

THE ORIENT JOURNEY OF KAISER WILHELM II (1898)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İRFAN ERTAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 2018

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof.Dr. Tlin Genoz  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Prof. Dr. mer Turan  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Prof. Dr. mer Turan  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyitdanlıođlu (Hacettepe Uni., TAR) \_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. mer Turan (METU, HIST) \_\_\_\_\_

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ő. Akile Zorlu Durukan (METU, HIST) \_\_\_\_\_

**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

**Name, Last Name:** İrfan ERTAN

**Signature:**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE ORIENT JOURNEY OF KAISER WILHELM II (1898)**

Ertan, İrfan

M.A., Department History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan

September 2018, 127 Pages

This thesis analyses the journey of Kaiser Wilhelm II of the German Empire to the Ottoman Empire in 1898, during a very tense time of the Europe. We see a policy of isolation for both, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire in the late 19th century because of their policies against European Powers. The Ottoman Empire lost the support of Britain and became an open target for the imperialist powers of the West. She also tried to protect her rights and power in the European policy against internal and external threats. The German Empire wanted to expand her influence and sphere of power to the East, and threat her rivals, especially France and Britain. This journey gave rise to a convergence policy for these empires. Also, the aims and acquisitions of the two empires will be analysed in this thesis. This journey will be analysed with that perspective. The research aims to shed light on the acquisitions of the journey, penetration of the German Empire and German capital into the Ottoman Empire. Historical and political conditions during this journey shows the emergence of twenty years of alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire

**Keywords:** The Ottoman Empire, The German Empire, Orient Journey, Soft Crusade, Protector of 300 Million Muslims

## ÖZ

### KAYZER II. WILHELM'İN DOĞU SEYAHATI (1898)

Ertan, İrfan

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan

Eylül 2018, 127 Sayfa

Bu tez, Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in, Avrupa'da gergin bir zaman olan 1898 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna yaptığı seyahati incelemektedir. Avrupa güçleri aleyhine izledikleri politikalar nedeniyle, 19. Yüzyıl'ın sonlarında iki imparatorluk için de bir yalnızlaşma politikası görülmektedir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Britanya'nın desteğini kaybetti ve Batının emperyalist güçleri için açık bir hedef haline geldi. Ayrıca, iç ve dış tehditlere karşı Avrupa politikasındaki haklarını ve gücünü korumayı hedefliyordu. Alman İmparatorluğu, nüfuzunu ve güç alanını Doğuya genişletmek ve özellikle Fransa ve İngiltere gibi rakiplerini tehdit etmek istiyordu. Bu seyahat, iki imparatorluk için bir yakınlaşma politikasına yol açtı. Ayrıca, bu tezde iki imparatorluğun amaçları ve kazanımları analiz edilecektir. Bu seyahat bu bakış açısıyla analiz edilecektir. Araştırma, seyahatin kazanımlarına, Alman İmparatorluğu'nun ve Alman sermayesinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na girmesine ışık tutmayı amaçlıyor. Bu seyahatteki tarihsel ve politik koşullar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Alman İmparatorluğu arasında yirmi yıl süren ittifakın ortaya çıkışını göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Alman İmparatorluğu, Doğu Seyahati, Yumuşak Haçlı Seferi, 300 Milyon Müslümanın Koruyucusu

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, I am very grateful to my advisor Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan for his invaluable guidance and patience in the preparation of the thesis. Also, I would like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Ş. Akile Zorlu Durukan and Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyitdanlıođlu for their considerable criticism and suggestions

I also thank for the priceless encouragement, help and care of the faculty members of my Department, my friends and family.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
CHAPTER	
1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO POWERS UNTIL THE JOURNEY AND CRITIQUES ABOUT THE RELATIONS AND THE JOURNEY.....	7
2.1 Before the First Journey.....	7
2.2 The first Journey in 1889, Effects and Situation until the Second Journey..	11
2.3 Critiques about the Ottoman-German Relations and the Journey.....	16
3. THE ORIENT JOURNEY OF KAISER WILHELM II .....	24
3.1 Preparation for the Journey.....	24
3.2 The Kaiser and The Kaiserin in İstanbul.....	33
3.3 The Soft Crusade.....	55
3.3.1 The Kaiser in Palestine.....	56
3.3.2 The Protector of 300 Million Muslims.....	78
4. END OF THE JOURNEY.....	93
4.1 Returning to the German Empire.....	93
4.2 Effects of the Journey.....	96
5. CONCLUSION.....	102
REFERENCES .....	106

APPENDICES

A.PHOTOGRAPHS AND SOME DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE JOURNEY....	113
B. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	116
C.TEZ İZİN FORMU.....	127



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.O.A. BEO	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası
B.O.A. Y.A.HUS	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri Yıldız Arşivleri Hususi Maruzat
B.O.A. Y.A.RES	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Rezmi Maruzat
B.O.A. Y.EE	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Esas Evrakı
B.O.A. Y.MTV	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri Mütenevvi Maruzat
B.O.A. Y.PRK.ASK	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Askeri Maruzat
B.O.A.Y.PRK.EŞA.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Elçilik Şehbenderlik ve Ataşemiliterlik
B.O.A. Y.PRK.HH.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Hazine-I Hassa
B.O.A. Y.PRK.HR.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Hariciye Nezareti Maruzatı
B.O.A. Y.PRK. NMH.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Name-I Hümayunlar
B.O.A. Y.PRK. Ş.H	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Şehremaneti Maruzatı

B.O.A. Y.PRK.PT.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Posta Telgraf Nezareti Maruzatı
B.O.A. Y.PRK.TŞF.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Teşrifat-ı Umumiye Dairesi
B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM.:	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri: Yıldız Arşivleri Umum

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The subject of this thesis corresponds to one of the most important diplomatic events of the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. We can say that, the relations of these two empires rose because of necessity. Relationship between these two empires reached a peak when both of them became isolated from the European Diplomacy. This era is one of the most important eras of the Ottoman Empire for diplomacy. The Ottoman Empire come under the influence of the German Empire.

These two-different countries became allies and Ottoman Empire entered into the sphere of influence of the German Empire. The privileges which were given by the Ottoman Empire to the German Empire and the ambitious Kaiser, not only would and change the nature of the relations between these two empires, but also would give a chance to the German Empire to expand towards Middle East and gain control over the Middle East. This chance for gaining a control over the Ottoman Middle East would give a chance to the German Empire for competing against Britain and France for the natural sources and railways of the Ottoman Empire.

The German Empire unified in 1871 and became the last European Empire which use imperial policies. While the German Empire tried to make colonization, almost all of the lands outside of the Europe had been colonized. While Britain and France colonizing Africa, South America and Asia, German Empire tried to introduce colonizing race. She could only colonize Persia, China and the Ottoman Empire. But she wouldn't use her military power while colonizing in China. Although Persia was under the effect of Russia and Britain, she became the fourthly in the trade of Persia

thanks to the Baghdad- Basra Raiway in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Persian Shah was very generous about that situation. He told that; He would give permission even to the German Colonists, if the German Empire would train the Persian army.<sup>1</sup>

The German Empire first tried to penetrate into the Ottoman Empire with military advisors. Then she used her power and influence to achieve the colonization dreams of the German Empire, Kaiser Wilhelm II, tried to penetrate into the Ottoman Empire. The journeys of the Kaiser are the consequences of this dream. The second journey is a milestone for the relations between these two empires.

Although that can be seen as only the journey of Kaiser Wilhelm to the East, the Ottoman Empire, it changed so many things not only for the Ottoman Empire, but also for the German Empire. The visit of Wilhelm II takes place in a time of complete diplomatic isolation of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> The great powers exert a strong pressure on the Empire. Two years ago, they almost failed to hand over the sultan. It is in this atmosphere that the Kaiser Wilhelm II announces his visit of the Empire. "While the Red Sultan is on the ban of Europe, the German Emperor has just given him a hug," writes François Georgeon.<sup>3</sup> These two powers shaped their foreign policy according to their powers. Ottoman Empire needed other countries to maintain her power, and the German Empire needed a rivalry with other countries to improve her power. In the beginning; an alliance was seen impossible between these countries, but political maneuvers and atmosphere changed the situation.

In the first part of the thesis, I will briefly analyse the situation of these two empires and their relations before the first journey of Kaiser Wilhelm and critiques about the relations and Kaiser Wilhelm's second journey. After this journey, the relationship between these two empires gained momentum. The Ottoman Empire started to feel German imperialism with that journey. Also, the German Empire started to penetrate the natural sources and some important devices of the Ottoman Empire which will

---

<sup>1</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2015), 19–24.

<sup>2</sup> Erdal Kaynar, 'Les Rapports Entre Les Jeunes Turcs et l'Allemagne Avant 1908' (Master Thesis, Université de Paris VIII UFR d'Histoire, 2004), 55.

<sup>3</sup> François Georgeon, *Abdülhamid II: Le Sultan Calife (1876-1909)*. (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 343.

support and benefit the German Empire while founding their Weltpolitik and imperialistic policy, threatening the balance of powers. Also, the first journey can be seen as the precursor of the second journey. I will also briefly mention the critiques about the relations between these two empires and the second journey. These critiques were consisted of the views of domestic and foreign media, and views of politicians in Europe. Documents about the views of Britain, France, the rivals of the German Empire, is important about that journey to understand the opinions of these powers about the journey and the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire.

In the second part, I will mention the journey. I will begin that part with the planning of this journey in 1897. I will mention this 40-day journey in two parts. The first part of the journey is the journey of the Kaiser in İstanbul. The second part is in the Ottoman Middle East. This journey is consisted of two parts. The first part of the journey was in İstanbul, and the second was in the Levant region of the Ottoman Empire, today's Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. This treaty underlies the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire for the next 20 years, until the collapse of both two empires. The Kaiser made some important contacts with not only the officers of the Ottoman Empire, but also the officers of the German Empire and clergymen especially in Palestine and Syria. In the first part of the journey, gained some privileges from the Ottoman Empire like, Baghdad Railways, arms trade, which it lost momentum when Colmar von der Goltz, military advisor of the German Empire in the Ottoman Empire, resigned from his position. He also controlled the situation of the German Empire in İstanbul and inspect his officers. In the second part of the journey, in the Ottoman Middle East, he challenged Britain, France and Pope. He also tried to become the protector of not only Protestants but also other Christians, Catholics and Orthodox and of course Muslims. I will also talk about his meetings with Theodor Herzl, the head of Zionists, in İstanbul and Middle East. While mentioning that meetings, I will try to clarify the opinion of the Kaiser and the German Empire about Jews and a Jewish State, which were intended to be found in Palestine. Thanks to that opinion, we will have a chance to understand and interpret the position and importance of the Ottoman Empire for the Kaiser. After

mentioning the journey, I will talk about the effects of the journey and acquisitions of both sides.

In the conclusion part, I will analyse the journey and try to find to answer whether this journey was a soft crusade and the Kaiser tried to gain a base in the East against his rivals, France and Britain. Also, I will try to answer whether the Ottoman Empire entered the sphere of influence of the German Empire.

When we look at the thesis I will try to explain; this journey was not only a touristic and diplomatic journey. According to my thesis this journey was a soft crusade and effort of the German Empire's and Kaiser's to penetrate into the East by supporting the Ottoman Empire and supported by her. I will also try to show the desires of the Kaiser to become the protector of the Christians. So, according to my thesis; this journey had economic, diplomatic, religious and political purposes. Although I will not mention deeply about Fashoda Crisis, this crisis is one of the reasons of Kaiser's journey. Because the Kaiser wanted to take advantage of the situation. He wanted to use tension between Britain and France. For that reason, he wanted to go also Egypt, but he must have to cancel this Egypt journey because of a security problem.

In this thesis, I will use primary and secondary sources. If I mention my primary sources; I will use documents from the Ottoman Archives, especially from Yıldız Archive, which was used during the reign of Abdülhamid II. From these documents which I used were especially about the outlines of the journey. These documents couldn't help me so much to create a critiqueal approach about the journey. We can say that the most important Ottoman Archival document about the journey is the report of Şakir Pasha, guide of the Kaiser in the second part of the journey. This document is important because of being witness of the Kaiser's journey in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. In spite of its importance as primary source, it almost gives no different information about the journey. There are two versions of this report in the archives. But they are almost the same. I couldn't reach the German Archives during the research process of this thesis. Because online access is not available for the German Archives and there is an obligation to go to Germany to see the documents. It can be seen as a weakness for my thesis. But to minimize this weakness, I will give

more importance to sources which were written by using German Archival documents.

I also use memoirs about the journey. Some of them, *Hatra-i Seyahat*, *Die Reise des Kaisers und Der Kaiserin nach Palästina*, *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898* give only general information about the journey of the Kaiser and making analyses from these sources is so hard. Because they only contain information about Kaiser's doings, and make no comment to the events. We can say that, they are only travel writings. They only give us about the general view of the journey. I also use the memoirs of Bernhard von Bülow, the Foreign Secretary, Theodor Herzl, leader of the Zionist Organization. These memoirs give us a chance to see the opinions of these figures about each other and some details about the journey. Also, the letters of the Kaiser which he sent to Russian Tsar Nicholas II, also the cousin of Wilhelm II, are important for this thesis. Because, we learn the opinion of the Kaiser about the Ottoman Empire thanks to these letters. Using many memoirs or letters belongs to the witnesses and figures give us a chance to see the different views and opinions about the journey and atmosphere and make objective comments about it.

Newspapers are also used in this thesis to see and give the atmosphere of the time of the journey. I use not only Ottoman and German Newspapers, but also newspapers from Austria, Britain, France and United States. The newspapers which I give places in my thesis are: *Neue Freie Presse* from Austria; *The Times* from Britain; *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Berliner Börsenzeitung* from the German Empire; *Le Figaro* and *Le Petit Journal* from France, *İkdam*, *Sabah*, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* from the Ottoman Empire and *The New York Times* from the United States. The reason of using so many newspapers is to see the difference views ad opinions about this journey. I cannot use Russian newspapers during the process of my thesis because I don't know Russian. But, Russian view is also so important for this journey. For this reason, I will give more importance to the books which include the views of Russian newspapers.

I will also use secondary sources in my thesis. There are few secondary sources about the journey. These secondary sources consist of; Ph.D dissertations , books and articles. Some of these sources are directly connected with the topic of my thesis and some of them give opinion about the era of my topic. For Instance, the works of Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelm II. 1898*, and Thomas Hartmut Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, are about my thesis topic and successfully touch upon the topic. Also, the book of Klaus Jaschinski, *Des Kaisers Reise in den Orient 1898*, is very important source for this topic, but I have no chance to use it for this work. I also use the articles of Bayram Soy, Necmettin Alkan, Salih Kış, and so on. Also, Erdal Kaynar, set a place to the journey in his master thesis. Even though that part is very short, when we evaluate this part with whole thesis, it gives us a chance to see the importance of the journey. Other important Ph.D dissertation which I use is the work of Wilhelm van Kampen, is about the policy of the German Empire about the Ottoman Empire. This work helps us to see the public opinion of the German Empire about the Ottoman Empire.

All of these documents, newspapers, books and articles help me to write my thesis and reach other documents. I will also try to analyse the actions of the Kaiser and the Sultan and try to deduce about the journey and its results. Although I will not give so many information about the situation of Europe in this period, it is so important to know about it to understand the atmosphere of the time.



## CHAPTER 2

### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO POWERS UNTIL THE JOURNEY AND CRITIQUES ABOUT THE RELATIONS AND THE JOURNEY

#### 2.1 Before the First Journey

The last decade of the 18th Century and the first two decades of the 19th Century can be defined for Europe as a trauma. French counsel Napoleon Bonaparte declared himself as emperor and threaten all Europe till Moscow. European Powers tried to restore the order of the continent and maintain the status quo with the Congress of Vienna which was held by Klemens von Metternich, Austrian Chancellor, in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars (1803 - 1815). Europe tried to maintain the order until World War I after that Congress, except Crimean War in 1853 – 1856.

The other important development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the Industrial Revolution. It was rooted approximately 1760s but started in 1820s in Britain. Although claims have been made for the Netherlands to be recognized as “the First Modern Economy,” nobody disputes that Great Britain became the first national economy to complete a transition to an industrial economy.<sup>4</sup> It was the milestone of modern imperialism. With that new model, imperialist empires needed much more raw material to process and produce new materials to sell it in internal and external markets. The establishment of the railroads was not inevitable. Some German states claimed that, railroad would diverse the capital from markets. Even in Prussia the first railroad was built in 1838.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Jeff Horn, Leonard N Rosenband, and Merrit Roe Smith, eds., *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2010), 21.

<sup>5</sup> Horn, Rosenband, and Smith, 9–10.

Other important events of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe were, the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. The 1830 Revolution mostly affected France. In that revolution Bourbon Monarchy abolished for the last time. The defeated supporters of the Restoration monarchy saw 1830 as the resurrection of 1789. In less than a generation the victors of 1830 were themselves defeated. The short-lived republic that took over was itself replaced by the revival of a Bonapartist empire, under the control of Napoleon's great-nephew. The 1830 Revolution was also occurred in Belgium, Brazil, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland and Italy.<sup>6</sup> The Revolution of 1848 affected all of the Europe and seen in almost 50 countries. One is characterized by its description of 1848 as the 'romantic revolution.' Some historians saw that revolution as 'springtime of the peoples'<sup>7</sup>

That era is also a time of change and effort in maintaining the order for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire tried to maintain the order, by hiring advisors from Europe Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) entered the empire a new period with wanting military teachers/advisors from Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840). He sent Helmuth von Moltke as a military advisor in 1835. Moltke was the first German advisor in the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His letters were published later as *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*<sup>8</sup> (Letters on Conditions and Events in Turkey in the Years 1835-1839). He participated in, Nizip Battle, a battle between the Ottoman Empire and governor of Egypt Muhammad Ali, in 1839. His experiences in the Ottoman army made big contributions to his later life, especially in the Prussian and German armies.

After Moltke's return to Prussia, another stagnation period was begun on the relations of these two powers.

---

<sup>6</sup> Pamela M. Pilbeam, *The 1830 Revolution in France* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 1–2.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848–1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe Über Zustände Und Begebenheiten in Der Türkei Aus Den Jahren 1835 Bis 1839* (Berlin: Drud und Berlag von Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1841).

Prussia was trying to solve her internal problems in this era. The most important important problem for Prussia in this era was 1848 Revolutions. Prussia became a mediator for the Ottoman Empire during Paris Peace Treaty after the Crimean War 1853-1856.<sup>9</sup>

Coronation of Wilhelm I (1861-1888) and his decision to choose Otto von Bismarck (1862-1890) to the office of Foreign Ministry and Prime Ministry changed the fate of Prussia. Bismarck united all German Kingdoms, except Austria under Prussia and transformed her into the German Empire with co-integrating other German Kingdoms or Principalities in 1871.

With the foundation of German Empire after the Franco-German War in 1870-71, Chancellor Bismarck adopted the balance policy, to prevent a war against, Russia and France. He tried to reduce tension between Russia and Austria, especially about sharing Balkans. Bismarck didn't want Germany to expand. He also didn't want to include Austria to the Reich. He didn't want to draw the attention of other big countries. Bismarck's main fear was an alliance between Russia and France or Russia and Austria. In these types of situations, Germany might have been fought at least with two enemies. Bismarck wanted to establish good relationships with Russia and Austria. He didn't give importance to the Orient. We can understand him that idea from his speech: "The Balkans not worth the healthy bones of a single Pomeranian musketeer."<sup>10</sup>

Bismarck even didn't want to send military advisors to Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) until 1882, he kept Abdülhamid waiting because he didn't want to annoy Russia and harm the Dreikaiserbund (League of the Three Emperors), between Germany, Austria- Hungary Empire, and Russia. He thought that, if he had sent military advisors to Russia, Russia would think that, The German Empire would support the Ottoman Empire against Russia, not only politically but also militarily. Bismarck's fear came true after the Ottoman- Russian War (1877-78). Because

---

<sup>9</sup> Harold Temperley, 'The Treaty of Paris of 1856 and Its Execution', *The Journal of Modern History* 4, no. 3 (1932): 411.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 110.

European power didn't accept the Treaty of San Stefano and meet in Berlin to revised it. Russia saw Germany responsible from that situation and, relations between these two countries got worse.

Before the Berlin Congress, Bismarck had the idea that Germany had only economic interests and not political interests in the Ottoman Empire. Also, Britain gave up defending Ottoman's territorial integrity. With the declaration of the Ottoman Empire's bankrupt, European powers face hungrily to the rich lands of the Ottoman Empire. That situation made familiar Germany and the Ottoman Empire because Germany had no official claim on the lands of the Ottoman Empire. That intimacy would rise in the reign of Wilhelm II (1888-1918). Because Wilhelm II supported Abdülhamid II's Pan-Islamist policies. Some German politicians didn't have imperialistic aims about the Ottoman Empire. They also claimed that the alliance and cooperation with the Ottoman Empire would strengthen the position of the German Empire against other Great Powers. For that reason, they gave special interest to the Ottoman Empire and tried to support her and her policies.<sup>11</sup> But we see that; The Wilhelminian administration for a long time denied or downplayed its activities in the Ottoman Empire, for fear of domestic or international opposition.<sup>12</sup>

After the disaster of Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), Ottoman army had to be renewed itself. To achieve that renewal and modernise the Ottoman army, Abdülhamid asked for military advisors from the German Empire. Wilhelm I sent a commission under the command of Kaehler in 1882, when he died in 1885, Colmar von der Goltz became the commander of the military commission and tried to reform the Ottoman army. He complained Abdülhamid's efforts of preventing the actions of German Military Mission. Not only Goltz but also Kamphövener, the artillery instructor who attended the Ottoman army with the committee of Kaehler Pasha, criticised the Turkish army for modernization. According to them; it is almost impossible to modernize the Turkish army. Goltz made the fortifications of

---

<sup>11</sup> Wilhelm Van Kampen, 'Studien Zur Deutschen Türkeipolitik in Der Zeit Wilhelm II' (Phd Dissertation, Kiel, 1968), 57-58.

<sup>12</sup> Kampen, 28-29.

Dardanelles and became efficient in weapon trade between the two empires. That trade affected the relations positively.<sup>13</sup> Goltz resigned from his position because of the problems with the Turkish officials and Abdülhamid in 1895. He would return his position after the Revolution of 1908. For that time his old students, like Mahmud Şevket Pasha called him as military advisor again.

## 2.2 The first Journey in 1889, Effects and Situation until the Second Journey

The first trip of the Kaiser Wilhelm II was held in 1889, only one year after his coronation. The first visit of Wilhelm II with the Sultan, who led him towards the end of 1889 in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Bismarck had tried in vain to talk the Emperor out of this visit. To reassure the Russian government, he therefore declared to the Tsar that the reason for the visit of İstanbul was only in the desire of the imperial couple, from Athens where it wanted to participate in the celebration of the marriage of Wilhelm II's sister to the crown prince of Greece not to return home without seeing İstanbul. Germany had no political interests in the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean. It was therefore excluded that the visit of the royal guests would have a political character, he added placidly an active German- Turkey policy could not be with Bismarck drove when the Chancellor was dismissed in 1890, it was the main obstacle to the emperor's Turkey policy.<sup>14</sup> “Still, Wilhelm’s 1889 trip was a harbinger of things to come. The aging Bismarck was pushed out of office in March 1890.”<sup>15</sup>

What was a diplomatic nightmare for Bismarck, however, was for Wilhelm very good fun. Wilhelm was feted everywhere he went in İstanbul, even by the English

---

<sup>13</sup> Fahri Türk, *Türkiye İle Almanya Arasındaki Silah Ticareti, 1871-1914: Krupp Firması, Mauser Tüfek Fabrikası, Alman Silah ve Cephane Fabrikaları* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2012), 92–99.

<sup>14</sup> Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie Zur Deutschen Aussenpolitik an Der Wende Zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Studien Zur Geschichtsforschung Der Neuzeit 9 (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 1997), 55.

<sup>15</sup> Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 10.

colony, which took him in as one of their own, he was the grandson of Queen Victoria of Britain. Addressing his German counterpart, in accordance with Islamic tradition, through a pair of interpreters, Sultan Abdülhamid took the impressionable young Kaiser into his confidence, complaining of palace plots, embassy gossip and the designs of other European sovereigns on his domains. Because Germany had not, displayed similar territorial ambitions, Wilhelm remembered the Sultan telling him, with an air of conspiracy, that his visit would make these powers very nervous. German engagement in the period between 1888 and 1890, which was certainly promoted by the Orient Journey of Wilhelm II in November 1889. The Treaty of Friendship, Trade, and Shipping concluded with Turkey on August 26, 1890, which included, among other things, the granting of the right to preferential treatment and its approval to the Reichstag on December 12, 1890, recommended. In fact, German exports to Turkey increased by 350% between 1888 and 1893.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, after the first agreements about Anatolian Railways, as a consequence of the first journey of Kaiser Wilhelm, Georg von Siemens, the director general of the Anatolian Railway, was prepared to involve financial groups from other countries in the railway project. The railway construction work was nevertheless quickly felt, Ankara was already reached in 1893. Within five years, German capital had come into possession of railway lines. Almost overnight, Turkey had become an important field of economic German engagement. This development continued. In 1896, the city of Konya was connected to the railway network. 70% of the costs incurred by the construction of the Anatolian Railway had flowed into German industry. The railway also served for the transport and sale of German products. In 1888, the value of German goods exported to Turkey was 11,700,000 marks, five years later Turkey imported German products for 40,900,000 marks, an increase of 350%. During the same period, the value of Turkish exports to Germany rose from 2,300,000 marks to 16,500,000 marks. The new rail route from the Bosphorus to Ankara and Konya also

---

<sup>16</sup> Gregor Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*, 3. Aufl (München: Oldenbourg, 2000), 48–49.

contributed to the remarkable development of Anatolia. The railway tracks increased agricultural production, factories, schools and hospitals emerged.<sup>17</sup>

Until 1899 Britain was the dominant power for supplying the telegraph requirements of the Ottoman Empire. After this journey, with effect and efforts of the Kaiser, the Sultan give the rights of consession of telegraph cable line from Berlin to İstanbul via Bucharest and Constanta to German companies.<sup>18</sup>

During his first trip to the Orient in autumn 1889, Wilhelm II also had discussed the situation of the German Protestants in Palestine with Sultan Abdülhamid II. The Kaiser mentioned the necessity of a church for the Protestants of Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup>

Also, Evangelische Jerusalem Stiftung (Evangelical Jerusalem Foundation) was founded for the purpose of that aim. At the initiative of Kaiserin Auguste Victoria, construction of the Christmas Church in Bethlehem began in 1889 and was inaugurated in 1893. It was initially the funds from the dissolved diocese available, namely the endowment capital in the amount of 430,000 marks, founded in 1841 collection fund about 220,000 marks and the 1869-1888 collected from the collection of Protestant churches in Germany church construction funds about 530,000 Marks available. The construction of the Church of the Redeemer began with a festive celebration of the laying of the cornerstone on Reformation Day in 1893. The emperor was very interested in the church construction project in Jerusalem. In fact, the design was inspired by his discovery of a Romanesque campanile in 1893 during a trip to Italy in Tivoli, which seemed architecturally well suited to the architecture of the Crusaders. He had already written travel plans in 1889 to Oberhof preacher Rudolf Kögel, an enthusiastic patron of German Protestant work in Jerusalem. It was

---

<sup>17</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 55–56.

<sup>18</sup> Naci Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, Library of Ottoman Studies, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 156.

<sup>19</sup> H. Bayram Soy, 'Kudüs'teki Erlösekirche'nin Açılışı : LI. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahatindeki (1898) Dini Motifler', *Tarih ve Toplum* 6, no. Fall 2007, Winter 2008 (2007): 120.

only in the spring of 1897 when the building had progressed far, that Wilhelm decided to work on the inauguration of the building.<sup>20</sup>

Wilhelm never forgot the charms of İstanbul. When at last he returned to the İstanbul in October 1898, there was little left to restrain the Kaiser from a full-blown diplomatic offensive. Old Bismarck had died earlier in the summer of 1890, banishing any lingering qualms the Kaiser might have felt over pursuing his more assertive foreign policy. After the forced resignation and the death of old chancellor, the Young Kaiser was the supreme and unquestionable leader of the German Empire. None of Bismarck's successors in the Chancellery or Foreign Office – Caprivi, Holstein, Marshall, Hohenlohe or Bülow – had yet figured out how to rein in the Kaiser's exuberance.<sup>21</sup>

Also, Wilhelm II and his ministers knew that they couldn't use imperialist policies on the Ottoman Empire, which they used other countries, because Ottoman Empire claimed world domination for centuries. But Wilhelm II met with his grandmother, British Empress Victoria, and British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil about the sharing of the lands of the Ottoman Empire in 1895. But, that meetings remain inconclusive because of some malfunctions. That malfunctions were some of the reasons for worsening the relations between the German Empire and British Empire. According to mother of the Kaiser, the Ottoman Empire should be settled only in the Anatolian part of the empire. Her views matched up with the views of Salisbury. Wilhelm II submit another proposal about the sharing of the Ottoman lands, but Salisbury seemed unwilling about the proposal, so that subject wasn't on the agenda for both sides.<sup>22</sup> Prime Minister Salisbury felt in 1895 before the German government because of a possible division of Turkey under the Anglo-German leadership, albeit without success. According to some sources that distribution plans were directly related to the unjustifiable misdeeds that painted the sultan's despotism in the worst colours. But even in Germany, a violent dispute arose over the illegitimacy of the violent measures.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Hartmut Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone: Die Religiöse Dimension Des Kaisertums Unter Wilhelm II. Vor Dem Hintergrund Der Orientreise 1898* (Marburg: Tectum, 2001), 149–152.

<sup>21</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 11.

<sup>22</sup> H. Bayram Soy, '1895'te Lord Salisbury'nin Almanya'ya Osmanlı Devleti'ni Paylaşma Teklifi', *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları* 5, no. Fall 2006 (Fall 2006.): 155–63.

<sup>23</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 160.



