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By-elections in the 1908-1912 Ottoman Assembly of Deputies

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Abstract

The 1908 Assembly of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), which opened on December 17th 1908 after the proclamation of the second Constitutional Monarchy, witnessed a colorful parliamentary life. While the things happened in this assembly created the first examples in terms of the democracy adventure of Turkey, the applications to be performed or the ongoing ones later served as a model for the Turkish Republic. Particularly the things that happened in the assembly after 1910 have the characteristics of setting an example for the following periods. The Assembly of Deputies in the Ottoman State, which opened in 1908 after a long period of thirty years, had a solemn opening ceremony on December 17th. The opening ceremony was prepared days before by considering even the smallest details, and the ones who would attend the ceremony, the places where the invitees would stand and the marches to be sung were all determined. Many domestic and foreign viewers came to the opening ceremony to which Sultan Abdulhamid II also attended and due to the crowd, there were no vacancies left in the hotels and inns in Istanbul. Therefore, many mosques and schools were assigned to the visitors as places to stay. 230 deputies were present at the opening ceremony of the 1908 Assembly of Deputies, where 281 deputies were elected. 281 deputies were elected as members of the 1908-1912 Assembly of Deputies and about 324 different deputies took part in the Assembly during the four working periods. In this study, within the scope of the statistical information, we will lay emphasis on the 43 deputies that differed. Before proceeding to the by-elections, it would be beneficial to emphasize the election system in the Ottoman State and the working period of the Assembly of Deputies in this period in order to better understand the subject matter.

Keywords: Selection; By-elections; Ottoman Parliament; deputy; 1908; II. Constitution.

Introduction

The 1908 Ottoman Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), which was inaugurated on 17 December 1908, in the wake of the proclamation of the second Constitutional Monarchy, became a scene of a colorful parliamentary life. In the years to follow, whereas the occurrences that took place in this assembly became the prototypes –from the perspective of Turkey’s democracy adventure-, the applications, which were performed or intended to be performed, constituted a model for the Turkish Republic. In particular, the happenings, which occurred in the assembly after 1910, illustrated an example for the following periods.

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In the Ottoman State, after a long period of thirty years, the inaugural ceremony of the Ottoman Parliament, which re-opened on 17 December 1908, was quite solemn. By considering even the smallest details, such as the ones, who would attend the ceremony, the places where the invitees would stand and the marches to be sung, days before the opening ceremony, all arrangements were madeⁱ. Due to the presence of a large number of native and foreign viewers, who came to the opening ceremony, to which Sultan Abdülhamid II also attended, no vacancies left in the hotels and inns in İstanbul. Hence, quite a few mosques and schools were allocated to the visitors to sojourn. 230 parliamentary members were present at the opening ceremony of the 1908 Ottoman Parliament, where 281 parliamentary members were elected.

281 parliamentarians were designated to the 1908-1912 Ottoman Parliament, and throughout 4 working periods 324 different parliamentary members took part in this parliament. In this study, within the scope of the statistical information, we will lay emphasis on the 43 parliamentarians who differed from others. Before analyzing more closely the by-elections, so as to understand the subject better, it is useful to dwell at some length on the pooling system in the Ottoman State and the working-period of the Ottoman Parliament in the time span we examine.

Election system in the Ottoman State

The election system implemented in the Ottoman State was a two-stage election system. This system was also used during the Republican Period –until the 1946 elections. 1908 elections were held in accordance with two statutes and one regulation, which were in force. These were, the 1876 Constitution, and the Electoral Law, as well as the regulation, which was concerning the application of the Electoral Law of 2 August 1908 (20 July 1324). The Constitution's clauses from 65 to 70 included the decrees that were related with elections.

Thereby, the 65th clause stated that for every 50.000 males, one parliamentarian would be elected and the 66th article accentuated that the elections would be conducted by secret ballot. In addition to this, the 67th clause of the Constitution stipulated that, one person could not held deputyship and official post simultaneously, and hence, in case of being elected as parliamentarian, was supposed to resign from his/her official position.

Apart from these, the 68th article mentioned people, who could not be elected as parliament member. Accordingly; the non-Ottoman citizens, people who were under the auspices of a foreign state, people who were under 30 years old, the ones who were under the service of someone else during the election, people who were imprisoned and felt from esteem due to their bankruptcy, people who were well-known with their immorality, the guilty, the ones whose punishment was decided and was not revoked yet, who were deprived of their civil rights, and people who claimed foreign citizenship could not be parliamentarian. In the elections that were held four years later, besides the provision that underlined the importance of knowing Turkish, the stipulation which made emphasis on “reading Turkish and writing Turkish insofar as it's possible” was added. Moreover, whilst the 69th article resolved that the elections would be held in every four years, the 70th clause of the Constitutions denoted that the elections would begin at least 4 months prior to November (*Tesrin-i Sam*), which indicated the opening date of the parliament.

When these clauses are taken into consideration, apparently, there was no article regarding the military service. However, the jurists of the era supported the idea that, as in the Constitution the officers were also regarded as soldiers, and for this reason in order to become a parliament member, by all means, the military personnel had to resign from their military service. As evidence to this idea, they revealed the legislation which was enacted by the parliament in its first annual meeting – concerning the soldier-parliamentarians.

