of foreigners doing business in the Ottoman Empire increased dramatically as the fame of the proper conditions to earn great

47 Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu* (Uygarlık Yayınları, 1982), 47-60.

48 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 207.

49 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 62.

50 Ibid., 63.

51 Ibid., 67.

fortunes just by benefiting from the privileges granted to the subjects of the Western countries spread. The capitulations hindered the development of the empire but the free trade and the mixed courts to deal with the cases of the foreigners made the problem even greater than the capitulations.⁵² His analysis of the conditions emerged after the adoption of free trade in 1838 is accurate to a great extent. He also criticized the external debt which began to be borrowed in 1854 and he argued that the money borrowed became a source of wealth for some bureaucrats and couldn't be spent for the development of the empire as it should be. He was a supporter of *laissez-faire* policies but the points to support his sympathy for protectionism can also be found. He can be considered as the vanguard of the protectionist ideas in the empire.⁵³

Even there were some differences in the interpretation of the conditions under the free trade policies, the Ottoman bureaucratic intellectual class agreed on liberal capitalism. But a new generation emerged, the Young Ottomans, with a new mentality as a byproduct of the reform period. They showed the first reaction against the Tanzimat policies and their direct economic observations appeared in their articles and poems. They argued that Tanzimat's development policy was both wrong and dangerous from political and economic aspects. The leading figures were Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and Ziya Paşa (1829-1880), but in the economic issues, Namık Kemal came to the fore.⁵⁴

Ideologically speaking, Namık Kemal was a defender of a liberal order with little government intervention.⁵⁵ But for the Ottoman case, he showed flexibility in his belief on liberal economic policies. According to him, free trade, which began in 1838, was normally a useful practice, which, in the Ottoman Empire, caused the country's economy and industry to collapse. Starting from *Tasvir-i Efkar* newspaper (Picture of Ideas), Namık Kemal wrote quite a few articles on the economic issues in *Hürriyet*, *Hadika* and *İbret* newspapers. In these papers, it is generally observed that the Ottoman agriculture, the situation of trade and industry, the tax rates, the problems related to the

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., 68.

54 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 335-336.

55 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 81.

budget, damages of the capitulations, internal and external debts, financial dependence due to the external debts, and so on are discussed.⁵⁶

According to Namık Kemal, the main reason for the Ottoman State to fall back even from Iran and Greece in the field of trade was the trade agreements made with the Europeans, especially the British. As long as there were privileged groups in a country, those who did not enjoy the privileges couldn't compete with those who enjoy them. Thanks to their exemptions, the Westerners, even in domestic trade, became the dominant actors, besides having great capital and knowledge. Hiding under the auspices of their embassies, they undermined domestic trade. The artisanship disappeared, the shops were closed down, and the owners began to enter the state services to make their living. When heavy taxes were put on the Ottomans, they fell into a situation where they would be hungry for day and night. As a result of Reşit Paşa's agreement to internalize the European trade in the Ottoman territory (1838), the Ottoman tradesmen and merchants were left helpless. He argued that a state that interrupts its relations with the world could not prevail, of course, but he emphasized that trade agreements deprived the Ottomans of compatibility and caused the collapse Ottoman indigenous industry.⁵⁷

The debt problem also became a point that the Young Ottomans criticized Tanzimat government, they claimed that the empire lost its economic independence.⁵⁸ Ziya Paşa thoroughly explained how the imitation of the West began after 1844-45, the expenditure of the palace were increased and extravagance became widespread. In the end, the Ottoman Empire faced with dramatic economic problems and an enormous public debt. During the Crimean War, the first external debt was received in 1854, as a result of Ali and Fuat Paşas' efforts. It became an unbearable burden on the shoulders of the empire.⁵⁹ Even if they brought criticism to the economic policies, the thought

56 Abdurrahman Siler, "Namık Kemal'in İktisadî Görüşleri," *Tarih Tarih*, accessed July 5, 2018, <https://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syf=352171&/-Namık-Kemalin-İktisadî-Görüşleri/-Yrd.-Doç.-Dr.-Abdurrahman-Siler->.

57 Ibid.

58 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 61-62.

59 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 39-40.

they represented was a political act rather than an economy based act.⁶⁰ The major case of the Young Turk movement was a political revolution, which would establish a law-based regime. This revolution was finally realized in 1876 with the union of the some of the statesmen and the Harbiye students when Abdülaziz (1830-1876) and the ruling circles around him faced with the outbreak of a great financial disaster.⁶¹

§ 3.2 The Emergence of the Ottoman Liberal Economic Literature

Parallel to these changes in the intellectual and economic spheres of the empire, the Ottoman economic literature emerged. A number of thinkers wrote books on economics to inform the people about the recently introduced science which was at the center of the age. It is correct to begin the Ottoman economic literature with Serendi Arşizen in the Western sense. Serendi Arşizen (1809-1873) rewrote Rossi's book in French. Aleko Suço also translated this book into Turkish in the name of *Tasarrufat-ı Mülkiye*.⁶² *Tasarrufat-ı Mülkiye*, which was the term for political economy in Ottoman Turkish at that time⁶³, is an adaptation of *Cours d'Economie Politique* (1840) written by Italian economist Pellegrino Rossi (1787-1848) by Serendi Arşizen and Aleko Suço. Serendi Arşizen, a physician and a former professor at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Imperial School of Medicine), wrote his book in French, taking Rossi's book as a model. Aleko Suço, a translator in the translation office, translated it into Turkish.⁶⁴

The second book was a translation of J. B. Say's *Catechisme de l'economie Politique* (1815) by Sehak Ebru (1825-1900) under the name of *İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil* (The Science of Political Economy).⁶⁵ The book was published in 1851-

60 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 335-336.

61 Ibid., 336.

62 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 260.

63 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 332.

64 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 49.

65 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 261.

1852 (H.1268).⁶⁶ The special feature of Sehak's book is that he based liberalism on a scientific level and showed it in a doctrine. In other words, Urquhart's liberalism was scientifically told in the Ottoman world at that time.⁶⁷

The agriculture versus industry debate, which first emerged in Churchill's *Ceride-i Havadis*, re-emerged on a more systematic and scientific ground with the emergence of the Ottoman economic literature. Whereas Arşizen defended industrialization in the development of the Ottoman economy, Sehak Ebru defended the idea based on the agricultural development. The various intellectuals who will be mentioned later were also divided between these camps but almost all of them foresaw a development within the liberal economic model.⁶⁸ The backbone of these two books are the same because of that the Italian-born Pellegrino Rossi, who was appointed as the Professor of Economics at *College de France* after Say, published his *Cours d'Economie Politique* in 1840, walking in the footsteps of Say, who arranged Adam Smith's ideas in a book.⁶⁹

Apart from these two books, a surprising work written by Charles Wells (1839-1917) who was an author of an anthology of the Ottoman literature, was mentioned by the economic historians. The name of the book is *İlm-i Tedbir-i Milk* (The Science of the State Administration). As it is noted by the prominent historians, in the introduction, he claims that it was the first economy book written in Turkish. According to Niyazi Berkes, the book predates Say's model and it is more or less an economic history book rather than an economics book as it can be understood from the main themes of the book. Niyazi Berkes noted that the book was written with very bad calligraphy, and a problematic Ottoman Turkish and it is clear that it is not the first economy book written in Turkish since the terms like *taksim-i amel* (division of labour) were used.⁷⁰

66 Ibid.

67 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 332.

68 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 288-293.

69 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 332.

70 Ibid., 332-333.

The first representative of the professional academic economist tradition in the Ottoman Empire was Mehmed Şerif Efendi.⁷¹ Mehmed Şerif Efendi wrote economic articles in Şinasi's *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (The Interpreter of Events) journal. Due to his intellectual closeness to Şinasi, Şinasi published his articles in his journal and presented the book he wrote.⁷² He was probably the first economist involved in the classical economics camp with a serious investigation and research spirit.⁷³

His articles on economics appeared in *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Mecmua-ı Fünun*. There is also a book called *İlm-i Emval-i Milliye* (The Science of National Assets) published from his course notes in 1863.⁷⁴ Mehmed Şerif Efendi was aware of the situation of the Ottoman economy after the free trade agreements. Cheap industrial products had occupied the Ottoman markets, the traditional industry collapsed, and the guild system was about to disappear. In response to this situation, he participated in the agriculture versus industry debate which started in *Ceride-i Havadis* and stressed that the industry should be developed. He advocated the idea that the development of the industry would also develop agriculture.⁷⁵ Mehmed Şerif Efendi's pursuit of the liberal school did not make him a strict *laissez-faire* advocate. He approached these issues scientifically and had not become a strict advocate of any thought.⁷⁶

A revival is seen in translations of economics book towards the end of the 1860s.⁷⁷ Benjamin Franklin's *the Way to Wealth* was translated into Turkish under the name *Tarik-i Refah* by Reşad Bey and published in Paris in 1869. The same book was translated by Bedros Hocasaryan in 1870 and published in

71 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 304.