Also, we can easily understand the views of Britain about the Ottoman Empire from the sentences of Empress Victoria about Abdülhamid II: “This modern Nero inspires me with nothing but disgust!”<sup>24</sup> Salisbury's empire was even stronger in 1895 with its so-called compensation plan The British, with the renouncement of the Orient-Triple Alliance in 1896, for the first time clearly demonstrated their confidence in German ambitions with the influence that the empire gained in Turkey, by contrast with England, both in the question the Armenian incidents in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>25</sup> Political considerations for the friendly Turkey, which had to fight because of the Armenian incidents 1895 to 1896 with greatest diplomatic difficulties, made a late initiation and travel date seem advised. But also, domestic German problems meant that the travel plan could only be tackled for 1898.<sup>26</sup>

December 6, 1897, on the occasion of the German occupation of Tsingtao in China, Foreign Minister Bernhard von Bülow pronounces this famous speech that puts into form Germany's new politics as well as the *Zeitgeist* of the time: “The times when the German left the land to one of his neighbours, the sea to another and reserved the sky for himself, where it is the only pure doctrine that reign supreme those days are over. We do not want to the shadow to anyone, but we also claim our place in the sun.” This speech marks the official launch of Germany in the *Weltpolitik*. German politics is becoming more resolute and provocative towards other great powers.<sup>27</sup>

The German Empire saw the Ottoman Empire as a springboard in terms of economic and political terms. While cooperating with the Ottoman Empire, German Empire used her as an ally and a partner rather than an imperialist power. With that policy, Germany would not only use the Ottoman sources and geopolitical location but also harm the imperialistic policy of her rivals. She especially wanted to threat Britain via using the ways to India. Wilhelm II and the German Empire also tried to patronize Muslims, to win the trust of Muslims and the Ottoman Empire. She also wanted to mess up Britain's Muslim colonies and break her power in that lands especially in India. When we look at that alliance; it was inevitable. Because after Bismarck,

---

<sup>24</sup> Bernhard Fürst von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1930), 270.

<sup>25</sup> Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*, 50.

<sup>26</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 152–53.

<sup>27</sup> Kaynar, ‘Les Rapports Entre Les Jeunes Turcs et l’Allemagne Avant 1908’, 56.

Wilhelm II lost all the allies of the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire lost almost all of her Balkan territory in Berlin Congress (1878). She also lost Egypt to Britain in 1881 and Tunis to France in 1882. That alliance was the only way to survive for both empires. Also, Abdülhamid tried to break the impact of Britain and France on the Ottoman Empire. Germany was a good tool to break that impact for Abdülhamid. Orient trip of the Kaiser was a good way to maintain the effect and show the good relations between those two powers.<sup>28</sup> That was also a trunk show for the Kaiser to prove the German Empire's and her Weltpolitik's power to rivals of the German Empire, especially to Britain.

### 2.3 Critiques about the Ottoman-German Relations and the Journey

When we look at the critiques, we see different views. For Example; Only *Mecheveret*, criticised the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire, among the Ottoman press. When we look at the Arabic Newspapers, they generally supported this relationship and the journey, but Egyptian newspapers heavily criticised this journey. It may be because of the British influence and dominance in Egypt. When we look at the views among the German Empire, we see some differences. For Example, Social Democrats criticised the Kaiser and the journey because, they see Abdülhamid as the killer of Armenians, but some German Social Democrat newspapers like *Vorwaerts* supported the Sultan. Liberal Press in the German Empire, especially *Badische Landeszeitung* harshly criticised the journey as the same reasons with Social Democrats. French and Russian and some British Newspapers were anxious about the journey and its consequences. They were afraid of the German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire and Middle East.

One of the harshest critiques came from *Mechveret*, organ Young Turks (the Ottoman Opposition) published in France, of to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire. But their critiques abouto the protection of the

---

<sup>28</sup> Necmettin Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* The Journal of Ottoman Studies (2008): 11–15.

Ottoman Empire by the German Empire and Kaiser Wilhelm II rather than the alliance of nature of the relations between two empires. The journal told about the European Concert and criticised her for lack of harmony. They also mentioned the desire of Wilhelm's becoming the leader of that concert. The journal warned Wilhelm and accused Abdülhamid II with becoming the murderer of not only the Christian but also the Muslim subject. They also declared their desires an administration like in Germany. They told also that:

Where does the Sultan stay, why is he deaf to the complaints of his subjects, how is it that so much blood has been shed in Asia Minor and in the streets of İstanbul without Kaiser has a voice in favor of the victims? In doubt, he could not prevent the first massacres which took place in Armenia; but since then these massacres have been renewed, and the same silence has always been observed on the part of Germany. We have seen the young emperor admire the ferocious energy of the Sultan, and give him in his speeches, and by demonstrations, unexpected encouragements.<sup>29</sup>

They also mentioned the desire for reforms from the beginning of the reign of the Sultan Abdülhamid II. They asked the reason for the German Empire's sympathy. They already asked; how Ottoman Empire could transform, while she was a despotic empire. They used that expression to clarify the situation of the Ottoman Empire:

Besides, the future of a country is in the people and not in the oligarchy which governs it. When England was the ally of Turkey and declared herself for the Ottomans, her commercial transactions with that country were the double and the triple of what they are today. The Pashas and the Sultans did not buy their calicoes, but the people, the Turkish peasant, were dressed in them. But it is no secret that in recent years the Ottomans have been buying German products. That the Turkish people will acquire the conviction tomorrow that the Germans are working only for them, not for its liberation and happiness, and their pray is merely apparent since it is devoted exclusively to the service of the Sultan and his band, and he will certainly be happy, and his sympathies will go to others.<sup>30</sup>

They thought that it would be unworthy of him to protect tyranny, it is oppressed and eroded under the peculiar pretext that German interests command it.

Arabic newspapers like *Lisan, Al – Mu'ayyad* and *Thamarat al – Funun* saw the Kaiser as the greatest ruler of the West and that journey as a mark of the alliance

---

<sup>29</sup> Y Z, 'Guillaume II et Abdul-Hamid', *Mechveret Supplement Français*, 1 November 1897, 1–2.

<sup>30</sup> Halil Ganem, 'La Turquie & L' Allemagne', *Mechveret Supplement Français*, 15 November 1897, 2–3.

between those two empires. But Egyptian newspapers like *Al – Ahram* and *Al–Muqattam* heavily criticised the efforts of the German Empire upon the Ottoman Empire especially about Syrian and Palestinian Coasts because of the colonial desire of the German Empire and Kaiser Wilhelm II. *Al-Muayyad* also published an article about the military and industrial progress of the German Empire, and colonial ambitions of Ottoman possessions would constitute the main reasons of Ottoman approaches to the German Empire. Because of those situations, the newspaper claimed that the German Empire would gain the sympathy of the Ottoman Empire for the promotions of German trade and also use the Ottoman Empire against Europe in a possible conflict in the future.<sup>31</sup>

That was an interesting outlook about the views of the German Media and politicians about the Ottoman Empire and Abdülhamid II. Social Democratic Party (SPD), a revisionist socialist party, and the leaders of that party like Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky were against the policies of Abdülhamid II about Armenians. *Vorwaerts Newspaper* and its redactor Karl Liebknecht were pro-Ottoman. Because it's about the policy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel's during the Crimean War. According to that policy, seeing the Sultan in İstanbul and the Balkans was favored rather than the Tsar for the socialist aims in the future.<sup>32</sup> Also, *Badische Landeszeitung* criticised Kaiser because of that journey and charged Abdülhamid with killing Armenians. Their other critiques to Kaiser are, the expense of the journey, they ask that; did Kaiser paid his yacht's fuel from his own treasury.<sup>33</sup> “*Alldeutsche Blätter*, an important pro-colonialist paper, summarized the feasible goals of the Kaiser's Orient journey in two points: political influence and economic benefit.”<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Abdel - Raouf Sinno, ‘The Emperor's Visit to the East as Reflected in Contemporary Arabic Journalism’, in *Baalbek: Image and Monument 1898-1998*, by Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler, and Angelika Neuwirth (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 117–18.

<sup>32</sup> Kampen, ‘Studien Zur Deutschen Türkeipolitik in Der Zeit Wilhelm II’, 237–38.

<sup>33</sup> Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 88–89.

<sup>34</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 144.

Some of the German newspapers had different views about the journey of the Kaiser about. For instance; *Badische Landeszeitung*, a Liberal German Zeitung, said that: “How would the Kaiser shake Sultan’s hands, who killed many Armenians.” Another Liberal newspaper *Konstanzer Zeitung* published an article about the incidents and saw Armenians as guilty and told that; “Without Abdülhamid II, the Ottoman Empire wouldn’t survive.” The newspaper saw him as a great ruler and diplomat and his words effect not only the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire but also all of the Muslims. For that reason, that visitation is so important.<sup>35</sup>

When we look at the critique of the *Daily Chronicle* on October 19 1898, it is very harsh and derogatory for the Ottoman Empire. The newspaper used that sentence to reflect their reaction to that journey and the Kaiser: "An emperor has broken with the European tradition and left his path conspicuously to honour a barbarian whose crimes against humanity are as infamous as they are terrible."<sup>36</sup>

Also, Britain, France, and Russia followed the journey curiously. That journey had seen as a revival of the Protestant politics, aiming the patronizing them, of Wilhelm IV.<sup>37</sup> Other critiques about the journey from Germany come from Bülow’s mother in law, Danna Lara Minghetti, a member of Reichstag Lügen Richter, and a satirical newspaper which was published in Munich, *Simplicissimus*. Minghetti saw that journey a ridiculous attempt. Richter criticised that journey as the rotating to the Byzantine lands. The journal *Simplicissimus* used her satiric language to draw old Crusaders like Barbarossa to ironize that journey. Also, some views claimed that Wilhelm had an intention to become the protector of the Ottoman Empire and Muslims.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 96.

<sup>36</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 102.

<sup>37</sup> The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. endorsed to build a Protestant diocese in Jerusalem together. The establishment of this bishopric influenced the other Christian churches. In response to the founding of the Protestant diocese, the Vatican again occupied the chair of the Latin Patriarch for the first time since the Crusader period, and the Orthodox Church from now on also paid special attention to the selection of its Palestinian clergy to position themselves vis-à-vis the two competing denominations true. Richter, 146.

<sup>38</sup> Kampen, ‘Studien Zur Deutschen Türkeipolitik in Der Zeit Wilhelm II’, 134–46.

The Zionist weekly *Die Welt* also welcomed the sympathy for the German Emperor in İstanbul: Wilhelm II, as mentioned, had declared himself a patron of the Zionist project, and now the intercession with the Sultan for the Zionist plan announced by him had seemed to him to assume the character of a trusted friendly council.<sup>39</sup>

Not only the Kaiser but also the Zionist movement had the same enthusiasm. They believed that the Jewish settlement and state would be found with the alliance with the German Empire. Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* published a news on October 28 1898 and stated that the German Empire would bring a flourish to Palestine.<sup>40</sup>

The journey reaches like a splendid phantasy piece into the immediate reality. In *Die Welt* it almost coincided that the imperial journey looks like a piece of renewed romanticism on the imagination, that it stimulates the most modern Realpolitiker to a wealth of thoughts. In the opinion of this national-liberal Viennese newspaper, the imperial journey was entirely in the tradition of Bismarck's Turkey policy. However, it was not excluded, the paper continued, that the policy of Wilhelm II of Turkey seeks other counter-services not falling within the scope of international politics, seeking to increase the authority of Germany in the East.<sup>41</sup>

On October 5 , the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* wrote that the emperor was traveling to Turkey as a traveling salesman of the German economy, so his trip represented something like a customer visit to the German industrial fabric.<sup>42</sup> The newspaper also wrote that; it was enthusiastic: “There is something new that has never happened before, and it is about to happen in one of the oldest and most venerable places of humanity.”<sup>43</sup> With that sentences, Neu Freie Presse saw that journey as a millennium and a turning point not only for both empires and also for the Middle East.

---

<sup>39</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 81–82.

<sup>40</sup> Klaus Polkehn, ‘Zionism and Kaiser Wilhelm’, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4, no. 2 (Winter 1975): 79.

<sup>41</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 124.

<sup>42</sup> *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 October 1898, 12255 edition, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Neue Freie Presse* October 14, 1898, Nr. 12264, Morgenblatt, S. 1

Foreign statesman and some media organs mentioned about the developments in the Ottoman Empire via the help and contribution of German Empire. One of the best examples about that influence is the contribution of Germany to the Ottoman Empire while the Greco- Turkish War, Thirty Days' War in 1897. Although some lands of the empire being amputated, Sultan trying to enlarge his sphere of influence. His that ambition is similar to Kaiser's some policies. *The Times* mentions the plan of the building of second Lutheran Church in Jerusalem by Gustavus Adolphus Society. That society had 30.000 marks for their aim. Most of the members of that society were German Orangemen.<sup>44</sup>

Fatmagül Demirel, claimed that foreign media was obliged to share the almost same news with the Ottoman media because of the censorship to their reporters in İstanbul, she gave *the Times* newspaper as an example to that<sup>45</sup>, but we saw some differences between, the foreign press and the Ottoman press. The especially Russian press made harsh critiques to expenses during that journey. French newspapers saw that journey as a beneficial business travel. Probably the trues comment for that journey is the French's one. French journal *Le Figaro* claimed that; “the German Empire and the Austria- Hungary Empire, harmed the European Concert. Also, If Wilhelm II, tried to gain a port in Jerusalem and tried to become the protector of both Protestants and Catholics he took Britain on.”<sup>46</sup> In my opinion it is a commercial travel for the German economy. It was the main aim of the trip according to some sources.

Also, we can see some caricatures in that era about the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire over the personal relationship between the two emperors, Abdülhamid II and Wilhelm II. Some caricatures called the competition between the German Empire and other Western Powers in the Ottoman lands as modern crusades in competition. In some caricatures, artists draw a camel which has the head of Abdülhamid and shows the way to the German Kaiser. Those

---

<sup>44</sup> ‘The German Emperor’s Journey’, *The Times*, 19 October 1898, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Fatmagül Demirel, *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, Yakın Tarih Dizisi (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2007), 84.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Duo Contre Quator’, *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1898, 1.

caricatures are also evidence of the changing in the concept of crusade and colonization. The German Empire started to use friendly relationship and corporation to colonize the Ottoman Empire and also Persia. Also, some caricatures criticised the balance policy of Abdülhamid. In some caricatures, and in reality, of course, Abdülhamid turned into even a toy of Kaiser Wilhelm II, but in some cases, he became a power, who mocked with everybody. Some sources criticised him with his actions, especially about Armenians and oppositions which ignored balance of power in Europe. Those actions were the key points of his balance policy. Some caricatures claimed that; Having banned, as subversives, dramas and tragedies, Abdülhamid had the ingenious and fruitful idea of amusing his beloved people. Wilhelm, who is on his commendations, is giving him a shoulder hug on this occasion. Also, one of the caricatures showed Abdülhamid as a blind man and Wilhelm as his guide dog. That means Abdülhamid made his actions under the guidance of Wilhelm II. In one caricature, which is about the policy of Abdülhamid, the caricaturist drew Abdülhamid as a monkey, Wilhelm as his trainer and Halil Rıfat, grand vizier of Abdülhamid between 1895 and 1901, the man who collects money from people who are watching the show. In that caricature Abdülhamid plays with a German music. That one is one of the harshest caricatures about the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire, and Abdülhamid and Wilhelm II. That is the sign of the idea of obedience of the policy of the Ottoman Empire to the German Empire, according to the caricaturist. Those ones show not only the image of Abdülhamid on Turkish media but also role and power of Kaiser Wilhelm II on Abdülhamid and the foreign and domestic policy of the Ottoman Empire in that era.

47

The displeasure of the *Sankt-Peterburgskija Vjedomosti* on the Emperor's journey was not an isolated case in the Russian press. The big Russian newspapers reacted with suspicion to the Emperor's trip to Turkey with unanimous approval. The newspaper *Novosti* said German Turkic policy was foreign to any sentimentality, it was roughly realistic. The paper demanded that neither Russia nor France remains

---

<sup>47</sup> Ali Nouri, *Abdul-Hamid En Caricature* (İstanbul: Imprimerie des Banques Haim, Rozio & Cie, Imprimeurs- éditeurs, 1932), 72–73, 84–85, 97, 112–15.



behind Germany. *Kieler Zeitung* may not name the burden of the German-Russian relationship correctly the journey of the German emperor to the East was not suitable for improving relations between Germany and Russia, wrote, without thereby realizing the real significance of German Turkish politics.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II.* 1898, 234.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE ORIENT JOURNEY OF KAISER WILHELM II

#### 3.1 Preparation for the Journey

On November 19, 1897, Abdülhamid met with Freiherr Marschall Bieberstein, envoy of the German Empire. Bieberstein informed the sultan about; the Kaiser joined the following year at the ceremonial inauguration of the newly built church in Jerusalem. The Sultan noted that he had often had the opportunity to express the truly religious meaning and deep understanding of the Kaiser to appreciate the importance of religion, pointing to the constant care, the preservation of religious sentiment in the army. The sultan conveys his warmest thanks to the Kaiser via von Bieberstein for the kind acceptance of his officers in the Prussian army, who would have the opportunity to learn much from the great model, and to use their knowledge for the benefit of their country. The Turkish people have a deep sympathy for German Empire and the German people.<sup>49</sup>

The new ambassador, Marshal von Bieberstein, advocated that penetration, so that it does not lag far behind its potential, increasingly also be understood as a political one. This meant measures for the stabilization of the Ottoman system, also with widespread effect and, if necessary, conflict resolution with the other major powers.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Johannes Lepsius, Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and Friedrich Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, vol. 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899 (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft Für Politik und Geschichte M.B.H, 1924), 557–58.

<sup>50</sup> Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum Vom Deutschen Orient: Zwei Deutsche Kolonien Im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006), 171.

Some historians see this journey as the contrast of the invasion of the Egypt by Napoleon, 100 years before the journey of Kaiser Wilhelm. Napoleon's invasion was a disaster for the Ottoman Empire and it was the first effort of Western Orientalism. But the Kaiser's aim was different. He was a friend of the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup>

Just before the journey of Kaiser Wilhelm, the penetration of the German Empire in almost all areas, economic, cultural military into the Ottoman Empire had sharply increased. Especially, with the efforts of von der Goltz, the Ottoman Empire had bought arms, and took military advisors from the German Empire. Thanks to this military and political relations, German Empire became efficient and dominant in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>52</sup>

Friedrich Wilhelm Barkhausen, President of the Prussian Protestant Church Council and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Jerusalem Foundation, wrote to the designated Secretary of State of the Foreign Bernhard von Bülow: The construction of the Church of the Redeemer on the Muristan in Jerusalem, for which the funds were raised through collections in the Protestant churches throughout Germany, is nearing completion, so that the inauguration of the church for the year 1898 can be envisaged. So that there is no connection with the Armenian Problem with the trip.<sup>53</sup> The danger was not only limited with Anarchists. Ottoman Officers received a report. According to that; Armenians would kick up a fuss. Officers took precaution to prevent faux pas during the journey of Kaiser in İstanbul.<sup>54</sup>

“The important point about the Kaiser Wilhelm's view upon the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire is; winning the ‘allegiance’ of Germany in discouraging further

---

<sup>51</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 11–12.

<sup>52</sup> Sinno, ‘The Emperor's Visit to the East as Reflected in Contemporary Arabic Journalism’, 115.

<sup>53</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone* 151–52, 166; H. Bayram Soy, ‘Kudüs'teki Erlösekirche'nin Açılışı: II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahatindeki (1898) Dini Motifler’, *Tarih ve Toplum* 6, no. Fall 2007, Winter 2008 (2007): 121.

<sup>54</sup> B.O.A. Y.A.HUS 389/142; Also see Fatmagül Demirel

concerted action by the other European powers on the Armenian issue.”<sup>55</sup> Taking the side of the Kaiser with the Ottoman Empire, strengthen the hands of the Ottoman Empire in that issue against the attempts of the Western powers, especially Britain and France.

According to a report of Bülow which was written to Kaiser Wilhelm II on June 4, 1898; there would be some consequence of acquiring the Dormition Church. Bülow claimed that; opening of the church, would help to the German Empire to harm French prestige in the Levant region. This also may give birth to German antagonism against the French Catholics in the Orient. In fact; there was a struggle between the German Empire and France in the Ottoman lands. The Sultan, knew this situation and wanted to use it. Also, the Catholic policy of the German Empire and the Kaiser, would harm the influence of France in the region. This policy was one of the marks of the changing and reshaping of Iron Chancellor’s, Otto von Bismarck, policy, balance policy in the Europe, especially France.<sup>56</sup>

Preparations of that trip were published in newspapers almost four months before the trip. Guards of Kaiser who were appointed by the Ottoman Empire, during the second part, in Syria and Palestine and the program of that part were published by the *New York Times*.

According to news quoted from Berlin; A troop consisted of 100 soldiers would escort to the Kaiser and the Kaiserin. Also, 12.000 soldiers would be ready or meet the royal guests with their new uniforms. Kaiser would leave Jafa to go to Jerusalem on October 26, 1898. They would stay the night at Caesarea and reach Jerusalem on October 29. They would join some religious activities at Bethelhem in the morning, and at Mount of Olives in the afternoon on October 30. Erlöserkirche at Jerusalem would be consecrated on October 31. They would encamp at Plain of Jericho and visit River Jordan and the Dead Sea. After staying four days at Jerusalem, they visit Nazareth, Sea of Galilee and Mount Tabor. They would visit Damascus and the ruins of Temple of Baal on November 10.<sup>57</sup>

But, Kaiser would change that plan during the journey. Later, the *New York Times* published another program about the journey and told about the expenses of that

---

<sup>55</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 138.

<sup>56</sup> Yorulmaz, 136.

<sup>57</sup> ‘William’s Trip to Palestine’, *The New York Times*, 26 June 1898, 17.

journey in September 1898. The newspaper told that Kaiser would stay in İstanbul for twelve days.<sup>58</sup> Another surprising information about the journey was; only the decoration expenses of the journey cost 1.500.000 marks. The first part of the news is wrong. Because the royal guests would stay only five days in İstanbul. Actual expense of the royal guests costed approximately 20,095.57 Liras, 370,763 marks. That expense consisted of construction of the new rooms specially built in the Yıldız Palace and the modernization of clothes for the cadets in the Military School (which the Kaiser visited) and the salaries for those who accompanied the Kaiser during his Jerusalem visit.<sup>59</sup>

When we look at the first plan of the journey, it changed so many because of especially the assassination attempt to the Kaiser. According to first plan the journey would be placed like that:

Besides İstanbul and Palestine, Egypt should also have been toured. August to Eulenburg sent a secret draft of the imperial travel program to Barkhausen, which received it on September 3 : October 12th to October 13th: Train journey from Berlin to Venice. October 13 to October 17: Boat trip from Venice to İstanbul. 17 October to 22 October: stay in İstanbul. October 22 to October 25: Shipping from İstanbul to Haifa. October 25 to October 26: stay in Haifa. October 26: Carriage from Haifa to Caesarea, tent camp. October 27: Carriage from Caesarea to Jaffa, Hotel Du Parc. October 28: Ride from Jaffa to Latrun, tent camp. October 29: ride from Latrun to Jerusalem tent camp outside the city, in the afternoon entry into Jerusalem, visiting the Holy Sepulcher, receipt of church dignitaries, diplomats and Archimandrite in the German consulate. October 30 (Sunday): church service in the Protestant church in Bethlehem, visit the Church of the Nativity, where Jesus was born, the new orphanage, reception of the deputies of the Jerusalem Association and the Order of St. John, the delegate from the state church; Visit to the German (Templar) colony; In the afternoon worship on the Mount of Olives, visit of the garden Gethsemane. October 31: Inauguration of the Redeemer Church in the morning, drive to Jericho, camp at Jericho. November 1 : Ride or car trip to the Dead Sea and up to the Jordan ford, from the camp you may visit the monastery at Djabal Qarantal. November 2: Return to Jerusalem, visit Bethany or Gethsemane. November 3: German diaconal institutions (Syrian orphanage). November 4. Ride to the Monastery of Mar Saba. Naclunts may visit the Wailing Wall. Drive the Kaiserin to the Solomonic ponds, possibly to Bet Jala. November 5: Train from Jerusalem to Jaffa, if possible embarkation (otherwise overnight at Hotel du Parc). November 6 (Sunday): Shipping to Haifa. November 7: train travel from Haifa to Nazareth, ride to Mount Tabor, tent camp. November 8: Ride from Mount Tabor to Tiberias, visit the biblical sites on the Sea of Galilee, tent camp. November 9: Carriage from Tiberias via Nazareth to Haifa. November 9 to November 11: Boat trip from Haifa to

---

<sup>58</sup> 'William's Trip to Turkey', *The New York Times*, 18 September 1898, 7.

<sup>59</sup> B.O.A. Y.MTV.188/146

Beirut. November 12: Special train from Beirut to Damascus. November 13 (Sunday): Sightseeing in Damascus. November 14: return by special train from Damascus to Muallaka, Carriage from Muallaka to Baalbek. November 15: Return to Muallaka, then by train to Beirut. For the trip to Egypt, November 16 to November 17: Boat trip from Beirut to Alexandria, a special train to Cairo. November 18 to December 8: Journey through Egypt on the Nile from Cairo to Aswan and back. December 9 to December 13: Cruise from Alexandria to Venice. December 14 to 15: train journey from Venice to Berlin. The trip to Egypt was finally abandoned because in Alexandria suspected anarchists had prepared an assassination attempt on the Kaiser.<sup>60</sup>

That showed that the assassination news changed the time of journey and shortened it for almost 1 month. The German press gave so much importance to that attempt and write many things about it. Even some newspapers like *Berliner Tageblatt* gave the details of the attempt.<sup>61</sup> But when the time came, that plan had changed so much especially because of the cancelation of the Egyptian part of the journey.

One of the aims of the Wilhelm II in Jerusalem was, to open Erlöserkirche, Church of the Redeemer. Jerusalem was almost forgotten as a pilgrimage destination for Europeans in the times following the Reformation. Especially the romanticizing King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia saw here a field of activity.<sup>62</sup> But the church couldn't be constructed during the reign of the king. Wilhelm II actualized his great-grandfathers' dream. The ceremony of sod- turning was held in the Reformation Day for Protestants, on October 31, 1893.<sup>63</sup>

According to a news from *the Times* complete list of the guest had not been published before the journey. But they had some information. According to this information, Patriarch Zolento would represent the Protestantss of Austria- Hungary. The newspaper had not any information about the representator of Russian Empire.

---

<sup>60</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 175–77.

<sup>61</sup> 'Erfreuliche Wendungen', *Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*, 18 October 1898, Number 529 edition, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm IV had at that time selected 100,000 talers as the foundation of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem; Kaiser Wilhelm determined the sum as Kollevtifonds for a new German Church of the Holy Communion and Buildings and left the church of St. Jakobs to the British, in order to make Germany independent. Richard von Kralik, *Allgemeine Geschichte Der Neusten Zeit von 1815 Bis Zur Gegenwart Vierter Band, Teil B, 1889-1899* (Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag, 1920), 1080.

<sup>63</sup> B.O.A. Y.A. HUS. 283/72

They even did not know whether Russia had been invited. Russia had 6 million Protestants, this number was so important for that time.<sup>64</sup>

The conversations about the Erlöserkirche and Muristan area had begun in almost 30 years before the trip. When the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, later German Emperor Friedrich III and father of Wilhelm II, came to İstanbul in 1869 on his journey to the opening of the Suez Canal, he received the Muristan donated by Sultan Abdülaziz.<sup>65</sup> On November 7, 1869 took he was solemnly owned by the property in Jerusalem. After the purchase of the land in Berlin they immediately went to the preparation of plans for the construction of a church. Two years later, a chapel for the German-speaking church service was set up on the Muristan.<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile, Professor Friedrich Adler designed the plans for the construction of the Erlöserkirche, but protracted negotiations with England in the context of the common bishopric delayed the construction.

The Anglo-Prussian diocese contract gave the Anglican Church the dominant position. According to the treaty, the Protestant bishop in Jerusalem was an Anglican bishop who was under the archbishop of Canterbury. Prussia had certain rights of participation in the appointment and remuneration of the bishop. The construction of an imposing Prussian church building, however, was not consistent with the small role played by the Prussian church in the diocese of Jerusalem in 1885, therefore, at the instigation of Prussia, the diocese contract was abrogated by mutual agreement. The Prussian funds that had previously flowed into the Diocese of Jerusalem were united in the Evangelischen Jerusalem- Stiftung (Evangelical Jerusalem Foundation).<sup>67</sup> According to a news from Neue Freie Presse;

For months, the journey had been the subject of lively discussions, which had been the kept alive, especially by the French, and which focus on the question of the

---

<sup>64</sup> ‘The German Emperor’s Journey’, *The Times*, 14 October 1898, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Bayram Soy, ‘Almanya İmparatoru II. Wilhelm’in İkinci Doğu Seyahati’, in *İki Dost Hükümdar*, ed. İlon Baytar (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2010), 143.

<sup>66</sup> *Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1899), 180.

<sup>67</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 146–47.

Protectorate on Catholics in the East. At the Vatican accredited Prussian envoy Otto von Bülow, not Bernhard von Bülow, a grayling diplomat who already has the old one Kaiser Wilhelm on his travels as a representative is to be dismissed because of the Pope in a speech to French pilgrims the traditional Protectorate of France on the Catholic Christians in the Orient has confirmed. The dismissal does not mean one Demolition of diplomatic relations between Berlin and the Vatican, whose restoration after the Culinary combat known to be so difficult and difficult was; it is just the answer to the recognition of the French Protectorate the Pope, by the way, several weeks ago in the papal letter to Cardinal Langenienx had been pronounced and ideas on the part of Berlin Foreign Office. The Palestine voyage of Wilhelm's II, whose sayings the purpose of the inauguration of the already by Friedrich Wilhelm IV was taken into consideration in Protestant Erlöserkirche, Jerusalem is distrustful in France he continued existence of French intellectual property rights over the Catholics in the Orient evoked. This property right, whose Beginnings already go back to Francis I and that through Centuries as a sign of French influence in the Orient. The Protectorate on the German Palestine Association factually and, if we are not mistaken, even by a spell of the Pope has been disavowed. France wants from him do not let and insist on its historical claims with increased obstinacy. It is about a diplomatic campaign and that the dismissal of envoy Otto von Bülow does not turn its head against the pope alone, but against the French influences which have determined him to take sides in France in the protectorate question.<sup>68</sup>

Some newspapers saw the Kaiser Wilhelm II as a prominent leader in the way of modernization. Even, he was likened to the Roman Emperors. His perfection in English and French and interest in science and art was applaudable.<sup>69</sup>

Another important event during the trip is; assassination attempt to the Kaiser. Assassins were arrested in Port Said.<sup>70</sup> Other important information is that; they have plans to assassinate Umberto, king of Italy.<sup>71</sup> Assassins testified that they would kill the Kaiser at the palace of the Khedive.<sup>72</sup> That attempt was not the first one on September 10, 1898, Anarchists killed Elisabeth of Austria in Genova, actually they intended to kill Duke of Orleans Prince Philippe, pretender of the throne of France, but Philippe left Genova earlier and assassin changed his aim to Elisabeth and kill her.

---

<sup>68</sup> *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 October 1898, 12262 edition, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 76–77.

<sup>70</sup> Ernst Freiherr von Mirbach, *Die Reise Des Kaisers Und Der Kaiserin Nach Palästina* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1899), 1–2.