The elections would be two-staged. All Ottoman citizens who met the conditions of being a voter were accepted as the primary voters. The people who could not be a primary voter were also mentioned in the 11th clause of the Law. In reference to this, people who were not over 25 years old, who were deprived of their civil rights, the ones who claimed to be a citizen of a foreign state or, - meant to be a citizen of a foreign state, who held a temporary privilege of a foreign state, who were

sentenced for bankruptcy and had not yet been rehabilitated, the people whose political rights were decided to be restricted and the people who did not pay taxes, -no matter low or high-, directly to the government would not be primary voters. In order to have their names recorded on the notebooks, along with these aforementioned provisions, the stipulation of staying in the same place of residence for one year (Clause 5), had to be added to the list for these electors. As a rule, it was grounded that every 500 primary voters would determine one secondary voter.

Implementation

The elections of secondary voters (*Müntehib-i Sani*) would be conducted in the centers of provincial subdivisions (*kaşa*) and subdistricts (*nahiye*). The electoral departments would be formed in accordance with their sizes, by bringing the villages and quarters, which were situated away from each other. The voting procedure would be started from the most remote village, and 300 primary voters would vote everyday. The voters would be invited according to the quarter or village and there would be a priest, a rabbi or a village headman (*muhtar*) who would lead them. The board dealing with ballot boxes would give each voter a ballot paper sealed on the back and demanded him to come back one or two hours later. In the wake of registering their names, all voters would gather at the determined time and following the imam's and priest's prays for the Sultan, the ballot papers would be put into the ballot box (Clause 34). The voting procedure would continue in this way, however the voter, who came after all his village people voted, would not be able to vote (Clause 37).

A special article was prepared for İstanbul Elections as in 1877, thereby Şehremaneti was regarded as the provincial centre, its municipalities were regarded as branch and the places within the municipal borders were regarded as electoral departments. Other methods would be the same as those applied in Sanjaks (clause 83). In reference to the electoral law, it was envisaged to hold the elections in the provincial subdivisions (*kaşa*) and subdistricts (*nahiye*). However, in most places of the imperial lands, there had been no formed subdistrict as administrative unit yet. Hence, the Ottoman Government tried to get rid of this shortcoming by issuing the "Regulation, Concerning the Application of Electoral Law"ⁱⁱ. By considering their geographical proximity, temporary electoral departments consisting of four or five villages would be formed in the places where no subdistrict was organized. Several problems, arising from both the obscurities in the law code and incomprehension of the Electoral Law well, were faced during the application of this Electoral Law. The stipulation, which laid the condition of paying tax -no matter low or high-, was not clear enough and seemed to be an open-ended issue. Therefore, the Ministry of Interior was obliged to make explanatory statements about the matter.

Christian and Jewish citizens asked whether or not those who paid "the military exemption tax" (*bedelat-ı askeriye*) and "the road-passage tax" (*tarike*) had carried out the condition of paying taxes, which was required to become a voter. The Council of Ministers decided that the military exemption tax could not replace the tax payment, which was requested to be a voter. Besides, it was stated that the "road-passage" cost, indeed, could not be regarded as taxⁱⁱⁱ. Soldiers and civil servants would be able to vote in the places they work on condition of displaying the documents, which proved their tax payments^{iv}. It was informed that those who were not free, who were sentenced from physical injury and murder held no right to elect and be elected^v. In addition to these, it was compulsory for people, who desired to be a parliamentarian, to be one of the inhabitants of the provincial community, but it was not compulsory for them to inhabit the mentioned province during the elections^{vi}. And hence, it was resolved to apply the procedure called "transfer of location" (*nakl-i mekan*) for the parliament member of Servia (Serfice) namely Halil Bey^{vii}.

An objection -concerning the condition of "knowing Turkish"- came from the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of İstanbul, which wanted those who had no knowledge of Turkish language to be elected as parliamentarian too. The Council of Ministers, however, underscored "knowing Turkish language" as a compulsory rule^{viii}.

Lieutenant Governor of Jerusalem stated that, those denizens within the citadels of the city were exempted from tax by the Sultan's will and he also asked what to do in this circumstance. Finally, the lieutenant governor resolved that paying tax to the government, in fact, meant having a real estate and thus, such people could join the elections^x.

In the direction of the aforementioned electoral law and other regulations, the 1908 Parliamentary Elections were held in 121 sanjaks. No election was conducted in Samos and Mount Lebanon (Cebel-i Lübnan), which held certain privileges^x. In the elections, some temporary administrative arrangements were resorted to. Since the Lemnos Sanjak had less than 25.000 inhabitants, it was combined with Thasos Island, and was considered as one election district^{xi}.

Additionally, because it had no common border with the Ottoman State, it was decided to connect Adakale, - which located on the River Danube within the borders of Rumania, but was not accepted as Rumanian land, as it was not mentioned in the agreement made with Rumania-, to Istanbul Elections. Besides, it was demanded from Adakale to maintain one more second voter^{xii}. This implementation is a good example showing that the Ottoman State held elections in the places where its citizens lived out of its borders.

Working period of the Assembly

The duration of the 1908-1912 Ottoman Parliament consisted of 4 meeting-years. Although, according to the 1876 Constitution, the duration of the 1st meeting-year, which started on 17 December 1908, was determined to be 4 months, with continuous extensions it lasted until 21 August 1909. Important changes were made in the 1876 Constitution during this meeting year which lasted nearly 8.5 months; the Parliament, therefore legislation, got ahead of execution.

The working period of the Parliament was extended to 6 months with these arrangements. The second meeting-year of the Assembly were between 14 November 1909-28 June 1910, the third meeting-year 14 November 1910-3 June 1911, the fourth and the last meeting-years would be in the period of 14 October 1911-18 January 1912. The working- period of the Assembly of Deputies ended on 18 January 1912 with its dissolution^{xiii}.