72 Ibid., 302.

73 Ibid., 303.

74 Ibid., 304.

75 Ibid., 307-308.

76 Ibid., 311-312.

77 Ibid., 319.

Istanbul.⁷⁸ The most important feature of Reşad Bey's translation is that it defends the puritan work ethic by remaining faithful to the book, and attempts to disseminate the idea that labor is the main source of wealth.⁷⁹

The entry-level economic book written by Otto Hübner was translated into Turkish by Ahmed Hilmi Efendi in 1869 under the name *İlm-i Tedbir-i Servet* (The Science of Management of Wealth).⁸⁰ The book contains general information of classical economics which was written to teach them to the public.⁸¹

During the Tanzimat period, the Armenians dominated the field of economic thought and policies. They were more equipped than the Muslim Ottomans with knowledge of economics. At the same time, they owned a considerable amount of capital in the Ottoman Empire. Due to the Greek independence war, the Greek businessmen fell from the power for some time, whereas the Armenians who were accumulating experience and capital in mukataa, iltizam, mint works since the eighteenth century were brought to the important offices in the Tanzimat as directors of the economy. There were also those who were sent to Europe to study economics.⁸² Ohannes Efendi was one of the outstanding figures of the Armenians who got education in Europe.⁸³

With the 1860s, the Armenian economists began to take on the flag of liberalism. The Armenians, as a group that established relations with liberalism more intensely in theory and practice, brought up the liberal economists of the empire. The Armenians, especially from the Translation Bureau, formed a liberal tradition and their most prominent name was Ohannes Efendi (1830-1912) who later became a paşa. As an example, Ohannes Paşa was a student of Sehak Abru who translated J. B. Say's book.⁸⁴

78 Ibid., 320.

79 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 58.

80 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 321.

81 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 59-60.

82 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 333-34.

83 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 353-354.

84 Ibid., 281.

Ohannes Paşa returned to Istanbul in 1852 after completing his study in Paris. After his return, he occupied various important posts in the state structure.⁸⁵ While working in these positions, he came forward with his knowledge of economics and in the 1880s, he became the most important representative of the liberal economic view in the empire.⁸⁶ Ohannes' first article on economics which is called *İlm-i Servet-i Milel*, published in *Mecmua-i Fünun*. He became a professor of economics at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane* (Imperial School of Administration) in 1877 and stayed in this position for 20 years. He published an economics book called *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Principles of the Science of the Wealth of Nations) in 1880.⁸⁷ The name of the book can be summarized as Economics. The reason for the use of *İlm-i servet* (The science of wealth) instead of economics came from the name of the famous book of Adam Smith which was the starting point of the liberal economy.⁸⁸

In his book, he advocated that *laissez-faire* was the policy which best suited to the Ottoman Empire. He argued that the competition environment provided by free trade would increase the quality of the goods and the development of the industry in general. The results of the free competition in developed countries such as Britain proved the usefulness of this policy. He argued abolishing obstacles in front of the free competition and abolishing practices that would prevent free competition through monopoly practices like *yedd-i vahid*.

He argues that the state ownership of means of production poses a barrier to free competition.⁸⁹ He was against state intervention to the economy.⁹⁰ These points clearly show that he is a follower and a defender of classical economy. He argues that keeping prices at the natural level will be achieved

85 Ibid., 353-354.

86 Ibid., 355.

87 Ibid., 356.

88 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 88.

89 Sakızlı Ohannes, *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Dersaadet [İstanbul]: Mihran Matbaası, H. 1297 [1880]), 55.

90 Ibid., 56.

through free trade.⁹¹ He was against everything against free trade. He emphasizes the benefits of free trade and defends the elimination of barriers like internal customs. He claims that the idea of mercantilist trade balance will prevent free competition and trade and lead to wars.⁹² In other words, protectionist economic policies, which take the place of free trade and provide foreign trade balance, are shown as the reasons of wars. He says that protectionist policies are implemented with methods such as increasing customs taxes, protection of indigenous producers against foreign producers, subsidization and monopolization to increase the development of indigenous industry.⁹³ He mentions that this situation will lead to deviations from natural price levels and people will be compelled to buy the same goods with higher prices and less quality in order to develop a domestic industry. He argues that this situation will put the poor and the workers in the most difficult situation.⁹⁴

He argues that by adopting a Ricardian approach, countries can bring quality and cheap goods out of the country thanks to free trade, and thus they can provide the economic source of this trade by concentrating on the goods they are successful in producing. This also prevents unnatural sectoral imbalances caused by protectionist economic policies.⁹⁵

At this point, he argues that the British silk industry improved its development through free competition with an anecdote from the history of its development. British silk producers protested the removal of the protective customs tariffs but later developed themselves because they had to compete with the French silk industry.

He opposes the thesis that protectionism will provide for the development of the underdeveloped countries by exemplifying Spain and Portugal. According to him, the needs of the countries that have been left behind are science

91 Ibid., 170.

92 Ibid., 285.

93 Ibid., 286.

94 Ibid., 288.

95 Ibid., 291-292.

and capital. These can only enter the country in an environment where free trade is provided.⁹⁶

He opposes the thesis that free trade will hamper political independence. According to him, if two countries trade in the free trade environment, they can become interconnected, and the termination of the trade is at the expense of both countries. For this reason, free trade does not mean unilateral dependence.⁹⁷

Ohannes Paşa, who argues that protectionism will also make it difficult to import goods that the industry needs, argues that the development of the industry will be hampered in this respect too.⁹⁸ Ohannes' book is one of the first books on which the purpose of capitalization is based on the scientific framework of free trade rules. Ohannes systematized the voiced issues according to the economics of his time and argued that the only way to Westernization was passing through capitalization with free trade.

Ohannes' book became one of the main works of liberal economic thought in the Ottoman Empire and maintained this position for many years. However, the period in which the book was published also witnessed a change in the Ottoman economic thought. Criticisms against the liberal ideology found real spokesmen in this period and protectionist economic policies began to be defended by the Ottoman writers and threatened the dominant position of liberal economics.

96 Ibid., 298.

97 Ibid., 299.

98 Ibid., 300.

The Emergence of the Protectionism in Tthe Ottoman Empire and the Contributions of the Tatar Reformist Akyiğitzade Musa

As it was mentioned before, criticisms to the Tanzimat liberalism came from different intellectuals and groups but almost all of them remained in the circle of the liberal economics. From Sadık Rıfat Paşa to the Young Ottomans, different intellectuals argued that the free trade policies began to be applied as a result of trade agreements, primarily the Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement, caused the collapse of the Ottoman industry and prevented an economic development. This dissent became an argument of the political movement initiated by the Young Ottomans against the Tanzimat government which favored a liberal economic policy. As the Ottoman dependency to the Western economies was underpinned with the debts, it also became a major point for the opposition. During the Crimean War, the first external debt was received in 1854, as a result of Ali and Fuat Paşas' efforts.¹ Fourteen borrowing agreements were signed between 1854 and 1874, and the Ottoman Empire owed 5.3 billion francs, but the empire received 56.8% of these debts or 3 billion francs.²

1 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 39.

2 Ibid., 40.

In the 1870s, these problems were combined with political problems resulted in a catastrophic crisis. The Ottoman Empire collapsed economically and the debt instalments, which had to be paid, put the economy in a difficult position. The empire announced that it had halved its debt payments in 1875 and that it completely stopped its debt payments in 1876. The empire went bankrupt.³ When the Ottomans became unable to pay their debts, *Duyun-ı Umumiye* (The Ottoman Public Debt Administration) was established on August 29, 1881, in Muharram month, and for the collection of debts, the state finance was taken under control by the states that the empire was indebted.⁴ The debt crisis became more serious with the debilitating effect of the Long Depression which lasted from 1873 to 1896.⁵ The collapse of grain prices dramatically affected the Ottoman income which was based on agricultural exports.⁶ The 1873-1874 drought made the Ottoman agriculture worse and the result was the bankruptcy of the empire.⁷ The Long depression became a turning point in the global economy, protectionism appeared as an alternative to liberal economics and became a growing trend.⁸ The Ottoman Empire, with its bankrupt economy, also experienced an ideological shift under the reign of its new sultan, the Sultan Abdülhamid II.