<sup>71</sup> 'Plot Against the Kaiser', *The New York Times*, 17 October 1898, 1; *Volkeszeitung*, 17 October 1898, 1.

<sup>72</sup> 'Plot to Murder Emperor William', *The New York Times*, 15 October 1898, 1.



After that event, Kaiser canceled the Egypt journey. The German Liberal, Radical and Socialist newspapers manifest a strong desire to cast doubts upon the discovery of Anarchist plot. That sensitiveness can be associated with the upcoming elections. According to *Vossische Zeitung*; *Ägyptian Kurier*, German Newspaper published in Egypt, English have a hand in that assassination attempt. Egypt Journey can be seen as the denial of the British occupation in there. Some claims that; Kaiser canceled that journey because of security problems, some say that; Khedive declared that he can't meet the expenditures of the journey. Some German newspapers claimed that; it is not true the Kaiser canceled his Egypt journal because of external pressure<sup>73</sup>,

The real reason for the cancelation of the trip was; Kaiser didn't have a vice-person to rule the empire, in the absence of him.<sup>74</sup>

Von Bülow wrote in his diaries about the war and Crete Problem different than the zeitgeist; He had advised the Kaiser not to take any actions against Turks, but also not to take their part too vigorously, for Crete would, in any case, become Greek in time. The Kaiser despised the Greeks at that time, after the purchase island of Corfu he became enthusiastic for his sister Sophia and her wife Constantine of Greece. He agreed with the suggestions of Bülow. Bülow also thought that Pan-Islamism would not bring serious embarrassments on British, French, Italian or Russians.<sup>75</sup> That comment is so important. Because we understand that, the Kaiser and future Ottoman governors couldn't realize that and declared the Holy Jihad and shows the righteousness of that view. Abdülhamid was very surprised about that declaration and told that: "It is not jihad itself, but the name is a weapon for us."<sup>76</sup>

Also, Turkish media saw the importance of the good relations with the German Empire. *Sabah* Newspaper mentioned the importance of learning the German language. *Sabah* also quoted from German *Kölnische Zeitung* and that newspaper published an article about the importance of journey for Protestant Community.<sup>77</sup> *Berliner Börsenzeitung* quoted from *Sabah* and mentioned the good relations between the Germans and the East. Also, liken Wilhelm II to Friedrich the Great, and

---

<sup>73</sup> 'The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times*, 14 October 1898, 3.

<sup>74</sup> 'The German Emperor in Constantinople', *The Times*, 21 October 1898, 3.

<sup>75</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 252.

<sup>76</sup> Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid* (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2007), 233.

<sup>77</sup> 'İmparator Hazretlerinin Seyahati ve Almanya ve Avusturya Matbuatı', *Sabah*, 18 October 1898, 2; *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 20 October 1898, 534 edition, 1.

told it, he is as respectable as the magnificent German king Friedrich the Great. There is a mistake there. Because Germans never had a good relationship with the Eastern World. They joined the Crusades and during the Early Modern Era, they were the main enemy of the Ottoman Empire. Most probably that sentences told to ingratiate the sultan.<sup>78</sup> Because of the censorship of Abdülhamid II, Turkish media couldn't criticise almost anything about the sultan, even that journey. For that reason, the Turkish media could only narrate the journey.

With that trip, Wihelm gain many chances to show his imperial power. According to European powers and observers, when the Kaiser reached to the Ottoman Empire, he showed his support to the Ottoman Empire, especially about the tensions with Armenians. Abdülhamid found a protector European power since 1878, when Britain gave up to protecting the Ottoman Empire. By doing so, The German Empire and the Kaiser, gained a base in the Middle East, but they lost the and demolish the policy of Bismarck, balance of powers in Europe.<sup>79</sup>

A comment from an Ottoman bureaucrat is important. According to that comment: A friendship between Turkey and England would be much more natural than that with Germany, it would be popular with the Ottoman Empire because of the great number of Moslems under English rule and could bring benefits to England. In recent years, England had better understand her interest. The Sultan accepted them with pride and thanks as a sign of a new era, namely the peaceful rapprochement not only of Germany but of Europe as a whole. Maybe that's the best policy of the Sultan of that era.<sup>80</sup>

Some German newspapers claimed that; France, Britain, and Russia were jealous of that trip and colonial desires of the German Empire about the Ottoman Empire.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> 'Telegramme', *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, 19 October 1898, 489 edition, 2.

<sup>79</sup> S. Chase Gummer, 'The Politics of Symphyty: German Turcophilism and the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Mass Media 1871-1914' (Georgetown University, 2010), 53.

<sup>80</sup> 'Konstantinopeler Kaisertage', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 22 October 1898, 538 edition, 1.

<sup>81</sup> 'Politische Wochenschan', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 23 October 1898, 539 edition, 1.

Many pilgrims and two hundred official guests joined them. While the official entourage along with the imperial couple took the route via İstanbul, the pilgrims travelled directly to Palestine.<sup>82</sup>

According to the *Cologne Gazette*; the journey would have followed with little good in more than one foreign quarter. Also, that newspaper said that; If Germany would leave their pacifisms, the Ottoman Empire would be the first country who affected negatively by that situation. Moreover, Kaiser made that trip for, not to influence Sultan but for his friendship. *Vossische Zeitung* claimed that: That trip is not a crusade, Kaiser does not go to Palestine as the enemy of infidels but the friend of the sultan. According to a news was taken from Reuters: The Pope's allocation to the French pilgrims, referred to the protection of Catholics in the East as the traditional mission of France has caused great surprise, just before the Palestine trip of the Kaiser Wilhelm II.<sup>83</sup>

But when we see his aims and consequences of the journey we can see that; this journey is exactly a soft crusade.

### **3.2 The Kaiser and The Kaiserin in İstanbul**

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin began their journey on October 12, 1898, from Potsdam. They first went to Venice with the train. Important people, Foreign Minister, Bernhard von Bülow, General Superintendent and Chaplain Dr. Dryander, and Professor Knackfuss, painter of some allegorical portraits of the Kaiserin. Three flags were flagging on the pole of Hohenzollern yacht according to a picture which was included in *Hatıra-i Seyahat*. These were; Reichskriegsflagge, Imperial war flag, Gott Mit Uns, God with us,<sup>84</sup> flag, and the third one is the Flag of the Italian Kingdom. Probably Kaiser used that flag because of his journey's starting point with

---

<sup>82</sup> Alex Carmal, *Mission Und Gewalt: Der Umgang Christlicher Missionen Mit Gewalt Und Die Ausbreitung Des Christentums in Afrika Und Asien in Der Zeit von 1792 Bis 1918/19*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Jürgen Becher, and Holger Stoecker, *Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv*, Bd. 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 32.

<sup>83</sup> 'The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times*, 13 October 1898, 3.

<sup>84</sup> That term derived from Matthew's New Testament 1:23; In there the name Emmanuel is Jesus. King James Holy Bible, New Testament, The Gospel According to Matthew 1:23

Hohenzollern yacht, and that picture was drawn while sailing from Venice and Ca' Foscari University can be seen from that picture.<sup>85</sup>

It was planned that the Kaiser and the Kaiserin arrived in İstanbul on October 17. But because of the bad weather conditions, ships were obliged to anchor in Zenta.<sup>86</sup> *Malumat* Newspaper didn't notice that news and made a news about the arrival of Kaiser and Kaiserin to Çanakkale October 16. *İkdam* newspaper criticised that situation harshly.<sup>87</sup> Sultan Abdülhamid II sent a commission to Çanakkale to welcome the royal guests. That commission consisted of: Abdurrahman Pasha, Minister of Justice, Chairman of Şura-i Devlet, Said Pasha, Minister of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture Selim Melhame, Member of Mülkiye Dairesi, Turhan Pasha, Brigadier Nâsır Pasha, Aide-de-Camp, Kamphoevener Pasha, Indicator of Ministry of War Ahmed Ali Pasha, Envoy of Berlin Photography Teacher Tevfik Pasha, Arts and Photography teacher of Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun İbrahim Bey, Şakir Pasha, Chamberlain of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rifat Bey, lieutenant Enver Bey, and Doctor of Navy Ali Sami Bey. Also, a German commission consisted of approximately two thousand people went to Çanakkale with Loreley ship to meet the Kaiser and the Kaiserin.<sup>88</sup>

One day before the arrival to İstanbul, the reporter of *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote about the situation of the capital just before the journey that; Members of the many different career field like, scientists, traders, entrepreneurs, farmers, military advisors and Protestant ecclesiastics waited for the royal guests. The reporter stated that; There were many Germans in Pera and Galata, those districts were the main areas where non-Muslims lived in İstanbul until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The reporter mentioned that; There was no Catholic interest in the journey. Most probably it was about the sect of the Kaiser and the main aim of that journey. Because the Kaiser was

---

<sup>85</sup> *Hatra-i Seyahat* (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1899), 8.

<sup>86</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK.ASK 145/36; B.O.A. Y.PRK.PT 18/49

<sup>87</sup> 'İkdam', *İkdam*, 17 October 1898, 1.

<sup>88</sup> B.O.A.Y.PRK.HH 30/72; *İkdam*, 15 October 1898,1 ; 'Almanya İmparatoru Hazretlerinin Seyahatleri', *İkdam*, 16 October 1898, 1. ; *Hatra-i Seyahat*.

a Protestant and he organized that journey to open the Protestant Church in Jerusalem, Erlöserkirche.<sup>89</sup> Even if Wilhelm II was seen as a religious leader because of his religious education and likened to Charlemagne and seen as almost a god, his main aim was to achieve the requisites of his Weltpolitik.<sup>90</sup>

One of the important points about the journey and occurred just before the journey is; security measures about the journey. For that measures arresting of some foreign tourists and especially some Italian workers on suspicious of Anarchism. *Neue Freie Presse* didn't mention so many about that arrestment but mentioned some of the security measures. For Example; From Germany, Fähnlein Geheimpolizisten, a rather strong league of secret policemen arrived and immediately put them into the service of Enver Bey, the Pera Police President. For the security would be so much worried.<sup>91</sup>

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin arrived at İstanbul on October 18, 1898. By the way, Abdülhamid II coined commemorative coins for his guests. One of the coins were coined from golden for the Kaiser, the others were coined from silver and copper. On the one side of the coins, texts were written in Turkish and the other side was written in German and it was written that: "In memory of your majesty Kaiser Wilhelm for his visiting Sultan Abdülhamid in İstanbul."<sup>92</sup> They came with Hohenzollern, Hella and Hertha ships. A tale of a thousand and one nights. Along with the Kaiser and Kaiserin, pastoral and spiritual leaders and members of the government, servants, chambermaids and security staff, Georg von Siemens, Kurt Zander, was replaced by

---

<sup>89</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wilhelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 17.

<sup>90</sup> Soy, 'Kudüs'teki Erlösekirche'nin Açılışı : II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahatindeki (1898) Dini Motifler', 120.

<sup>91</sup> 'Die Palästina-Reise Kaiser Wilhelm's II', *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 October 1898, 12268 edition, 4–5.

<sup>92</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wilhelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 17.

his deputy Eduard Huguenin and Chief Engineer Hagenbeck to embark on their three-week voyage through the Middle East.<sup>93</sup>

“The US ambassador, James B. Angell, was one of those who mentioned the flurry of activity in the capital city, stating that unusual preparations are already going on to give great splendor and significance to the occasion.”<sup>94</sup>

Servet-i Fünun newspaper used the picture of Reichskriegsflagge, Imperial War Flag, and told that it is the German Flag<sup>95</sup>, but it is wrong. The city met them with a great enthusiasm. Mızıka-I Hümayun played German anthem. It’s significant that; Foreign newspapers wrote news like; Sultan Abdülhamid helped the Kaiserin to land and kiss her hand. But Turkish newspapers didn’t mention the kiss and mentions only he hold the hand of the Kaiserin to land. He also shook Kaiser’s hand very friendly.<sup>96</sup> Not only kissing but also touching a person in the opposite, who are unrelated is sin in Islam. That could be a sign about the Abdülhamid’s modernized ideas. The Sultan wore Field Marshall uniform and German Cross Medal. That shows the importance which Sultan Abdülhamid gave to his guests and relations between the Ottoman Empire and German Empire. Kaiser dazzled with his Hussar uniform. He reflected the militaristic views of Germany and Weltpolitik of himself, after the forced resignation of Bismarck. The Kaiser replied in his speech pointing to the mere respectful positions German had acquired here. On it, the capture of the Deputation for the transmission of the address of the colony took place, which Director Großholz read.

---

<sup>93</sup> Dick Verroen, ‘Çok Yaşa! Kaiser Wilhelm II. in İstanbul’, in *Der Traum Vom Orient Kaiser Wilhelm II. Im Osmanischen Reich* (Potsdam: Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005), 18.

<sup>94</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 134.

<sup>95</sup> *Servet-i Fünun*, 20 October 1898.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Misafir-i Has-ı Padişah-ı İmparator ve İmparatoriçe Hazretinin Tenezzühleri’, *İkdam*, 20 October 1898, 1–2; ‘Haşmetli İmparator ve İmparatoriçe Hazretinin Dersaadette Suret-i Muvasalatları’, *Sabah*, 19 October 1898, 1–2; ‘The German Emperor’s Journey’, *The Times*, 19 October 1898, 5; *Hatra-i Seyahat*, 118.

A proof that two rough empires might well harmonize with peoples of different faiths and many opposites. .<sup>97</sup> That speech shows that relations between those two empires began to go better even before the journey. Wilhelm II at pronounced in putting the foot sure the ground Turkish, the care with which he attached to her policy the lore of treaty of Berlin, and himself welcomes of seeing two nations despite the differences of race and of religion, ready at himself carry support mutually.<sup>98</sup>

Turkish media had a great interest in that journey. For Example, *İkdam* newspaper published an article about the journey. The article told that: The desire of Kaiser's to visit the Sultan again made glad the Sultan. Both, the Ottomans and Germans had some common traits like steadiness, valor, bravery. Even, *İkdam* exaggerated the situation and told these two nations were made for each other.<sup>99</sup> *Sabah* newspaper published a poem about the arrival of the Kaiser and Kaiserin to İstanbul.<sup>100</sup> When Kaiser landed, chorus chanted and read the 91<sup>st</sup> part of Psalm.<sup>101</sup> Most probably that is associated with the assassination attempt. Because that part is about defecting the God from all disasters.<sup>102</sup> Sultan got on a carriage Kaiserin and Münir Pasha. Kaiser and Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha got on the second carriage. That shows the effort of westernizing actions of Sultans.

Etienne Lamy, the reporter for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, thought of the fragility of power in the light of the staged splendor. He reminded the sultan about his uncle's faith, dethronement of Abdülaziz, and warned the Kaiser about the Ottoman Royla Family. But, to the contrary, the rapporteur of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* took the greeting of the two rulers as a reason for a confident look into the future. The

---

<sup>97</sup> *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 19 October 1898, 2.

<sup>98</sup> 'Duo Contre Quator', *Le Figaro*, 1.

<sup>99</sup> 'Haşmetlü Almanya İmparator ve İmparatoriçesi Hazretinin İkinci Defa Olarak Dersaadete Muvasalatları', *İkdam*, 18 October 1898, 1.

<sup>100</sup> *Sabah* October 18 1898 (6 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314) (Zur Anfunst Kaiser Wilhelm II. In Konstantiopol), 1. ; *Berliner Börsenzeitung* October 19 1898, Nr. 489, 2.

<sup>101</sup> von Mirbach, pp. 5-6

<sup>102</sup> King James Holy Bible, The Old Testament Book 19, God's Book of Songs, Psalms 91

newspaper described the Sultan as a passive but trustworthy person who received the help of the energetic German Emperor. <sup>103</sup>

Von Bülow conveyed his opinions about not only the sultan but also the Ottoman Empire: Although the Sultan was known as “the Butcher of Armenians” he looked more Armenian than Turkish. The Sultan always bought blackmailers and journalists, who published articles against him. The Sultan also feared from electricity and the navy. His fear about the navy came from a coup d’état to his uncle Sultan Abdülaziz. Electricity was looked upon by the Sultan Abdülhamid II with nearly as suspicious an eye as the navy. During that journey, the representative of a great German electric company was staying to obtain the concession for the electric lightening of the capital. All efforts for the concession was in vain because of the fear the sultan. <sup>104</sup>

The presents which were given by the Sultan as magnificent as the welcoming ceremony. The sultan gifted so many things to his guests, but he gave more precious gift to the German Empire and the Kaiser. That gift was given a German Company as a permission to build a dock in Haydar, İstanbul. This dock would later be connected with Haydarpaşa Station, and that station would become the most important station of Baghdad- Railway. That railway would be constructed by the German Empire. Even the meeting with Siemens, showed the importance of journey for the Ottoman Empire. It showed that a privilege would be given to Germany for the building of Anatolian Railways. The importance of Deutsche Bank was not only economical but also political thanks to this railway project. Not only the Anatolian Railway Company, but also the Societe’ du Port de Haydarpaşa was run by the Deutsche Bank. Deutsche Bank became the chief of these two projects. <sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 70.

<sup>104</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 249–51.

<sup>105</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 153–54.



As for the Baghdad railway company in particular, the German economic penetration of the Ottoman Empire in general also means that it has been increasingly promoted by the German government and the Kaisers, and indeed advanced in certain areas.<sup>106</sup>

When we have look at the attempts of the German Empire about the Baghdad Railway it went back just before the journey of the Kaiser.

On April 9, 1898, Marshal recalled the Chancellor, in the face of the Sultan's lively wish that the Anatolian Railway's extension in Baghdad's direction should as soon as possible be attacked in connection with the fact that at that moment there are various projects in the pipeline for non-transparent ventures in preparation but by actual initiation of certain preparatory work.<sup>107</sup>

It was clear that the previous lines should be extended to Mesopotamia. Abdülhamid offered Wilhelm II as a gift the further construction of the Anatolian Railway to the Persian Gulf. Georg von Siemens participated in the talks that were held during the imperial visit on the Baghdad railway project, partly wanted to consolidate the existing lines and was therefore prepared to dispense with the expansion of the railway in the two-stream country. However, since the sultan had promised the emperor to grant the railroad extension license to Deutsche Bank's proven group, Siemens was forced to act further. He hoped for international participation in the rail project and, as he received the news of the concession heard, except about the now burdened by the Deutsche Bank load.<sup>108</sup> As Deutsche Bank was very interested in the port project, it quickly put it into action.

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin would go to German Embassy for lunch and visit the German School on the first day of his journey.<sup>109</sup> While the royal guests walking on the streets and saluting the people, people also salute them with great respect. The

---

<sup>106</sup> Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*, 130.

<sup>107</sup> Schöllgen, 118.

<sup>108</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 120.

<sup>109</sup> 'Kaiser and Sultan Meet', *The New York Times*, 19 October 1898, 7; 'The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times* 19 October 1898, 5.

exclamations of “Padişahım Çok Yaşa” (Long live Sultan) and “Long live Kaiser” echoed in the streets. The usage of is far away from the Islam and Islamic usage.

But Abdülhamid, apparently in an iconoclastic show of Islamic orthodoxy, replaced the image of the ruler with uniformly embroidered banners bearing the legend “Padişahım Çok Yaşa!” which served the same purpose. This acclaim, which was shouted by soldiers and civilians, had long been the customary way of expressing loyalty to the ruler. Nevertheless, it also became much more standardized as part of the process of increased international competition in ceremonial displays, very similar to the acclaims of “Long Live the Queen!” in the British Empire or “Tenno heika banzai!” in Japan.<sup>110</sup>

Another contradiction with the Islamic practices was; sermons about that alliance in mosques during the journey.<sup>111</sup> That can be seen as a contradiction for Islam and Muslims, but the Ottoman Empire sometimes bending some decretals of Islam to ensuring the continuity of the empire, in that era it is inevitable for the Ottoman Empire to make an alliance with the German Empire.

Other interesting thing about the journey is; flagging of a flag which contains cross. It was the first time from the occupation of İstanbul by the Ottoman Empire. Also, a gossip is very important for that journey. According to a news from *New York Times*:

In spite of semi-official denial that the Kaiser is asking anything from the Sultan, advices received here from report that the Muslims are convinced the Sultan will make Kaiser Wilhelm some great git, the Island of Rhodes, or the Port of Haifa, on the Bay of Acro, at the foot of Mount Carmel. This would seem an appropriate gift for one mile werst o Hafia, at the immediate foot of the mount, is a German-American mission colony having a good school, sixty stone dwellings, and manufactories of soap and olivewood wares. The colony has a population of over 300 souls, while Haifa itself has a population over 4.000. Russia believed that; Kaiser had desire of acquiring portion of the Ottoman Empire. A Russian Newspaper *Noveo Vremya* warned the Ottoman Empire; Even a slight cession of Turkish territory would be the beginning of the partition of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>112</sup>

Sultan Abdülhamid was not the only person who waited the Kaiser for a long time. Theodor Herzl also had waited Kaiser for a long time. He had sent a letter to Kaiser via von Bülow, Ambassador of Vienna Philip zu Euleunberg. Herzl thought that; the

---

<sup>110</sup> Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London: Tauris, 1999), 22.

<sup>111</sup> *The New York Times*, 23 October 1898, 7.

<sup>112</sup> *The New York Times*, 23 October 1898, 7.

Sultan couldn't understand the aspect of help which Zionists can make, but he believed that Kaiser would persuade him. He mentioned the decisions of the First Zionist Congress in Basel about foundation of a Jewish land. According to Herzl, if Jews revive Palestine, the Ottoman Empire also profit from that situation. Herzl went to Emperor Nikolay II ship to transmit his letter to Kaiser via von Bülow. On the same day Kaiser met with him. Some statements, like 'Your Cognates or usurers for the Jews,' of the Kaiser disturbed Herzl. The Kaiser did not doubt that with the financial and human resources of Jews disposal, they would seed in carrying of the colonization of Palestine. Herzl told that, he made an effort to make the world Zionism as a *Terme Reçu* (Household World). The Kaiser also remarked that the Jews would support the colonization of Palestine if they knew that he was keeping them under his protection, and that therefore they would not really be leaving Germany. Bülow also stated that, rich Jews didn't support that. The last thing Kaiser said was, he is the only person who recognizes Abdülhamid as a Sultan and he can, persuade the Sultan. Kaiser asked Herzl, for his request from him, and Herzl told his request: An autonomous community under the protection of the German Empire.<sup>113</sup> According to Bülow; Kaiser's expressions fairly was a precursor of future Ottoman-German relations. Kaiser and the German Empire exploited the Ottoman Empire for the profits of the German Empire.<sup>114</sup> "Herzl had a chance to share his ideas and wills to the Kaiser, but he only took general answers from the Kaiser, and the Kaiser told him that he will talk about the situation of the Jewish Society with the Sultan."<sup>115</sup> The behaviours of the Kaiser and von Bülow can be considered as the sign of anti-Semitic thought and policy in the German Empire.

In 1897, the Jewish World Congress organized between August 29, and August 31, 1897 in Basel made the decision of founding the Jewish State in Palestine. But Palestine belonged to the Ottoman Empire at that time. In that congress also, Jews

---

<sup>113</sup> Theodor Herzl, *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1923), 175–202.

<sup>114</sup> Bülow didn't lean to Jews, for that reason, he didn't mention about that meeting in his memoir.

<sup>115</sup> Desmond Stewart, 'Herzl's Journeys in Palestine and Egypt', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 20.

discussed about settling in Egypt or East Africa, but Theodor Herzl rejected that idea.<sup>116</sup>

In order to establish a state in Palestine, the Zionists needed help and support and an advocate with the sultan. Herzl bet on day German Reich, and here on Wilhelm II. On December 1, 1897 Herzl sent the Kaiser his brochure The Basel Congress. Wilhelm liked the idea of a Jewish place in Palestine. Wrote to his uncle, Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden, over whom the connection to Herzl had come about and mentioned his support.<sup>117</sup>

Wilhelm II was on Herzl's side and wanted to recite and enforce the plan of a Chartered Company with his host Abdülhamid II on October 18. The Kaiser twice tried to introduce and endorse the Zionist plans the Sultan already knew. However, he met with clear resistance. We do not know exactly when the talks took place during the visit to İstanbul. In view of the Kaiser's impatience, it is quite conceivable that the same evening he published the subject at the Sultan's table.<sup>118</sup>

As a concrete goal, Herzl currently considered the granting of a Jewish Land Society for Syria and Palestine under German protectorate to be sufficient. This land society would gradually differentiate the other organs of implementation. Herzl and Jews needed the political support of the German Empire. Herzl went into the political situation of Abdülhamid II and he even proposed to Sultan Abdülhamid to help about the recovering of the administrative and economical situation of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>119</sup>

German Ambassador von Bierbersterin gave a dinner in honour of Kaiser and Kaiserin at the Embassy of German Empire. Officers of Embassy and Consulate were ready at that feast. The German school was already afternoon after the

---

<sup>116</sup> Lawrence Jeffrey Epstein, *A Treasury of Jewish Anecdotes* (New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1995), 98–99.

<sup>117</sup> Rolf Steininger, *Deutschland Und Der Nahe Osten: Von Kaiser Wilhelms Orientreise 1898 Bis Zur Gegenwart*, Olzog Edition (Reinbek: Lau Verlag, 2015), 11- 12.

<sup>118</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 251.

<sup>119</sup> Benner, 246.

breakfast in of the imperial Embassy the royal couple together visited that Service.<sup>120</sup> Kaiser made a speech about the glorious victory of Germanism at there.<sup>121</sup> The Kaiser also talked about the position of German Colony in İstanbul. In that speech he also mentioned the friendship between the two empires and two rulers.<sup>122</sup>

A first conversation between Wilhelm II, Abdülhamid II, the Grand Vizier Said Pasha, Bulow and Ambassador Marshal took place in the German Embassy in Pera. As their head of state visited them, singers of the German craftsmen association presented several vocal pieces. On receipt of the representatives of the German colony of Kaiser responded to the greeting address of Ausländsdeutschen, Foreign Countries of Germany, and Swiss.<sup>123</sup>

At the first night of the journey, Sultan Abdülhamid gave a dinner in honour of the royal guests. Although, the wives of the German ambassadors invited that feast, wives of the Ottoman Pashas did not. The menu of the feast was very rich. Also, Abdülhamid imported the cigars, which Kaiser like so much, for the Kaiser. Alcohol treated the guests in that feast, it attracted the attention.<sup>124</sup> Because it is claimed that, the sultan Abdülhamid didn't like alcohol and also didn't permit using it at the palace. Eye catchers of that feast were paintings, which were represent the friendship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire.<sup>125</sup>

Sultan also gifted a drawing, which was drawn by Fausto Zonaro, who was an Italian painter and the private painter of Sultan Abdülhamid II. That picture described an Ottoman and German soldiers shaking each other's hand during the war of Domokos Battle, was a war between the Ottoman Empire and Greece in 1897. The

---

<sup>120</sup> 'Konstantinopeler Festtage', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 20 October 1898, 533 edition, 1.

<sup>121</sup> 'The German Emperor in Constantinople', *The Times*, 21 October 1898, 5.

<sup>122</sup> 'Konstantinopeler Kaisertage', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 22 October 1898, 537 edition, 1.

<sup>123</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 242–43.

<sup>124</sup> Fatmagül Demirel, *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2007), 63–65.

<sup>125</sup> von Mirbach, *Die Reise Des Kaisers Und Der Kaiserin Nach Palästina*, 10.

correspondent of the *Sankt-Peterburgskija Vjedomosti*, pointed to the different value of the gifts. After all, the Russian journalist meticulously listed Abdülhamid's presents for his dear guests in every sense of the word at the expense of gifts for the imperial couple, as the Russian journalist reported, amounting to some six million tubs. He wondered, in view of the desperate Turkish financial situation, whether the door had the moral right to make such nonsensical expenses, even before begging.<sup>126</sup>

The Kaiser made a speech at that feast and talk about the friendship between him and the Sultan and two empires.<sup>127</sup> The royal guests stayed their nights in Şale Kiosk during the Istanbul part of their journey. The Kiosk was built for the first journey of the royal guests in 1889. The Sultan had the kiosk repaired before the second journey. The other change was; he tightened the security measures with the special request of Kaiser because of assassination the security. According to that newspaper the Ottoman Empire wantoning during the journey, rather than paying back her war compensation which she was condemned after the Russo Turkish War between 1877-1878.<sup>128</sup>

On the second day of their journey, The Kaiser was escorted only by Captain Morgen, except the Turkish Suite. On his early morning ride to Yedikule via Eyüb at the Golden Horn, from the Merasim Kiosk.<sup>129</sup> The Kaiser visited on horseback the even in decay still impressive land wall Theodosius II, which had protected until 1453 the city. At noon there was a reception of the diplomatic corps. The Kaiserin had the opportunity to visit the Beylerbeyi Palace on the Asian side of the Bosphorus and enjoy the magnificent view from the east towards İstanbul, the strait, the bays and the Marmara Sea. A certain amount of tourist program was certainly part of the journey program. On the afternoon of October 19, a steamer boat trip on the German

---

<sup>126</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 72–73.

<sup>127</sup> 'Maide-i Seniyye-i Hazret-i Padişahi', *Sabah*, 19 October 1898, 3; *İkdam*, 20 October 1898, 1.

<sup>128</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 72–73.

<sup>129</sup> 'Politische Nachrichten', *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, 20 October 1898, 491 edition, 2.

Istanbul -based ship 'Loreley' went north along the Bosphorus to the Black Sea.<sup>130</sup>

Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung narrated the scene with these sentences:

At half-past twelve, the reception of the ambassador with their ladies took place in Merasim Kiosk. Kaiser Wilhelm received in a special audience all the accredited ambassadors and the papal delegate Monsignor Boelliere. The State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Minister of State von Bulow, paid visits to the Grand Vizier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Secretary of State handed over the Black Aboriginal Order to the Grand Vizier in the Kaiser's majesty. The Kaiser bestowed diamonds to the great pleasure of the Governing Council of the Turkish State Debt Secret Legation Counselor Lindau was awarded the rank of First Class Councillor.<sup>131</sup>

He also met with Großholz, the director of Eastern Railways and Teutonia Club. Also, it is interesting that the Kaiser met with the delegate of Papacy Senior Bonetti.<sup>132</sup> It can be understood from that meeting, the Papacy, and the Kaiser was trying to break the ice between the protector of Protestants, the German Empire, and the Catholic World. The Kaiserin was less prejudiced except the polygamy issue. She visited the Imperial Harem on October 19, 1898. She was very surprised by the clothes of women of Harem. She thought that, they looked like a fat, dressed like French women.<sup>133</sup>

Harem visit had been announced in the German press and did not meet with a positive response. So it was only briefly mentioned in the official commemorative publication *The German Imperial Couple* and in Mirbach's three lectures, also published in 1899, *The Journey of the Kaiser and the Kaiserin to Palestine*.<sup>134</sup> When traveling by the Kaiser and the Kaiserin, it was common for the wives to meet each other and complete joint projects. These visits were part of the rite of the kings, for they exemplified the exemplary nature of monarchical marriage and the definition of

---

<sup>130</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 254.