By-elections during the 1908-1912 Ottoman Assembly of Deputies

Those who determined the parliamentarians during the by-elections were the secondary voters. Similarly, the official-term of the elected secondary voters, who were nominated by the general elections, was decided as 4 years. During the by-elections within this period the deputies would be determined by these secondary voters. If within the 4 years period a decrease, which might have taken place in the number of the secondary voters did not fall below the 8/10 proportion, there would not have been a necessity to re-elect secondary voters^{xiv}. In order to have a new election, which would be held to fulfill the vacant parliamentary seats, the Presidency of the Ottoman Parliament was supposed to inform the Ministry of Interior. When this implementation, which formed the first stages of the election, was not applied, the election would be considered invalid. Thus, a new election was held in Taaz upon the demise of Taaz Parliamentary Member Ali Mücahit Efendi, and Sheikh Salih Sindar won the election^{xv}. However, later on this election was cancelled since the Ottoman Parliament did not make decision about the mentioned election and the Taaz was not apprised of holding a new election by the Ministry of Interior^{xvi}. Consequently, the election was re-held in Taaz and Sheikh Salih Sindar Effendi was reelected on 5 March 1911^{xvii}.

In the period we examined, elections were held to fulfill the vacant 44 parliamentary seats. Among these, the place of only one deputy, namely Seyit Ali Mut'a Efendi, who was from San'a and resigned on 30 July 1911, could not be fulfilled. The reasons of replacements in these 44 parliamentary seats were: 21 deaths, -one of which was the result of 31 March Event- and 21 resignations -11 of these resignations was due to appointments to other posts. The changes in the last two seats were because of the absentees of the deputies in the parliamentary meetings.

Those who lost their deputyship due to demise were as follows:

The first year: Manyasizade Refik Bey (Istanbul), Asım Bey (Edirne), Pirinçizade Arif Bey (Diyarbakır), Mehmet Arslan Bey (Latakia-Beirut, killed during the 31 March Event), Ismail Bey (Debre-Bitola), Agop Babikyan Effendi (Tekfurdağı-Edirne), Şakir Bey (Iskodra), Mustafa Hamdi Effendi (Prishtine-Kosovo), Abdullah Mahir Effendi (Elbasan-Bitola).

The second year: Ali Rıza Effendi (Biga-Çanakkale), Seyit Ali bin Husein Effendi (San'a-Yemen), Rifat Bey (Aleppo), Kadi Ali Mucahid Effendi (Taaz-Yemen), Şeyh Ahmet Effendi (Asir). The third year: Arif Hikmet Bey (Mersin-Adana), Mahmut İmadedin Effendi (Trabzon), Zehirzade Ahmet Pasha (Basra), Mehmet Aclani Effendi (Damascus-Syria), Arif İsmet Bey (Biga) and Ahmet Hamdi Effendi (Malatya-Mamüratülaziz). And in the fourth year, Refet Senevi Effendi (Muntefik-Basra), respectively.

10 parliamentarians resigned from deputyship were as follows –according to their resignation periods: Suleiman Effendi (Aydın), Mustafa Saffet Pasha (Kutahya-Hudavendigâr), Yusuf Kemal Bey (Kastamonu), Koço Effendi (Servia (Serfice)-Bitola), Husein el Hilali Effendi (San'a-Yemen), Suleiman Effendi (Damascus-Syria), Tahir Recep Effendi (Hudeyde-Yemen), Mehmet Abdurrahman Effendi (Hudeyde-Yemen), Yusuf Naşit Bey (Serres-Thessaloniki), Seyit Ali Mut'a Effendi (San'a-Yemen).

Besides these, 11 parliamentary members resigned, since they were appointed to other posts: Azmi Bey (Preveze-Ioannina), Mer'i Pasha (Aleppo), Mustafa Effendi (Aleppo), Abdullah Effendi (Canik-Samsun), Şefik Effendi (Karesi-Balıkesir), Mehmet Emin Effendi (Prizren-Kosovo), Ali Münif Bey (Adana), Nail Bey (Canik-Samsun), Suleiman El Bostani Effendi (Beirut), Aristidi Pasha (İzmir), and Rifat Pasha (Istanbul). Those who did not attend the Parliament more than two years and lost their deputyship due to their absentees are as follows: parliamentarians of Ammare-Basra, Husein El Ulvan Effendi and Mehmet Selim Effendi.

An example for by-elections: 1911 Istanbul by-elections

The first serious political struggle between the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası*, hence PUP) and the Party of Freedom and Accord (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*, hence PFA) occurred during the by-elections held in Istanbul on 11 December 1911. This by-election was similar to the one held in 1909. Conducting an election in Istanbul came to agenda, upon the death of Manyasizade Refik Bey (Number 18), who was a parliamentary member of Istanbul, in 1909^{xviii}. During this election –held only between the PUP and Liberal Party (*Abrar Fırkası*, hence LP)-, the nominee of the Union and Progress Party was Rifat Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs^{xix}. The LP on the other hand nominated Ali Kemal Bey, the editor-in-chief of the *İkdam* Newspaper by claiming that Minister of Foreign Affairs could not perform his deputyship due to his pretty active occupation^{xx}. Despite this claim of LP, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rifat Pasha won the elections with 281 votes; whilst Ali Kemal Bey got only 129 votes^{xxi}.