In 1876, Abdulhamid II (1842-1918) was brought to the throne by the reform-minded statesmen like Midhat Paşa with the support of the Young Ottomans and the first constitution was proclaimed and the assembly was opened.⁹ Abdulhamid II, who exhibited a more autocratic tendency after he ascended the throne, suspended the constitution and closed the assembly under the pretext of the chaotic environment of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–

3 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 370.

4 Çavdar, *Türkiye’de Liberalizm*, 40.

5 Şevket Pamuk, “The Ottoman Empire in the ‘Great Depression’ of 1873–1896,” *The Journal of Economic History* 44.1 (1984):107.

6 Kılınçoğlu, “The Political Economy,” 43.

7 A. Mahfi Eğilmez, *Değişim Sürecinde Türkiye: Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Sosyo-ekonomik Bir Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2018), 29.

8 Kılınçoğlu, “The Political Economy,” 43.

9 Ibid., 66.

78.¹⁰He saw the global wave of liberalism as a threat to his reign. Abdülhamid II, who preferred a more conservative and traditional way of government, adopted an administrative approach that would shake the 40-year-long reign of the liberal thought. Even though, there was no change in practice due to the capitulations and the agreements, the effect of this was seen quite clearly in the intellectual circles. The idea of economic protectionism emerged in the minds of the Ottoman intellectuals under these conditions. At the same time, the economy became centered in Abdulhamid's regime.¹¹

Abdulhamid was quite different from Abdulaziz with his frugal attitude toward extravagancy. The Sultan, who had a very different temperament from his predecessors came to power during a financial crisis that resulted in bankruptcy and external financial control. In the course of time, he acquired both the theoretical and the practical knowledge about economic and financial issues.¹² He came to a point where he thought that the liberal economy could put the empire in a chaotic circumstance, and liberalism would drag the Ottoman Empire towards an inevitable destruction.

Aiming to liquidate the *laissez-faire* ideology, which he believed that it made the country's economy an open market, Abdülhamit removed Portakal Mikael Paşa and Ohannes Paşa who were teaching economics at *Mekteb-i Mulkiye-i Şahane* (Imperial School of Administration) from their posts.¹³ He established a strict control on the foreign publications and publishing activities by which he intended to mediate the spread of liberal thought in the country,¹⁴ and embarked on an education project to serve the development of the domestic industry.¹⁵ All these developments reveal Abdulhamit's opposition to the liberal economy.

10 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 23-24.

11 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 372.

12 Ibid., 371.

13 Ibid., 372.

14 Ibid., 373.

15 Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan," 628.

§ 4.1 Ahmed Midhat Efendi and the Ottoman Protectionism

The socio-economic and political circumstances, which Abdulhamit built upon the opposition to the liberal economics, created favorable conditions for Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1912) to propose protectionism in the field of economics, as an intellectual who thought that the country could only be developed with its own internal dynamics and preferred to remain cautious in the face of Westernization. Ahmed Midhat, opposed to *laissez-faire* policies since the beginning of the 1870s, placed himself in a position to establish the intellectual base of this change, as he began to realize Abdülhamid undertook the change on the political ground.¹⁶

Ahmed Midhat, one of the leading intellectuals of the period, was an intellectual who came forward with his educator personality. He was a person who translated over 200 books and articles, published *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (The Interpreter of the Truth), one of the most influential newspapers of his time, and published many works on various subjects.¹⁷ Economics was also among the subjects he wrote about. “He published four short books on economics and economy-related matters: *Sevda-yi Sa’y ü Amel* (The Passion for Effort and Labor, 1879), *Tesrik-i Mesa’î*, *Taksim-i Mesa’î* (Cooperation, Division of Labor, 1879), *Ekonomi Politik* (Political Economy, 1879), and *Hallü’l-Ukad* (Untying the Knots, 1890)”¹⁸

In terms of *laissez-faire* versus protectionism debate in the Ottoman Empire, *Ekonomi Politik* should be focused on to tell how Ahmed Midhat became the pioneer of the protectionist thought. As a matter of fact, with his work *Ekonomi Politik*, Ahmed Midhat, who openly declared the necessity of increasing the role of the state in the field of economy, emerged as the first figure proposing protectionist principles as a basis for an independent economic model. He used mercantilists' ideas and suggested protectionism as a solution for the Ottoman Empire. This book explains the idea that a national industry

16 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 373.

17 Kılınçoğlu, “The Political Economy,” 73-74.

18 Ibid., 74.

should be established and that a national bourgeoisie should operate the national economy.¹⁹ According to Ahmed Güner Sayar, although his ideas are parallel to the ideas of the German Historical School, there is no indication that he was aware of them.²⁰ However, Deniz Taner Kılınçoğlu argues, “Ahmed Midhat does not specify any reference for his ideas that resemble those of the German Historical School. However, a quick review of the main argument of one of the most prominent forefathers of this school, Friedrich List (1789–1846), provides us with clear evidence for a—direct or indirect—connection.”²¹ I agree with Kılınçoğlu’s argument by pointing the pages on which he mentioned that *laissez-faire* versus protectionism debate had led to controversy in Germany and that three-fourths of its parliament were opposed to free trade and decided to restrict and limit imports.²² He was quite aware of the discussions on *laissez-faire* and protectionism in Germany. *Ekonomi Politik* is a book composed of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s articles published in his newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. It was published in 1879, is one of the first books on economics published in the Ottoman world, but it is unlikely to be original. Already, in his introduction, he points out that he benefited from a book which was written by Charles de Brouckère, a politician and an economist in a copyright delegation under the patronage and custody of the King of Belgium. Although he benefited from the book only for planning purposes, he frequently quotes some parts of the book, but clearly expresses the fact that he does not agree with the writer. The work which Ahmed Midhat Efendi greatly benefited from was *Principes généraux d’économie politique*, published by the Belgian politician and economist Charles de Brouckère in 1851. It is also seen that the ideas of names such as Pellegrino Rossi, J. B. Say, Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi and Joseph Droz are influential. Mercantilist economists like Sully and Colbert were the ones he benefited from to build his protectionist thesis.²³

19 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 376.

20 Ibid.

21 Kılınçoğlu, “The Political Economy,” 83–84.

22 Ahmed Midhat, *Ekonomi Politik* (İstanbul: Kırkanbar Matbaası, H.1296, [1879]), 128.

23 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 377.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi's most important critique of liberal economics was the acceptance of economics as a natural science, and thus the idea that liberal economic rules would be applied everywhere and give the same results. He, who had begun to oppose the theses of liberal economists from the beginning of his book, defends the determination of economic policies by considering the level of development of a country. According to him, it is natural for authors from countries like Belgium to oppose protectionism and interventionism, because Belgium is a highly developed country. The authors of backward countries such as Italy also defend the concepts of protectionism and interventionism for the same reasons. He argues that the science of economics should not be regarded as a natural science. He claims that different policies should be applied in different places under different conditions.²⁴ Also, he states that the book does not follow exactly the same way of the source book, but it was written with respect to the conditions of the Ottoman Empire.

The liberal understanding based on Say and Rossi translations was generally accepted until the 1880s and was examined by adaptation methods. Ahmed Midhat Efendi opposed this idea just before the 1880s and argues for the necessity of developing an Ottoman economic thought. The correctness and the validity of these ideas were not questioned by the Ottoman intellectual until that time.²⁵

Ahmed Midhat described the basic concepts of classical economics in a way that the public could understand. He, as an intellectual who tried to tell the public that labor was the source of wealth, expresses a similar attitude in this book. Before he mentions his protectionist ideas in detail, he mentions the basic concepts of economics with his own interpretation. Ahmed Midhat Efendi argues that people should have full economic freedom by referring to the book he benefited. He defends that shopping, ownership and the attempt to increase wealth must be completely free.²⁶ At this point, his commitment to capitalist principles can be seen in general. Again, as he cites from the source book and as he himself agrees with, captivity for mankind does not mean remaining behind the four walls, and freedom is not just the opposite. Freedom

24 Ahmed Midhat, *Ekonomi Politik*, 4.

25 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 285.