<sup>131</sup> 'Konstantinopeler Festtage', *Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*, 20 October 1898, 533 edition, 1.

<sup>132</sup> 'The German Emperor in Constantinople', *The Times*, 20 October 1898, 3; 'Tötonyada', *İkdam*, 23 October 1898, 3.

<sup>133</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*, 251.

<sup>134</sup> von Mirbach, *Die Reise Des Kaisers Und Der Kaiserin Nach Palästina*, 10–11.

gender roles vis-à-vis its subjects. Of course, a visit to an Islamic country posed certain difficulties for European diplomats.<sup>135</sup>

In addition to the meetings of the Kaiser with the diplomatic committee, the royal guests visited the carpet factory of Hereke and a ride to Haydarpaşa on the eastern side of the Bosphorus on October 20 were important, where the numerous Englishmen living in Kadıköy enthusiastically applauded the imperial couple. Shipping and railway facilities should be built there with German know-how and capital. In addition to the representation of the Kaiser as German head of state, the German business interests were not forgotten, even if they were treated discreetly on the ground. The positively developing relationship between Abdülhamid II and Wilhelm II, played an important role. *The British Pall Mall Gazette* correctly recognized this before the visit: “If Germany concrete concessions which are refused to any other power, it is principally because of the statesman who rules to-day has succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the sultan by giving him proofs of his friendship during most critiqueal times.”<sup>136</sup>

The royal guests went to Hereke Carpet and Silk Factory, which was built in 1843 and modernized by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1891 with the bought of modern textile machines and brought o new workers to that factory on the third day of their journey. They went there by train from Haydarpaşa the beginning points of Anatolian Railways. Mehmed Şakir, Kamphoevener and Ahmed Ali Pashas, The Foreign Secretary Bernhard von Bülow and Ambassador Baron von Marshall accompanied the royal guests. Hazine-i Hassa, Treasury, Minister Ohannes Bey, and director of the factory Akif Bey met them.<sup>137</sup> During the railway journey, the Kaiser awarded the Director of the Deutsche Bank Dr. Siemens the Third Order Crown Order, the Chairman of the Anatolian Railway Zander the title of Privy Councillor, Vice

---

<sup>135</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 257.

<sup>136</sup> Benner, 254–56.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu’, *İkdam*, 21 October 1898, 1; *Sabah*, 21 October 1898, 1; *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 21 October 1898, 1.



President Huguenin and the Operations Director Hageubeck the Rothen Eagle Order fourth class.<sup>138</sup>

Wilhelm II made this trip with the Anatolian Railway. At Haydarpaşa station, he boarded a decorated special train. The Kaiser showed great interest in the railway company during the journey. When accompanying the directors of the Anatolian Railway Company, he inquired about the effects of the railway track on agriculture, asked how sustainable the land was and whether it contained mineral resources. In particular, he inquired about the port construction project of Haydarpaşa and the proposed extension of the Anatolian Railway to Mesopotamia.<sup>139</sup>

When the train arrived at Hereke, Mızıka-i Humayun played the German anthem. Flowers were disturbed to the roads which the royal guests would walk and applied the red-carpet treatment. While the royal guests were getting information about the production process, a medal on the chest of a young girl, engaged the interest of the Kaiser. That was the medal of Sanayi-i Nefise, Fine Arts Academy today Mimar Sinan Fine Arts Academy.<sup>140</sup> That shows that Sultan Abdülhamid distributed so many medals and pride documents during his reign. The main aim of that generosity was; bewitching his subject to him and prevent possible objection to his legitimacy and authority.

During that visit, some gifts were given to the Kaiser and the Kaiserin. All of the gifts were made in that factory.<sup>141</sup> The guests had their lunch at Hereke Kiosk. The Kiosk also knew as, Kaiser Wilhelm Kiosk. It was built in Yıldız Kiosk in three weeks and erected in only one day. It was built for that journey, but some official sources of Turkish Republic claim that it was built in 1884 and told that it was built for the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm. But neither Wilhelm I, nor Wilhelm II visited the Ottoman Empire at that year. The architect of the kiosk was Raimondo D'Aranco.

---

<sup>138</sup> Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung 21 October 1898, Nr. 536 (Die Konstantinopeler Kaisertage), 1.

<sup>139</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 119.

<sup>140</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK. Ş.H 8/48

<sup>141</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK. HH. 30/72

The matter of lunch was similar to feast in the palace.<sup>142</sup> After the lunch, Kaiser made a private conversation with Ohannes Efendi and Akif Bey. Ohannes Bey made a vote of thanks in French. That shows that Kaiser knew French very well. After the conversation, Kaiser and Kaiserin returned to İstanbul. But that time they use seaway. At that night they had their dinner at Merasim Kiosk in honor of the Minister Bernhard von Bülow.<sup>143</sup>

Sometimes rather harassing treatment of journalists also resulted from a certain amount of anger from the Turkish authorities over critiqueal journalism. Thus, the correspondent of the *Daily News* and the draughtsman of *the Daily Graphic* in Hereke were placed under guard for five hours, as they wanted to observe the visit of the Kaiser in this place located at the outside of İstanbul. The two journalists assumed that the Turkish authorities had been unsympathetic to the correspondent of the *Daily News* as the author of a critiqueal article on what had happened in Armenian region of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>144</sup>

At that day Wilhelm II sent a letter to his cousin Nicholas II, about his views about the Cretan problem and told that: What a terrible blow to the reputation of Christians in general in the eyes of the Muslims, and what renewal of hatred, you can hardly imagine! The powers in Crete have played a nonsensical and highly dangerous game, and that causes me to turn your kind attention to the question!... What a splendid opportunity for you to come forward and shame the Sultan, save the world from bloody war and win the gratitude of all Mohammedans! Otherwise, there could be a revolution and the Sultan's blood would one day come to your head! I beg your pardon when I take your time and leisure so much, but the situation is too serious to diversify the interests at stake, and I do not want to see Russia lose its good position

---

<sup>142</sup> 'Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu', *İkdam*, 21 October 1898, 1.

<sup>143</sup> 'Die Konstantinopeler Kaisertage', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 21 October 1898, 536 edition, 1.

<sup>144</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 43.

as it has been up to now; all eyes are hopefully directed to the great emperor of the East.<sup>145</sup>

That letter shows that; the problem of Crete is not only a problem between the Ottoman Empire and Greece. All of the Great Powers had an interest in that problem and the emperors even talked about that problem in their personal writings.

The exchange of gifts was a daily repetitive ritual during this journey: every morning, jewels or other golden objects, precious weapons or porcelain, changed hands. However, the Kaiser, who gave porcelain from the Royal Porcelain Manufactory to the Sultan in Berlin, wanted the entire population to participate in the gift exchange. This thought and the knowledge that the truly needy were hard to discern led him to build a well at the north-eastern point of the Hippodrome of İstanbul, from which poor and rich should drink. During the boat trip, he sketched the sketch for this fountain in Romanesque-Byzantine style to Therapia, where the summer residence of the German embassy, which the sultan had given to the Kaiser in 1880, was located. Wilhelm II had the project prepared by Professor Knackfuß and presented the result before his departure from İstanbul Abdülhamid II.<sup>146</sup>

The fourth day of the journey is Friday. That means Cuma Selamlığı, Friday Divine Service Parade for the Ottoman Empire. The Kaiser and the Kaiserin watched that ceremonial. Abdülhamid gave much importance to that ceremonial. Despite his fear of assassination, Abdülhamid maintained the tradition of public Friday prayers as a ceremony in which the ruler showed himself to the people. In the nineteenth century, Friday prayers acquired additional ceremonial trappings inspired by European examples.<sup>147</sup>

The news of discontent among the people of İstanbul was lacking when Willhelm II was in the city if only because some of the foreign critiques of the journey could only

---

<sup>145</sup> Walter Goetz, *Briefe Wilhelms II an Den Zaran 1894-1914* (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein & Co, 1920), 58–62.

<sup>146</sup> Verroen, 'Çok Yaşa! Kaiser Wilhelm II. in İstanbul', 20–21.

<sup>147</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, 22.

await the arrival of the Kaiser and had already left the Ottoman capital in order to be in Palestine on time. Wolffs Telegraphic Bureau one of the first press agencies in Europe now dominated the news market with reports of enthusiasm for Wilhelm II on the streets and squares of İstanbul. Thus, it was rumored that the imperial couple, had been greeted by audience masses with lively shouts and stormy hurrahs. Visiting the Hagia Sophia it was greeted with cheers from the crowd and from been reverentially received by many clergies.<sup>148</sup>

On that day, the imperial couple visited the Ayasofya, Hagia Sophia, once the most important church of Eastern Christendom, since 1453 as a mosque owned by the Sultans. Heinrich von Eckhardt's, German Diplomat message dragoman led the guests through the Byzantine-Ottoman building. So also, the cultural program was not forgotten. Presenting presents to the German guests, the prefect of the city said that the friendship that Wilhelm II gave to the sultan evoked the gratitude of all the Ottomans. The same evening, at the request of, the Kaiserin had to visit the sultan's harem, although she had no understanding whatsoever of oriental polygamy. This harem visit had been announced in the German press.<sup>149</sup>

During the parade, the Sultan saluted his royal guests. That parade was a show of strength of the Sultan and his power. After the parade sultan joined to the guests to watch march past in the Kiosk of Malta.<sup>150</sup> A program, which was written in German and Ottoman Turkish, was given to the guests.

In the afternoon, the Kaiserin wanted to do shopping. Some goods of the artisans, Osman Bey, Hasan Efendi and Agop Efendi, were presented to the Kaiserin's taste. Those goods were exhibited in the German Embassy.<sup>151</sup> For the security measures, because of the assassination attempt just before the journey and the anxieties of Sultan Abdülhamid, she didn't go to Kapalıçarşı, Grand Bazaar. After the shopping, she went to German Hospital, and the doctor gave a photograph album of İstanbul to

---

<sup>148</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 80.

<sup>149</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 256.

<sup>150</sup> 'Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayununda/Resmi Geçid Mübaşerati', *İkdam*, 22 October 1898, 1.

<sup>151</sup> Demirel, *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, 80.

the Kaiserin.<sup>152</sup> In the last evening of the İstanbul part of the journey, the Sultan gave a feast again and the Kaiserin sat on his right side as the first night. Again, the ambassadors were invited with their wives.<sup>153</sup> Heinrich von Calice, Ambassador of the Austria- Hungary Empire, he was also Austria- Hungarian participator in the Conference of İstanbul in 1876, couldn't participate that feast because of the funeral ceremony of Empress Elisabeth. That is the proof of the pain of transformation for the Ottoman Empire. While she was trying to westernize and modernize she didn't change her Islamic traditions and practices immediately and need time for that change. In the evening of that day, Großholz made a speech, *İkdam* Newspaper wrote his name as Grosholich. In a brief, he conveyed his thanks to the Kaiser and the Sultan.<sup>154</sup>

The last day of the İstanbul part of the journey was also the birthday of the Kaiserin Auguste Victoria. For that day *Sabah* published a poem in German and Ottoman Turkish.<sup>155</sup> The youngest daughter of the sultan appeared with the Kaiserin and presented her with a pretty address in which she expressed the congratulations of the Sultan, a sumptuous bouquet of flowers.<sup>156</sup>

On that day, the Sultan again gave a feast for his royal guests. After the feast and rest, the Sultan sent off his guest until the dock.<sup>157</sup> That shows the importance, which gave to his royal guests. The Kaiser made a golden stick for the sultan, which was faithfully imitated by that of Friedrich the Great. The Kaiser get a fountain built which was known as Alman Çeşmesi (German Fountain). The opening of the fountain was planned on September 1, 1900, 25<sup>th</sup> year of the coronation of Abdülhamid II, but opened on January 27, 1901, the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Its verse was written by Ahmet Muhtar Pasha processed by İzzet Efendi with Sülüs

---

<sup>152</sup> *Sabah*, 22 October 1898, 1.

<sup>153</sup> Demirel, *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, 80.

<sup>154</sup> 'Nachklänge Zum Teutonia Rommers', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 22 October 1898, 537 edition, 1; 'Tötonyada', *İkdam*, 23 October 1898, 3.

<sup>155</sup> 'Zum Geburtstag Ihrer Majestät Der Kaiserin Augusta Victoria', *Sabah*, 22 October 1898, 1.

<sup>156</sup> *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, October 23, 1898 Nr. 497, 2.

<sup>157</sup> Demirel, *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, 81–82.

script. A speech was given by Ahmed Tevfik Pasha during the opening ceremony of the fountain.<sup>158</sup> It was written on the tablet of the fountain: “The running clear water from this fountain is the mark of the brilliant friendship between the two empires.”<sup>159</sup>

When the Kaiser Wilhelm II said goodbye to the Dolmabahçe Palace on a late afternoon, “for the first time one saw the cold, calm, and serious face of the sultan deeply moved and moved,” said von Mirbach.<sup>160</sup> The Sultan honoured his guests by sending the entire Turkish honorary escort of the Kaiser to Palestine, where they had the Germans protected by the Elite Cavalry Regiment Ertuğrul. The sultan’s gratitude was genuine, for never before had a Western ruler made such a pronounced political and diplomatic appreciation of his visit.<sup>161</sup>

One of the most precious acquisitions of the journey were privileges of the building of dock of Haydarpaşa, operating right of the ferry between Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci and the last privilege was the wiring the telegraph line between Constanza and İstanbul. This privilege is the mark of the aim of the journey. We cannot see the journey as only a pilgrim journey with these privileges. During the stayin of Kaiser, the German Empire and German companies gained a lot of privileges. That journey became the proofs of the economic alliance between the two empires. We can see the Eastern Policy of the German Empire as a railway policy the privileges about the railways which was given to the German Empire was so important. Baghdad Railway was a corridor for Germany’s Imperial Policy expand from Anatolia to Mesopotamia. That project was a menace for Britain. Because, when that project would reach out the Persian Gulf, she lost her supremacy to the German Empire. The German Empire would balance the situation and break the supremacy of Britain, after the opening of the Suez Canal. So, she could move her troops to the Near East easily. If we evaluate that situation for the Ottoman Empire; She not only would become an ally of one of the greatest

---

<sup>158</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK.HR 27/32; ‘Graf Murawiew in Wien’, *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 24 October 1898, 541 edition, 1.

<sup>159</sup> Türk, *Türkiye İle Almanya Arasındaki Silah Ticareti, 1871-1914: Krupp Firması, Mauser Tüfek Fabrikası, Alman Silah ve Cephane Fabrikaları*, 129.

<sup>160</sup> *Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 80.

<sup>161</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 257–58.

European powers, she also could maintain her lands in the Near East, provide her economic development and prevent her collapse.<sup>162</sup>

But the petition about the privileges of Berlin- Baghdad Railway was given in September 1898 by Şarl Kote.<sup>163</sup>

Here the German procedure (starting with the Kaiser's journey to the end, until the final concession of the Baghdad Railway to a consortium under German leadership), increasingly goes beyond a purely economic penetration of the Ottoman Empire and into a non-immaterial, yet in the eyes of more and more threatening British interests, which could no longer be fundamentally eradicated, and which no longer seemed to be fundamentally to exclude from the British public, which was under the influence of the Indian Government.<sup>164</sup>

We can say that the Kaiser prepared everything before the journey via his officers and made formality things about the treaties during the journey and complete details about the colonization process and purposes about the Ottoman Empire. Some intellectuals criticised that type of privileges. For instance, Ahmed Rıza wrote in *Mecheveret* on October 1, 1900, those privileges were not for the sake of the Ottoman Empire those were for the Great Powers.<sup>165</sup>

When Colmar von der Goltz Pasha resigned from his position, military advisor, in 1895, weapon trade between the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire was interrupted. But after the Greco- Turkish War in 1897, the German officers tried to the sultan and Ottoman Pashas that; The Ottoman victory in that war was the result of German weapons. So, during the meetings between the sultan and the Kaiser. The sultan ordered weapons from Loewe-Konzern and Deutschen Waffen- und

---

<sup>162</sup> Reyhan, 'Türk- Alman İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Arka Planı (1878-1914)' LXIX, no. 254 (April 2005): 227-28.

<sup>163</sup> B.O.A. Y.EE. 1/54; That name is the pronunciation of that name in that name. I cannot find the original version of the name.

<sup>164</sup> Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*, 86-87.

<sup>165</sup> Erdem Sönmez, *Ahmed Rıza Bir Jön Türk Liderinin Siyasi-Entelektüel Portresi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 109.

Munitionsfabriken companies shortly after that journey.<sup>166</sup> Also, Kaiser persuaded the sultan about armament. That shows that; the Ottoman Empire still wanted to Germanize her weapons and military system. The sultan also gave the privilege of construction of a Catholic church in Jerusalem.<sup>167</sup> That was the proof that; the Kaiser and the German Empire were trying to become not only the protector of Protestants but also the Catholic world. That is also a challenge to France. Because, she was the protector of Catholics for 300 years, and that action of the German Empire stole France's thunder. Another strange thing about that event is; the document about that church sent via the Embassy of Spain. But at that time, the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire advanced via embassies of the two empires. *The Times* wrote about that situation and told that:

The impression created outside Germany by the Kaiser's visit to the Sultan is, in the German view, to some extent exaggerated. What the political results of a visit attended by such pomp and circumstance may ultimately be is, of course, an entirely different matter. The interest exhibited by the Kaiser in German commercial enterprise in the East, and particularly in Asia Minor, can hardly remain without effect in the direction of associating German policy more closely with that of Turkey and of the Powers which desire the maintenance of the status quo. But the German Government has studiously refrained from giving the slightest indication of the political consequences which may be expected to result from the Kaiser's journey.<sup>168</sup>

And the journal added that: The new Germany no more romantic like her literature, she was more realistic in that time. Only in ten years, especially during the First Moroccan Crisis, everyone would see that; *the Times* deviated in her views.

*Sabah* newspaper wrote an article about the later part of the journey. But some parts of the article are wrong. For Example; According to the article, the royal couple would arrive in Palestine within five days and would stay there for one month.<sup>169</sup> But they arrived there on the fourth day and stayed.

---

<sup>166</sup> Mehmet Beşirli, 'II. Abdülhamid Dönemide Osmanlı Ordusunda Alman Silahları', *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 16, nu. 1 (2004): 130–31.

<sup>167</sup> B.O.A. Y.P.R.K. E.Ş.A 32/86

<sup>168</sup> 'The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times*, 25 October 1898, 5.

<sup>169</sup> *Sabah*, 26 October 1898, 2.



That journey reinforced the friendship between the two emperors and these empires. In summary, it can be said that the visit for Wilhelm II was largely a success. The day of the departure of the royal guests, The German Kaiser granted the German school in Pera the right to issue certificates of scientific maturity for one year's service.<sup>170</sup>

The sultan's gratitude was genuine, for never had a Western ruler made such a political and diplomatic appreciation of his visit. It can be said that the visit for Wilhelm II was a success. "Even Greeks and Armenians, who make up almost a third of the local population and who initially did not like the visit, changed their attitude within 24 hours," told the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The Orthodox and Armenian church leaders in İstanbul, and the head of the Jewish communities, did not make contact with the Kaiser.<sup>171</sup>

An indicator of Ministry of War Ahmed Cevad Şakir Pasha, were assigned as the guide of the royal couple during the second part of their journey. He was also the governor of Crete. That mission can be seen the effort of Şakir Pasha's regaining his reputation after his dismissal from his position. He also one of the last governors of Crete and remained incapable about soothing the tension. The cortege of the royal guests consisted from: Inspector of the Ministry of War Şakir Pasha, aide-de-camp Kamphoevener Pasha, Chamberlain of the Foreign Office İbrahim Bey, Envoy of Berlin Tevfik Pasha, aide-de-camp Ahmed Ali Pasha, aide-de-camp colonel Mustafa Nakit (?) Bey, Military Attaché of Berlin Sami Bey, aide-de-camp colonel Zeki Bey, aide-de-camp qaymaqam Süreyya Bey, aide-de-camp qaymaqam Cevad, Rıza, Mehmed Ali Bey, aide-de-camp İshak, Abdullah Fuad, Ahmed Şakir Bey, Military Attaché of Berlin Enver Bey, Süleyman Sami Bey (?), Rifat Bey, Fuad, Mehmed, Mikdad aide-de-camp of Kaiser Çiçeviç (?) and his wife Çiçeviçe(?), two members

---

<sup>170</sup> 'Die Orientreise Des Kaiserpaares', *Neue Hamburger Zeitung*, 24 October 1898, 1.

<sup>171</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 258.

of German newspapers, journalist of *Malumat* Newspaper Rasim Bey, journalist of *İkdam* Newspaper İsmail Zühdü Bey, journalist of the *Sabah*, who write that list.<sup>172</sup>

### 3.3 The Soft Crusade

#### 3.3.1 The Kaiser in Palestine

The Kaiser told that in the ship; Britain has a hand in the Problems of Armenian and Cretan.<sup>173</sup> That speech was one of the claims of the German Empire's abandonment of the balance policy and peaceful discourses during the time of Otto von Bismarck and Realpolitik policy. On October 25, the royal guests arrived at Haifa, but von Bülow stated in his memoir; they arrived at Haifa on October 26.<sup>174</sup> Thousands of people poured out to see the arrival of the German Kaiser fleet, like the German colony Haifa assembled in joyful anticipation.<sup>175</sup> It was the first time in 670 years that an emperor of the German nation entered the Holy Land. Friedrich II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250), who had made a crusade to the Holy Land, was the last to land in Acre in 1228. From Mount Carmel, Wilhelm II and his retinue looked down on Haifa with its German colony there. At this point, later a Kaiser Wilhelm monument was built and called the place before Kaiser Wilhelm Square. British soldiers demolished the monument in 1918, but it was rebuilt in 1982 in the presence of Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia.<sup>176</sup>

There are some claims about the journey of the royal guests in the press. Some of them were true but some of them seem like a conspiracy theory and making a great

---

<sup>172</sup> Hatira-i Seyahat, 145

<sup>173</sup> B.O.A. Y. PRK.UM 43/129

<sup>174</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 253.; Most probably the mistake of derived from the writing date of the memoir. Almost all the memoirs are written en masse after the events. That is the main difference between memoir and dairy.

<sup>175</sup> Ludwig Schneller, *Kaiserfahrt Durchs Heilige Land* (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von B.G. Wallmann, 1900), 7.

<sup>176</sup> Carmal, *Mission Und Gewalt: Der Umgang Christlicher Missionen Mit Gewalt Und Die Ausbreitung Des Christentums in Afrika Und Asien in Der Zeit von 1792 Bis 1918/19*, 32.

deduction from even the most basic behaviors of the Kaiser. For Example; On October 17, 1898, the newspaper *Le Matin* claimed that the Kaiser wanted to build a naval base in Haifa and that this was the main purpose of the trip. However, as the Kaiser remarks, he knew only a short time before his arrival, where Haifa was at all. "Haifa, where is that?" Originally, the Kaiser was supposed to dock in Jaffa, but due to the advanced season, it was recommended to land in Haifa, which the Kaiser also agreed with. The background to this recommendation is the embarkation of Emperor Franz Joseph on the occasion of his 1869 Middle East voyage, during which the ship almost capsized.<sup>177</sup>

While the leaders of German foreign policy in İstanbul were busy discussing economic issues, the annexation of Ottoman territory was out of the question. The European public was astonished that Wilhelm II entered the soil of Palestine in Haifa, rather than Jaffa, the main port of the country. In Haifa lived about 500 Germans, members of the sect of the Knights Templar. The city was therefore considered a center of German influence in Palestine, and it was wondering whether Germany wanted to acquire the location on the Bay of Acre location as a base for its fleet Haifa was chosen, however, especially for security reasons as a landing place. The German Foreign Office considered disembarking of Jaffa in the fall to be dangerous and sometimes even impossible. That assessment came in the official travelogue, which described Haifa as one of the best places on the coast of the holy land.<sup>178</sup>

The imperial colonel-master Count Wedel and General von Scholl, who had already arrived in Palestine at the beginning of October 1898 for the inspection of traffic conditions via İstanbul, prepared the royal guests for the specific circumstances of the journey. South of Haifa, the Turkish troops of the regiment Ertuğrul were accommodated, which should serve the protection of the train during the journey.<sup>179</sup> The royal guests went to Haifa with Hohenzollern yacht and Şakir Pasha used İzmir

---

<sup>177</sup> Carmal, 31.

<sup>178</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 120–21.

<sup>179</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 274–75.

yacht. He was late to Haifa for 17 hours. Şakir Pasha sent his man to Jaffa to control preparations on the same day and royal guests and he would continue their journey one day later.<sup>180</sup>

An official welcome of the Protestant community of the Templars, the German Catholic community, and the Turkish city authorities took place in the morning of October 26, in the garden of the German consulate. The head of the German colony, the teacher Friedrich Lange (1840-1923), and the vice-consul Fritz Keller (1833-1913) welcomed the Kaiser and the Kaiserin in the name of the Templars. Lange expressed his gratitude that the colony was under the German protectorate and received financial support and expressed the hope that it would be supported in the future as well. The Kaiser promised the foreign Germans his protection and pointed to the important colonization work of German settlers to increase the fertility and economic-cultural prosperity of Palestine. The German settlers, especially the Templars, had been fighting for decades with the indolence of the Ottoman bureaucracy, they were pleased with the increase in prestige among Germans of all denominations. The presence of the Kaiser meant a status improvement against other foreigners, whose rulers or governments had not so exclusive relationship to Sultan Abdülhamid II. The fact that the head of the Prussian state church treated the Württembergian free church of the Templars without reservation strengthened the loyalty of this religious group to the homeland immensely. The improvement of the infrastructure prior to the arrival of Wilhelm II benefited many Palestinian residents, as the local population was called to work and demolished even houses that were in the way of road construction in the way.<sup>181</sup>

There was another a problem with the journey. Warm air was smothering the royal guests and the German Colony in Hafia. The government took a measurement to solve that problem and tried to make comfortable the royal guests.<sup>182</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK. ASK. 145/135

<sup>181</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 275–76.

<sup>182</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK. NMH. 7/95

“The Turkish authorities and the governors of the Templar colony came to greet the ship. Through them, we went to the large schoolyard of the Germans, which was close by. This is the colony of the Württemberg, the so-called Templar.”<sup>183</sup> The Kaiser promoted the German Missions during his journey. Jerusalem Verein, Evangelische Bund, and Deutsche Orient Mission started their colonization movements in Palestine in the early 1890s. Those missions began to spread Protestantism not only in Palestine but also in other parts of the Ottoman Empire and also in Russia.<sup>184</sup>

The President of the Protestant High Church Council, Excellency Dr. D. Barckhausen, approached the royal guests, as it appears from Acts chapter XXI, verse 7, the St. Paul had lain.<sup>185</sup> With the naturalness, which was one of the best qualities of Wilhelm II and always reconciled with him, he replied to the worthy President: That's all well and good. I also have a great veneration for Paul and for all the other apostles.<sup>186</sup>

Wilhelm II emphasized in his encounters with German Catholics in Palestine the protection which the German Reich granted to its Catholic subjects, while the representatives of German Catholicism expressed their gratitude to the Kaiser for their protection. In Haifa, for example, Father Piavi, director of the German Catholic branch in Tabgha, had seized the opportunity to thank the majestic and effective protection German Catholics enjoyed in Palestine, and hoped that it would be German Catholics.<sup>187</sup>

The Kaiser told that he would communicate to the King of Württemberg what an excellent impression the brave Swabians had made him in Palestine. After the evangelical clergyman had invited the imperial couple to welcome them, the director

---

<sup>183</sup> von Mirbach, *Die Reise Des Kaisers Und Der Kaiserin Nach Palästina*, 19.

<sup>184</sup> Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 99–100.

<sup>185</sup> That verse is about a journey of St. Paul, founder of Christianity from Tyre to Ptolemais.; King James Holy Bible, New Testament, King James, The Acts of the Apostles, 21:7

<sup>186</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*, 254.

<sup>187</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 181.

of the German Catholic branch in Tabgha, Father Piavi, addressed the following address to the Kaiser: In the name of the Deutschen Society of Holy Lands, where the German Catholics live.<sup>188</sup> Father Piavi implied that: He and the German Catholic Society in the Holy Lands no longer sympathized. The Kaiser told that in his speech; He would help Catholic Germans whenever they want. It was a good chance for Kaiser to show his power and ambitions about the Holy Lands. He used that chance very well just after he arrived in the holy lands.<sup>189</sup>

When the royal guests arrived in Haifa, every house had been decorated with German and Turkish flags. The band of cavalry regiment played German Anthem. After landing the royal guests went to Mount Carnel, where a German- American Mission School was situated.<sup>190</sup> The Kaiser met with the presenters of the German colony after the school visit. Hereupon the evangelical community addressed a word of greeting to the royal guests, which was reciprocated with a cordial counter-desire for prosperity and gracious encouragement to undaunted further evangelical work.<sup>191</sup>

The royal guests continued their journey with cars and horses rather than using the railway like other pilgrims. That was a resemblance of old crusaders. The German Kaiser did not march through Palestine as a quiet pilgrim looking for refuge. The London based travel agency Thomas Cook & Son was commissioned with the organization and execution of the expedition-style travel company in the Holy Land.<sup>192</sup>

The company was the world's most prestigious travel company. The connection of the imperial name with a travel agency, has quite alienated some contemporaries, but was typical of the thrust of modernity at the end of the 19th century, even at the

---

<sup>188</sup> Berliner Börsenzeitung, Octoer, 28 1898 No. 505 (Die Wahlen), 1.

<sup>189</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 29.

<sup>190</sup> 'The Emperor in Palestine', *The New York Times*, 27 October 1898, 7.

<sup>191</sup> Schneller, *Kaiserfahrt Durchs Heilige Land*, 11.