The 1911 by-elections were held upon the nomination of Rifat Pasha, who became the Parliamentarian of Istanbul in the 1909 by-elections, to the General Consulate of Paris (Number 19). For this election, the PFA gathered on 25 November 1911 and nominated Tahir Hayrettin Bey, the editorial writer of the *Şehrab* Newspaper. At that time, the candidate of the PUP, on the other hand was Mehmet Memduh Bey, Minister of Justice. The PFA paid great attention to this election to demonstrate its power. The elections were held on 11 December 1911, the PFA won this election by one vote difference, 20 days after its establishment. During the elections, the nominee of the PFA, Tahir Hayrettin Bey, got 196 votes whilst the PUP's nominee Mehmet Memduh Bey got 195 votes. The outcome of the election was welcomed with great pleasure by the PFA whereas it was perceived as “a strong tocsin that warned them” by the PUP^{xxii}. Tahir Hayrettin Bey, who won the elections rendered his thanks to his voters with the announcements he gave to the newspapers and declared he would be worthy of deputyship he currently held^{xxiii}.

Whereas the elections culminated in gladness for the PFA, the PUP evaluated the elections as “the story of the turtle and the rabbit”. The PUP trusted its majority and did not make much effort during the elections. The PFA, however, acted wisely with the thought of working in politics with propaganda, trying their hardest, and arranging constant movements. And as a consequence of all these, they won the elections^{xxiv}. The elections demonstrated the opposition party that the PUP could be defeated^{xxv}. As the PUP also realized this fact, so as to protect their positions, its members did not consider “waiting” as an option. The PUP did not regard waiting necessary in order to protect their position since they saw this fact. Indeed, the success of the PFA during the by-elections was a victory that backfired in the long run^{xxvi}.

When the PFA won the 1911 Istanbul by-election it quite frightened the PUP, which did not want to lose power and led the PUP to take several measures to stay in power^{xxvii}. The results of the election were not only seen as the story of “the turtle and the rabbit” but also created a panicking atmosphere on the PUP. The PUP thought that the PFA winning the elections in Istanbul, -a place which was a kind of their own headquarter-, meant a strong possibility of their coming to power in the general elections after it completed its organization. Due to its hesitation from such a possibility, the PUP started to work to bring forward the elections by having the Parliament dissolved in order not to give an opportunity to the PFA for preparation.

Since the termination of the assembly would make early elections obligatory, the PUP thought that it would win the elections freely by leaving the opposition party unprepared. The society could manage to retain the provincial administrative mechanism, albeit to a great extent it lost its efficiency in the centre. The society had a government-wide organization and quite a lot experience regarding management^{xxviii}. Another reason for the PUP members to adjourn the parliament was to stop and delay the procedures of the declaration submitted to the parliament to send the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Hakki Pasha government to the Supreme Court (*Divan-ı Aliye*). As the legal trial of the Hakki Pasha Government would mean, its own trial as well^{xxix}. In order to get rid of this situation the PUP used the 35th Clause of the Constitution as a means. With this stance, the PUP disturbed the parliamentary order adopted by itself^{xxx}, and wanted to use the Sultan as a “sword” to suspend the Parliament. If the Constitution’s 35th Clause was altered, the Sultan would have the authority to open and close the Parliament whenever he considered it necessary. This solution found by the PUP, to silence the opposition was a hazardous weapon for the regime of Constitutional Monarchy^{xxxi}.

Detailed documentation of the by-elections of the 1908-1912 Assembly of Deputies

Starting from the province of Adana, the election details of the provinces were listed in a given order: the identity of the resigned deputy, the reason(s) of his resignation, the official announcement regarding holding an election in that region, the identity of the parliamentarian, who superseded the previous deputy, and the explanatory state for the new deputy’s election. For the preparation of this work, the Minutes of the Assembly of Deputies (MMZC), covering the 1908-1912 period and made up of 21 volumes, were completely analyzed. In addition to these, the Political Document Files of the Ministry of Interior in the Ottoman Archive were also scrutinized. “Assembly of Deputies 1st Social Period, 4 December 1324-5 January 1327, *Matbaa-i Amire*” was arranged by the General Secretariat of the Assembly of Deputies (Meclis-i Mebusan Baş Kitabeti), the work titled “1 March 1328” also has been made use of, -it was included in the details of the deputies as “Album”. The detailed documentation of the by-elections of the 1908-1912 Assembly of Deputies is as follows:

ADANA

1- Ali Münif Bey, Appointment to Ankara Governorship, 14 September 1910^{xxxii}.

- Since he was appointed to Ankara Governorship it was asked who would replace his position^{xxxiii}.

- Mufti of Karaisalı, namely Abdullah Faik Effendi was elected in his place^{xxxiv}. The election record of Abdullah Effendi who was elected with 25 votes on 16 November 1910 was approved in the Assembly on 26 December 1910^{xxxv}.

2- **Mersin:** Arif Hikmet Bey, Death.

- The necessity of a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Presidency of the Assembly on 19 November 1910, the Ministry of Interior notified this to Adana on 20 November 1910^{xxxvi}.

- Abdulhalim Bey was elected in his place with 18 votes on 17 December 1910^{xxxvii}, his election record was approved on 8 February 1911^{xxxviii}.

AYDIN

3- Suleiman Effendi, 21 March 1909, Resignation.

- Ismail Sıtkı Bey superseded his place with 60 votes on 1 June 1909, his election record was approved on 12 June^{xxxix}.

4- **İzmir:** Aristidi Pasha, Appointment to the membership of Upper House (*Meclis-i Ayan*), 31 January 1911.

- Holding a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Speakership of the Assembly on 28 December 1910^{xl}.