26 Ahmed Midhat, *Ekonomi Politik*, 69-70.

to possess property and to exchange it in the way that they want is a complement to the nature and civil liberty of man. However, freedom of exchange, which should be a basic rule as people are restricted, has also been blocked until recently and it was still being blocked partly. Once upon a time, in most parts of Europe, the transfer and exchange of agricultural and industrial products were restricted.²⁷

Ahmed Midhat Efendi thought that exchange is a natural and reasonable activity at the same time. Because all kinds of wealth, of course, cannot be found everywhere. Due to differences in climate, mines and land forms, the prohibition of exchange and the embargo on different products arising from these sources are also against progress. In this context, he opposes to the practice of monopoly and does not find the allocation of the sale of the needs of the people to a person or a company appropriate.²⁸ He writes against monopoly views with an example of a monopoly of selling meat and says monopoly leads to high prices, which is at the expense of the people. When there is competition, meat prices will fall to normal levels.²⁹ Ahmed Midhat Efendi supports free competition and trade within the country but opposes the complete liberalization of imports and exports. In this context, he claims that Brouckère's views supporting import and export liberty were not appropriate for the Ottoman Empire.

Ahmed Midhat in his fourth chapter titled *Sanayi-i Dahiliyemizi Himaye* (Protecting Our Domestic Industry), in which he describes the principles of the protectionism, argues that the Ottomans had difficulty in obtaining a certain amount of wealth over the centuries through the history because of their military nation characteristics.³⁰

According to him, in the historical process, the empire experienced a short period of time in peace and left the conduct of trade to non-Muslims, and the Muslim Turks took over the military duties. For him, this was a reality contributed to the domination of the emerging economy by the non-Muslims and

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., 70-71.

29 Ibid., 71.

30 Ibid., 110-114.

foreigners. In addition to this, the fact that the lack of machinery in industrial production is shown as one of the reasons for the collapse of the national wealth of the Ottoman Empire.³¹

He describes the situation of the Ottoman Empire as follows: "In our case, old wealth has collapsed, and there are no means and resources for the production of the new wealth. We are really deficient in terms of art, agriculture and trade. The fez we wear on our heads, the shirt we wear in the back, the match we burn, in short, even the paving stone is imported as the tram company did. It is as though our industry has collapsed, now there is nothing left for the Muslim man who is forced to work as a boatman and a porter. There is a European farm with all its work machines and an Ottoman farm where everything is done with muscle force. If these farms will be brought side by side, the absence of agriculture is obvious. As for the trade, we are deficient too. When 'foreign trade' is mentioned in European economics and legal books, it is understood that first of all, the imports and the exports are to be carried out by their own subjects. We, on the other hand, have been invaded in all of our commercial fields, and not only foreign trade but also the most important part of our internal trade are in their hands."³²

Ahmed Midhat thoroughly describes his protectionist views under the title of *İmtiyaz ve Himaye* (Concession and Protectionism). Indicating that one of the primary functions of the state apparatus is to protect agriculture, industry and commerce, the writer puts forward the idea that the monopoly of foreign capital owners and operators should be abolished in this area to protect the national wealth.³³

Ahmed Midhat Efendi is convinced that the foreigners who were accustomed to being rich in the Ottoman country were the supporters of the *laissez-faire* policies, and would strongly resist protectionist thoughts.³⁴

Another point that Ahmed Midhat Efendi insisted on is that *laissez-faire* was in the interest of non-Muslim and Levantine groups. He wanted the poor

31 Ibid., 115.

32 Ibid., 114-116.

33 Ibid., 117-118.

34 Ibid., 118.

Turks to take their place in the economy again. At this point, he was in agreement with Abdulhamid³⁵ who wanted to strengthen the class of traditional Muslim producers on which he planned to base his rule against the enriched non-Muslim class as a result of liberal policies.³⁶

The use of the country's natural resources by foreigners was a major concern of the author. It was necessary to take some measures in order to prevent them from being converted into the means of capital accumulation for the foreigners until the necessary technical skills were gained. It was impossible to operate these resources locally with technical reasons. This measurement would prevent the economic exploitation of the country as well as provide the necessary impetus for the development of the national capital.³⁷

For Ahmed Midhat, the implementation of the protectionist measures on foreign trade was a reasonable solution. In this way, export of the Ottoman goods such as cotton, root paint, dried figs, raisins etc. could be produced by the Turkish merchants.³⁸ Another point that the author pays attention in the context of the protectionist policies is the damage inflicted by the economic privileges granted to foreign merchants under the name of the capitulation in the Ottoman Empire. Emphasizing that the inequality of competition created by the privileges resulted against the Ottoman domestic industry and trade, Ahmed Midhat stated that in countries such as France and England, protection was directed not to the foreigners, but to the protection of those who got citizenship but in the Ottoman Empire it was the opposite.³⁹

The author argues that the inequality of competition between the European countries and the Ottoman State was like the situation of "a clerk trying to reproduce the manuscript by hand in the face of a printing press that prints hundreds of thousands of copies within a few hours."⁴⁰

35 Sayar, *Osmanlı*, 374.

36 Ibid., 372.

37 Ahmed Midhat, *Ekonomi Politik*, 118-119.

38 Ibid., 120.

39 Ibid., 121.

40 Ibid., 123.

In this case, he argues that import and export liberty and commercial competition can only be possible between developed countries where they can compete with each other in craftsmanship and tradition, such as France, Belgium and England.⁴¹ The author explains it with an example that there was no competition practice without any preconditions even among those countries which had a balance between technical developmental levels.⁴² At the end of the fourth chapter, Ahmed Midhat proposes the protectionist method, which should be done in the face of the present situation. He proposes high taxation of foreign imports for the protection of the domestic industry and trade. However, he emphasizes that the amounts of the protectionist taxation should be determined in accordance with the needs of economic development. He argues that to acquire necessary skills and information for economic development, sending students to learn industrial techniques to European countries could be a way. In addition to this, granting a number of privileges for those who would come from Europe and perform their arts in the Ottoman territory could open another way to transfer the necessary information.

Ahmed Midhat's recommendations on the economic order of the Ottoman State were the beginning of a national system of thinking which takes the sociological realities, economic and cultural dynamics of the country into account. Ahmed Midhat didn't adopt classical economic thought, criticized Adam Smith's views and stated that Smith's principles could only be reconciled with Britain's reality. The writer suggested that even Britain did not implement free foreign trade policy and criticized the fact that such an economic policy, which was incompatible with the realities of the country, was adopted by the Ottoman economists. Ahmed Midhat argues that every nation should have its own economic thought and argues that an Ottoman economic thought consisting of the concrete conditions of the country's economy should be brought about as it was in the British and French economic thought.

The main element that Ahmed Midhat argues as a necessary economic policy is the opposition of liberalism that developed within the political conditions of Abdülhamit. As mentioned above, Abdülhamit's anti-liberalism was

41 Ibid., 127.

42 Ibid., 128.

strongly felt in the social and the economic spheres, liberalization has been regarded as a process that threatens the continuity of the multifaceted nature of the state. The first intellectual support given to the Abdulhamit's belief on liberalism came from Ahmed Midhat, who was one of the best representatives of intellectuals of the era. When Ahmed Midhat's intellectual products are examined carefully, it can be seen that he was closely related to Abdulhamit's closed society model. He was in full consensus with Abdülhamit.

After three years of publishing *Ekonomi Politik*, another Ottoman economist published a book titled *Mebahis-i İlm-i Servet* (Themes in the Science of Wealth) in 1882 which defends the application of protectionism in the Ottoman Empire. The writer was Menapirzade Mustafa Nuri Bey (1844-1906), who was a customs officer.⁴³ As it can be understood from the Western economists he mentioned in his book, he benefited from them to a considerable extent.⁴⁴ Nuri Bey criticizes considering economics as natural science and argues that peculiar factors of different countries need to be considered in economic policy-making, he clearly agrees with Ahmed Midhat at this point.⁴⁵ He advocates that the state has a right to intervene in economic affairs to direct them to the greater good of society.⁴⁶

He reveals his protectionist stance in the part he mentions external trade and puts forward ideas parallel to Friedrich List's infant industry thesis. He says that even *laissez-faire* policies seem to be applicable for economic development but it didn't work as it is expected in reality in the countries like the Ottoman Empire. For him, until a developed industry is established, it is better to apply protectionist measures to facilitate industrial development.⁴⁷

43 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 86-87.

44 Ibid., 91.

45 Ibid., 92.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 93.

§ 4.2 The Tatar Reformist Akyiğitzade Musa and His Contributions to the Ottoman Protectionism

Although the protectionist economy movement that Ahmed Midhat initiated in the Ottoman Empire progressed with the work of Menapirzade Mustafa Nuri Bey, the real breakthrough came about with the contributions of a Volga Tatar, Akyiğitzade Musa, who was a student of Ohannes Paşa. He came to the stage in the 1890s.

