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Reflections of the Hat Reform in Erzurum

Şapka İnkılâbı'nın Erzurum'daki Yansımaları

Abstract

From the past to the present, Erzurum has maintained its position as one of the cornerstones of the state's eastern policy. Moreover, it has been widely believed that any power controlling Erzurum would, as a consequence, also exert influence over the whole of Anatolia. The uprisings that emerged in Erzurum throughout history demonstrate that the city consistently occupied a strategic position for groups seeking to achieve various political or ideological objectives. This significance stemmed both from its geographical location and from its socially more religiously conservative structure compared with many other regions. For this reason, Erzurum was frequently regarded as one of the potential centers of reactionary movements. Consequently, the effects of the Hat Reform in Erzurum were particularly noteworthy. Although the number of existing studies examining the repercussions of the Hat Reform in Erzurum is quite limited, research concerning how and to what extent the Hat Reform was effective in Erzurum in general remains insufficient in the literature. This study aims to partially fill this gap and contribute to the literature. After briefly addressing the short history of the use of headgear among the Turks, the types of headgear used in the Ottoman Empire, the Hat Law enacted after the proclamation of the Republic, the views of intellectuals regarding this law, and reports published in newspapers, the study focuses on the repercussions of the Hat Reform in Erzurum. The emergence of the Hat Incident in Erzurum, the factors contributing to the outbreak of the incident, the establishment of the Court-Martial, the executions carried out during the process, the arrival of the Ankara Independence Tribunal in Erzurum, and the sentences imposed as a result of the trials conducted by this tribunal are evaluated within the framework of the historical conditions of the period. The study is based on official publications, documents obtained from the Archive of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, and newspapers of the period. In addition, scholarly studies, literary works, memoirs, and articles have also been consulted. Existing studies have been carefully examined, and a detailed study has been prepared on the basis of this information and newly obtained documents. The effects of the Hat Reform continue to be debated today in a manner intertwined with various misconceptions. In light of the data obtained, analyses and examinations have been conducted in order to distinguish inaccurate information, and it is hoped that this study will contribute to future research in the field of Erzurum's local history.

Keywords: Hat Reform, Erzurum, Court-Martial, Republican Reforms, Public Reaction.

Öz

Geçmişten günümüze Erzurum, devletin doğu politikasının temel taşlarından biri olma özelliğini korumuştur. Ayrıca Erzurum'u kontrol eden herhangi bir gücün, bunun bir sonucu olarak Anadolu'nun tamamı üzerinde de nüfuz sahibi olacağına yaygın biçimde inanılmıştır. Tarih boyunca Erzurum'da ortaya çıkan isyanlar, çeşitli siyasi veya ideolojik hedeflerini gerçekleştirmeye çalışan gruplar açısından şehrin sürekli olarak stratejik bir konumda bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Bu önem hem coğrafi konumundan hem de diğer birçok bölgeye kıyasla dinî açıdan daha muhafazakâr bir toplumsal yapıya sahip olmasından kaynaklanmaktaydı. Bu sebeple Erzurum, sıklıkla irticai hareketlerin potansiyel merkezlerinden biri olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bundan dolayı Şapka İnkılabı'nın Erzurum'daki etkileri özellikle dikkate değer olmuştur. Şapka İnkılabı'nın Erzurum'daki yansımalarını inceleyen mevcut çalışmaların sayısı oldukça sınırlı olmakla birlikte, Şapka İnkılabı'nın genel olarak Erzurum'da nasıl ve ne ölçüde etkili olduğuna ilişkin araştırmalar literatürde hâlen yetersizdir. Bu çalışma, söz konusu boşluğu kısmen doldurmayı ve literatüre katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Türklerde başlık kullanımının kısa tarihçesi, Osmanlı Devleti'nde kullanılan başlık türleri, Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra çıkarılan Şapka Kanunu, aydınların bu kanuna ilişkin görüşleri ve gazetelerde yer alan haberler kısaca ele alındıktan sonra Şapka İnkılabı'nın Erzurum'daki yansımaları üzerinde durulmuştur. Erzurum'daki Şapka Hadisesi'nin ortaya çıkışı, hadisenin patlak vermesine katkıda bulunan etkenler, Divân-ı Harb'in kurulması, süreç içerisinde gerçekleştirilen idamlar, Ankara İstiklal Mahkemesi'nin Erzurum'a gelişi ve bu mahkemenin gerçekleştirdiği yargılamalar sonucunda verilen cezalar, dönemin tarihsel koşulları çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışma; resmî yayınlara, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi'nden temin edilen belgelere ve dönemin gazetelerine dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca bilimsel çalışmalar, edebî eserler, hatıratlar ve makalelerden de yararlanılmıştır. Mevcut çalışmalar dikkatle incelenmiş; bu bilgiler ve yeni elde edilen belgeler esas alınarak ayrıntılı bir çalışma hazırlanmıştır. Şapka İnkılabı'nın etkileri, çeşitli yanlış kabullerle iç içe geçmiş biçimde günümüzde de tartışılmaya devam etmektedir. Elde edilen veriler ışığında, yanlış bilgileri ayıklamak amacıyla analiz ve incelemeler yapılmış olup bu çalışmanın Erzurum'un yerel tarihi alanında gelecekte yapılacak araştırmalara katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şapka İnkılâbı, Erzurum, Divân-ı Harb Mahkemesi, Cumhuriyet Reformları, Toplumsal Tepki.