- Emanuel Emanuelidi Effendi was elected in place of Aristidi Pasha with 177 votes on 11 March 1911^{xli}, his election record was sent to the Assembly on 20 March 1911^{xlii}. Emanuel Emanuelidi's election record was approved on 20 March 1911^{xliii}.

BASRA

5- **Ammare:** Husein El Ulvan Effendi, lost his deputyship since he did not attend to the Assembly for two years.

- Abdulmecid Effendi was elected in place of him with 65 votes on 27 February 1911^{xliv}, his election record was approved by the Parliament on 15 May 1911^{xlv}.

6- **Ammare:** Mehmed Selim Effendi, lost his deputyship since he did not attend to the Assembly for two years.

- Mehmed Kureyş Effendi was elected in place of him with 78 votes on 27 February 1911^{xlvi}, his election record was approved by the Assembly on 15 May 1911^{xlvii}.

7- **Basra:** Zehirzade Ahmed Pasha, Death, 14 December 1910^{xlviii}.

- The necessity of having a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Presidency of the Parliament on 26 December 1910, the Ministry communicated it to Basra Province on 29 December^{xlix}.

- Abdulvahap Pasha was elected in place of him with 50 votes on 20 February 1911^l, his election record was approved on 3 April 1911^{li}.

8- **Muntefik:** Refet Senevi Effendi, Death, 26 December 1910^{lii}.

- Conducting a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Speakership of the Parliament on 26 December 1910, the Ministry communicated it to the Province on 29 December^{liii}.

- Abdülmuhsin Bey was elected in place of him with 83 votes on 8 May 1911^{liv}, his election record was approved on 18 May 1911^{lv}.

BEIRUT

9- Suleiman El Bostani Effendi, Appointment to the membership of Upper House, 31 January 1911.

- The necessity of having a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Chairmanship of the Parliament on 28 December 1910, the Ministry communicated it to the Province on 30 December^{lvi}.

- It was stated that there was some misappropriations and Beirut province was asked to investigate it^{lvii}.

- The Assembly was informed by the Ministry of Interior that Kamil Esad Bey was elected in place of him and that his election record was sent on 23 October 1911^{lviii}.

- Kamil Esad Bey was nominated in place of him with 74 votes on 4 October 1911, his election record was approved on 9 November 1911^{lix}.

10- **Latakia:** Mehmed Arslan Bey, killed in the 31 March event.

- Emin Arslan Bey was elected in place of him with 60 votes on 29 June 1909, his election record was approved on 18 August^{lx}.

DIYARBAKIR

11- Piriñcizade Arif Bey, Death, 15 March 1909^{lxi}.

- Piriñcizade Feyzi Bey superseded his place –with 27 votes- on 19 March 1909, his election record was approved on 23 June 1909^{lxii}.

EDİRNE

12- Asım Bey, Death, 15 March 1909^{lxiii}.

- Faik Bey was elected in place of him with 87 votes on 26 March 1909, his election record was approved on 1 June 1909^{lxiv}.

13- **Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ):** Agop Babikyan Effendi, Death, 28 July 1909^{lxv}.

- Agop Boyacıyan Effendi was elected in place of him with 45 votes on 13 October 1909, his election record was approved on 20 November 1909^{lxvi}.

ALEPPO

14- Mer'i Pasha, Appointment to accounting of the foundations of Aleppo, 14 August 1909.

- Emirizade Mehmet Bahaettin Bey was elected in place of him with 54 votes on 24 November 1909, his election record was approved on 6 December 1909^{lxvii}.

15- Mustafa Effendi, Appointment to membership of Council of State, 14 August 1909.

- Artin Boşgezenyan Effendi was elected in place of him with 52 votes on 24 November 1909, his election record was approved on 6 December 1909^{lxviii}.

16- Rıfat Bey, 22 February 1910, Death^{lxix}.

- Beşir Effendi was elected in place of him with 26 votes on 28 June 1910^{lxx}, his election record was approved on 21 November 1910^{lxxi}.

HUDAVENDIGAR

17- **Kütahya:** Mustafa Saffet Pasha, 16 June 1909, Resignation due to "Illness"^{lxxii}.

- Ahmet Ferit bey was elected in place of him with 63 votes on 18 November 1909^{lxxiii}, his election record was approved on 29 November 1909.

ISTANBUL

18- Manyasizade Refik Bey, Death, 4 March 1909^{lxxiv}.

- Rıfat Pasha was elected in place of him with 281 votes on 5 April 1909^{lxxv}, his election record was approved on 7 April.

19- Rıfat Pasha, Appointment as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 22 August 1911^{lxxvi}.

- Tahir Hayrettin Bey was elected in place of him, his election record was approved on 23 December 1911^{lxxvii}.

ISKODRA

20- Şakir Bey, Death, 18 August 1909, His funeral was held on 19 August 1909^{lxxviii}.

- Rıza Bey was elected in place of him with 24 votes on 25 October 1909, his election record was approved on 20 November 1909.

KASTAMONU

21- Yusuf Kemal Bey, Resignation.

- Necmettin Molla Bey was elected in place of him with 34 votes on 3 November 1909, his election record was approved on 4 December 1909^{lxxix}.

KOSOVO

22- **Prishtine:** Mustafa Hamdi Effendi, Death, 28 August 1909.

- Şaban Pasha was elected in place of him with 76 votes on 3 November 1909, his election record was approved on 24 November 1909^{lxxx}.

23- **Prizren:** Mehmet Emin Effendi, Appointment to Prizren Muftiship, 26 December 1909^{lxxxi}.