Ahmed Midhat's protectionism was based on a literal context. Since he did not receive education in the field of economics, his views on this subject are not scientifically based on the economics of his time. In his book *Ekonomi Politik*, he defends protectionism at a level the society could understand. Due to being a customs officer, Menapirzade Mustafa Nuri Efendi defends protectionist ideas partially in accordance with the economic rules of his era, but he did not fully situate it on scientific grounds in detail. However, Akyiğitzade Musa, as a representative of the Tatar heritage mentioned in the previous chapters, who found opportunities to improve himself academically to add to his training he got in the Russian Empire in the Ottoman Empire, levelled up the protectionist thought he adopted with the help of the nourishment provided by his ties with the Russian Empire and the Tatar society and left a solid foundation in this issue for future generations. In order to understand the level and the dimensions of his contribution as a reform-minded Tatar intellectual to the protectionist ideas in the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to mention his life and his works in detail.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, fleeing from Alexander III's autocracy and his Russification policies, the Turkic intellectuals have settled in the Ottoman Empire in increasing numbers. Azeris pioneered this migration movement and Crimean and Volga Tatars followed them. Some of them would play an important role in the political and cultural life of the Ottoman Empire. A large part of those who migrated to the Ottoman Empire had a high

level of education. Most of them studied at the Russian-Tatar secondary schools, gymnasiums or the Russian universities.⁴⁸

Most of these intellectuals were reform-minded Muslim who were the supporters of the Turkic Muslim enlightenment movement, *Jadidism*. Akyiğitzade, as a student of Gasprinskii, was among the *Jadidist* intellectual circle, supporting a reformist agenda. He became the leading figure in the Ottoman protectionist economists with his contribution to protectionism in the Ottoman Empire.

Akyiğitzade Musa was born in Kazan in 1865 (H. 1282).⁴⁹ According to İsmail Türkoğlu, his birth place was Çembar in Penza district⁵⁰ but in *Sicil-i Ahval* notebook, it was recorded as Kazan.⁵¹ His grandfather Altınbay Akyiğitzade was a soldier in the army of Tsar Aleksandr for a long time⁵² and his father Mehmetcan Efendi served in a state institution named *Davrenski Apeka* (a social welfare institution).⁵³ Musa Bey started his primary education at a madrasa in Maçalı village, where he learned basic religious information and Tatar language.⁵⁴ He later completed the Russian school in Çembar and gymnasium (high school) in Penza in 1884.⁵⁵ (In Hilmi Ziya Ülken's book it was in 1885) Due to the fact that his identity and social class, the universities that he applied for higher education rejected him.⁵⁶

Musa Bey, who lived in Kazan, Penza and Crimea between 1884 and 1888, worked at İsmail Gasprinskii's *Tercüman* (The Translator) newspaper.⁵⁷ At the

48 François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*. transl. Alev Er (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1986), 15.

49 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

50 İsmail Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* v.31 (Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2006), 213.

51 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

52 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

53 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 312.

54 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

same time, in 1885⁵⁸, he wrote a short novel called *Hüsameddin Molla* containing modern ideas which was not welcomed by the mullahs of the Tatar society. The hero of the story is an educated young man named Hüsameddin. Hüsameddin tries to prove himself struggles with the ignorant mullah of the village. In this story, it can be seen that how the Ottoman influence, especially Ahmed Midhat Efendi's novels have an impact on the story. The path opened in the literature by Akyiğitzade was followed by many other Tatar writers.⁵⁹

Because of the tension between him and mullahs, Musa Akyiğitzade came to Istanbul in 1888⁶⁰ with the encouragement and direction of İsmail Gasprinskii.⁶¹ He was accepted to the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane* with an *İrade-i Seniyye* (imperial order) in 1891⁶² and he graduated with an *aliyü'l ala* (honor) degree.⁶³ He knew Turkish, Russian and French according to Sicil-i Ahval notebook. According to Ali Çankaya, he knew Ancient Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, German, Russian and French and his hobbies were translating works from other languages to Turkish, and playing the violin.⁶⁴ After he graduated from the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane*, according to the information obtained from Sicil-i Ahval Notebooks, Musa Bey was appointed as a Russian language teacher in *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane* (Imperial Military School) on January 29, 1892, with a salary of 1000 kuruş.⁶⁵ İsmail Türkoğlu writes that he was also appointed as an economics teacher in the same school.⁶⁶ In addition to these duties, in the same year, on 13 February 1892, he was appointed as the book inspection officer in Galata Customs Inspection Office with 750 kuruş salary.

58 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 134.

59 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

60 Ibid.

61 Ülken, *Türkiye'de*, 312.

62 Ali Çankaya, *Son Asir Turk Tarihinin Onemli Olaylari İle Birlikde Yeni Mulkiye Tarihi ve Mulkiyeliler: Mulkiye Seref Kitabı* (İstanbul: Mars Matbaası, 1968), 468.

63 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

64 Çankaya, *Son Asir*, 469.

65 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

66 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

On April 13, 1893, he was appointed to the Sirkeci Customs to the same position and his salary remained the same.⁶⁷

Akyiğitzade's first book on economics is called *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadeği-i Ticaret ve Usul-ü Himaye* (Economics or the Science of Wealth: Freedom of Exchange and Protectionism). It was published in 1896 (H. 1314).⁶⁸ Musa Bey used the phrase *Azadeği-i Ticaret* (free trade) instead of *Serbest-i Ticaret* (free trade) in the title of the book because he was a Volga Tatar.⁶⁹ His second book, *Avrupa Medeniyetinin Esasına Bir Nazar* (A Glance at the Essence of the European Civilisation), was published in 1897.⁷⁰ In the book, the author tried to show that Islamic culture and civilization saved Europe from medieval barbarism by the virtue of the examples quoted from the works of Western writers.⁷¹

His *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat* (The Science of Wealth or the Science of Economics) was published in 1898 (H. 1316) and became a course book for the military students at *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane* for economics. He received fourth-degree Mecidiye medal for his success 1899.⁷²

After the second constitution was declared in 1908, the Ottoman press life entered a vibrant period. This period was a period when newspapers were published everywhere, customs were filled with printing machines, and newspapers reached readers without censorship. There was a significant increase in the number of periodicals in this freedom environment. The newspapers and magazines published in early 1908 were around 120, while only in the first seven months following the declaration of the constitution, 730 concessions were received for newspaper publishing.⁷³ In such an atmosphere, Akyiğitzade started to publish a newspaper called *Metin* (The Resolute), which he touched

67 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

68 Kılınçoğlu, "The Political Economy," 108.

69 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 175.

70 Musa Akyiğitzade, *Avrupa Medeniyetine Bir Nazar*, transcribed by S. Uysal (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Ankara, 1996), XV.

71 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

72 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9

73 Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi, Pozitif Yayınları* (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları 2006), 87.

on economic issues. *Metin* newspaper began to be published on August 11, 1908 (28 Temmuz 1324 Rumi). In the first issue of the newspaper, it was stated that it was established in the honor of the declaration of the constitution and it was going to be published on a daily basis. Akyiğitzade Musa was the director and the privilege owner of the four-page journal. The center of the newspaper was Çemberlitaş, Vezirhan. ⁷⁴ *Metin* newspaper had been published 32 times in total when it was closed on 11 September 1908 (28 Ağustos 1324). It merged with two newspapers, *Feyz-i Hürriyet* and *Tasvir-i Hayal*, just before its closing day.⁷⁵

Akyiğitzade, who met pan-Turkist ideas in Russia during his student years, was involved in the conversations of Ismail Gasprinskii about pan-Turkism and he was one of the founders of the Turkish Association founded in Istanbul in November 1908 under the leadership of Yusuf Akçura.⁷⁶

Akyiğitzade was dismissed from his duties in customs on 14 September 1909, from *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane* and additional duties in customs on 14 October 1909.⁷⁷ Tevfik Çavdar based his dismissal and closing of *Metin* newspaper on ideological differences between him, as a leading figure of the protectionist camp, and the important figures of the Committee of Union and Progress, Mehmed Cavid (1875-1926) and Hüseyin Cahit (1875-1957) who defended liberal economics. However, no sources were found in this regard.⁷⁸ On 16 January 1910, he was appointed as the district governor of Adilcevaz in Van province. Akyiğitzade, who later assumed administrative positions in Aydın, Humus and Çapakçur, returned to Istanbul in September 1916 due to an illness. On November 16, 1916, he was dismissed from the office.⁷⁹ Musa Bey's last administrative duty is the library directorate. Hilmi Ziya Ülken states that

74 Metin Gazetesi, Sayı:1, Tarih:13 Recep 1326/28 Temmuz 1324 (11 Ağustos 1908).

75 Metin Gazetesi, Sayı: 32, Tarih: 14 Şaban 1326/28 Ağustos 1324 (11 Eylül 1908)

76 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyiğitzade," 213.