Introduction

For centuries, the Turks maintained commercial and political relations with various countries and states, which naturally led to intense cultural interaction. As the borders of Turkish rule expanded, many nations belonging to different religions and ethnic backgrounds came under Turkish administration. These communities continued to practice their own religions and sects under Turkish rule. Therefore, due to cultural interaction and the coexistence of different peoples within Turkish dominion, a fully standardized understanding of dress never emerged among the Turks. This diversity was particularly visible in forms of headwear. The “börk,” which was initially a common type of headgear among the Turks, was later replaced by the “kalpak,” and subsequently by the “serpuş” during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods (Özdemir, 2007, p. 5). In addition, the turban and the “kavuk” were also widely used as traditional forms of headwear. The clothing and headgear worn by different groups were often regarded as indicators of social status (Özer, 2009, p. 372).

During the reign of Mahmud II, the fez began to be used; according to some views, it was adopted from Algerian or Tunisian pirates, while according to others it was borrowed from the Greeks (Alkan, 2017, pp. 118–119). The introduction of the fez was met with opposition in certain circles, and those who opposed it criticized Mahmud II for weakening religious values by using expressions such as “Religion is being lost” and “Giaour Sultan.” However, over time, the fez became widespread among the public, including non-Muslims. From the 1890s onward, as non-Muslims began wearing hats instead of the fez, Muslims embraced the fez more strongly and began to regard it as one of the symbols of Islam. During this period, wearing a hat instead of the fez came to be considered by some circles as “irreligious” (Özer, 2009, pp. 373–374). By 1909, first the “kalpak” and later the “kabalak,” known as “Enveriye,” became fashionable. Thereafter, wearing the kalpak was associated with “progressivism,” whereas wearing the fez was linked to “reactionism” or “support for the sultanate” (Alkan, 2017, p. 123).

For many Muslims, “headgear” became a symbolic element connecting them to their past. Headwear was often associated with religious identity (Lewis, 1993, p. 266). For example, among Muslims there were beliefs such as: “God and the angels pray for those who wear a turban during Friday prayer,” “Two rak’ahs performed with a turban are superior to seventy rak’ahs performed without a turban,” “The turban is the barrier between faith and unbelief,” and “He who resembles a people becomes one of them”... Such beliefs caused some people to think that “if I wear the clothing of another nation, I will lose my religion.” Consequently, it was considered inappropriate for non-Muslims to wear Muslim clothing and for Muslims to wear their clothing. Even when Muslims adopted Western-style clothing apart from their headwear, they continued to regard their headgear as one of the symbols of Islam (Lewis, 1993, pp. 100–101).

One of the reasons for this situation was that, after accepting Islam, the Turks embraced the religion very strongly. For centuries, the relationship between religion and social identity remained quite powerful. However, over time, various superstitions spread among the public, influencing both social and spiritual life. A significant part of society remained unaware of this process. Some religious figures attempted to influence the religious feelings of the people by promoting ideas not directly related to religion. In some regions, when people became ill, they preferred consulting village imams rather than physicians, believing that illnesses could be cured through magic or spiritual means (Erzurum Tellibeyzade Hacı Faruk Efendi, 2017, pp. 71–72). From the beginning of the twentieth century onward, the number of individuals who used religion to present themselves as great scholars increased, while some dervishes attempted to use their religious influence for different purposes (Vakit, 24 Teşrin-i Evvel 1341, p. 2).