- Vehbi Effendi was elected in place of him with 58 votes on 21 November 1910, his election record was approved on 2 December 1910^{lxxxii}.

MAMURETÜLAZİZ

24- **Malatya:** Ahmet Hamdi Effendi, Death, 12 September 1911.

- Keşşaf Effendi was elected in place of him with 41 votes on 23 December 1911, his election record was approved on 17 January 1912^{lxxxiii}.

BİTOLA

25- **Debre:** İsmail Bey, Death, 23 July 1910^{lxxxiv}.

- Neşetzade Şevket Bey was elected in place of him with 63 votes on 22 October 1910^{lxxxv}, his election record was approved on 21 November 1910^{lxxxvi}.

26- **Elbasan:** Abdullah Mahir Effendi, Death.

- Hacı Ali Effendi was elected in place of him with 42 votes on 11 December 1909, his election record was approved on 10 January 1910^{lxxxvii}.

27- **Servia:** Koço Effendi, Resignation on 20 November 1909 due to illness^{lxxxviii}.

- Hariş Vamvaka Effendi was elected in place of him with 50 votes on 19 January 1910, his election record was approved on 1 March 1910^{lxxxix}.

THESSALONIKI

28- **Serres:** Yusuf Naşit Bey, Resignation on 14 November 1910 due to health conditions^{xc}.

- Holding a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Parliament/Assembly on 19 November 1920, the Ministry communicated it to the Province on 20 November^{xcii}.

- Derviş Ragıp Bey was elected in place of him with 111 votes on 17 December 1910, his election record was approved on 26 December^{xciii}.

SYRIA

29- **Damascus:** Mehmet Aclani Effendi, Death, 24 December 1910^{xciiii}.

- Alizade Şükrü Bey was elected in place of him with 28 votes on 28 January 1911^{xcv}, his election record was approved on 4 March 1911^{xcvi}.

30- **Damascus:** Suleiman Effendi, Resignation, 14 December 1909.

- Abdurrahman Bey was elected in place of him with 132 votes on 21 December 1909, his election record was approved on 31 January 1910.

TRABZON

31- Mahmut İmadeddin Effendi, November 1910 Death.

- Holding a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior by the Assembly on 19 November 1910, the Ministry communicated it to Trabzon on 20 November^{xcvii}.

- Mahmut Bey was elected in place of him with 139 votes on 26 December 1910, his election record was approved on 21 January 1911^{xcvii}.

IOANNINA

32- Preveze: Azmi Bey, 14 January 1909, Appointment to Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) Governorship.

- Hamdi Bey was elected in place of him with 16 votes on 26 April 1909, his election record was approved on 8 May 1909^{xcviii}.

YEMEN

33-Hudeyde: Tahir Recep Effendi, 3 January 1910, Resignation since “he could not stop clans’ rebellion”^{xcix}.

- Mahmut Nedim Bey was elected in place of him with 200 votes on 25 January 1910, his election record was approved on 1 March 1910^c.

34- Hudeyde: Mehmet Abdurrahman Effendi, 10 January 1910, Resignation^{ci}.

- Zühtü Bey was elected in place of him with 185 votes on 25 January 1910, his election record was approved on 1 March 1910^{cii}.

35- San’a: Husein El Halali Effendi, Resignation on 2 December 1909.

- Seyit Ahmet Cenani Bey was elected in place of him with 119 votes on 19 February 1910, his election record was approved on 26 March 1910^{ciii}.

36- San’a: Seyit Ali Mut’a Effendi, Resignation on 30 July 1911.

- No election was held for place of him.

37- San’a: Seyit Ali Bin Hussein Effendi, Death.

- Hussein bin Ali Effendi was elected in place of him with 125 votes on 20 December 1909, his election record was approved on 7 February 1910^{civ}.

38- Taaz: Kadı Ali Mucahid Effendi, Death

- Holding a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior on 10 April 1910^{cv}.

- Salih Sındar Effendi was elected in March 1911, his election record was approved on 18 May 1911^{cvi}.

39- Asir: Şeyh Ahmet Effendi, 18 June 1910, Death^{cvi}.

- Feraci Effendi was elected on 4 November 1910, his election record was approved on 25 February 1911^{cvi}.

BİGA

40- Arif İsmet Bey, 18 January 1911, Death^{cix}.

- Atif Bey was elected in March 1911 with 50 votes; his election record was approved within the same month^{cx}.

41- Ali Rıza Effendi, 3 November 1909, Death^{cx}.

- Mustafa Bey was elected in place of him with 53 votes on 10 April 1910, his election record was approved on 8 June 1910.

CANİK

42- Abdullah Effendi, Appointment to the membership of Court of Appeal on 23 September 1909.

- Süleyman Necmi Bey was elected in place of him with 113 votes on 7 December 1909, his election record was approved on 3 January 1910^{cxii}.

43- Nail Bey, Appointment to the membership of Upper House on 21 January 1911.

- Holding a new election was informed to the Ministry of Interior on 28 December 1910^{cxiii}.

- Sait Effendi was elected with 65 votes, his election record was approved on 25 May 1911^{cxiv}.

KARESI

44- Şefik Effendi, Appointment to the membership of Court of Appeal on 23 September 1909.

- Kostantin Savapulos Effendi was elected with 43 votes on 25 January 1910, his election record was approved on 31 January 1910.