77 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9.

78 Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Tarihi 1900-1960* (Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 2003), 33.

79 BOA, DH. SAİD, 63/9.

he was appointed as the director of the Katanov Library purchased from Russia⁸⁰, but Ali Çankaya argues that he was appointed as the director of the Süleymaniye Library. On 9 August 1923, by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, he had been appointed as the first director of the Süleymaniye Library.⁸¹ Musa Akyığıtzade died on September 6, 1923 at his home in Çengelköy, Bakırcıbaşı.⁸²

As it can be understood, he was an outstanding reformist figure even at the beginning of his writing career as a member of the *Jadidist* intellectual circles. When he wrote *Hüsamettin Molla*, as it was mentioned above, he was harshly responded by the conservatives of the Volga Tatar society. He moved to Crimea with Gasprinski to work and then with his encouragement, he moved to Istanbul to get a higher education. His character also showed itself in the Ottoman Empire and he wrote what he believed in a way he could tell at best. The result was the same, he faced resistance when he advocated an idea which was not welcomed by some others and he paid the prize. With his contribution, protectionism which was only advocated by Ahmed Midhat in a literary way gained a scientific ground. It was a big step for the development of the alternative ways for a struggling economy against the giants of the West.

Since he was the writer of two published books on economics, it is easy to track his ideas on economics in the Ottoman Empire. As a defender of protectionism, he wrote his abovementioned first book called *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadeği-i Ticaret ve Usul-ü Himaye* (Economics or the Science of Wealth: Freedom of Exchange and Protectionism) in which he echoed Listian ideas and sided with the protectionist camp against the dominant liberal camp.

At the beginning of the book, he argues that the discussion of protectionism versus *laissez-faire* was the most important economic debate of his time. In his book, he states that he will give information about these views and will continue to discuss it in the light of the aforementioned points.⁸³

80 Ülken, *Türkiye’de*, 313.

81 Çankaya, *Son Asir*, 469

82 Ibid.

83 Akyığıtzade Musa, *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadeği-i Ticaret ve Usul-i Himaye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, H. 1314 [1896]), 7.

He lists the theses of the defenders of *laissez-faire*. For *laissez-faire* defenders, protectionism prevents the development of international cooperation. Protectionism leads to the production of a product that cannot be produced in a place which is a futile effort. In addition, protectionism causes wars between nations. As opposed to *laissez-faire* policies, protectionism causes prices to increase, prevents enrichment, and causes the quality of goods to fall. It causes the accumulated capital to flow to the protected sectors. For Liberal economists, it refers to an out-of-date idea by equating it to mercantilism.⁸⁴

He responds to these arguments in the following way. According to Aky-ığitzade, it's wrong to see the whole world as a single market. People do not just act with economic worries, as Adam Smith claims. Concepts such as patriotism, religion, nationalism are influential in human behaviors. Protective economic policies can be applied if these factors are taken into account. Protectionism may reveal certain damages when first applied, but it causes the national industry to develop in the long run.⁸⁵

He argues that the thesis that protectionism causes international wars is wrong. He accepts that protectionist policies have a deteriorating effect in the international relation but he opposes the thesis that free trade prevents wars in this sense. He writes that Britain was fighting all over the world, even if it was the chief practitioner of free trade.⁸⁶

He argues that protectionist economic policies will raise prices at an early stage but fall over time due to the internal competition and that the initial price difference is the insurance cost of the country's industry. Increased burden due to customs is shared among all classes of the society including riches.⁸⁷

As for mercantilism, he advocates the thesis that there will be no accumulation of wealth in the case of imports are more than exports in a country. While accepting that the mercantilist trade balance theories were abandoned, he argues that this equilibrium was still valid if it was interpreted as a balance of external debt payments. Britain was an example of this. Regarding trade balance, in response to claims that the wealth increase even the imports were

84 Ibid., 7-14.

85 Ibid., 15.

86 Ibid., 16.

87 Ibid., 18.

higher than their exports in Britain, it was expressed that Britain's external receivables were more than borrowed money, interests coming from lent money were being used in industry, the goods were being transported effectively with marine transportation, and finally the lump-sum income was provided from the colonies. It is suggested that it is the right approach to base the debit-credit balance on the balance of trade, indicating that the trade deficit of this country was largely compensated through these sources.⁸⁸

He claims that there are four stages of development which are quite similar to Listian developmental stages. According to Akyiğitzade, every country passes through hunting, animal husbandry, agriculture, and industry periods. He emphasizes that the industry period cannot be described as a period of manufacture which excludes agricultural development.⁸⁹

Akyiğitzade Musa also discusses the comparative advantage thesis that classical economists defend. According to the Ricardian liberal approach, under the free trade conditions, every country should engage the product it best produces, and thus an international division of labor emerges.⁹⁰ Advocating that this theory is wrong, Musa argues that a country can develop its agriculture-based industry with agriculture and that it is meaningless to concentrate on only one sector.⁹¹ Under *laissez-faire* conditions, there would be a developmental difference between industrialized and agricultural countries. He defends the idea that the chance of the competition between industrialized and developing countries is also weak.⁹²

For him, it is true that there will be a flow of resources from sectors that are not protected to the protected sectors. For this reason, protectionism should be applied temporarily to the sectors in which a country is truly capable.⁹³ As it can be understood from this, Akyiğitzade emphasizes the temporariness of the protectionist policies. In general, the defenders of protectionist

88 Ibid., 20.

89 Ibid., 21.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid., 22.

92 Ibid., 23.

93 Ibid., 24-25.

economic measures have the idea that these policies are implemented temporarily for the industrial development as it is in List's "infant industry" thesis. Akyiğitzade says protectionist economic policies should be in reasonable terms.

As it was noted by Tevfik Çavdar in his book called *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu* (The Birth of Liberalism in Turkey) the most plausible argument of those against protectionism is that protectionism, which would lead to monopolization, was not fully met by Akyiğitzade.⁹⁴ He argues that there can't be a sector composed of one man; so, even under protectionist conditions, there will be a competition which pushes the prices down.⁹⁵ According to Tevfik Çavdar, it is worth noting that the same monopolization can be observed in the free trade environment over time.⁹⁶

In case of a problem in sales of excess goods produced by the sector which is protected, Akyiğitzade defends the thesis that it can get rid of this impasse by selling expensive goods to the domestic market and cheap to the foreign markets.⁹⁷ As can be seen, Akyiğitzade was aware of the disadvantages of protectionism and tried to find solutions to these situations within the framework of the economics of his period.

In the discussion of agriculture versus industry as a part of protectionism versus *laissez-faire* debate, it is also discussed whether an agricultural country should always remain an agricultural country or not. In this regard, Akyiğitzade argues that agricultural countries will be dependent on industrial countries. For this reason, only the growth of the agricultural sector will not help in the process of getting rid of dependency. He is against the mutual dependency theory that Ohannes defends. Ireland and India are mentioned as the examples for the dependency thesis, both of these countries were dependents of Britain industry.⁹⁸ Çavdar says in his aforementioned book that in the Ottoman Empire, the issue of economic dependency was first and foremost

94 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 179-180.

95 Akyiğitzade Musa, *İktisad yahud İlmi-i Servet*, 25.

96 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 179-180.

97 Akyiğitzade Musa, *İktisad yahud İlmi-i Servet*, 26.

98 Ibid., 28.

handled by Akyiğitzade Musa since he elaborates reasons of the economic dependency of the Ottoman Empire to the West on a scientific basis.⁹⁹

He explains the disadvantages of concentrating only on agriculture as follows. If the soil is heavily cultivated, the fertility decreases.¹⁰⁰ The prices of agricultural products are more dependent on the international market. For this reason, events in another country affect the price of the products.¹⁰¹

He was also against the social reformist approach to the problems of the empire within the free trade policies. The fact that encouragement of education, transportation, and the development of the industry do not achieve the desired success within *laissez-faire* conditions shows that protectionism is necessary as an instrument to achieve development, according to Akyiğitzade Musa.¹⁰² Protective measures are needed to compete with the Western economies with a developed and old-established industries.¹⁰³

Under these conditions, free trade only serves the Western industrialized countries. According to him, the advanced Western countries came to these positions with the protectionist economic policies. He argues that a period of protectionist economic policies must be applied in order to follow a true free trade policy in the future.¹⁰⁴

Akyiğitzade also mentions the issue of exports of raw materials and exports of manufactured goods. He argues that raw materials must be converted into finished goods and sold.¹⁰⁵ This is called *Himaye-i Makule* (moderate protectionism) which is a point which was emphasized by List in his aforementioned book. According to Akyiğitzade, *Himaye-i Makule* or moderate protectionism means that a temporary protectionist policy to develop a certain industry. He gives the development of British textile industry as an example.¹⁰⁶

99 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 181.