<sup>192</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 134.

imperial court not stop making. Crusade and cruise were suddenly very close together.<sup>193</sup>

Şakir Pasha caught the royal guests in Tantura, which received the resting place of Cook Company.<sup>194</sup> At those times, royal journeys were held under the guidance and services of some big companies. For that journey, a contract for 23 days was signed with Thomas Cook & Son Company.<sup>195</sup>

While the royal guests moving on to Jaffa international newspapers published the worries of the rivals of the German Empire. The official relations between Germany and Russia had been ruffled recently. This fact, although denied by the Government organs, was obtained from a person in high authority, and one of the most striking proofs of the accuracy of the statement is that Count Muravieff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has just visited Paris and Vienna, but he ignored Berlin. The German newspapers noted that and had commented upon the omission. Another significant fact is the hostile tone of the entire Russian press, in which the reconciliation between Germany and Great Britain was described as an underhand plot against Russia, in view of her friendliness to Germany in China and in the recent tariff negotiations. Moreover, Kaiser Wilhelm's visit to the Orient was characterized as an attempt to undermine Russian influence in Turkey and the position of the Orthodox Church in Palestine. The Russian clerical authorities feared German Protestant rule in Jerusalem, where the Orthodox pilgrims were ten times more numerous than those of all the other creeds together. It is said that Russia. In order to counteract the Anglo-German agreement, had come to a closer understanding with Austria, by which those two countries and France would jointly oppose the increasing influence of Germany in the Orient and would in no case permit Turkish cessions to Germany. The bulk of the German newspapers express the opinion that Emperor Wilhelm's trip will yield little tangible good but would create much jealousy on the part of the interested powers, who will endeavor to destroy any German projects in Asia Minor.<sup>196</sup>

The Imperial Caravan moved south along the coast. An overnight stay from October 26 to 27 took place a camp in a tent in Burj, near the ruins of Caesarea. Then they continued their journey towards Benyahim, Jaffa.<sup>197</sup> The royal guests arrived at Jaffa on October 27. Jaffa was magnificently illuminated. Ludwig Schneller experienced the evening in the port city: Cheers shouted through the city, even the

---

<sup>193</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 175.

<sup>194</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1

<sup>195</sup> B.O.A. BEO. 1204/90287

<sup>196</sup> 'The Kaiser at Jerusalem', *The New York Times*, 31 October 1898, 7.

<sup>197</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1

Muslims, when they met Germans, symbolically shook their hands together and shouted: Germany and Ottoman Empire! It was obviously not about ordered cheers, but spontaneous expressions of emotion.<sup>198</sup>

The city was decorated with German and Turkish flags. The royal guests spent their time Hotel du Parc near the old town of Jaffa and the Jerusalem Hotel of the Templars Ernst Hardegg. In this way, Wilhelm II, summon episcopus of the Evangelical Church of the older provinces of Prussia, held the balance between Templars and Protestants during his visit. Paul Tietz, one of the directors of the German Colony in Jaffa spoke about the difficulties which they faced and added that those difficulties were the important factor in the foundation of four German colonies in Palestine. He also told that; that difficulties wouldn't separate them from the German method, ethic, and loyalty to the German Empire and the Kaiser.<sup>199</sup>

When we look at the views of French press especially one of the famous newspapers, Le Figaro:

Responding to an address by the German settlers in Saron, the Kaiser said he was pleased to note that his good relations with the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire also benefited Germans living in the East. The more the Germans of the Levant remain attached to their homeland, added the sovereign, the more they would be an element of civilization for the Turkish empire, to which they will be useful. It was because he acknowledged the fact that the Sultan grants benevolent protection to the Germans living in his state.<sup>200</sup>

His journey by horse and cart through the Holy Land made it difficult for the Kaiser to follow the course of the that day's events especially Fashoda Crisis, which was the last struggle between Britain and France, after that struggle, they became an ally to stop the common enemy, the German Empire. In Ramle, halfway between Jaffa and Jerusalem, where the imperial party had a rest lasting several hours, new despatches arrived in Jerusalem was able to call upon Wilhelm for an undisturbed flow of

---

<sup>198</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 277- 278.

<sup>199</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 30.

<sup>200</sup> 'Nouvelles', *Le Figaro*, 30 October 1898, 3.



information. In the imperial camp the Telegraph, which brought the political news from Europe, was right next to the Kaiser's cabinet.<sup>201</sup>

On October 28, the party left early to make their way to Jerusalem, the road leading from the coast to the Judean highlands. Now the paths of Wilhelm II and Theodor Herzl crossed again, who had recently disembarked in Jaffa. Herzl was waiting for the Kaiser in the Jewish settlement Mikweh, who had a modern agricultural school. Through Chaplain Hechler, who had also landed in Jaffa, informed Oberhof Marshal August zu Eulenburg that he would like to meet the Kaiser in Mikweh. He wanted to be remembered and use every opportunity to create an effect of positive habituation between himself and the German Kaiser.<sup>202</sup>

The holy guests arrived in Jerusalem on 29 October. The royal guests entered the city by the Jaffa way and use the gate of the Tower of David. That gate was reconstructed. Because only the conqueror of the city could enter from that gate on horseback. While the royal guest entering the city, a military band played the German Anthem.<sup>203</sup> The folk met the royal guests with enthusiastic demonstrations. Many of them saw himself a fair sultan even an angel. Some said that they felt like saw the prophet when they saw the Kaiser.<sup>204</sup> The streets were decorated with the Ottoman and German flags to gain the favor of the Kaiser. Here, Roman and Greek Orthodox Catholics, Protestants and Jews and Mohammedans have their houses of worship, the Crescent does not prevent the establishment of the Cross, as neither cross nor crescent prevents the Jews from worshipping their heads where the Temple of Solomon once stood and the walls of Zion are raised The representatives of all denominations pay homage to the German Kaiser, who did not fight but secured peace.<sup>205</sup> That was one of the last good times in Palestine when every people lived in

---

<sup>201</sup> *Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 109.

<sup>202</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 278–79.

<sup>203</sup> ‘Suriye Seyahatinde’, *Sabah*, 31 October 1898, 1.

<sup>204</sup> Hans Schneider, ‘Die Erfolge Der Palaestinafahrt Unsers Kaiser’, *Die Grenzboten*, 1899, 58.

<sup>205</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 145; von Kralik, *Allgemeine Geschichte Der Neusten Zeit von 1815 Bis Zur Gegenwart Vierter Band, Teil B, 1889-1899*, 1079.

peace and harmony together. Just 20 years later struggle would begin in Palestine and have been continuing for more than 100 years.

The royal guests visited the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where Jesus was crucified according to Christianity, was first visited.<sup>206</sup> Here they were received by the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian clergy, headed by Mgr. Piavi, the Latin Patriarch.<sup>207</sup> The Kaiser gave them some ranks.<sup>208</sup> That was a sign of the Kaiser's efforts of claiming the protectorate over the not only German Christians but also all of the Christian World. In there, unfortunately, for a long time, Easter has been desecrated by bloody brawls between Oriental Orthodox monks and Roman Catholic Franciscans.<sup>209</sup> When we look at the days, just one year before the journey France were trying to Piavi be resigned from his position. According to a German official correspondence: the French are seeking the removal of Piavi of Jerusalem, while in the opinion of the Imperial Consul it would be urgent to remain there in the interest of German Catholic aspirations. The Chairman of the Association of the Holy Land Janssen had also been informed by Prince Arenberg in the enclosed letter to this document that the German Catholic cause in Palestine would be exposed to the utmost dangers, if it failed, the Patriarch Piavi Even the election of a German as general of the Franciscan Order in no way compensated for the loss of the Patriarch, so sympathetic to German aspirations.<sup>210</sup>

The visit of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher made sense from the point of view of the church's political point of view after all the Kaiser honoured the Catholic and the Eastern Church traditions. From personal impression, however, that Wilhelm II was just as disappointed as all the other Protestants of the various tour groups. Although Wilhelm II telegraphed to Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden on the deep impressions that had the tomb of Christ on him. But outside the protocol, the Kaiser said, that he

---

<sup>206</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1

<sup>207</sup> 'The German Emperor in Jerusalem', *The Times*, 31 October 1898, 5.

<sup>208</sup> B.O.A. Y. PRK.PT. 18/76

<sup>209</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*, 254.

<sup>210</sup> Lepsius, Bartholdy, and Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899:589.

had seen a lot of filth, but never seen so much in one place. The Kaiser shared with his subjects the complete lack of understanding of the peculiarity of Eastern Christianity.<sup>211</sup>

The Kaiser met with the members of Templars. He mentioned the German interests in that lands. He also told the good relations between the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire and Abdülhamid II and him. He criticised French protectorate on Catholics second time with his speech in Jerusalem. He mentioned that; He would be the protector of all Christians regardless of their sects. He rejected the French domination and claimed that the German Empire powerful to protect her citizens abroad.<sup>212</sup> His speech was telegraphed also to the Pope. That day was also important for the Kingdom of Saxony. On that day Albrecht I celebrated his 25<sup>th</sup> year on the throne. The Kaiser sent a telegram to maffick that event.<sup>213</sup>

Kaiser's entry into Jerusalem like a triumph. When referring to entry into Jerusalem in the Judeo-Christian context, associations quickly set in, notably the Old Testament Messiah tradition and the entry of Jesus into the city of David. The question arises whether a comparison of the arrival of Wilhelm II with the arrival of the Messiah should not be considered an illegitimate exaggeration. In 1898, however, contemporaries weaved such a dense network of Messianic quotes around the Kaiser that had to go through the comparison. The entry of Wilhelm II is a key scene for the understanding of the modern imperial cult, for the self-image of the monarch and for the expectations of his surroundings. The arrival of the Kaiser was *adventus*, arrival, the term borrowed from the Roman Kaiser cult returned to its origins, at least to a late interpretation of the ancient and medieval tradition.<sup>214</sup>

According to *Neue Freie Presse* that the Palestinian journey had been undertaken with the express purpose of the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer. Wilhelm II probably wanted a secure position for Protestantism in the Holy Lands. The

---

<sup>211</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 286–87.

<sup>212</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 32–33.

<sup>213</sup> *Sabah*, 31 October 1898, 1.

<sup>214</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 282–83.

Zionist *Die Welt* also described the inauguration of the Church of the Redeemer as the purpose of the voyage. The Catholic *Germania* placed Wilhelm II meanwhile in the tradition of great Christian Kaiser Wilhelm II join the ownership of the Johanniter Hospital in the footsteps of Justinian and Charlemagne. The Catholic newspaper pointed to the connections of these two emperors with the Holy Land, Justinian had the first pilgrim's hospital built in Jerusalem and Charlemagne received the keys of the Holy Sepulcher from the caliph Harun al Rashid. *Germania* thus offered its Catholic readers an offer to meet the evangelical Kaiser and his journey to the inauguration of a Protestant church to identify.<sup>215</sup>

The Kaiser not only tried to become the patron of Protestants in the Holy Lands, he also wanted to gain support of the German Catholics in these lands, especially in Jerusalem. From the early days of 1898 von Bülow and Marschall tried to acquire land on Mount Zion, where Christians believed the Virgin Mary had died, which is also known as La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge, for the German Catholics. Although the landowners did not want to sell this land, the Sultan bought there and gifted to the Kaiser.<sup>216</sup>

With that important gift and policies of the Kaiser to gain the support of the German Catholics, France lost her prestige among the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. Also, the effect and influence of the German Empire increased among the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>217</sup>

Ambassador of Britain in Jerusalem wrote a report. According to that report; The journey of the Kaiser, respect of the Ottoman Empire to him and the privileges which were given to the German Empire would increase the prestige of the German Empire and would help to the expansion of the German influence in Palestine.<sup>218</sup> Also,

---

<sup>215</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 133–34.

<sup>216</sup> Gummer, 'The Politics of Symphaty: German Turcophilism and the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Mass Media 1871-1914', 241.

<sup>217</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 135–36.

<sup>218</sup> Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 97.

overwhelmed was Wilhelm when he visited the site that he immediately ‘placed himself, his army, and his Empire in the service of the Mother of Christ’.<sup>219</sup>

The Kaiser gifted that abode to gain the support of the German Catholics. Every move of the Kaiser was made for a political aim. That move also a minor victory against France. Although France is the protector of the Catholics, she couldn’t acquire this land. These events rise the tension between two historical enemies. Wilhelm II was destroying the balance and policy of neutrality which was established by Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. Those events prepared the beginning of the end for both The German Empire and the Kaiser. According to Bülow, acquisition of this land reduced the power and effect of France, in the East and the Ottoman Empire. The transfer of the so-called Abendmahlssaal (Coenaculum) in Jerusalem to the German Association of the Holy Land, which has been aiming for years at the transfer of this building and the place called Dormition de la Sainte Vierge (Dormition of the Mother of God) next to it, would have taken place.<sup>220</sup>

The gift created positive reactions among the Germans, not also supporters of the Kaiser, but also his opponents supported him for that event. The remarks of the Centrist press show that, for even the usually venomous *Germania* accords the Kaiser unstinted praise, and said: The possession of the abode, which has been the heart's desire of the German Catholics for years, and which French influence was unable to get from the Sultan, was due to the energetic and well-directed efforts of the Kaiser, which achieved their object immediately where France notoriously failed.<sup>221</sup>

The reply of the Vatican to his notification of rights acquired at Mount Zion is considered extremely curt, while on all important occasions the French Consul General attended in order to assert France’s guardianship of holy places. Moreover, it

---

<sup>219</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 13.

<sup>220</sup> Lepsius, Bartholdy, and Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899:610.

<sup>221</sup> ‘Turco- German Alliance’, *The New York Times*, 6 November 1898, 7.

appears that the Sultan practically took forcible possession of the land he presented to Kaiser Wilhelm, the owner objecting to selling the ecclesiastical property.<sup>222</sup>

There is a controversy about the Kaiser's meetings in Jerusalem. Although other sources claimed that; Kaiser Wilhelm met with Theodor Herzl, his Minister Bülow told the opposite of that. Bülow told about a deputation of Zionists made a speech to the Kaiser. At its head stood Dr. Theodor Herzl, a witty Viennese publicist filled with zeal for the cause of Zionism. Wilhelm II was initially enthusiastic about the Zionist idea because in this way he hoped to free his country from many elements that he did not particularly like. But when the Turkish ambassador to Berlin, who accompanied us on our journey to the Orient, made it clear to him that the Sultan did not want to know anything about Zionism and an independent Jewish empire, he dropped the Zionist cause and refused to accept their representatives in Zion received.<sup>223</sup>

Meanwhile, Theodor Herzl had reached Palestine. Until the Kaiser's arrival in Jerusalem, he still had a few days left to visit some Jewish settlements. In the colony of Mikwe Israel, he studied with the student choir of the settlement a welcome program for Wilhelm II, with which he wanted to honor the Kaiser as soon as he passed Mikwe Israel. In Jaffa, he met with the also travelled to Palestine Bible Students Hechler. Herzl informed Hechler that he would wait for the Kaiser on the highway near Mikwe Israel, and asked Hechler to do so to the Lord Mayor Eulenburg. Herzl gave the children's choir a sign to sing the hymn "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" (Hail in the wreath) and took off his tropical helmet. The Kaiser recognized Herzl in the crowd and rode up to greet him. In his diary, Herzl noted his conversation with the Kaiser.<sup>224</sup>

According to notes of Herzl, he talked with the Kaiser about the situation of Palestine. Both knew the main problem with that lands, water. But Kaiser saw that

---

<sup>222</sup> 'Emperor William's Travels', *The New York Times*, 9 November 1898, 7.

<sup>223</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*, 254.

<sup>224</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 218.

land as the land of future. The other important thing about that conversation is; a member of Rothchild was there during the meeting.<sup>225</sup> It is interesting that; some German newspapers mentioned that meeting but didn't give the name of Herzl and only mentioned a Jewish committee.<sup>226</sup>

Eulenburg, the only one Herzl could rely on in the Entourage of the Kaiser, greeted the Zionist in a friendly way. Having already got to know the productions of the Protestant, Catholic, and Templar communities, we find that Herzl used exactly the same liturgical liturgy as all other religious groups. If Herzl had known that his plan had already been prevented in İstanbul, he probably would not have been in such a high spirit.<sup>227</sup>

Although, Philipp zu Eulenburg became almost became the chief aide of Zionists, von Bülow had an antipathy against Zionists. Zionism couldn't fit into the interests of the Kaiser and the German Empire. Also, the Sultan refused the sell any land on the Ottoman Empire to Zionists. That discourse of the Sultan, affected the views of the Kaiser.<sup>228</sup>

The members of the church festival drove from Jerusalem to Bethlehem in the early morning on October 30. At the new orphanage of the Jerusalem Association, a large congregation of German and Arab Protestants is gathered to inaugurate the building. The father Müller first addressed the Arab Christians. Count von Zieten-Schwerin, the chairman of the Jerusalem Association, recapitulated the successful work of the association during the last 45 years and especially thanked the Kaiserin for her commitment. The sermon speech was given by the preacher Lic Weser and painted a picture of the inner power of Germanism fed from the sources of the biblical message. Provost Hoppe from Jerusalem and Reverend Böttcher from Bethlehem also participated in the liturgical organization of the celebration. When, the Kaiser

---

<sup>225</sup> Herzl, *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, 2:210.

<sup>226</sup> 'Kaiser Wilhelm in Jerusalem', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 31 October 1898, 554 edition, 1.

<sup>227</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 280.

<sup>228</sup> Stewart, 'Herzl's Journeys in Palestine and Egypt', 28.

saw the German Oriental chaplains standing in the gown on the rock terrace of the church, he addressed them spontaneously. He emphasized the importance of diaconal work for the profile of Protestant Christianity in the Orient. The Kaiserin, took over the protectorate over the Jerusalem Association after the service, an important aid for gaining new members and financial resources. Then the imperial couple returned to the reality of Oriental Christianity and visited the Constantinian Church of the Nativity. Wilhelm II crowned the beginnings, which had been laid under the Hohenzollern since Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1842, and fulfilled all hopes, overcoming all the adversities of the East. He characterized the Kaiser as Evangelical to the last fiber of his being: a true confessor of the Savior and his gospel, as a peaceful crusader with spiritual weapons. Wilhelm II rode from the Church of the Nativity back to Jerusalem, while the Kaiserin then visited the orphanage.<sup>229</sup> On that day, the Kaiser gave Cardinal Piavi order of Rother Adlerorden, one of the greatest orders of the German Empire.<sup>230</sup> The Kaiser thought of the dispute of the Christian denominations in Jerusalem over the possession of holy places, Wilhelm II was happy to have received in the Bethlehem Protestant community the first uplifting impression in the Holy Land. The German Empire and the German name would now have gained a high reputation in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>231</sup>

He mentioned in that speech; there are many differences between the dawah (disclose) methods between Protestantism and Catholicism. He also added that; contributions of the actions of Protestants in Palestine and promoting of cooperation with Muslims.<sup>232</sup> That was the evidence of the Kaiser's sponsoring the Protestant Community in Palestine. He also visited also the Armenian and Latin churches. The royal guests were welcomed by the Armenian patriarch.<sup>233</sup> The position of the Latin Church in Turkey is quite different from that of the Orthodox, Armenian, and Rome-

---

<sup>229</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 289–91.

<sup>230</sup> 'Le Voyage de l'empereur d'Allemagne Jerusalem', *Le Petit Journal*, 31 October 1898, 1.

<sup>231</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 142.

<sup>232</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 34.

<sup>233</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1



lined Oriental Churches. The Orthodox and Armenian churches are, as it were, government institutions of the Turkish state; the Porte participates in the appointment and confirmation of the Patriarchs and Bishops of these churches, grants the Investiture Councils and has the right to demand their dismissal in certain cases. Conversely, the Latin patriarchs and bishops do not use internal Turkish constitutional law but international law; they are all foreign subjects, hitherto appointed by the Pope without any assistance from the Porte.<sup>234</sup>

In various ways, therefore, returnees, the Kaiserin, and the Kaiser moved back to Jerusalem. The Kaiser visited on the way back the Templar colony Rephaim.<sup>235</sup> In the afternoon, the imperial couple and his entourage celebrated a devotion on the Mount of Olives in the garden of the Russian monastery. The magnificent view of the Old City of Jerusalem and the mountain country reconciled the Germans with the rigors of the Orient. Dryander preached so heartfully about Matthew 26 (Jesus in Gethsemane) that Wilhelm II, Auguste Victoria, and their entourage sank to their knees in prayer. In the evening, the All-German Association invited the party to a rally that was more colonial than Protestant. October 30 was for the German travellers largely in the sign of Protestantism. Protestant church services in a German church or in the open air conveyed a religious sense of home.<sup>236</sup>

During their journey in Jerusalem lighting of their tents were made via electricity.<sup>237</sup> That was important, because Abdülhamid II was afraid of electricity, for its danger for fire. For that reason, he banned electricity, especially in İstanbul. Even when Wilhelm II took privileges in İstanbul, telegraph, and railway between Constanta, he also tried to take privilege about the electricity in İstanbul, but he couldn't be successful. That shows that Abdülhamid's fear was so great about

---

<sup>234</sup> Lepsius, Bartholdy, and Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899:591-92.

<sup>235</sup> 'Die Pälastinareise Des Deutschen Kaiserpaares', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 1 November 1898, 555 edition, 2.

<sup>236</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 291-92; Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 142.; B.O.A. Y. EE, 81/1

<sup>237</sup> B.O.A. Y.HUS. 388/50

electricity, he even didn't care about the Kaiser about that situation. Other important occasion which was occurred in that day was; the meeting between the Kaiser and Nazım Pasha, governor of Syria. In that meeting, Kaiser noted that he did not take seriously the complaints of the Armenians who visited him.<sup>238</sup>

In the early hours of the morning on October 31, the royal guests went to Die Erlöserkirche (Church of the Redeemer).<sup>239</sup> The Kaiser opened the new church.<sup>240</sup> The dedication of the new church was the most important action of the Kaiser in the holy city. He was dressed as a crusader in full military regalia, flanked by the Knights of Order of St. John as he proceeded to the church entrance.<sup>241</sup> The service followed a hierarchical ritual of court protocol, while Wilhelm was being presented with a key to the neo-Romanesque church.<sup>242</sup> That day is the reformation day for Protestants. The Kaiser became Supreme Governor of the Evangelical Church of Prussia with that opening. In the official travelogue, the church was called after its completion a church of simple, truly noble beauty and compared with the many times of pomp and bauble overloaded churches of Jerusalem.<sup>243</sup>

Der Herr der Mitte -The Master of the Center-, one of the titles of Kaiser Wilhelm II, on the same day embodied the role of protector of German Catholicism in Palestine. At 4 pm, the imperial couple set off with their retinue to the old town left it again through the Zion gate and turned to the complex of buildings of the Coenaculum, Cenacle, and David.<sup>244</sup> Only Muslims could enter there. The Sultan gave that permission to the royal guests.<sup>245</sup> The imam made a speech to the Kaiser, in which he said this circumstance emphasized and added that the old Kaiser, the Sultan's friend,

---

<sup>238</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM.44/6

<sup>239</sup> *Sabah*, 2 November 1898, 1.

<sup>240</sup> *İkdam*, 2 November 1898, 1. İkdam only briefly mentioned that event, the newspaper didn't mentioned about the opening in detail.

<sup>241</sup> 'Kaiser Wilhelm in Jerusalem', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 2 November 1898, 557 edition, 1.

<sup>242</sup> *Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 235–39.

<sup>243</sup> *Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 203.

<sup>244</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 302.

<sup>245</sup> B.O.A Y.PRK.PT. 18/94

was open to old Muslim institutes, and that the Sultan's concessions had not failed to excite a great appearance everywhere.<sup>246</sup> On the square, traditionally called the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Turkish authorities, the Latin Patriarch Piavi, Father Schmidt, the director of the German Catholic Hospice, the German Franciscans, and a military section of the imperial cruiser Hertha.<sup>247</sup>

Patriarch Piavi thanked the Kaiser: "Le Saint Pere est tres touche et tres reconnaissance de la sublime idee de Votre Majesto! (The Holy Father is very touching and very grateful for the sublime idea of Your Majesty!)" Immediately after taking possession, Wilhelm II sent a telegram to the pope, pointing to his special responsibility towards his Catholic subjects, Leo XIII. answered immediately, thanking and promising the further gratitude of the Catholics. The Kaiser did not have his own language to the Catholics, so he retreated to the most familiar level of military command. The diplomatic coolness of the Kaiser's words stood out clearly from his statements of faith towards the evangelicals. The protector of the Catholics acted for reasons of state. The notification of the Pope was a masterpiece. With the transfer of Dormitio to German Catholics, the French representatives in Jerusalem could not compete. The good relationship between the Kaiser and the Latin Patriarch Piavi strengthened his position against his church political opponents. The property was registered by the Turkish authorities under the name of the Kaiser in the cadastre of the German Reich. For the benefit of the Association of the Holy Land also included the intended church, whose funds were now free and could be used. Within a few years, an imposing church complex was to rise on Mount Zion, which did not need to shy away from comparison with the Evangelical Church of the Redeemer.<sup>248</sup>

Wilhelm II acquired the property and handed it to the German Association of the Holy Land for use by German Catholics.<sup>249</sup> The German Community and the Kaiser

---

<sup>246</sup> *Volkeszeitung*, 3 November 1898, 515 edition, 2.

<sup>247</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 302.

<sup>248</sup> Benner, 303–5.

<sup>249</sup> Wilhelm II Hohenzollern, *Ereignisse Und Gestalten 1878-1918* (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1922), 181.

intended to buy the tomb of Mary.<sup>250</sup> That land was bought from the Ottoman Empire and gifted to the Kaiser.<sup>251</sup> *Die Kölnische Zeitung* published a telegram about the royal guests' entrance to the Tomb of David. The newspaper also mentioned the expectation which was given to the royal guests. According to that news, the Imam of the tomb said that; all doors are open to the friend of the Sultan, Kaiser.<sup>252</sup> The sultan himself bought the property (the price of 100,000 marks paid the Kaiser) and transferred it to Wilhelm II, who also paid the very substantial costs of transfer and registration fees so that there could be no question of a gift from the sultan.<sup>253</sup>

The German Empire took the right of France from a treaty concluded in 1740 between Mahmut I and Louis XV questioned the protectorate of the Roman Catholic Christians living under Ottoman rule as Bülow clarified before the Reichstag on December 12, 1898 - the right of protection also over the Roman Catholic Christians of German nationality in Turkey according to the constitution.<sup>254</sup>

*Die Vossische Zeitung* greeted the Kaiser 's speeches in which he had emphasized his determination to protect German Catholics in Palestine, The French presumption of patronage also over the German Catholics in the Orient, as the liberal newspaper has said declared, learned through the speeches of the Kaiser emphatic rejection, under the unanimous approval of the German people, including the Catholics.<sup>255</sup> The Kaiser's present of the Virgins Abode to the Catholics was a clever move. Through the acquiring the Dormition the patriotic feelings of the German Catholics would be

---

<sup>250</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM, 43/93, B.O.A. Y.A. RES, 96/9; The construction of that church had begun in October 10, 1900. The plans of that church were drawn by Heinrich Reinhard, architect of Cologne Bishopric. That church was seemed like to Aachen Cathedral. Its construction was finished in 1910. Princes and princesses of Prussia and Bavaria. The Protestants and Catholics celebrated that opening enthusiastically. (Soy, 'Kudüs'teki Erlösekirche'nin Açılışı: II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahatindeki (1898,) 132

<sup>251</sup> Die Palästina-reise Des Deutschen Kaiserpaars', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 1 November 1898, 555 edition, 2.

<sup>252</sup> 'The German Emperor in Jerusalem', *The Times*, 3 November 1898, 3.

<sup>253</sup> Carmal, *Mission Und Gewalt: Der Umgang Christlicher Missionen Mit Gewalt Und Die Ausbreitung Des Christentums in Afrika Und Asien in Der Zeit von 1792 Bis 1918/19*, 37.

<sup>254</sup> Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871- 1914*, 108.

<sup>255</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 184.

encouraged. The Kaiser wanted to create an impression among Catholics and Protestants.<sup>256</sup>

Quite apart from everything he says and does, the Kaiser's appearance in horror is a political process. The Sultan of the Germans impressed the Orient.<sup>257</sup> At the evening, the Kaiser gave a fest to dignitaries. Tevfik Pasha, Ambassador of Berlin, and Nazım Pasha, Governor of Syria were the two of the guests. The Kaiser gave them his picture and gave bronze plate, his picture was on the one side and a note about the memory of the journey of Jerusalem on the other side.<sup>258</sup> On the morning of November 1, Wilhelm II visited the Kidron Valley and the Garden of Gethsemane, where a German Franciscan took care of the old olive trees. From there the cavalcade rode to the plateau of the Mount of Olives and enjoyed the wide view. In the afternoon, the Syrian orphanage was visited.<sup>259</sup>

During the journey of the Kaiser in Palestine and Sria, the leader of Young Turks, Ahmed Rıza wrote to the Kaiser about the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Abdülhamid. He mentioned about the beautifulness but the despotic rule of the Sultan in the Ottoman Empire. He requested the help of the Kaiser about this situation. He also sent some copies of *Mecheveret* to the German Office to attract the attention of the Kaiser and German authorities on this situation.<sup>260</sup>

The visit of the imperial couple on the morning of November 2 focused on Temple Square, the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The mufti of Jerusalem, the sheikh al-haram (leader of the temple square) and the governor of Syria welcomed Wilhelm II and Auguste Victoria. The Kaiser told the first imam of the mosque that it was a pity that no excavations were going on here in the most significant places in the world. With the answers of mufti, Wilhelm II had no understanding of the material Piety of Islam was missing. The Orientals 'already had the sacred, the

---

<sup>256</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 136–37.

<sup>257</sup> Friedrich Naumann, *Asia: Eine Orientresie Über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jeurusalem, Kairo, Neapel* (Berlin- Schönenberg: Verlag der Hilfe, 1901), 73.

<sup>258</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE, 81/1

<sup>259</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 306–7.

<sup>260</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 59–60.

Western visitors always sought and had to dig to secure the roots of their identity. Overall, Wilhelm II was inspired by the decorative, but the restrained splendor of Islamic religious architecture.<sup>261</sup>

In Germany, Orientalists and interested lay people had joined together to form the German Orient Society, to undertake the archeological development of Mesopotamia in the winter of 1897/98, the Orient Society had sent an expedition under the direction of Professor Sachau and the architect Koldewey to explore suitable excavation sites in Mesopotamia. At the site of ancient Babylon, the researchers had discovered promising finds. The responsible officials of the Ministry were very open to the archaeological project. A commission of members of the Oriental Society and officials of the Ministry was set up to prepare the Mesopotamian excavations and hoped that Wilhelm II would visit his Turkish interlocutors for the Babylon project during his visit to İstanbul. A few weeks before the trip, Minister of Culture Bosse wrote an immediate report to the Kaiser on the prospect of excavations in Babylonia.<sup>262</sup>

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin also visited Omar Mosque on that day also, the Kaiser the Greek Patriarch, the Kaiserin the German Deaconess Hospital.<sup>263</sup> The Kaiser would meet with Theodor Herzl in holy lands. Herzl and his delegation prepared intensively for the encounter with the Kaiser. In the late afternoon of 31 October shortly after the Dormition was handed over, the Zionist friend Kaplan Hechler had a meeting with Eulenburg to make an appointment for the audience. A portfolio with photographs of the Jewish settlements in Palestine, wrapped in a precious cloth, was to be presented to the Kaiser. On the morning of November 1, Herzl received a request to appear in the German consulate. Consul General von Tischendorf and the Dragoinan Count Mülinen received Herzl, Tischendorf informed him that he would report to the Legation Councilor Klehmet in the imperial camp. Get straight to the

---

<sup>261</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 314.