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- ⁱ Kenan Olgun, **1908-1912 Osmanlı Meclis-i Mebusan'ının Faaliyetleri ve Demokrasi Tarihimizdeki Yeri**, (Activities of the Ottoman Parliament in 1908-1912 and its Place in the History of Democracy), Ankara, ATAM Publishing., 2008, p.85.
- ⁱⁱ Düstur (Rule) 2, Vol.I, p.14.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları (the Minutes of the Council of Ministers) (MV), 120/90, 27 Şaban 1326 and 121/49, 23 Şawwal 1326.
- ^{iv} MV, 120/56, 14 Şawwal 1326 and 121/49, 23 Şawwal 1326.
- ^v MV, 120/41, 6 Şawwal 1326.
- ^{vi} MV, 120/73, 25 Şawwal 1326.
- ^{vii} İkdâm, Nu. 5190 (6 November 1908), p.3.
- ^{viii} MV, 120/59, 17 Safer 1326.
- ^{ix} MV, 120/62, 20 Safer 1326-3 September 1324.
- ^x Olgun, *ibid.*, p.61.
- ^{xi} MV, 120/45, 8 Safer 1326.
- ^{xii} MV, 120/81, 27 Safer 1326. It was stated that the general population in Adakale was 530 and 125 people could vote, but despite that 94 people voted and this situation should be considered as an “exceptional situation” and the procedures should be followed accordingly. MV, 4 Zilkade 1326.
- ^{xiii} Kenan Olgun, “Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Seçim Kültürü (1840-1950)” (Election culture from Tanzimat to Republic), Sine-i Millet Sergisi Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Seçim (1840-1950), İstanbul, 2008, p.25.
- ^{xiv} However, such a situation occurred during the by-elections to be held in Trabzon, it was asked to the Ministry of Interior what to do upon the death of some secondary voters. the ministry of Interior informed Trabzon that there was no need to determine a new secondary voter since the total number of those who died was not below 8/10. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime ministry Ottoman Archive) Dahiliye Nezareti Siyasi Evrak Kısmı (Ministry of Interior, Division of Political Documents) (DH-SYS), 49/4, 28.10.1328.
- ^{xv} DH-SYS, 50/1, 03.11.1328.
- ^{xvi} DH-SYS, 49/24, 05.02.1329.
- ^{xvii} Meclis-i Mebusan Levayih ve Tekalif-i Kanuniye ve Encümen Mazbataları 1326-1327, Ankara, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Turkey-GNAT) Publishing, 1992, p.292.
- ^{xviii} Refik Bey, died on 4 March 1909. (Tanin, Nu.214, 21 February 1324, p.1)
- ^{xix} Tanin, Nu.242, 21 March 1325, p.1.
- ^{xx} İkdâm, Nu.5337 (22 March 1325-4 April 1909), p.1.
- ^{xxi} Tanin, Nu.245 (24 March 1325-6 April 1909), p.3.
- ^{xxii} Kemal Zeki Gençosman, “1. Meşrutiyetten Günümüze 23 Seçim ve Siyasi Partiler” (23 Elections and Political Parties from the First Constitutional Monarchy to the Present Day), Dünya, Nu.10158 (18 November 1980), p.6.
- ^{xxiii} Tahir Hayrettin, “Muhterem İstanbullular”, Meslek, Nu.214-8 (19 December 1911), p.1.
- ^{xxiv} Hüseyin Cahit, “Tavşan ile Kaplumbağanın Hikayesi” (the Story of the Turtle and the Rabbit), Tanin, Nu.1178 (14 December 1911), p.1.
- ^{xxv} Ayşe Azman, “Türk basınında Siyasi bir gazeteci Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın” (A Political Journalist in the Turkish Media Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın), Unprinted Doctorate thesis, İstanbul University, Institute of Social Sciences, İstanbul, 1994, p.66.
- ^{xxvi} Ali Birinci, Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası (The Party of Freedom and Accord), İstanbul, 1990, p.104.
- ^{xxvii} Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi (Turkish Revolutionary History), Vol.II, Part I, Ankara, Turkish History Institution, 1943, p.236.
- ^{xxviii} Feroz Ahmad, İttihat ve Terakki 1908-1914 (Union and Progress), (Trans. By Nuran Yavuz), 2.Edition, İstanbul, 1986, p.174.
- ^{xxix} Bayur, *ibid.*, p.237; Bengehzi and Tripoli deputies held Grand Vizier Ibrahim Hakkı Pasha responsible due to the Italian War and submitted an offer to send them to the Supreme court. The PUP enabled this offer to be rejected by the Assembly. Hüseyin Cahit accused the PUP of “silencing the objections by fists” regarding this situation. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, “Büyükler ve Sorumluluk” (The elderly and Responsibility), Yakın Tarihimiz, Vol.II, Nu.21 (19 July 1962), p.234.
- ^{xxx} Zafer Toprak, “Hürriyet-Müsavat-Uhuvvet, Her tarafta bir Politika Tufanı Var”, Manastır'da İlan-ı Hürriyet 1908-1909 (Declaration of Independence in Bitola), (Edited by Roni Margulies), İstanbul, 1997, p.10.
- ^{xxxi} Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Hüküm Gecesi, Ankara, 1966, p.142.
- ^{xxxii} MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I. 3rd Meeting, 4 November 1326, p. 22.
- ^{xxxiii} DH-SYS, 49/1, 17.9.1328. Chairmanship of the Parliament informed the Ministry of Interior about holding a new election DH-SYS, 49/7, 17.11.1328.
- ^{xxxiv} DH-SYS, 49/11, 28.11.1328.
- ^{xxxv} MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I. 18th Meeting, 13 December 1326.
- ^{xxxvi} DH-SYS, 49/7, 17.11.1329.
- ^{xxxvii} DH-SYS, 49/21, 18.1.1329.
- ^{xxxviii} Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.II, 37th Meeting, 26 January 1327, p. 598.
- ^{xxxix} Album.
- ^{xl} DH-SYS, 49/23, 29.1.1329.
- ^{xli} Album.
- ^{xlii} DH-SYS, 49/33, 19.3.1329.
- ^{xliii} MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.IV, 61st Meeting, 7 March 1327, p. 153
- ^{xliv} DH-SYS, 49/40, 15.4.1329.
- ^{xlv} GNAT Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.VI, 98th Meeting, 2 May 1327, pp. 488-489.
- ^{xlvi} DH-SYS, 49/40, 15.4.1329.
- ^{xlvii} Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.VI, 98th Meeting, 2 May 1327, pp. 488-489.
- ^{xlviii} MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 15th Meeting, 6 December 1326, p. 511.