100 Akyiğitzade Musa, *İktisad yahud İlmi-i Servet*, 30.

101 Ibid., 31.

102 Ibid., 32.

103 Ibid., 33-34.

104 Ibid., 34.

105 Ibid., 38.

106 Ibid., 38-39.

He mentions the points that should be paid attention to in the application of the protective measures in the rest of the book. He argues that protection must be applied to the industries for the general benefit of society. Implementation of a protectionist policy to create production zones can be a measure to help to increase the pace of development. For him, protectionism is a way to maximize general knowledge and skills by being freed from the idleness caused by the free trade rules. He says, "Protection method is not a concession, but that a nation is being trained to improve its productive power."¹⁰⁷ According to Çavdar, the point at which Akyiğitzade leaves the List is that he does not only support the development of the industry but also a total development.¹⁰⁸

Akyiğitzade's second book on economics was *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat* (The Science of Wealth or The Science of Economics) was the official course book of *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane*. In the beginning, until the page 23, Akyiğitzade mentions the evolution of economics from Ancient Greeks till his time. In this part, he shows his protectionist ideas with some anecdotes. Even, he claims that Smith would be disappointed to see the current picture as a result of free trade because the competitive system he offers to improve industry and trade makes the rich richer, the poor poorer.¹⁰⁹

He states that in the Ottoman economic publications, Adam Smith's free trade theory is strongly opposed. He states that the Muslim writers especially Ahmed Midhat argues that the free trade policy is to be applied according to the country's level of development, and supports the promotion of trade with a mercantilist mentality and underpins his argument with the examples from Colbert's France and other similar examples in his book called *Hallü'l-Ukad* (Untying the Knots). He mentions that the Ottoman writer Ohannes Efendi states that he fully enshrines the rule of international trade freedom in his *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Principles of the Science of the Nations), while German economist List argues protectionism is better for a less developed

107 Ibid., 48.

108 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 186.

109 Akyiğitzade Musa, *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, H. 1316, [1898]), 13.

country. He claims that List confesses that he believed in free trade but later he realized that German industry couldn't compete with British industry due to the application of the free trade. He changed his previous idea and stated that he is against free trade. According to him, these disputes among scholars show the relativity of the rule of economics according to the place and time.¹¹⁰

Just before the part in which he mentions the definition of economics, he mentions the method he uses throughout the book and indicates that Smith and his followers apply deduction as a method. On the contrary, he argues that it is also necessary to apply induction which means that he uses the historical explanation method. The author defines economics as "a science that deals with the human efforts for the purpose of procuring material needs."¹¹¹

The author, who classifies needs as material, spiritual and moral needs, explains the increasing and diversifying needs by relating it to the level of development of civilization. While comparing the elephant and wolf samples from the animal kingdom, he suggests that the physical superiority of the elephant leads to a greater need than the wolf, while the monkey's needs are more than all other animals because of their higher level of intelligence. It can be seen that the multiplication and diversification of needs are connected to two elements, one physical and the other mental or spiritual.¹¹²

He states that wealth is both material and spiritual, that there are spiritual needs such as "magnanimity, trust, peace and tranquility"¹¹³ in addition to material assets in nature. He argues that, unlike the classical understanding of wealth, elements other than physical assets must be regarded as essential elements of wealth and in the production of wealth.¹¹⁴ The writer, who sees all causes and consequences leading to the production of wealth as important factors, states that the essence of the industry is the changing form and relo-

110 Ibid., 15.

111 Ibid., 21.

112 Ibid., 26.

113 Ibid., 25.

114 Ibid., 31-32.

cation as a result of labor. But he states that additional value is created by producing knowledge, thought and service with labor that is spent on human beings.¹¹⁵

Akyığıtzade Musa puts science at the center of his civilization definition, and the development of tools, institutions that facilitate settlements and security like regular roads, communication instruments are considered as the basic elements of civilization. Based on these assumptions, the author discusses whether the basic element of civilization is industrial or scientific. As a result, he argues that the founding element of civilization is science since sciences such as mathematics and geometry produce industry and civilization.¹¹⁶

He states that studies on spiritual sciences, natural sciences and philosophy contributed to the development of civilization by directing people to mental sciences and experimental investigations. Although the author highlights the importance of knowledge and thought (spiritual sciences and philosophy), these values are generally related to industry. He also states that they form the basis of the formation of civilization as the basic elements directing visible physical developments. At this point, the writer centering on technical-physical developments in the definition of civilization is giving a place to the nature of knowledge and spirituality as the producer of material civilization. In this respect, he stays within the concept of modernist civilization perception and definition.¹¹⁷

He added 34 pages on protectionism in his first book between pages 145 and 166 as a part to mention protectionism and *laissez-faire* discussion. As a course book for the students at *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane*, protectionism apparently was held above the *laissez-faire* policies which are argued to be hindering the Ottoman economic development. Rest of the book was about some other concepts of economics.

In addition to the books, he also propagated his economic vision by publishing a newspaper which was mentioned above. The name of the newspaper was *Metin* (The Resolute) which was to be published on a daily basis as it was

115 Ibid., 33.

116 Ibid., 36-37.

117 Ibid., 38.

mentioned above. Later, the newspaper was united with other two newspapers, *Feyz-i Hürriyet* and *Tasvir-i Hayal*, just before its closing day and formed a newspaper called *Üç Gazete* (The Three Newspapers).¹¹⁸

The economic issues that are handled in *Metin* are mainly on the question of how to use the Ottoman economic geography more efficient to produce more income. In the newspaper, the income-expenditure imbalance was pointed out as the main reason for the Ottoman economic crisis. According to the newspaper, the measures taken to get rid of the imbalance were superficial. The increase in taxes and reducing expenditure would not have any long-term consequences. From this point of view, the situation of the economy was tried to be depicted by making a comparison between the Ottoman budget and the budgets of some European states. The budgets of the states such as England, France and Germany were more than 150 million francs, and the budgets of Italy, Spain and Belgium, which were too small compared to the Ottoman Empire, were more than the Ottoman budget.¹¹⁹ It was stated that closing the budget deficit is the most important job to be done, while emphasizing that there is no problem to be solved by reducing expenditures and increasing taxes. The solution was clear for *Metin* newspaper: Increasing agricultural production as a financial source of economic development. The economic geography and human resources of the Ottoman Empire were also suitable for agricultural production. "The wide and fertile plains, valleys, mountains, large forests, small rivers, straits connecting the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, beaches and gulfs in the Gulf of Basra, natural harbors, natural beauties of the Ottoman Empire" were shown as the sources of income.¹²⁰ As it was mentioned above, the agro-industrial development was promoted by Akyiğitzade, using the Ottoman geography for such a development is naturally to be shown as a cure for the Ottoman economic problems.

As an economist, Akyiğitzade puts protectionism on a systemized basis by using an argumentative approach which discusses the arguments of the *laissez-faire* supporters and the protectionists, and in the end, by disproving the

118 Balcı, *Two Versions*, 59.

119 "Hayatımızın Ruhu Umur-ı Maliyedir," *Metin Gazetesi*, Sayı: 24, Tarih: 6 Şaban 1326/20 Ağustos 1324 (3 Eylül 1908)

120 Ibid.

liberal theses on the external trade, he proves that protectionism or in Ottoman Turkish *Usul-i Himaye* is the only way to get rid of backwardness and develop a national economy based on national industry which is to be co-developed with the agriculture.