<sup>262</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 199.

<sup>263</sup> 'Kaiser Wilhelm in Jerusalem', *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 4 November 1898, 561 edition, 1.

tents. Klehmet turned out to be an arrogant bureaucrat trying to imitate his master, Bülow. He asked von Herzl to make some changes in the draft speech. He could not let me say that to the Kaiser. Herzl pulled himself together and agreed to once again submit the corrected manuscript and the final version to be read. He asked how the speech should be published, of course he would only publish that, which he would be asked to do. Klehmet remarked coldly: order does not seem to me quite the right word. At most, you will be allowed to publish something. Herzl learned that Bülow would also attend the audience. The Zionist now knew where the cold wind was blowing. The Kaiser would provide the balance between Herzl and Bülow. Bodenheimer, the first president of the Zionist Federation of Germany, brought the corrected version to Klehmet in the evening, which for the time being declared a publication of the speech undesirable. The Kaiser and Herzl met on November 2. Herzl committee was consisted of; Dr. Schnurer, Dr. Wolfsolhn, Dr. Bodeheimer, head of the Committee of Jewish Colonial Bank and Seidener, German Zionists, their speech was controlled by Eulenburg to prevent unwanted cases. Also, Klehmet and Bülow would see the text of the speech. Herzl mentioned founding a home for the Jews in Sion and he also guaranteed that the Sion would not harm the benefits of the Sultan and would give advantages to the Ottoman Empire. Herzl mentioned the warm weather problem again. The desire of the Sion was; founding an agricultural community under the protection of the Kaiser and the German Empire. Herzl wanted from the Kaiser to be an intermediary between the Sion and the Sultan.<sup>264</sup> The answer of the Kaiser wasn't clear. He didn't say whether yes or no for that demands. We can say that; the efforts of Herzl remained inconclusive. But according to *Germania*; Herzl founded that conversation sincere.<sup>265</sup>

Herzl repeated his requests to Duke of Baden his letter written on December 15.<sup>266</sup> When Herzl mentioned the help of the German Kaiser, it seemed to us that his

---

<sup>264</sup> Herzl, *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, 2:215–26.

<sup>265</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 36.

<sup>266</sup> Herzl, *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, 2:245–49. Only 19 years after that meeting, on November 2 1917, by Foreign Secretary of Britain Arthur Balfour, wrote a declaration to Walter Rotschild and that treaty is accepted as the first step to the foundation of the Jewish State.

expressions were in agreement. Max Bodenheimer, “Unfortunately, the Kaiser’s response was evasive, and it by no means matched our high expectations.”<sup>267</sup> With this meeting, the Zionists began to lose their hopes about the help of the Kaiser about the Jewish Lands in Palestine. After that cold shower, Zionists changed the movement of the Zionism from German orientation to British orientation. Only two years later, Herzl would start to gain the help of Britain with the Fourth Zionist Congress.<sup>268</sup>

On November 3, Consul of France and Bülow make a meeting and Bülow reported a little later to Wilhelm II. Most probably, that meeting was about the German ambitions in Palestine and the effort of Wilhelm II about the become the protector of the not only protector of Protestants but also other Christians and Muslims.<sup>269</sup> Originally, it was intended to visit other holy places in Palestine. But the Kaiser soon gave up this idea, the thermometer rose higher and higher, the journey began to tire him. So on November 4, they returned to Jaffa. On the morning of November 4, the imperial court set out from Jerusalem for Jaffa, this time the journey was by railroad where they reached Damascus on the November 8.<sup>270</sup> The enthusiasm of the Kaiser for Islam reached its climax here. For the first time, he saw an Arab city, Arab courtyards with fountains, the charm of Arabian bazaars, the great magic of Arabic architecture, and the way of life.<sup>271</sup>

### **3.3.2 The Protector of 300 Million Muslims**

On 5 November, the German fleet squadron landed in the Lebanese metropolis Beirut. In view of the heat that still prevails especially along the coast, the imperial couple stayed aboard the Hohenzollem and received the deputations from the city’s

---

<sup>267</sup> Max Bodenheimer, *So Wurde Israel* (Mannheim: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1958), 104.

<sup>268</sup> Polkahn, ‘Zionism and Kaiser Wilhelm’, 80–81.

<sup>269</sup> ‘Guillaume II En Palestine’, *Le Figaro*, 4 November 1898, 2.

<sup>270</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 182.

<sup>271</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 257.



dignitaries. On November 6, Bülow tried to figure out from here how the French press had responded to the stay in Jerusalem and the surrender of the Dormition, since his only telegraph communication had been in the camp. Only after the ship's service on Sunday, November 6, Wilhelm II and Auguste Victoria went ashore and drove to 1866-1867 built Johanniter Hospital, which had also visited Crown Prince Friedrich-Wilhelm 1869. In addition, the royal guests went to an educational center with the orphanage Zoar was on the program for the Kaiserin, while Wilhelm II visited the barracks of a Turkish regiment. Receptions, illuminations of the city and the already familiar fireworks, this time against the beautiful Mediterranean backdrop of Beirut, then took place in the evening. In the morning of November 7, the Imperial couple travelled by rail through Lebanon to Damascus.<sup>272</sup>

Approximately between 300.000- 400.000 people met the Kaiser. There was a reason of the met in Jerusalem, but that was a flood of the emotion of the citizens of Damascus to the Kaiser. Kaiser almost went to raptures for that action of the citizens of Damascus. While holding the hands of Şakir Pasha, he told that; It's necessary to show to Berliners that; How to meet a Kaiser. In the first day of their Damascus journey, the royal guests went to the Umayyad Mosque and the tomb of Saladin. Kaiser also visited a house where his grandfather Friedrich stayed when he came to Damascus. He also visited the embassy building.<sup>273</sup> "Saladin was remembered again by the Ottoman Empire, especially after the Franco- Prussian War, with the break of France hegemony in the Middle East. The remembrance first showed up among the Young Ottomans."<sup>274</sup>

The souks of the various craft guilds affected the Western visitors like the fairy-tale depictions of the Thousand and One Nights. But in order not to be infected by the portrayals of the Kaiser, one should also hear other voices: Often the accompanying policemen distributed ruthlessly but mostly resigned strokes. In the crowded city, the

---

<sup>272</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 317–19.

<sup>273</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1

<sup>274</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 59–60.

safety of the guests was not really more guaranteed. But there were no incidents. Parades and receptions alternated. Most important were visits to the Umayyad Mosque, the city's most significant sacred building, and various city palaces, whose tasteful furnishings represented all the wealth of classical Islamic culture in Syria. Unburdened by church policy considerations, Wilhelm II felt as comfortable in Damascus as never before on the journey. A thanksgiving telegram to the Sultan chased the next one.<sup>275</sup>

In the feast at night; Sheikh Abdullah Efendi made a speech. According to a journalist of *Frankfurter Zeitung*; The Kaiser not only gain the sympathy of the Sultan but also 300 Million Muslims.<sup>276</sup> After that speech, Kaiser also made a speech and mentioned his sympathy for the Ottoman Empire and Muslims. He also claimed that: He was not only the protector of the Protestants and Catholics also he was the protector of 300 Million Muslims.<sup>277</sup> These words, however, have become the most well-known phrase in the eastern policy of Germany. For a short time, the diplomats hesitated and wondered whether these words should not be deleted or watered down. But it is also an opportunity to score a point.<sup>278</sup>

The reaction of the European press is immediate. With this speech, Germany breaks simply with the tradition of European firms, who have always tried to find a joint position on the Question of the East and puts itself without concessions on the side of the Sultan. The speech, however, means not only the identification with the secular power of the Sultan, but also with his religious authority as a Sultan-Caliph, that is to say an authority that also deals with Muslims beyond the Ottoman borders on Muslims under French, Russian and British domination.<sup>279</sup> The critiqueism in

---

<sup>275</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 321–22.

<sup>276</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 38–39. Richter claimed that; was Sheikh Ali Efendi Güzberi (p.86) and Benner claimed with that name (322), but Bülow also told that he was Sheikh Abdullah. It's certain that he was Sheikh Abdullah (258)

<sup>277</sup> *Freiburger Zeitung*, November 11, 1898; von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 258

<sup>278</sup> Kaynar, 'Les Rapports Entre Les Jeunes Turcs et l'Allemagne Avant 1908', 58.

<sup>279</sup> Kaynar, 58.

Germany did not only think of the displeasure of those powers that ruled over Muslims when he read the speech; he also thought that he had to remind him, quite unjustly, that the story showed Sultan Saladin in a different way than the Kaiser's Fantasy saw him.<sup>280</sup> “Here, in one of the most notorious in a career marked by many notorious speeches, the Kaiser paid gushing tribute to the medieval hero of Islam as one of the most chivalrous rulers of all times, the great Sultan Saladin a knight without fear or fault.”<sup>281</sup>

The reinforcement of friendship was intended to safeguard German interests in the Ottoman Empire. Less than two months later, the concession was rewarded with a concession to build a port and railway station on the east side of the Bosphorus. France, England, and Russia, however, probably felt Wilhelm's statement as a provocation directed directly to their address. After all, most of those three hundred million Muslims were directly or indirectly under the influence of these grandfathers.<sup>282</sup> The Kaiser's Damascus speech was just one step of a determined programme. It was said that there was an affection, between the Kaiser and the Sultan; the Orient journey provided an excellent opportunity for both sides to demonstrate and deepen this affection.<sup>283</sup>

Etienne Lamy saw in the royal speech of Damascus the most serious, a Christian prince has ever addressed Islam. According to his views; Wilhelm II was not content to affirm his alliance with the sultan, to address a salute to the seven hundred thousand soldiers who become the auxiliary troops of German fate in the event of war, to thirty million Turks who, during the time of peace, become the tributaries of German commerce, and the tribute and vows of the Kaiser were solemnly offered to three hundred million Muslims who populate the world which meant encouraging

---

<sup>280</sup> Kampen, ‘Studien Zur Deutschen Türkeipolitik in Der Zeit Wilhelm II’, 143.

<sup>281</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 14.

<sup>282</sup> Verroen, ‘Çok Yaşa! Kaiser Wilhelm II. in İstanbul’, 21.

<sup>283</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 142–43.

pan-Islamism. who, on the day he becomes a reality, puts all Christian peoples and Christian civilization in extreme danger.<sup>284</sup>

The Kaiser also sent garland to the tomb of Saladin.<sup>285</sup> It was written that on the garland: In the memory of Saladin, hero, and chivalry. To immortalize his respect to Saladin, later he sent another gift to his tomb. That was a bronze garland. It was written on the garland that: That crown was gifted by Kaiser Wilhelm II by the trophy of his visit. Also, a verse from the Koran, Maide;13, was written on that garland in Turkish and German.<sup>286</sup> That verse is: “Indeed, Allah loves the doers of good.” He also gifted a carpet to the tomb of Saladin. At the night of November 9, the Kaiser gave a fest at town hall to a community consisted of 60 people. According to a news from *Le Petit Journal*:

All of his actions and gifts about Saladin was not only about his sympathy to that Great Sultan and soldier, he knew that all of the Muslims especially Muslims of the Ottoman Empire had a great sympathy to Saladin and saw himself a savior from the tyrant Crusaders. To gain the sympathy of the Muslims and improve his and the German Empire’s image among the Muslims, he made all of his sympathetic actions about the Muslims. His main aim was, gaining the sympathy of the Muslims, and trying to provoke the Muslim subject of the rivals of the German Empire; Britain, France, and Russia. Another aim was: Preventing resistances of the Muslims, while the German Empire using the natural sources and so-called colonizing the Ottoman Empire. Also, some French newspapers claimed that the journey may be a preparation for a future-German Colony in those lands.<sup>287</sup>

The French Press was not completely wrong about their claims. The Kaiser and the German Empire had colonial desires about those lands.

It’s certain that, colonizing with soft power always easier and more stable than colonizing with using the hard power of the states and empires. Because with soft power, you gain not only the natural sources and privileges from the country which you use that power on but also you gain her friendship and sympathy of her subjects.

---

<sup>284</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 90.

<sup>285</sup> Salih Kış, ‘Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm’in Haçlı Rüyası ve 1898 Kudüs Seyahati’, *SUTAD* 42, no. Fall (2017.): 499.

<sup>286</sup> B.O.A. Y.PRK.EŞA, 34/96

<sup>287</sup> ‘Le Empereur d’Allemagne En Syrie’, *Le Petit Journal*, 8 November 1898, 2.

The German Empire achieved that situation very successfully upon the Ottoman Empire and her subjects until the end of the World War I.

When Abdülhamid II heard that very satisfied from the speech of the Kaiser. The speech of the Kaiser also showed that The German Empire and the Ottoman Empire become eternal allies and friends. But only 20 years after that speech both of the empires had collapsed. The important thing about that speech is: Bülow was worrying about the reaction of other great powers. But, because of the Crisis of Fashoda, they remained silent. This crisis was fascinating the attention of the World. Almost everybody was waiting with bated breath for a war which would start between France and Britain.<sup>288</sup> His moves showed that; the Kaiser was a provocative Kaiser. But he made his moves by reading his rivals situation very well and made his moves when they couldn't make an action against him. But he had a run of bad luck after the Crisis of Fashoda. After the solution of that crisis, France and Britain became an ally and made their action against the German Empire.

Abdülhamid got so satisfied by the Kaiser's speech. Abdülhamid II told that on November 11; that; That speech was so important and frustrate the efforts of other Great Powers. In that meeting charge d'affaires of the German Empire come to presence because foremost officers of the German Embassy were escorting the Kaiser. It's certain that those countries were France, Russia, and Britain. The Ottoman Empire had a chance to breathe thanks supporting of the German Empire. Because the great powers forcing the Ottoman Empire about especially the Armenian Problem since 1896.<sup>289</sup>

Abdülhamid II told in his that speech: "From these words, I see again that the feelings that make me His Majesty the Kaiser and animated for the German Reich and shared by the entire Ottoman nation, even on the German side find the fullest response. This idea is all the more precious and comforting to me, as the attempts sometimes made by others to shatter this friendship have been dashed by the rally of His Majesty the Kaiser." The Sultan repeated the outspoken opinion in the warmest of terms; he added that the French Ambassador Monsieur Cambon had tried at his farewell audience to allude to the eventuality of Franco-German complications, that he would accept his Imperial Friend. He knew well that he was not convinced that

---

<sup>288</sup> Soy, 'Kudüs'teki Erlösekirche'nin Açılışı : II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahatindeki (1898) Dini Motifler', 137.

<sup>289</sup> Soy, 137.

the highest of all would use his power exclusively in the interest of maintaining peace, so that if friction ever arose, the blame would be on the French side only the news received from Damascus was in the best of spirits, expressing the hope that the very highest dynasties might well survive the hardships resulting from temperature fluctuations.<sup>290</sup>

With his words, Wilhelm II supported the pan-Islamic aspirations of the Sultan. In the interior of his empire, Abdülhamid tried to bind the Arab-Islamic territory more firmly to the headquarters of İstanbul. He thought of declaring Arabic to be the official language a project that remained unfulfilled. Since 1888, the Provincial Directory in the Empire almanacs no longer began with the European provinces, but with the Hejaz, the province of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, followed by the other Arab countries, treated Anatolia afterward, and finally recorded European Turkey at the end. The Arab districts on the periphery - Kuwait, and Yemen were in a very loose relationship with the Reich Central despite the claim to power asserted by the Sultan. This was particularly true of Kuwait, whose ruler, with English backing, was basically nominally subordinate to the sultan. Abdülhamid was the caliph, the spiritual leader of the Islamic world. If he emphasized this function, he threatened at the same time the rule of Britain, Russia, and France in India, North Africa and Central Asia, where altogether far more Muslims lived than in the Ottoman Empire. If Wilhelm II now supported the pan-Islamism of the Sultan, so he challenged the governments of the three major powers.<sup>291</sup>

On the one of the last days of the journey of the Kaiser, *Berliner Tageblatt* published a news about the importance of journey and influence of the German Empire upon the Ottoman Empire thanks to that journey with making quotation from an Italian journal called *Don Chisciotte*. In that news: Incidentally, *Don Chisciotte* also devotes a lengthy consideration to the relationship between Germany and Turkey, and emphasizes how Germany understood all its interests alone, and while the others argued about the hypothetical inheritance of the so-called sick man, Germany was

---

<sup>290</sup> Lepsius, Bartholdy, and Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899:577-78.

<sup>291</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*, 258-59; Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 87; Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 324.

clever and practical He had been able to give his care and to make himself indispensable to him. The Imperial Journey was merely the culmination of that colossal work.<sup>292</sup>

Wilhelm II sent a telegram to his cousin Tsar Nicholas II. He mentioned Nicholas II's interest about the Orient and started to narrate his journey in the Orient.

He told about the conflicts between Christian groups in that city. He couldn't hide his administration from Muslims in that city. It is so important that Wilhelm II wrote to his cousin: "If I had come to that city as a non-believer, I absolutely converted to Islam." He complained the clergy in Jerusalem. Wilhelm II thought that the clergy used religion as a tool for policy. That was harming the reputation of Christians in the Holy Lands and Muslims know the aim of the clergy and behave deliberately for that reason. Wilhelm also mentioned the useless action of Christians in Jerusalem. They didn't dig a pit etc. for Jerusalem. The Kaiser admitted his disappointment: "I am coming home feeling a great disappointment and firmly convinced that the tomb of our Redeemer certainly does not lie beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which stands out in appearance and in its ornamentation a pretty bad side piece to the Omar Mosque in its simple and awe-inspiring size excludes!" Wilhelm II explained the enthusiasm of the Muslims for his person with the following motives: "This happens because I am a friend of their sultan and caliph and because I have always represented an open and honest policy towards him." Thus, he came to the conclusion in his letter to the Tsar: "Turkey is quite alive and not a dying man! Beware the Moslems if you attack their national honor or their caliph." The sultan's organizational efforts had paid off if the German Empire no longer regarded Turkey as a sick man on the Bosphorus, but as a viable political organism.<sup>293</sup>

A daring statement, bearing in mind that Wilhelm II wrote not only to his imperial counterparts but to the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, to the protector of all churches of Byzantine Orthodox tradition. The Tsar was not only Summus

---

<sup>292</sup> *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 7 November 1898, 566 edition, 1.

<sup>293</sup> Goetz, *Briefe Wilhelms II an Den Zaran 1894-1914*, 63–68.

Episcopus,<sup>294</sup> He was actually, in the Russian imagination, the basileus, the Kaiser of the Third Rome! Even though the Czar was critiqueal of the Catholics in Jerusalem, he could not personally or officially adopt the Protestant standpoint of Wilhelm II if he did not want to endanger his throne. Without orthodoxy, Tsarism was lost. And Wilhelm II had the audacity to doubt the sanctity of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and to speak of fetish worship.<sup>295</sup>

It's important that Wilhelm II called himself Willy and called his cousin Nicholas II as Nicky. That shows that whether, they were two of the most important emperors of the World and rivalry began between those power, two emperors called themselves with nicknames. Another important point is; Wilhelm II saw the Ottoman Empire as a political organism and shattered the discourse of Sick man of Bosphorus That is the evidence that: the German Empire became the new protector of the Ottoman Empire, after Britain's giving up that position with the Berlin Treaty. Also, his interest on Muslims show that; Kaiser's information about the strength and importance of caliphate. He intended to use it against his rivals. Thus, he used that weapon during World War I, but it did not end up as he had hoped and almost no colony of the Allies obeyed the caliphate and call of jihad.

While the royal guests continuing their journey in Damascus, the newspapers continued to publish news about that journey. The *Kolonialzeitung* regarded not only Syria and northern Mesopotamia as territories for German immigration, but also the country on either side of the Anatolian Railway. For the Germans now, the soil in Asia Minor is leveled and the actual peaceful conquest by colonization is no longer a real obstacle. According to the *Kolonialzeitung*, Asia Minor, especially the area between Eskişehir and Ankara provided space and livelihood for many Thousand German settlers. The magazine already saw a flourishing colonization by German peasants along the German line from Haydarpaşa to Baghdad.<sup>296</sup>

---

<sup>294</sup> The ruler united secular and religious power in his person.

<sup>295</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 315.

<sup>296</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 198.



Meanwhile, the Orient Society prepared the beginning of the excavations. In order to save no time, she wanted to start the project in the winter of 1898/99, as the hot summers of southern Mesopotamia were less suitable for expeditions of this kind. On the part of the Ministry of Culture, efforts were therefore made to start the project quickly.<sup>297</sup>

On the morning of the November 10, the imperial train drove back through Antilibanon to Muallaka. There the Germans boarded their carriages again and after a few hours reached Baalbek, the ruins of the late antique Sanctuary of Heliopolis in Phénicia. It would be easy to say that this trip was only a tourist trip. But Heliopolis was not just some ruined site. A number of Roman emperors had contributed to the development of the complex to a carefully liturgical center of pilgrimage of the Trias' of the place. Only late could Christianity find its way here. Even at dusk, the imperial couple visited the dilapidated temples and then opened the camp in the midst of the magnificent columns and architectural fragments. "The Ruins of Baalbek are really stupendous, ought to be systematically excavated, Wilhelm wrote to his mother Victoria a few weeks later."<sup>298</sup> The royal guests also visited the Jupiter Temple at there and the Kaiser wanted a permission from the Sultan about the excavations at there.<sup>299</sup> The head of that excavations would be Osman Hamdi Bey, head of Müze-i Hümayun.<sup>300</sup> There is a rumor about Osman Hamdi Bey; when the Kaiser came to İstanbul, Abdülhamid II intended to gift Alexander Sarcophagus to the Kaiser. When Osman Hamdi heard that he tried to prevent that and told that; "If the sultan gives Alexander Sarcophagus to the Kaiser, I would kill myself and they have to take out the Sarcophagus with my body."<sup>301</sup> Also, various minerals and fragments of ruins and archaeological excavation sites brought the imperial couple as souvenirs. During the journey of 1898, the German imperial couple, under the expert guidance of the

---

<sup>297</sup> Richter, 201.

<sup>298</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 326–27.

<sup>299</sup> B.O.A Y.PRK.UM. 44/39

<sup>300</sup> B.O.A Y..PRK.TŞF, 5/69

<sup>301</sup> Engin Özendes, *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafıta Oryantalizm* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 218.

Orientalist Professor Moritz, visited historic sites of antiquity and the Middle Ages.<sup>302</sup>

It can be assumed that Wilhelm II, who aroused great interest in the archaeology of the Near East, addressed the Babylon project to his Turkish interlocutors during his stay in İstanbul. On October 31, 1898 reported Schlözer, the Chargé d'Affaires of the İstanbul German Embassy, to Berlin, the imperial embassy: The granting of permission to dig at the ruins of Babylon and the abutting rubble heaps, especially those of El-Kreni and Tarfa, is officially sought at the Porte, and will be according to the desire of the Orient Society for the speedy settlement of the affair.<sup>303</sup>

When we look at the documents of Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft (The German-Orient Society), we can easily say that the German Kaiser and colonialist societies bet their boost on the privileges which would gain during the journey of the Kaiser. Because even in the first issue of the publishing of Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft. According to that writing; some members of the society went to Baghdad, Basra, and shores of the Tigris and Euphrates. Those journeys were made exactly for the expedition. After that expedition, the Kaiser and later German colonialists would make their moves about the geography.<sup>304</sup> Another importance of that society is, that society is associated with Ancient Near East Archaeology. They also initiate the archaeological excavation in the Middle East and the Near East.

The Ottoman- German relations was not only a trade partnership or military alliance, it also a cultural and an archeological partnership. This partnership sharply increased during the reigns of Abdülhamid II and Wilhelm II. Berlin Museums began to brim with archeological relics which were excated from the lands of the Ottoman Empire.

---

<sup>302</sup> Silke Kreibich and Gudrun Gorke-Reimus, 'Der Zauber Des Orients in Geschenken Und Reiseandenken', in *Der Traum Vom Orient Kaiser Wilhelm II. Im Osmanischen Reich* (Potsdam: Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005), 55.

<sup>303</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 201.

<sup>304</sup> 'Sitzung Des Vorstandes Am 15. Mai 1898', *Mitteilungen Der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 1 (1898): 1-7.

The Railway projects in the Ottoman Empire also increased the migration and tourism. So, that project helped the recreate of these lands.<sup>305</sup>

As the patron of the German Orient Society, founded in 1898, he promoted the excavations in the Middle East and campaigned for the German researchers in the Turkish government. When the route planning of the Hedjaz railway from Damascus to Medina threatened the preservation of the ruins of the ancient palace of Mschatta in the Jordanian desert, Wilhelm II initiated the dismantling of the centerpiece of the facade in 1903 and as a gift from the sultan Completed Kaiser Friedrich Museum (now Bodemuseum) passed.<sup>306</sup>

An important point about that journey is passwords of Şakir Pasha in his report. That reports were created by the Kaiser. The aim of those passwords was providing the security of the area where the royal guests' tents were located. Those passwords created separately for each day. Also, that passwords had connections with the locations where the royal guests were visiting or would visit. Those passwords are:<sup>307</sup>

---

<sup>305</sup> Malte Fuhrmann, 'Anatolia as a Site of German Colonial Desire and National Reawakenings', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 41 (2009): 145.

<sup>306</sup> Kreibich and Gorka-Reimus, 'Der Zauber Des Orients in Geschenken Und Reiseandenken', 55.

<sup>307</sup> B.O.A. Y. EE, 81/1

**Table 1: Passwords of Şakir Pasha**

Location	Date	Password
Burj (Al-Burj, Ramle)	26 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314 <sup>308</sup> (October 26, 1898)	Abdülhamid-Wilhelm
Vadi-i Âli	28 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314	Vadi-i Âli - Ömer
Kudüs-ı Şerif (Jerusalem)	29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314	Kudüs - Ömeriyye
Kudüs-ı Şerif	30 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314	Beytullahim (Bethlehem) - Beni Davud
Kudüs-ı Şerif	31 Teşrin-i Evvel 1314	Kayser (Kaiser)-Abdülhamid
Kudüs-ı Şerif	1 Teşrin-i Sâni 1314 (November 1, 1898)	Cebel-i Zeytun (The Mount of Olives) – Ertuğrul
Kudüs-ı Şerif	2 Teşrin-i Sâni	Babülmendeb (The Babel-Mandeb) - Ömer
Kudüs-ı Şerif	3 Teşrin-i Sâni	Kudüs – İmparator (Emperor)
Baalbek	10 Teşrin-i Sâni	Ba'albek – Selahaddin

After his stay in Damascus, the Kaiser visited the ancient temple complex of Baalbek. There, on November 11, 1898, in a telegram addressed to the Tsar, he expressed the idea that Britain was no doubt preparing for a sudden blow against France. The French withdrawal from Fashoda did not satisfy British aspirations in any way. In order to make his prognosis that England's attack on France was

<sup>308</sup> Şakir Pasha made a mistake while writing the dates. He wrote the dates in Rumi calendar, but wrote the days like in Gregorian Calendar. While converting Rumi Calendar to Gregorian Calendar we add 13 days, but Şakir Pasha already made that.

imminent, to make the Tsar aware, he wrote to the Russian Flerrscher about his disappointment about the retreat of French powers from Fashoda. According to the Kaiser, that situation and indigency of France feed the greediness of Britain. Not only Wilhelm II, but also the *Kreuz-Zeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung* expected the outbreak of the Anglo-French war. The conservative *Kreuz-Zeitung* was in contact with Berlin court and government circles, and the official Cologne newspaper had connections to the Foreign Office. Both papers may have been informed about the reports received from the Foreign Office in London. With its war prediction the German Kaiser was also in agreement with the *Vorwärts*, although the Social Democratic newspaper did not predict the English-French war, but the Anglo-Russian war without the participation of France.<sup>309</sup>

On the last days of the journey of the Royal Guests, Zionism became a topic again. Bülow and the Kaiser made statements about the protection of the territorial integration of the Ottoman Empire and not giving any privileges which would harm the Ottoman Empire. Of course, that statement was especially about the Jews, and their leader Theodor Herzl. For the historical significance for Zionism, which Herzl has identified, could not, with the best of intentions, be read from Bülow's press statement. After Herzl's return to Vienna, he once again reported on the audience on November 11, adapting himself to the imperial tone for real political reasons. The world now publicly accepted that Palestine was an integral part of the Turkish Empire, that immigration was only possible with the consent of the government, and that the benefits of immigration for Turkey had to be clear. Bülow now constructed the appropriate political framework, the Sultan could be reassured.<sup>310</sup> When we look at the diaries of Herzl we can see his disappointment about those statements: That the Kaiser in Jerusalem did not take over the protectorate is, of course, excellent for the later development of our cause. Companions of Herzl were quite disappointed. Because the protectorate would have been a clear next advantage. But no further.

---

<sup>309</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 265–68.

<sup>310</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 311–12.

Later, we had to pay the heaviest usury interest for this protectorate. It would only have been much more comfortable.<sup>311</sup>

---

<sup>311</sup> Herzl, *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, 2:239.

## CHAPTER 4

### END OF THE JOURNEY

#### 4.1 Returning to the German Empire

Wilhelm II and his entourage began the return journey on November 12, 1898, in Beirut. The course of the Hohenzollern led first past Rhodes and Crete to English Malta, which was reached on November 15. The Kaiser visited the British warships stationed there. Visibly impressed, he sent the Queen another telegram in which he praised the impeccable condition of the ships. They were worth their glory, he wrote to the English queen, by which he at the same time pointed the English politicians indirectly to the military efficiency of the English fleet.<sup>312</sup>

With that journey, by acquiring the Dormition for the Catholic Germans, favoring greater or absolute supremacy of papal over national or diocesan authority in the Roman Catholic Church, minded, the Jesuits, and their Allies in the Vatican bitter disappointment and embarrassment embarrassing and finally thrown the previous French protectorate over the Oriental Christians over the pile. But also, the economic interests would win through the trip. German industry and German trade are opening huge horizons. The retrospective effect of the imperial journey will hopefully be asserted to the banks of the Euphrates.<sup>313</sup>

The German Catholics would, for a sufficient reason and ground, build a church belonging to them, upon which a protectorate may scarcely be claimed by a foreign

---

<sup>312</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 274.