- xlix DH-SYS, 49/16, 26.12.1329.
- ¹ DH-SYS, 49/28, 27.2.1329.
- li Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.IV, 71st Meeting, 21 March 1327, p. 557.
- lii MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 18th Meeting, 13 December 1326, p. 626.
- liii DH-SYS, 49/16, 26.12.1328.
- liv DH-SYS, 49/44, 14.5.1329.
- lv Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.VI, 101st Meeting, 5 May 1327, pp. 640-641.
- lvi DH-SYS, 49/23, 29.1.1329.
- lvii DH-SYS, 49/41, 17.4.1329, 49/35-36, 8.4.1329.
- lviii DH-SYS, 49/51, 28.10.1329.
- lix Album. MMZC, 4th Year, Vol.I, 12th Meeting, 26 October 1327, p. 284.
- lx Album.
- lxi Tanin, Nu.224, 3 March 1325, p. 3; Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, Filed Enactments (DUİT), 5/17, 22 Safer 1327.
- lxii Album. MMZC, 1st Year, Vol.IV, 99th Meeting, 10 June 1325, p. 609.
- lxiii Tanin, Nu.231, 10 March 1325, p. 4.
- lxiv Album.
- lxv MMZC, 1st Year, Vol.IV, 137th Meeting, 5 August 1325, p. 515.
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- lxvii Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.I, 11th Meeting, 23 November 1325, pp. 213-215.
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- lxxi MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 5th Meeting, 8 November 1326, p. 78.
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- lxxvi MMZC, 4th Year, Vol.I, 2nd Meeting, 3 October 1327, p. 12.
- lxxvii MMZC, 4th Year, Vol.II, 28th Meeting, 10 December 1327, p. 263.
- lxxviii MMZC, 1st Year, Vol.VI, 138th Meeting, 6 August 1325, p. 547.
- lxxix Album.
- lxxx Album.
- lxxxi MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.II, 39th Meeting, 30 January 1325, pp. 253-254.
- lxxxii Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 13th Meeting, 25 November 1326, pp. 426-427.
- lxxxiii Album. MMZC, 4th Year, Vol.II, 39th Meeting, 4 January 1327, p. 538.
- lxxxiv Tanin, Nu. 606, p. 3.
- lxxxv DH-SYS, 49/5, 29.10.1328.
- lxxxvi MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 5th Meeting, 8 November 1326, p. 79.
- lxxxvii Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.II, 23rd Meeting, 28 December 1325, p. 473.
- lxxxviii MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.I, 4th Meeting, 7 November 1325, p. 27.
- lxxxix Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.I, 48th Meeting, 16 February 1325, pp. 545-546.
- xc MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 3rd Meeting, 4 November 1326, p. 16.
- xcı DH-SYS, 49/7, 17.11.1328.
- xcii Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 18th Meeting, 13 *Kanun-i Evvel* 1326, p. 626.
- xciii DUİT, 5/17, 24 Zilhicce 1328; MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.I, 18th Meeting, 3 December 1326, p. 626.
- xciv DH-SYS, 49/26, 16.2.1329.
- xcv MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.III, 51st Meeting, 19 February 1326, p. 385.
- xcvi DH-SYS, 49/7, 17.11.1328.
- xcvii Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.II, 27th Meeting, 8 January 1326, p. 217.
- xcviii Album.
- xcix MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.I, 20th Meeting, 21 December 1325, p. 409.
- c Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.II, 48th Meeting, 16 February 1325, p. 545.
- ci MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.I, 23rd Meeting, 28 December 1325, p. 473.
- cii Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.II, 48th Meeting, 16 February 1325, p. 545.
- ciii Album.
- civ Album. MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.II, 25 January 1325, pp. 165-166.
- cv DH-SYS, 50/1, 3.11.1328.
- cvi DH-SYS, 50/1, 3.11.1328; MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.VI, 101st Meeting, 5 May 1327, p. 640.
- cvii MMZC, 2nd Year, Vol.VI, 116th Meeting, 5 June 1326, p. 361.
- cviii DH-SYS, 49/27, 20.2.1329; MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.III, 47th Meeting, 12 February 1326, p. 229.
- cix MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.III, 26th Meeting, 5 January 1326, p. 214.
- cx DH-SYS, 49/32, 14.3.1329; MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.III, 55th Meeting, 24 February 1326, p. 538.
- cxı MMZC, 2nd Year, 4th Meeting, 7 November 1325, p. 150.
- cxii Album.
- cxiii DH-SYS, 49/23, 29.1.1329.
- cxiv Album. MMZC, 3rd Year, Vol.VII, 107th Meeting, 12 May 1327, p. 171.