As Niyazi Berkes emphasized that his understanding was from a different tradition since he came from the Russian Empire.¹²¹ As it can be seen in the first chapter, the Volga Tatars experienced a dramatic transformation in a rapidly developing empire. They established their economic zone, a bourgeoisie operating in it, and a cultural zone and the trade routes connecting these cultural and economic zones to the Volga region by benefiting from the changing conjuncture. In the second half of the nineteenth century, when they saw that their cultural and economic domains were brought under threat of the Russian modernism, they adapted themselves to the new conditions and developed a national consciousness, a reform movement and economic thoughts to protect what they got in the empire. As a member of Volga Tatar community, Akyığıtzade posed a different model of intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. In general, Volga Tatar intellectuals were superior in both economic information and action compared to the Ottoman Turks as a member of trading, burgeoning bourgeois nation.¹²²

Before he came to the Ottoman Empire, he got educated in the Russian institutions like the Russian school in Çembar and the gymnasium in Penza.¹²³ Therefore, his level of Russian was very good to follow the development in the Russian intellectual circles. As it can be seen in the first chapter, Kazan was one of the cultural capital of the Russian Empire since one of the first universities in the empire was established in the city. Although most of the Tatars couldn't study at Kazan University, an interaction emerged by way of Tatar intellectuals who learnt Russian and had a contact with the university. The first Western ideas were conveyed with this connection. As Vincent Barnett writes that in the second half of the nineteenth century, Kazan University also became a center of developing the science of economics where the German Historical School, therefore protectionism, became quite well-known. Due to the

121 Berkes, *100 Soruda*, 340.

122 Ibid.

123 Türkoğlu, "Musa Akyığıtzade," 213.

developmental parallelism between Russia and Germany, the German Historical School found supporters among the Russian intellectuals.¹²⁴ In such a cultural environment, Tatar intellectuals could have a familiarity with the ideas of German Historical School.

Russian knowledge of Akyiğitzade helped him to keep his eyes on the economic development in Russia. In his course book called *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat* (The Science of Wealth or The Science of Economics), he mentions that the Russians applied protectionist trade policies as opposed to British free trade policy to give examples what is free trade policy and protectionism.¹²⁵ As it can be seen that he was aware of the Russian economic policy at that time. By interpreting this fact from a different perspective, Zafer Toprak mentions that he was affected by the Russian socialist literature¹²⁶ in his systemization of protectionism along with the Listian ideas.

The book of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, defending protectionist economic policies, and the book of Ohannes Paşa, defending the liberal economy, were published in the same years (1880-1881). In this respect, the opposing *laissez-faire* advocate of Akyiğitzade was Cavid Bey, who would be the finance minister in the future. Cavid Bey carried the liberal flag even further with his 4-volume book called *İlm-i İktisat* (The Science of Economics) published in 1900.¹²⁷ Mehmed Cavid Bey was an economics teacher at the Teacher Training College at that time.¹²⁸ As opposed to Akyiğitzade, he was against even the smallest intervention in the economy by the state.¹²⁹ He opposes the thesis of trade balance as one who advocates of liberal economics.¹³⁰

As it was mentioned before, the ideological differences between Akyiğitzade and Cavid bey became a source of discontent according to Tevfik Çav-

124 Barnett, *A History of Russian Economic Thought*, 33.

125 Akyiğitzade Musa, *İlm-i Servet veyahud İlm-i İktisat*, 14.

126 Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İktisadi Düşünce," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 3 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 636.

127 Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*, 174-175.

128 Ibid., 124.

129 Ibid., 134.

130 Ibid., 158.

dar. After the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) took over the government, Cavid Bey became an effective political figure in the CUP governments, and eventually, he became the finance minister of the empire where he could hinder the activities of Akyiğitzade as an intellectual figure propagating protectionism. The fact that Akyiğitzade later served as an economics professor at *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane* provided some clues about how the military intelligentsia of the 1900s was equipped in terms of economic thoughts. It is highly possible that he influenced the leading cadre of the Republic of Turkey including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk because he was on duty at the time when Mustafa Kemal and the other prominent figures of the republic were students at *Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane*.¹³¹

131 Ibid., 174-175.

Conclusion

In my master thesis, I tried to show the Tatar influence in the formation of the Ottoman protectionism by mentioning the emergence of the Tatar identity and trade culture which were quite effective on the emergence of the *Jadidist* approach to the economic issues and the *Jadidist* effect on the development of the Ottoman economic thought to provide a detailed analyses of the subject.

The Tatars who were the successors of the Turkic people who settled in the Volga region since the 4th century had a culture interwoven with the commercial activities since the region was a center of intercultural trade. When they were subjugated by the Russians who were trying to control the region to control the trade routes, their role in the trade routes diminished significantly. Under the Russian rule, they were forced to convert to Christianity, those who refused were punished and those who converted were rewarded and incorporated into the Russian system. The Tatar social stratification collapsed as a result of the restrictions and confiscations applied as punishments and the Muslim Tatar nobility began to transform themselves to merchants in order to survive under the Russian rule. In the seventeenth century, a Tatar merchant class re-emerged after the Russian oppression was alleviated. This merchant class formed a base for the Tatar bourgeoisie who emerged after Catherine II formed a productive cooperation with the Tatars to stabilize the Kazakh and Kyrgyz steppes and to spread the Russian influence in the East via the Tatar

merchants who had access to the regions in the East with the help of their cultural and religious ties. Starting from the late eighteenth century, a Tatar economic and cultural revival happened as the Tatars dominated the trade between the Russian Empire and Central Asia. As the Tatar economy revived, the cultural ties with the Central Asian cultural capitals increased. Catherine II also created a system similar to the Ottoman *Millet* system and provided a mediation distance for the Muslim Tatars to end the insurgencies in the region. The Tatars who had lost most of its Islamic heritage since the sixteenth century, began to import the religious understanding and education of Bukhara and Samarkand. These were the sources of the Tatar cultural revival.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as a Tatar bourgeoisie class began to emerge, the Bukharan understanding of Islam was criticized by the Tatar intellectuals because it didn't meet the needs of a developing bourgeois nation. A Tatar religious reformation movement began with this critical approach. The Tatar reformists proposed a new religious understanding based on *ijtihad* and warned about the need for a new Tatar education system to adapt the new conditions in a rapidly developing world.

The Volga region also became a center of the modernization reforms. The Russian Empire founded western style schools starting from the late eighteenth century with the foundation of a gymnasium. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Kazan University and a publishing house were opened. With these institutions, Western ideas began to pour into the region. The Tatars who were economically and intellectually developing were also exposed to the modern ideas and the Tatar reformists began to adopt them.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the relation between the Russian authorities and the Tatars began to deteriorate. The nationalist movements who threaten the Russian rule showed its face in various insurgencies. The Russian ruling elite began to take a defensive approach to any kind of national movement and the Tatar cultural and economic movement also began to distract them. The Russian merchants who were confined in the mainland Russia were also complaining about the Tatar merchants and these complaints became sources for the Russification policies began to be applied in the second half of the nineteenth century.

After the defeat in the Crimean War in 1856, the Russian ruling elite embarked on an extensive modernization program which began with the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1861. A movement of industrialization, expansion, centralization and assimilation began to underpin the Russian rule. The Tatars also became the target of this movement. As the Russian nationalism began to be effective in the Russian Empire, the Tatars were marginalized culturally and economically. The Russian ruling elite came up with an education program to Russianize the Muslim Tatar community. With the beginning of the industrialization movement, the Tatar businessmen who had workshops equipped with old technology began to lose their economic power. Industrialization also prompted a Russian expansion into Central Asia. This weakened the Tatar domination in the Central Asian trade. *Jadidism* appeared as a solution to the Tatars' problem with the Russian modernization. To counter the Russian education program, the Tatar intellectuals formed an education program called *Usul-i Jadid* and the name *Jadidism* emerged from the movement. Jadidism was turned out to be a general enlightenment movement of the Tatar intellectuals which later spread to the other Muslim groups in the empire. For the economic crisis that the Tatars faced with, the *Jadidists* tried to change the Tatar economic understanding which already began to change with the development of the Tatar bourgeoisie. They spent effort to form a modern Tatar economic thought by benefitting from the Russian modernization, and in the end, an intellectual class who had a deep understanding of economics came out with a national perspective.

Akyigitzade was one of these intellectuals who had a deep understanding of economics. He came to the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and brought the *Jadidist* approach to the economic issues. He made a serious contribution to the development of the Ottoman protectionism. The Ottoman economics was dominated by the liberal thought which was led by the non-Muslim economists who were the members of the ethnic groups who benefited most from the free trade policies of the Ottoman Empire by their commercial ties with the West. The Ottoman Muslim economists had a discomfort with free trade but they still thought that liberalism was the recipe of the economic development. An alternative view came out with Ahmed Midhat Efendi's works in which he defended a protectionist economic

approach in accordance with the conservative political conjuncture under the Abdulhamid II's rule. However, he defended his views on a mercantilist view with a literary technique. Later on, Akyiğitzade as a *Jadidist* intellectual took the protectionism in hand differently with references to the economics of his time. His *Jadidist* perspective provided a successful adaptation of the modern protectionist thought to the Ottoman economics. His nationalist perspective on the economic issues might have sowed a seed of a national economics understanding among the elites of the Ottoman Empire since he was a lecturer of economics at *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (Imperial Military School).

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