<sup>313</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 332.

power.<sup>314</sup> Some German newspapers saw Wilhelm II as great as Friedrich II, Holy Roman Kaiser and King of Jerusalem, for his crusade.<sup>315</sup>

The journey can be considered as a disappointment for the Zionists. Because, they couldn't obtain the things, which they had desired and ensured that they would gain whatever they want thanks to the Kaiser:

On his return, Herzl met with Newlinsky, one of the spies of Abdülhamid, on November 17, 1898. According to the Kaiser, the Zionists are not dangerous to Turkey, but the Jews everywhere are a plague that we want to get rid of. The Sultan is said to have answered in his usual way that he was completely satisfied with his Jewish subjects. The Kaiserin should have said that the journey was very beautiful; The only unpleasant thing was that she would have to see so many Jews. When the sultan replied that he was satisfied with the Jews in his empire, he meant the old-timers. The Sultan was certainly not an anti-Semite, because the racist justification of hatred of the Jews was foreign to the Muslims. He could as well not share the traditional Christian anti-Judaism. He is very tolerated to Jews. That is an old tradition in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire helped Jews in 1492 and rescued them from the massacre in Spain.<sup>316</sup>

Also, the disappointment of the Jews about the policy of Kaiser about them is so big and they lost their hopes about the Kaiser. The German government wanted to end that situation and used the *Kreuz-Zeitung* to finally give the Zionists a harsh rejection. The Kaiser could not become the Messiah of the Jews.<sup>317</sup>

On November 23 the Hohenzollern, arrived in Pola. Later, the imperial special train drove north via Innsbruck, Munich, Stuttgart and Baden-Baden. The visits to the German rulers in southern Germany were of political importance. On the morning of November 26, Wilhelm II and Auguste Victoria were received by their youngest

---

<sup>314</sup> *Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 8 November 1898, 568 edition, 2.

<sup>315</sup> 'Politische Nachrichten', *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, 4 November 1898, 517 edition, 1–2.

<sup>316</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 252.

<sup>317</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 225.



children, generals, ministers, court officials, and clergymen in Potsdam. They celebrated the returning of the royal guest arrive safe. The Catholic churches put on flag decorations both the imperial flag and the papal flag. The ceremonies of the Catholic Churches were the signs of overlordship of the Kaiser among the Catholic Church in the German Empire. He became not only the Kaiser of the Protestant Germans but also the Catholic Germans.<sup>318</sup>

When the Kaiser returned to Germany, Social Democrats began to criticise that journey and the Kaiser policy about the East and the Ottoman Empire. They saw that policy as an imperialist policy. They also criticised the Kaiser and claimed that the policies of the Kaiser just a dream. The Social Democrats also knew of the disappointments of religious hopes of individuals who had hoped for uplifting feelings of spiritual edification and had found no peace in the bustle of Jerusalem. "You probably still dream romantic-religious, but you no longer experience the excitement of romantic mirages." We can say that, the Orient Journey of the Kaiser dissatisfied them.<sup>319</sup>

Friedrich Naumann, German liberal politician, wrote in his work *Asia, Ein Orientreise*; If the Germans want to support the Ottoman Empire, they have to provide a working potential for her. He noted that; the German Empire had to support the Ottoman Empire in military, finance and agriculture. She had done the first one and continuing to do the second one and the next step is the third one, agriculture.<sup>320</sup>

The Chargé d'Affaires of the German Embassy in İstanbul, Robert Bosse, analysed the journey. Some fellow travellers were therefore of the opinion that the German Reich would also gain a foothold in Palestine. Bosse commented that the voyage showed: "How cautiously under the Kaiser in this respect avoided everything that

---

<sup>318</sup> Benner, *Die Strahlen Der Krone*, 333.

<sup>319</sup> Benner, 333–34.

<sup>320</sup> Naumann, *Asia: Eine Orientresie Über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jeurusalem, Kairo, Neapel*, 162–63.

could have served to overstate exaggerated political hopes or even the mistrust of other nations." <sup>321</sup>

## 4.2 Effects of the Journey

When we look at the consequences and acquisitions about the journey, we can first see the support of the Kaiser to the Ottoman Empire about the Armenian Problem. "However, the remarks addressed by the Kaiser during his visit were welcomed by Abdülhamid, who believed he had won the allegiance of Germany in discouraging further concerted action by the other European powers on the Armenian issue." <sup>322</sup>

One of the most important acquisitions of the German Empire and the Kaiser from the Ottoman Empire is renewing of arm trade contracts, which was interrupted with the resignation of Colmar von der Goltz in 1895. The importance of that arm trade is the entering of the Ottoman Empire into the sphere of the German Empire also with militarily. Because the arm trade would become one of the backbones of the German Empire with the new Weltpolitik policy. The Kaiser became facilitator of the arm trade with this journey and the Ottoman Empire resumed to make arm trade with Krupp Company. With these agreements, Krupp Company became, one of the most important companies which contribute to the Ottoman – German relations.

Not only arm trade, but also other aspects of the trade between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire sharply increased after this journey. We can easily see that increase especially in the iron and steel trade. The German Empire also increased her iron and steel production, not only for arm trade but also she used that iron and steel during the construction of new railway projects, especially Baghdad Railway project. <sup>323</sup>

---

<sup>321</sup> Steininger, *Deutschland Und Der Nahe Osten: Von Kaiser Wilhelms Orientreise 1898 Bis Zur Gegenwart*, 19.

<sup>322</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 142.

<sup>323</sup> Yorulmaz, 147–48.

At the same time with the Orient journey of the Kaiser, Oppenheim, a German lawyer, diplomat, ancient historian, and archaeologist, capitalize on the Kaiser's oriental diplomacy. He wrote in one of his referring, describing his own 1899 journey in Asiatic Turkey. He wrote about his thoughts and foresight about the future projects of the German entrepreneurs in the region of Baalbek thanks to the Kaiser and his visit to that lands.<sup>324</sup>

I claimed that; one of the first German intellectual and cultural penetration into the Ottoman Empire began with archeological excavations. Although, the Baalbek excavation is not the first excavation in the Ottoman Empire, held by Germans, it became an important step for both, for a cultural relationship. Thanks to these excavations the German Empire penetrated more easily into the Ottoman Empire with their intellectuals. Although the German advisors and the German Empire, used their military advisors and gave importance to arm trade, they actually wanted to use the policy of 'peaceful imperialism'.<sup>325</sup> Thanks to this method, they wanted to achieve their imperialistic policied in the Ottoman Empire with peaceful ways and gained the sympathy of the Ottoman Empire. They also aimed to gain a base in the Orient against their rivals, Britain, France and Russia.

When Wilhelm II was in Baalbek, he was inspired by his visit to Baalbek to have excavations carried out on this site in order to gain full clarity about the former form of the buildings Ambassador Marschall presented to the sultan the wish of the Kaiser on November 18, 1898. The sultan referred Marshall to Hamdi Bey, the director-general of the Turkish antiquities administration, to whom he wanted to give the necessary instructions. Hamdi Bey then pronounced his full agreement with Marshal. that German scholars in Baalbek make excavations in the manner desired by the Kaiser. It was obvious that the now-launched Baalbek project was jeopardizing the speedy start of the Babylon campaign. But the Ministry of Culture thought that the Baalbek project for the planned excavations in Babylon would benefit Koldewey on his way to Babylon from Baalbek subjected to a preliminary investigation, one

---

<sup>324</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 22.

<sup>325</sup> Fuhrmann, 'Anatolia as a Site of German Colonial Desire and National Reawakenings', 143.

suggested to the Kaiser before Professor Moritz, the librarian of Khedive, could be called in as a connoisseur Baalbek, especially since Moritz and Koldewey already know from a previous expedition to southern Mesopotamia.<sup>326</sup>

Also, The Ottoman subject felt the effect of the German influence in the Empire. Some German authors mentioned in their travelogues, about Orient cities like, Ankara, Eskişehir instead of French influenced port cities like, İzmir or other Greek dominated Ottoman coastal cities. The authors thought that, thanks to that influence in the Orient, they can more easily achieve their aim and gain sympathy of the Ottoman Empire and the subject.<sup>327</sup>

The other acquisition of the Ottoman Empire, which she gained after that journey is the German support in internal and external diplomacy. The German authorities adopted the policy of von der Goltz. With that policy, the German Empire increased their support to the Ottoman Empire and reduce, even came to an end their cultural, economical and academic support to Greek Kingdom. They also even reduced their support to Greek subject of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>328</sup>

The extension of the Anatolian Railway was dilated. Siemens did not succeed in gaining English capital for participation in this company. On the other hand, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which was dominated by French capital, agreed to cooperate. The majority of the capital of 60% was to be raised by Deutsche Bank, the remaining 40% had to be taken over by the French group. On May 29, 1899, the Anatolian Railway Company filed a concession application for the construction of the Baghdad Railway at the gate. The sultan gave the preconference on November 25, 1899. But it would take a few more years before construction began.<sup>329</sup>

In both, the first and the second Orient journey of the Kaiser, German entrepreneurs, gained privileges and made some important agreements and took important promises

---

<sup>326</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 201–2.

<sup>327</sup> Fuhrmann, ‘Anatolia as a Site of German Colonial Desire and National Reawakenings’, 143.

<sup>328</sup> Fuhrmann, 142–43.

<sup>329</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 122.

from the Ottoman Sultan and from the government. Also, the Baghdad Railway project is the result of the Orient Journey of the Kaiser. So that journey is so successful.<sup>330</sup>

In 1898, the German entrepreneurs began to project of railways, they wanted to reach to British India. In 1899, the Anatolian Railway Company gained to right of their consent to the port extension. On December 23, 1899, the Ottoman Minister of Public Works, Zihni Pasha, signed an agreement with Georg Siemens, representing Deutsche Bank and the Anatolian Railway Company, which obliged the German group to build a railway within a *maximum* period of eight years from Konya to Basra via Baghdad. Russia tried to block plans for a Baghdad railway, making clear to the Porte that any rail construction even remotely near the Russian border would be seen as a *casus belli*.<sup>331</sup>

Just after the journey of the Kaiser, Deutsche Bank gained the privilege of the construction of Haydar Paşa Station. The Haydar Paşa railway is a crucial step for the Baghdad Railway and the German entrepreneurs wanted to secure it. The German Empire entered into a rivalry against Britain and France. The German penetration in the Ottoman Empire and Middle East, disturbed the rivals of the German Empire, Britain, France and Russia. With Baghdad Railway, The German Empire threatened the British influence and Britain in the Middle East. The German influence was also threatened the interests of Britain in India.<sup>332</sup>

In January 1902, Deutsche Bank was allowed to set up the Baghdad railway line between Konya and Basra. In 1904, Wilhelm included the Prussian State Bank in the project.<sup>333</sup> As with so many of history's great gambits, the prize was just beginning to fall into Germany's grasp when fate snatched it rudely away. When we look at the

---

<sup>330</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 143.

<sup>331</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 36, 53; Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 153- 154.

<sup>332</sup> Seçil Deren, 'German Ideas and Expectations on Expansion in the Near East (1890-1915)' (Phd Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2004), 78–80.

<sup>333</sup> McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express*, 42; Verroen, 'Çok Yaşa! Kaiser Wilhelm II. in İstanbul', 19.

memoirs of Bülow, we can see the details of the meetings about Baghdad Railway project, and political movements of the German Empire especially with Britain, to penetrate into the Ottoman Empire and Middle East.<sup>334</sup> Also, the company established by the Deutsche Bank did seek to promote agrarian settlement along its tracks, but preferred the settlers to be non-German to ward off accusations of imperialism.<sup>335</sup>

For Germans the Baghdad Railway project, is a continuous railway project. And this project was going to link Hamburg, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Nish to İstanbul and Baghdad to Basra. Finally, this railway project was going to link Berlin to Baghdad. Thanks to this project the Kaiser and the Sultan aimed to threaten Britain and her roads to India. Even though both, the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire had political aims, Deutsche Bank and German entrepreneurs only had economical aims with this project, they had no such a political aims like neither the German Empire nor the Ottoman Empire. But they had to get into the security policies of the German Empire in the later period and became a part of that political interests and aims, even though they did not want to do.<sup>336</sup>

We can also see the demonstration of affection of the Ottoman Sultan, bureaucrats, and the subject to the German Kaiser. Although some sources claimed that; this is not a flattery to the German Empire and the Kaiser, it is about the excitement to see a foreign ruler. Also, the German Kaiser, is the first foreign ruler who visited the Ottoman Empire.<sup>337</sup>

I claimed that; even though the Ottoman Empire didn't have an aim like flattery, almost all ranks of the Ottoman Empire knew about the importance of the German Empire and the alliance between these two empires. They also knew that the German Empire was the only hope of the Ottoman Empire to save and rescue herself from the

---

<sup>334</sup> von Bülow, *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Kriese*, 253.

<sup>335</sup> Fuhrmann, 'Anatolia as a Site of German Colonial Desire and National Reawakenings', 141.

<sup>336</sup> Deren, 'German Ideas and Expectations on Expansion in the Near East (1890-1915)', 89-90.

<sup>337</sup> Alkan, 'Dış Siyasetin Bir Aracı Olarak Hükümdar Gezileri: Kaiser II. Wihelm'in 1898 Şark Seyahati', 43.

Western imperialist powers, especially Britain, France and Russia. For that reason, they show their interests and affection to the Kaiser and the German Empire turgidly.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The journey of the Kaiser can be considered as the beginning of a new era not only for the Ottoman Empire, but also for the German Empire. These two empires became absolute allies and they linked to each other. As the time going by that relationship turned into almost a Catholic marriage, drawing apart from each other became impossible. Because both of them support each other more effectively, while they were moving away from the European Diplomacy. So, I claim that they made that alliance to get rid of from isolationism and pressures of the other European powers.

The Kaiser gained so many things with his two journeys. With the first one; the Ottoman Empire ordered weapons from the Krupp Company, with the second one; his Empire and Companies gained economic privileges in the Ottoman Empire. Also, the second benefit of that journey is the ordering of Krupp Weapons by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>338</sup> Krupp also benefited from the current upswing in which the German economy had been incautious possession of the concession for the construction of the Anatolian Railway by Deutsche Bank since the equally cautious Bismarck acquisition, even during the agreements which were signed by Colman von der Goltz.<sup>339</sup>

This journey can be seen as the starting-point of the policy of Drang nach Osten (Drive to the East). This policy is the mark of peaceful imperialism or peaceful penetration. Von Bülow also stated the importance of this journey for the Ottoman-

---

<sup>338</sup> Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898*, 120.

<sup>339</sup> Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*, 37.



German relations. This journey can be seen as a romantic incident for the export-orientated policy of the German Empire for her products. Especially with this journey the German Empire increased her export with the Ottoman Empire. When we look at this situation, this journey can also be seen as a business trip.<sup>340</sup>

The new course also convinced pro-imperial intellectuals in the Empire. Goltz's guidelines, which are only a few years old, were elaborated, clarified and even radicalized by these authors, who dealt with Germany's potential for expansion in the Orient. In contrast to diplomacy, which had to take into account the intrinsic fear of foreign infiltration and the nervousness of the other major powers, they clearly expressed their desire for a continuation of this policy, which amounted to a clear dependence of the Sultanate. Also, the Ottoman Empire entered into a transformation process with the efforts of the German Empire and German colonists. Thus, this process of transformation should aim to Germanize the Ottoman Empire, but at the same time to let its temporal and religious authorities per form continue.<sup>341</sup>

Consequences of the journey also was the sign of the condition of these two empires. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire were trying to prevent her collapse and find an ally and saviour from her bad situation on the other hand, the German Empire wanted to rise and transformed into a world power under the rule of Wilhelm II. While, the German Empire support the Ottoman Empire against internal, especially about Armenian Problem, and external problems, she started to penetrate into the sources and materials of the Ottoman Empire. We can see this relation as a mutual win-win relation. Both of the powers needed each other to continue their policy.

The Kaiser aimed to become modern Charlemagne or a modern crusader with this journey. Although he achieved to become modern crusader to penetrate into the Ottoman Empire, especially gaining a lot of privileges from the Middle East, we cannot say that he became successful while becoming modern Charlemagne. Because even though he challenged with Britain and France with his journey, he couldn't beat

---

<sup>340</sup> Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*, 142- 143.

<sup>341</sup> Fuhrmann, *Der Traum Vom Deutschen Orient*, 172-74.

them. The only thing he did was show of force, he couldn't become the protector of all Christians and Muslims.

The German Empire also had a chance to construct railways with less effort. So, the German Empire contribute to the Ottoman Empire for her public works. In return to these contributions, the Ottoman Empire serve her sources to the German Empire on a silver platter. The Ottoman Empire also took help from the German Empire about the Hejaz Railway. This railway became one of the most important devices of Abdülhamid and the Ottoman Empire for their Islamist Policy. This policy also was interesting for the Ottoman Empire. Even the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire tried to use this policy against Britain and France during World War I, it failed.

This situation didn't change after the journey. After Revolution of 1908, old students of Colmar von der Goltz, was called again to his position and continued his work again. When we look at the later period, these two powers stood shoulder to shoulder during the World War I and many German Commanders was assigned in the Ottoman military and help to the commanding of the Ottoman Army. This journey opened a new era for these two empires. Their relations gained momentum after this journey and they built their relations upon the acquisitions and statements which were identified during the journey.

When we look at other consequences of the journey for the German Empire; the Kaiser wanted to go Egypt during this journey mostly because of Fashoda Crisis, he wanted to use this problem for his own policy. But he couldn't achieve this for several reasons. First, he couldn't go to Egypt because of assassination attempt, second France and Britain solved the problem and started to break the ice between them. After this incident, they engage into close relations and the German Empire started to become isolated international diplomatic arena.

Becoming isolated in the international dip clearer with the incidents during the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially First Moroccan Crisis between the German Empire and Britain-France. This isolation also made the German – Ottoman alliance more effective. This alliance continued to develop until the end of the World War I, and both of the empires, shared the same fate and they collapsed with this war.

When we look at the deficiencies about the subject; most of them arose from the lack of archival documents. Almost all of the archival documents, especially the Ottoman ones, is about the doings of the Kaiser. We have only a few documents which indicate the opinion of the Kaiser about the Ottoman Empire's internal or external policy, the only one I see is about the Armenians. I cannot tell anything about the German Archival documents because I couldn't use them because of digitalization problems. Almost all of the memoirs which I used in this thesis only give daily life of the Kaiser except Bülow's and Herzl's works. For that reason, they cannot help me so much about my thesis. I can say that, the only thing which I learned from these memoirs is the daily routine of the Kaiser during the journey. Secondary sources can be considered as enough, especially Richter's and Benner's book. Also, I used some articles while writing this thesis. But almost all of them, talk about the journey without mentioning so much about the internal and external dynamics of both of these empires.

General view about the journey is: the desire of the Kaiser to penetrate the Ottoman Empire and Middle East to challenge his enemies. But, he also had to do it, so he was obliged to do this to survive. Because he and his empire harm the Concert of Europe and became isolated. Finally, most of the historians, saw the German Military Advisors as a turning point for the relations of these two empires. Although it is true, this journey more important. Because with this journey, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire become exactly allies and fellow traveller during the first two decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This journey also should be viewed from this aspect.

## REFERENCES

### I- Archival Documents

B.O.A. BEO. 1204/90287

B.O.A. Y.A. HUS. 283/72

B.O.A. Y.A.HUS. 389/142

B.O.A. Y.A. RES. 96/9

B.O.A. Y.EE. 1/54

B.O.A. Y.EE. 81/1

B.O.A. Y.E.E. 91/51

B.O.A. Y.HUS. 388/50

B.O.A. Y.MTV. 188/146

B.O.A. Y.PRK. ASK. 145/135

B.O.A. Y.PRK.ASK. 145/36

B.O.A. Y.PRK.EŞA. 34/96

B.O.A. Y.P.R.K.E.Ş.A 32/86

B.O.A. Y.PRK.HH. 30/72

B.O.A. Y.PRK.HR. 27/32

B.O.A. Y.PRK. NMH. 7/95

B.O.A. Y.PRK. Ş.H 8/48

B.O.A. Y.PRK.PT 18/49

B.O.A. Y.PRK.PT. 18/76

B.O.A Y.PRK.PT. 18/94

B.O.A. Y.PRK.TŞF. 5/69

B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM 43/129

B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM. 43/93

B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM. 44/39

B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM.44/6

## **II- Newspapers and Journals**

### **Austrian Newspaper:**

Neue Freie Presse

### **British Newspaper:**

The Times

### **French Newspaper and Journal:**

Le Figaro

Le Petit Journal

Mechveret Supplement Français (French edition of Ottoman Newspaper Meşveret)

### **German Newspapers and Journal :**

Berliner Börsenzeitung

Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung

Die Grenzboten

Neue Hamburger Zeitung

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

Volkeszeitung

### **Ottoman Newspapers**

İkdam

Sabah

Tercüman-ı Hakikat

Servet-i Fünun

## **American Newspaper:**

The New York Times

### **III- Books, Articles and Dissertations**

Benner, Thomas Hartmut. *Die Strahlen Der Krone: Die Religiöse Dimension Des Kaisertums Unter Wilhelm II. Vor Dem Hintergrund Der Orientreise 1898*. Marburg: Tectum, 2001.

Bismarck, Otto von. *Gedanken Und Erinnerungen*. München: Herbig, 2007.

Bodenheimer, Max. *So Wurde Israel*. Mannheim: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1958.

Bülow, Bernhard Fürst von. *Denkwürdig Keiten: Vom Staatssekretariat Bis Zur Marokko Krise*. Berlin: Ullstein, 1930.

Carmal, Alex. *Mission Und Gewalt: Der Umgang Christlicher Missionen Mit Gewalt Und Die Ausbreitung Des Christentums in Afrika Und Asien in Der Zeit von 1792 Bis 1918/19*. Edited by Ulrich van der Heyden, Jürgen Becher, and Holger Stoecker. Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, Bd. 6. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000.

*Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*. Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1899.

Demirel, Fatmagül. *Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saraylarında Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*. Yakın Tarih Dizisi. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2007.

Deren, Seçil. ‘German Ideas and Expactations on Expansion in the Near East (1890 1915)’. Phd Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2004.

Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*. London: Tauris, 1999.

Epstein, Lawrence Jeffrey. *A Treasury of Jewish Anecdotes*. New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1995.

Fuhrmann, Malte. ‘Anatolia as a Site of German Colonial Desire and National Reawakenings’. *New Perspectives on Turkey* 41 (2009): 117–50.

———. *Der Traum Vom Deutschen Orient: Zwei Deutsche Kolonien Im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006.

Georgeon, François. *Abdülhamid II: Le Sultan Calife (1876-1909)*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.

- Goetz, Walter. *Briefe Wilhelms II an Den Zaran 1894-1914*. Berlin: Verlag Ullstein & Co, 1920.
- Gummer, S. Chase. 'The Politics of Symphy: German Turcophilism and the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Mass Media 1871-1914'. Georgetown University, 2010.
- Hatıra-i Seyahat*. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1899.
- Herzl, Theodor. *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1923.
- Hohenzollern, Wilhelm II. *Ereignisse Und Gestalten 1878-1918*. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1922.
- Horn, Jeff, Leonard N Rosenband, and Merrit Roe Smith, eds. *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2010.
- Kaynar, Erdal. 'Les Rapports Entre Les Jeunes Turcs et l'Allemagne Avant 1908'. Master Thesis, Université de Paris VIII UFR d'Histoire, 2004.
- Kıış, Salih. 'Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in Haçlı Rüyası ve 1898 Kudüs Seyahati'. *SUTAD* 42, no. Fall 2017: 487–506.
- Kralik, Richard von. *Allgemeine Geschichte Der Neusten Zeit von 1815 Bis Zur Gegenwart Vierter Band, Teil B, 1889-1899*. Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag, 1920.
- Kreibich, Silke, and Gudrun Gorka-Reimus. 'Der Zauber Des Orients in Geschenken Und Reiseandenken'. In *Der Traum Vom Orient Kaiser Wilhelm II. Im Osmanischen Reich*, 53–82. Potsdam: Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005.
- Lepsius, Johannes, Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and Friedrich Thimme. *Die Grosse Politik Der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*. Vol. 12: Alte und neue Balkanhändel 1896-1899. 2 vols. Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft Für Politik und Geschichte M.B.H, 1924.
- Mardin, Şerif. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- McMeekin, Sean. *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.



- Mirbach, Ernst Freiherr von. *Die Reise Des Kaisers Und Der Kaiserin Nach Palästina*. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1899.
- Moltke, Helmuth von. *Briefe Über Zustände Und Begebenheiten in Der Türkei Aus Den Jahren 1835 Bis 1839*. Berlin: Drud und Berlag von Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1841.
- Naumann, Friedrich. *Asia: Eine Orientresie Über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jeurusalem, Kairo, Neapel*. Berlin- Schönenberg: Verlag der Hilfe, 1901.
- Nouri, Ali. *Abdul-Hamid En Caricature*. İstanbul: Imprimerie des Banques Haim, Rozio & Cie, Imprimeurs- éditeurs, 1932.
- Ortaylı, İlber. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2015.
- Osmanoğlu, Ayşe. *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid*. İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2007.
- Özendes, Engin. *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999.
- Pilbeam, Pamela M. *The 1830 Revolution in France*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Polkahn, Klaus. 'Zionism and Kaiser Wilhelm'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4, no. 2 (Winter 1975): 76–90.
- Rathmann, Lothar. *Alman Emperyalizminin Türkiye'ye Girişi*. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2001.
- Reyhan. 'Türk- Alman İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Arka Planı (1878-1914)' LXIX, no. 254 (April 2005): 217–65.
- Richter, Jan Stefan. *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie Zur Deutschen Aussenpolitik an Der Wende Zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Studien Zur Geschichtsforschung Der Neuzeit 9. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 1997.
- Schneider, Hans. 'Die Erfolge Der Palaestinafahrt Unsers Kaiser'. *Die Grenzboten*, 1899.
- Schneller, Ludwig. *Kaiserfahrt Durchs Heilige Land*. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von B.G. Wallmann, 1900.
- Schöllgen, Gregor. *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871 - 1914*. 3. Aufl. München: Oldenbourg, 2000.

Sinno, Abdel - Raouf. 'The Emperor's Visit to the East as Reflected in Contemporary Arabic Journalism'. In *Baalbek: Image and Monument 1898 1998*, by Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler, and Angelika Neuwirth, 115–33. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998.

'Sitzung Des Vorstandes Am 15. Mai 1898'. *Mitteilungen Der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 1 (1898): 1–7.

Soy, Bayram. 'Almanya İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahati'. In *İki Dost Hükümdar*, edited by İlonca Baytar, 141–71. İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2010.

Soy, H. Bayram. '1895'te Lord Salisbury'nin Almanya'ya Osmanlı Devleti'ni Paylaşma Teklifi'. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları* 5, no. Fall 2006 : 145–166.

Sönmez, Erdem. *Ahmed Rıza Bir Jön Türk Liderinin Siyasi-Entelektüel Portresi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012.

Sperber, Jonathan. *The European Revolutions, 1848–1851*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Steininger, Rolf. *Deutschland Und Der Nahe Osten: Von Kaiser Wilhelms Orientreise 1898 Bis Zur Gegenwart*. Olzog Edition. Reinbek: Lau Verlag, 2015.

Temperley, Harold. 'The Treaty of Paris of 1856 and Its Execution'. *The Journal of Modern History* 4, no. 3 (n.d.): 387–414.

Verroen, Dick. 'Çok Yaşa! Kaiser Wilhelm II. in İstanbul'. In *Der Traum Vom Orient Kaiser Wilhelm II. Im Osmanischen Reich*, 13–24. Potsdam: Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, 2005.

Yorulmaz, Naci. *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I*. Library of Ottoman Studies, v. 43. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

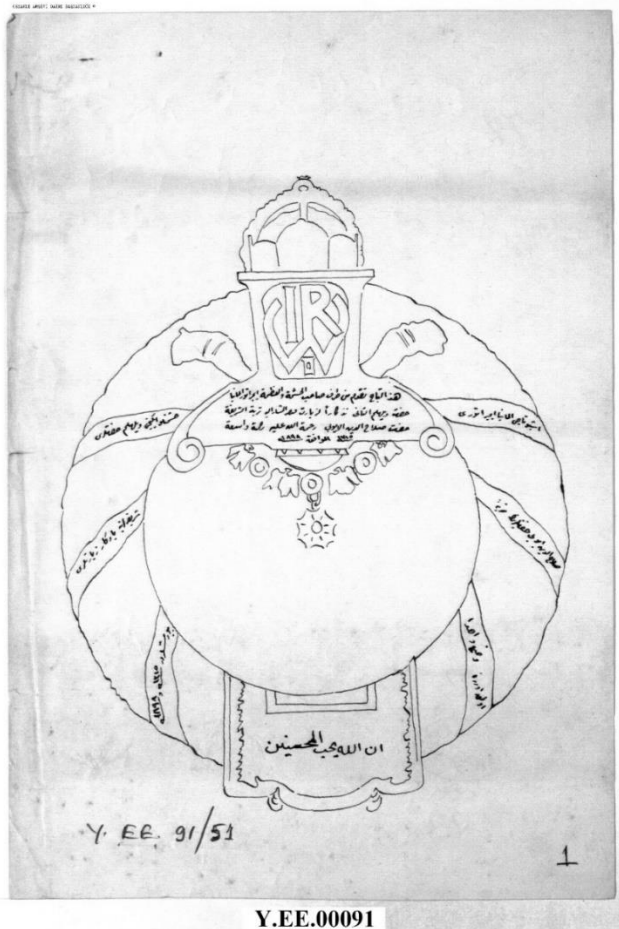
#### IV- Internet Sources

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.04607/>

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004007406/PP>

## APPENDICES

### A. PHOTOGRAPHS AND SOME DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE JOURNEY



The garland placed by Kaiser Wilhelm II to the tomb of Saladin

B.O.A. Y.E.E. 91/51



State visit to Jerusalem of Wilhelm II of Germany in 1898. Turkish military brass band in procession to German camp

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.04607/>



Military band in street parade beside German Church of Redeemer, 1898 Emperor visit / American Colony, Jerusalem

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004007406/PP/>

## B. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, 1898 yılının Ekim ve Kasım aylarında Alman İmparatoru Kayzer Wilhelm'in eşi ve heyetiyle birlikte Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yaptığı seyahat ele almaktadır. Bu seyahat İstanbul, Hayfa, Yafa, Kudüs, Şam ve Balbek şehirlerini kapsamaktadır. Seyahat sırasında Kayzer ve heyetinin, hem Osmanlı heyetleri ile hem de ekonomik, dini ve politik emellerine ulaşmak için bu grupların ileri gelenleri ile yaptığı görüşmeler de tez konusu içerisinde yer almaktadır. Bu seyahatin amacının sadece turistik olmadığı, politik, ekonomik ve dini sebepleri olduğu da tez boyunca anlatılmıştır. Kayzer'in amacı olan modern Şarlken ve Friedrich Barborassa olma hayali ve bu hayal doğrultusunda yaptığı eylemler bu seyahat ile birlikte bir ivme kazanacaktır. Ayrıca seyahatin muhatabının sadece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu olmadığı, Kayzer'in bu seyahat ile İngiltere ve Fransa'ya meydan okuduğu tezde değinilen konular içerisinde yer almaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Kayzerin bu seyahati henüz ortaya attığı Weltpolitik isimli dünya hakimiyeti politikasının bir aracı olarak kullandığı ve bu seyahati adeta bir yumuşak haçlı seferi olarak gördüğü tezde ortaya atılmış ve tespit edilmiştir.

Bu çalışma birinci el ve ikinci el kaynaklar üzerine oluşturulmuştur. Kayzer ve heyetinin seyahati, ziyaret ettikleri yerlerdeki temasları bu kaynaklardan istifade edilerek açıklanmıştır. Çok seslilik ve nesneliliği yakalamak için sadece Alman ve Osmanlı basınına başvurulmamış, Amerika, Avusturya, İngiltere ve Fransa basınları da başvurulmuş kaynaklar arasında yer almaktadır. Osmanlı Arşivleri bu seyahat hakkında üzerine yorum yapılabilecek bilgi vermek konusunda yetersizdir. Osmanlı Arşivlerinden seyahat hakkında genel bilgiler alınabilir ancak detaylı bilgi konusunda yetersiz kalmaktadır. Alman Arşivleri ise bu tez süresince ziyaret edilemediği için hakkında yorum yapılamamaktadır. Ayrıca kullanılan hatıratlar ve arşiv belgeleri de dönemin atmosferini anlamak açısından kıymetlidir. Farklı hatıratlar konu hakkında ilk elden yapılan çeşitli yorumları çeşitli siyasi veya dini

fikirleri görmek açısından kıymetli olmuştur. Tezde kullanılan ikinci el kaynak ve makalalar de dönem hakkında yapılan yorumları ve toplanan kaynak eserleri görmek açısından kıymetli olmuştur. İkinci el kaynaklarda özellikle Thomas Benner ve Jan Stefan Richter'in eserleri konu hakkında yazılmış en kıymetli eserler arasında yer almaktadır. Bu eserler hem dönem basınına hem hatıratlara hem de Alman arşiv belgelerine ağırlık vermeleri açısından gayet önemli kaynaklardır.

Osmanlı-Alman ilişkilerini daha iyi anlayabilmek adına ilk bölümde öncelikle bu iki ülkenin 19. Yüzyıldaki durumlarına ve aralarındaki ilişkiye değinilmiştir. Bu ilişkilerin aslında çok basit bir şekilde 1835 yılında daha sonra Prusya Genelkurmay Başkanı olacak Helmuth von Moltke'nin askeri uzman olarak gönderilmesiyle başlayıp daha sonra uzun bir süre kesintiye uğradığı hususuna kısaca değinilmiştir. Daha sonra Bismarck'ın Şansölyeliği döneminde, Bismarck denge politikası uygulayarak Doğu'ya hiç önem vermemiş ve Avrupa içerisindeki dengeyi korumaya çalışmıştır. Bu dönemde Bismarck'ın bu politikasına karşın 1882 yılından itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na askeri uzmanlar tekrar yollanmaya başlanmıştır. Ancak iki imparatorluk arasındaki ilişkilerde yeni bir dönemin habercisi olan gelişme 1888 yılında II. Wilhelm'in Kayzer olmasının hemen ardından 1889 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yaptığı ilk seyahattir. Bu seyahat Bismarck'tan gizli yapılmıştır ve Gen Kayzer'in, ipleri yavaş yavaş eline almaya başlamasının bir göstergesiydi. Bu seyahat ile birlikte Alman İmparatorluğu, yavaş yavaş Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na nüfuz etmeye başlamıştı. Bağdat Demiryolları ihalesi bu seyahat sonrasında alınmıştır. Ayrıca Kayzer'in ikinci seyahatinin görünür sebebi olan ve IV. Friedrich Wilhelm'in hükümdarlığından beri gündemde olan Kurtarıcı İsa Kilisesi'nin açılışı bu seyahatin dini yönünü belirleyen kısımdır. Ayrıca Alman İmparatorluğu bu seyahat sonrasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerindeki, İngiliz ve Fransız etkisini de kırmaya çalışmış ve onlardan arındırmaya çalıştığı noktalarda kendisi söz sahibi olmak istemiştir.

Ayrıca bu tezde iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin basında ve Avrupa gündeminde değerlendirilmesi de tezde yer alan hususlardandır. Bu konuya baktığımız zaman, her yorum bir siyasi duruştan gelmektedir. Örneğin Alman Liberalleri Abdülhamid'i

Ermeniler'in katili olmakla suçlarken ve Kayzer'in Abdülhamidle işbirliği yapmasını eleştirirken , Osmanı Muhalefeti'nin Paris'teki temsilcileri Mecheveret, Abdülhamid'i suçlamakta ve Kayzer'i de Abdülhamid'e karşı uyarmaktadır. Meşveret, yerli ve yabancı basın içerisinde Abdülhamid'e karşı en sert muhalefeti yapan yayın organı olmuştur. Bunda Abdülhamid ile aralarındaki husumetin etkisi yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Ayrıca, Kayzer'in bu seyahattaki masraflarını eleştiren Alman gazeteciler de bulunmaktadır. Fransız ve Rus gazeteleri ise Kayzer ve Alman İmparatorluğu'nun henüz benimsemiş olduğu Weltpolitik isimli dünya hakimiyeti politikasını eleştirmekte ve eğer Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan toprak elde etmeye çalışırlarsa, bu durumun Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sonunu getireceğini söyleyerek bir anlamda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na da gözdağı vermişlerdir. Ayrıca yabancı basın, Sultan Abdülhamid'i toprak bütünlüğü konusunda uyarmaktaydı. Özellikle Rus basını, Sultan Abdülhamid'in, Kayzer Wilhelm'e Rodos adası veya Akka Koyu'nda Kermil Dağı eteklerindeki Hayfa Limanı'nı hediye edeceğine dair dedikoduları değerlendirmiş ve Sultan Abdülhamid'in Kayzer Wilhelm'e ve Alman İmparatorluğuna tek karış bile olsa toprak vermesi durumunun Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun parçalanmasına yol açacağını söylemiştir. Bu durum Rus basını tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na karşı yapılan üzeri kapalı bir tehdit olarak da görülebilir.

1898 yılında gerçekleşen ikinci seyahatin hazırlıkları 1897 yılında yapılmaya başlanmıştı. Seyahatin haberi, Kayzer 2. Wilhelm ve Dışişleri Bakanı Bernhard von Bülow'un, özellikle İngiltere ve Fransa'ya karşı ilan ettikleri "Weltpolitik" isimli dünya hakimiyeti politikasından hemen önce Abdülhamid'e iletilmiştir. Bu da aslında seyahatin bu politika ile ilişkilendirilebileceği göstermektedir. Ayrıca, bu seyahat kapsamında Kayzer'in, Mısır'ı da ziyaret etmesi gündeme gelmiştir. Mısır seyahatinin asıl amacı, 1881 yılında Mısır'ın İngiltere tarafından ilhak edilmesini tanımadığını ve bu meselede Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu desteklediğini göstermektir. Ayrıca Kayzer, İngiltere ve Fransa arasında bugün Güney Sudan'da bulunan ve ismi Kodok olarak değiştirilen Faşoda bölgesi için neredeyse savaşa sebep olacak gerginlikten faydalanmak ve bölgeye nüfuz etme amacını da taşımaktadır.



Seyahatin hemen öncesinde Avrupa Hükümdarları, İtalyan Anarşistler tehlikesi ile karşı karşıyaydı. Seyahatten hemen önce anarşistler Orleans Dükü Philippe'yi öldürmek için harekete geçmişler ancak Avusturya İmparatoriçesi Elisabeth'i öldürmüşlerdir. Ayrıca anarşistlerin İtalya Kralı Umberto'yu öldürmeyi amaçladıkları da alınan haberler arasındaydı. Mısır'da yakalanan bir grup anarşistin II. Wilhelm'e suikast hazırlığında olması, seyahat öncesinde planların değişmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu haberle birlikte Kayzer, seyahatinin Mısır ayağını iptal etmiştir. Ayrıca bu suikast teşebbüsü haberi, seyahat sırasında alınan güvenlik önlemlerinin de önemli miktarda artırılmasına sebep olmuştur.

Seyahat, Kayzer ve heyetinin 12 Ekim 1898'de Potsdam'dan trenle ayrılması ile başlar. Venedik'e kadar trenle devam eden seyahat, buradan gemiyle devam etmiştir. Kayzer ve mahiyetindekiler 18 Ekim günü İstanbul'a ulaşmıştır. Sultan Abdülhamid daha önce hiç yapmadığı bir şey yaparak misafirlerini sarayda değil, gemiden indikleri yerde yapmıştır. Bu da onlara verdiği kıymetin göstergelerinden birisidir. Seyahat'ın ilk günü yayınlanan Osmanlı gazeteleri iki imparatorluk arasındaki yakın ilişkilerden övgü ve sevinçle bahsetmiştir. Hatta İkdam gazetesi durumu abartarak, iki milletin, cesaret mertlik gibi konularda birbirlerine benzediklerini, iki milletin adeta birbirinin aynası olduklarını hatta birbirleri için yaratıldıklarından bahsederek yeni devrin başlangıcının da habercilerinden birisi olmuştur.

Seyahatin ilk gününde Kayzer Alman Okulu'nu ziyaret ederek kendi halkının, yeni müttefikindeki faaliyetlerini de görme fırsatı edinmiştir. Kayzer sokaklarda gezerken, Selim Deringil'in de söylediği gibi İslami söylemle alakası olmayan ve Japonya'da "Tenno heika banzai" (İmparator Çok Yaşa!) veya İngiltere'de "Long live the Queen" (Kraliçe Çok Yaşa!) söylemlerini "Padişahım Çok Yaşa!" ve "Çok Yaşa Kayzer" ifadeleri halk tarafından söylenmiştir. Bu seyahat sırasında dikkat çeken bir diğer küçük detay ise İstanbul'da dalgalanan Alman bayraklarıdır. İstanbul'un Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından alınmasından beri ilk defa karşılaşılan bu durum da Abdülhamid ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kayzer ve Alman İmparatorluğu'na verdiği ehemmiyeti göstermektedir. Bu küçük detaylar bile aslında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yaşadığı değişimi ve dönüşümü az da olsa göstermektedir.

Seyahatin ilk günü görüŖülen bir diđer önemli mesele ise HaydarpaŖa'dan baŖlayacak olan Bađdat Demiryolları meselesidir. Kayzer'in 1889 yılındaki ilk seyahati ile baŖlayan ekonomik iliŖkiler bu seyahat ile perçinleŖmeye baŖlamıŖtır. Kayzer, bu demiryolu projesi ile birlikte Anadolu üzerinden Ortadođu'ya ulaŖmak ve temas etmek istemiŖtir. Bu temas ile birlikte, hem bölgeden elde etmek istediđi ekonomik çıkarları savaŖa gerek olmadan, Osmanlı İmparatorluđu ile dostça iliŖkiler kurarak elde edecek hem de ebedi ve ezeli düşmanları olan İngiltere ve Fransa'nın sömürge topraklarına yaklaŖarak onları tehdit edecekti. Bu durum Abdülhamid Osmanlı İmparatorluđu'nun da işine geliyordu. Topraklarında kendisini tehdit eden İngiltere ve Fransa'yı görmektense kendisini onlara karşı koruyan Alman İmparatorluđunu görmek daha güvenliydi. Ayrıca bir yandan da imparatorluk içerisindeki imar faaliyetleri Alman İmparatorluđu'nun da desteđiyle hızlı bir şekilde ilerlemekteydi. Yani bu iliŖki her açıdan karlı bir kazan-kazan iliŖkisiydi.

Kayzer ayrıca seyahatin ilk gününde Siyonistlerin lideri olan Thoedor Herzl ile de görüŖmüŖtür. Bu görüŖmeden 1 sene önce Dünya Siyonist Örgütü, Basel'de 29-31 Ağustos 1897 tarihinde toplanarak ileride kurulacak Yahudi yerleŖimi hakkında karar vermiŖlerdir. Afrika veya Güney Amerika'da bir yerde bir Yahudi yerleŖimi kurulması önerilerine Thoedor Herz, Ŗiddetle karşı çıkmıŖ ve Filistin'de bir Yahudi yerleŖimi kurulması fikri kongreden geçmiŖtir. Thoder Herzl, bu görüŖmeyi Birinci Siyonist Kongresi'nden çıkan karar konusunda II. Wilhelm'den destek almak için gerçekleŖtirmiŖtir. Düşüncesine göre; Wilhelm, Abdülhamid'i bu konuda ikna edecek ve Siyonist Örgütü de, Osmanlı İmparatorluđu'nun borçlarının kapatılmasına yardımcı olacak ve maddi destekte bulunacaktı. Ancak, görüŖme Thoedor Herzl'in istediđi gibi geçmedi. Wilhelm, sadece durumla ilgileneneđini söyleyerek Herzl'i ve Siyonistleri bu konuda desteklemediđini göstermiŖ oldu.

Seyahatin ikinci gününde Kayzer, yine bir takım siyasi ve diplomatic görüŖmeler yapmıŖtır. Bu görüŖmeler, İstanbul'daki Alman kolonisinin lideri ile ve Papalık temsilcisi ile olmuŖtur. İlk görüŖme, Alman İmparatorluđu'nun Osmanlı İmparatorluđu'ndaki faaliyetleri açısından önemliydi. İkinci görüŖme ise Kayzer'in

Katoliklerin de hamiliğine soyunduğu sırada yapılması nedeniyle diplomatic açıdan son derece mühimdir.

Seyahat sırasında Kayzerin, Harem'i de ziyaret etmiştir. Ancak harem ziyareti Kayzerin için hayal kırıklığı olmuştur. Çünkü, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda poligami devam etmektedir. Harem kadınlarının Fransız tarzı giyinmesi de saray halkında da başlayan modernleşmeyi göstermektedir. Ancak bu modernleşme tam manasıyla gerçekleşmemiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Doğu ile Batı arasındaki bocalamayı sarayda da yaşamaktaydı. Seyahatte Kayzer'in, kuzeni olan Rus Çarı II. Nikolay'a gönderdiği mektuplar da önemlidir. İstanbul'da gönderdiği ilk mektupta, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Girit Meselesi gibi meselelerde verdiği destekten bahsetmektedir.

Seyahatin üçüncü günü yapılan Hereke Fabrikası ziyareti, Kayzer ve Kayzerin için nispeten sade ve sakin geçmiştir. Seyahatin dördüncü günü Abdülhamid'in Cuma Selamlığı'na denk gelmekteydi. Abdülhamid Cuma Selamlığı'nda adeta gövde gösterisi yapmış ve konuklarına bütün ihtişamını göstermiştir. Seyahatin İstanbul'daki son gününde ise Sultan Abdülhamid, konuklarını görkemli bir şekilde uğurlamıştır. Kayzer ve heyetine seyahatlerinin ikinci bölümünde Girit eski valisi Mehmed Şakir Paşa eşlik etmiştir.

Kayzer daha gemideyken özellikle İngiltere'ye karşı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu savunan açıklamalar yapmaya başlamıştı. 26 Ekim tarihinde Hayfa'ya inen Kayzer'in Yumuşak Haçlı Seferi başlamıştı. Hayfa'da Kayzer ve mahiyetindekileri binlerce kişi sevgi gösterileri ile karşılamıştı. Ayrıca Kayzer II. Wilhelm, II. Friedrich Hohenstaufen'in 1225-1228 yılları arasında Kudüs kralı olmasından sonra bu bölgeye gelen ilk Alman imparatorudur. Kendisi 660 yıl sonra yeni bir haçlı olarak bölgeye gelmiştir. Ancak bu sefer bölgeye savaş ve kan ile değil barış ve işbirliği yöntemi ile nüfuz edilecektir.

Kayzer'in Filistin Seyahati'ne başladığı nokta olan Hayfa'da yaklaşık 500 Alman kolonisti yaşamaktaydı. Ayrıca Alma kolonistleri Akka Koyu'ndan imtiyaz elde etmeye çalışmaktaydı. Kayzer ve heyeti, Hayfa'ya indiği sırada onu Alman Misyonu, Templar üyeleri ve buradaki Osmanlı memurları karşıladı. Kayzer, seyahatin İstanbul

ayağına olduğu gibi, Filistin ayağına da hızlı başladı. Hayfa'ya gelir gelmez temaslara başladı. İlk günkü temasları arasında, Osmanlı memurlarının yanı sıra, Protestan ve Katolik grupları ile de görüştü. Bu durum, Kayzer'in sadece Protestanlar'ın hamiliğiyle yetinmeyeceğini göstermekteydi. Hayfa'da görüştüğü Katolik Alman grubu, Alman İmparatorluğu sınırları içerisinde bulunun Württemberg Krallığı'nın bölgedeki kolonisiydi. Yani Kayzer bu durumu hem imparatorluğun kendi içerisindeki krallıklarla olan ilişkisini geliştirmek için hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisinde, Alman İmparatorluğu'na mensup güçlerin rahatça hareket etmesi için hem de rakip devletlere meydan okumak için kullanmıştır.

Ayrıca İstanbul'da olduğu gibi, Hayfa şehrinde de Kayzer büyük sevgi gösterileri ile karşılanmıştır ve şehir Alman ve Osmanlı bayrakları ile donatılmıştır. Bu durum da halk arasında da Alman İmparatorluğu'na olan sevgiyi ve hürmeti göstermektedir. Kayzer ve mahiyetindekiler Hayfa'dan Yafa'ya giderken, Kayzer Alman İmparatorluğu'nun Doğu'da özellikle de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda varlığını ve faaliyetlerini arttırmasının öneminden bahsetmekteydi. Ayrıca, Kayzer Yafa yolundayken alınan haberler de Alman İmparatorluğu'nun uluslararası diplomasi arenasında yalnızlaşmaya başladığının bir kanıtı niteliğindedir. Avrupa gezisine çıkan Rusya Dışişleri bakanı, Paris ve Viyana'ya gitmiş ancak Berlin'e uğramamıştır. Diğer haberler de özellikle Çin'deki gerginliklerde Almanya'yı suçlar nitelikteydi. Rus basını ise Kayzer'in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ve özellikle Filistin'e yaptığı gezinin Rusya'ya karşı yapılmış bir hamle olduğu ve Rusya'nın kuyusunu kazdığını iddia etmektedir.

Kayzer ve heyeti Yafa'da çok kısa süre kaldıktan Kudüs'e geçtiler. Kayzer Kudüs'e at sırtında girdi. Ancak, İslam Hukuku'na göre, bir şehrin ana kapısından sadece o şehrin fatihi veya İslam Devleti lideri girebiliyordu. Bu durumu çözmek için şehrin duvarında yeni bir kapı açıldı ve Kayzer şehre bu kapıdan giriş yaptı. Şehrin kapısından at üzerinde giriş yapması bir güç göstergesi olarak görülebilir. Ayrıca Haçlı hayalini de sembolik olarak gerçekleştirme yolunda ilerliyordu.

Kayzer, Kudüs'te de sevgi gösterileri ile karşılandı. Müslüman, Hristiyan fark etmeksizin halkın Kayzer'e ilgisi çok yüksekti. Kayzer, Kutsal Kabir Kilisesi'ni

ziyaret etmiştir. Bu kilise Hristiyanlarca kutsal Kabul edilmektedir. Çünkü Hristiyanlık inancına göre İsa Peygamber burada çarmıha gerilmiştir. Kayzer, bu ziyaretten sonra Katolik, Ermeni ve Rum Ortodoks heyeti ile görüşmüştür. Bu görüşme, Kayzer'in bütün Hristiyanların hamiliğine savunduğunun kanıtı niteliğindedir. Kayzer'in Alman Katolik Kardinali Piavi ile görüşmesi de Fransızları rahatsız etmiştir. Çünkü Fransızlar onun görevden alınmasını istiyorlardı. Kayzer bu görüşme sırasında Fransa'yı eleştirmiş ve Fransa Katolikler'in hamisi olmasını Kabul etmediğini beyan etmiştir. Bu durum aslında Fransa'ya karşı açıkça bir meydan okuma ve onun misyonunu alma çabasıdır. Kayzer Kudüs'te bir kere daha Thoedor Herzl ile görüşmüştür. Herzl, bu görüşmede Kayzer'den, Sultan ile yapılacak görüşmelerde aracı olmasını istemiştir. Ancak bu görüşmeden de bir netice alınamamıştır.

Kayzer ve mahiyetindekiler Kudüs'te rakiplerine gözdağı vermek için her türlü fırsatı değerlendiriyorlardı. Örneğin Katoliklerce kutsal kabul edilen, Siyon Dağı'ndaki Meryem Ana'nın mezarının bulunduğu araziye satın alıp Katoliklere hibe etmek istemişti. Ancak Abdülhamid burayı kendisi alarak Kayzer'e hediye etmiş ve Kayzer de burayı Katoliklere hediye etmiş. Anlaşılacağı üzere Abdülhamid de Kayzer'in Katoliklerin hamisi olma politikasını desteklemektedir.

31 Ekim günü Kayzer, bu seyahatin görünür amacını gerçekleştirmiş ve Kurtarıcı İsa Kilisesi'ni açmıştır. Kayzer, Kudüs'te bir takım görüşmeler daha yapmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin çoğu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na nüfuz etmek ve özellikle Fransa'ya meydan okumak için yapılan görüşmelerdir.

Kayzer Wilhelm ve heyeti Kudüs'ten Şam'a doğru yola çıkmış ve yolda da bir takım temaslarda ve ziyaretlerde bulunmuşlardır. Bu önemli ziyaretlerden birisi de Halife Ömer Camii'ne yapılmıştır. Kayzer bu seyahat sırasında yaptığı her hareket ile bir şeyi amaçlamıştır. Müslümanlarca önemli kabul edilen yerleri de ziyaret ederek onlara nüfuz etmeyi hedeflemiştir.

8 Kasım günü ise Kayzer yolculuğunun bir diğer önemli durağı olan Şam'a ulaşmıştır. Şam'da da Kayzer ve mahiyetindekileri çok büyük bir kalabalık

karşlamıştır. Bu kalabalığın 300.000-400.000 kişi karşlamıştır. Kayzer, Şam seyahatinin ilk gününde yine Müslümanlar açısından çok önemli olan bir yer olan Emevi Camii'ni ziyaret etmiştir. Kayzer, Şam seyahatinin ilk gününde bütün dünyayı şaşırtacak bir hamle yapmıştır ve kendisinin sadece Hristiyanlar'ın değil aynı zamanda 300 Milyon Müslüman'ın da koruyucu olduğunu ilan etmiştir. Bu konuşma ile sadece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu koruduğunu ve himaye ettiğini açıklamakla kalmamış, Müslüman halka sahip olan İngiltere, Fransa ve Rusya'ya da meydan okumuştur. Diğer sözleri veya görüşmeleri ile sadece bir rakibini hedef alırken bu konuşması ile bütün rakiplerini hedef almıştır ve onları alenen tehdit etmiştir. Bu sözü ile adeta Weltpolitik'in gereklerini yerine getireceğini belli etmiştir. Ayrıca bu sözünü 16 yıl sonra 1. Dünya Savaşı'nda gerçekleştirmek için, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun cihat ilan etmesine sebep olmuş ancak cihat ile birlikte hayalleri de başarısızlığı uğramıştır. Abdülhamid, Kayzer'in sözü ile çok mutlu olmuştur. Büyük ihtimalle, Sultan Abdülhamid, Alman İmparatorluğu'nu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu koruyacak ve uluslararası arenada destekleyecek bir güç olarak görmekteydi.

Kayzer, Şam ziyareti sırasında Müslümanlar için çok büyük bir komutan olan Selahaddin Eyyübi'nin mezarına da hediyeler göndermiş ve onun büyüklüğüne, yüceliğine methiyeler düzmüştür. Elbette bu durum, diğer hareketlerinin çoğunda olduğu gibi Müslüman Dünyası'nın desteğini almak için yapılmıştır.

Kayzer ile ilgili önemli noktalardan bir diğeri ise kuzeni Çar, Nikolay'a gönderdiği ikinci mektuptur. Bu mektupta, Hristiyanlar'ın Kudüs'e bir çivi bile çakmadığından bahsetmektedir. Ayrıca bu mektupta, Müslümanlar'a olan saygısını da ifade etmekte Sultan Abdülhamid'i dost olarak gördüğünü anlatmaktadır. Vurguladığı bir diğer önemli nokta ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun "Boğaz'daki Hasta Adam" olmadığı aksine gayet canlı olduğu politik olarak gayet değer taşıdığı konusudur. Son olarak Kayzer kuzenini, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu veya Sultan'a saldırma konusunda uyarmaktadır.

Kayzer, Doğu Seyahati'ndeki son durak olan bugün Lübnan sınırları içerisinde bulunan Baalbek'e 10 Kasım günü ulaşmıştır. Baalbek'e yaptığı seyahat, İstanbul,

Kudüs ve Şam seyahatlerine göre nispeten daha sakin geçmiştir. Bu seyahatte konuşulan konular çoğunlukla, Alman Oryantalist kuruluşlarının bu bölgedeki arkeolojik faaliyetleri hakkında olmuştur. Alman İmparatorluğu ve Kayzer Wilhelm, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na sadece ekonomik ve siyasi manada değil kültürel manada da nüfuz etmek istiyordu. Kayzer kısa süreli Baalbek seyahatinden sonra Almanya'ya dönmüştür.

Seyahat bütün dünyada tepkilerle karşılanmıştır. Alman İmparatorluğu içerisinde de seyahati eleştirenler vardı. Özellikle Sosyal Demokratlar, bu seyahati ve Kayzer'i sert bir şekilde eleştirmiştir. Onların yorumlarına göre bu seyahat emperyalist amaçları olan bir seyahattir. Seyahatin amacına, seyahat sırasında yapılan görüşmelere ve sonuçlarına bakarsak; Alman Sosyal Demokratları'nın bu konuda haksız olmadığını, seyahatin emperyalist amaçları olan bir seyahat olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz. Siyonistler içinse bu seyahat ve liderleri Thoedor Herzl'in Kayzer ile yaptığı görüşmeler tamamen fiyasko olmuştur. Yahudi Devleti kurma amaçlarında Alman İmparatorluğu ve Kayzer Wilhelm'in kendilerine hiçbir faydası olmayacağını hatta bu konuda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Sultan Abdülhamid'in yanında yer aldıklarını anlamışlardır. Bazı Alman gazeteleri, Kayzer'i, gerçekleştirmiş olduğu bu Haçlı Seferi dolayısıyla 13. Yüzyıl'da yaşamış ve Kudüs Kralı da olmuş Kutsal Roma İmparatoru, II. Friedrich'e benzetmiştir. Bu durum, Kayzer için büyük bir onurdu. Çünkü, Kayzer geçmişteki büyük Alman Kralları gibi olmaya çalışmaktaydı. Bazı Alman gazeteleri ise, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Alman İmparatorluğu arasındaki bu dostluğun, diğer ülkelere olan güvensizlik sebebiyle geliştiğinden bahsetmektedir.

Seyahatin sonuçlarına baktığımız zaman bazı konular haricinde, iki taraf için de başarılı bir diplomatik, ekonomik, siyasi ve dini seyahat olmuştur. Kayzer Wilhelm ve Alman İmparatorluğu, demiryolu imtiyazı, silah ticareti, İngiltere'ye Protestanlar'ın, Fransa'ya Katolikler'in, Rusya'ya ise Ortodokslar'ın hamiliği konusunda meydan okumuş, ayrıca Müslümanlar'ın hamisi olduğunu ilan ederek onları sadece Hristiyan değil Müslüman tebaları ile de tehdit etmiştir. Silah ticareti hususunda ise, Goltz Paşa'nın 1895 yılında istifasından sonra durma noktasına gelen

bu önemli konu, Kayzer'in çabaları ile tekrar başlamıştır. Bu sayede iki imparatorluk arasındaki ilişkiler bir başka konuda daha ilerleme kaydetmiştir.

Demiryolları ihalesine baktığımız zaman, bu durumdan iki devlet de çok kazançlı çıkmıştır. Demiryolları sayesinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisinde ulaşım kolaylaşacak, bu ticarete de katkı sağlayacaktı. Ayrıca isyan olan bölgelere kolayca asker sevk edilebilecekti. Ayrıca Alman İmparatorluğu da bu demiryolları imtiyazı ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu topraklarına kolayca nüfuz edebilecek ve düşmanları olan İngiltere, Fransa ve Rusya'nın Ortadoğu'daki sömürgelerini tehdit edebilecekti.

Kayzer, bu seyahat ile "Drang Nach Osten" (Doğu'ya Doğru) politikası için de önemli bir adım atmış ve Ortadoğu'da önemli imtiyazlar elde etmiştir. Ancak Kayzer, Mısır'a gidemediği ve İngiltere ve Fransa da aralarındaki husumeti kısa süre içerisinde çözdüğü için Faşoda Krizi'ni değerlendirememiş ve bu durum da İngiltere ve Fransa'nın yakınlaşmasına ve Alman İmparatorluğu'na karşı cephe almaya başlamasına sebep olmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, Kayzer II. Wilhelm'in 1898 yılında "Drang Nach Osten" politikasının ilk eylemi olan bu seyahat iki ülkeyi uluslararası arenada yalnızlaşmaya git gide iterken birbirlerine daha da yaklaştırmıştır. İki ülke arasındaki yakın ilişkiler seyahatten sonra da devam etmiş ve özellikle 1. Dünya Savaşı'na doğru zirveye çıkmıştır. İki imparatorluk bu seyahat sonrası gelişen ilişkilerini 1. Dünya Savaşı'nda beraber savaşarak taçlandırmıştır. İki imparatorluğun 20 yıllık yakın dostluğu, 1918 yılında 1. Dünya Savaşı'nın sona ermesi ve iki imparatorluğun da tarih olmasıyla son bulmuştur. 20 yıllık bu iki dost imparatorluk sadece dostluğu, işbirliğini değil savaşın sonunda aynı kaderi de paylaşmışlardır.



**C. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM**

**ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE**

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

**YAZARIN / AUTHOR**

**Soyadı / Surname** : Ertan  
**Adı / Name** : İrfan  
**Bölümü / Department** : Tarih

**TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS** (**İngilizce / English**) : The Orient Journey of Kaiser Wilhelm II

**TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:** **Yüksek Lisans / Master**  **Doktora / PhD**

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two year.** \*
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months.** \*

\* *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu Kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir.  
A copy of the Decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

**Yazarın imzası / Signature** .....

**Tarih / Date** .....