The use of religion for personal interests made it difficult for society to evaluate religious issues in a healthy manner. A considerable portion of the public continued to live without fully learning the fundamental principles of religion. This situation also manifested itself during the reforms implemented after 1923. In particular, religious propaganda carried out after the Hat Reform contributed to the emergence of anti-government reactions among the public. As a result of propaganda such as “Religion is being lost,” uprisings occurred in certain regions.

Before any official implementation regarding the wearing of hats had begun, İskilipli Atıf Hoca published his pamphlet titled *Frenk Mukallitliği ve Şapka* in 1924, arguing that the hat was a symbol of unbelief and that wearing it was inappropriate from the perspective of Islam. However, several intellectuals of the late Ottoman period opposed this pamphlet and expressed different views. Kılıçzâde Hakkı Bey stated that “there is no harm in wearing a hat because Islam does not prescribe a specific form of dress for Muslims.” Abdullah Cevdet remarked that “the fez belongs neither to our grandfathers, nor to Islam, nor to the Prophet Muhammad.” Süleyman Nazif, meanwhile, stated: “...Not every person wearing a fez is a Muslim, just as not every person wearing a hat is an infidel. Hat, fez, turban; it does not matter what is on my head. Who can change the fact that I am a Muslim...? If wearing a Frankish shirt and Frankish shoes does not make a person an infidel, then does wearing a hat make one an infidel? Sitting at a Frankish table, sitting on a Frankish chair, writing with a Frankish pen on Frankish paper, wearing Frankish clothes from head to toe, eating with forks and knives, riding trams, buses, ferries, or trains are not sins, yet wearing a hat instead of the fez that we adopted from the Greeks a hundred years ago is considered blasphemy?” (Kılıç, 1995, pp. 534–

535, 537).

Mustafa Kemal Pasha took one of his first steps against groups that used religious influence for social and political purposes through the Hat Reform. At the time, many people in the country wore a white cloth on their heads, and depending on how it was worn, they were perceived as possessing spiritual authority among the public. Although Islam does not recognize a clergy class, some individuals attributed spiritual authority to themselves through their turbans. As a result, the turban became a widely used form of headwear among various social groups, from porters to beggars, and gradually acquired the appearance of an ordinary head covering rather than a symbol of scholarship (Resimli Gazete, 12 Eylül 1341, p. 1).

Rumors that those who wore hats would become irreligious gradually spread, creating unrest throughout the country. Mustafa Kemal Pasha's speeches during his visits to Kastamonu and İnebolu played an important role in explaining the hat reform to the public. On 2 July 1925, Rifat Efendi, Head of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, declared in İzmit that neither religion nor Islam prescribed a specific form of dress and that there was neither a Quranic verse nor a hadith on the matter (Yeni Yol, 2 Temmuz 1341, p. 1). In fact, one of the fundamental issues underlying the Hat Reform was the centuries-old habit of covering the head. The primary aim was not merely to make people wear hats, but also to replace the fez and the turban, which had acquired political and social meanings. The central idea behind the reform was that whether one wore a fez, a turban, or a hat, such clothing neither changed one's religion nor removed one from it. Efforts were made to explain this issue to the public. Nevertheless, an article published in Vakit newspaper (7 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1341, p. 3) reported that "during the religious holiday, some people who wore hats removed them, put on fezzes and kalpaks, and went to the mosque." Mustafa Kemal Pasha first took action against the sheiks who abused people's consciences and started with the Hat Revolution. Because every person in the country wore a white cloth on his head and according to the way he wore it, he appeared to have a spiritual position among the people. Although spirituality does not exist in our religion, those who had no other capital and nature other than their turbans attributed a spiritual nature to themselves under the shadow of their turbans. In this way, since the turban was on the head of every person, including porters and beggars, it gave the appearance of an ordinary headdress rather than a scientific sign (Resimli Gazete, 12 Eylül 1341, p. 1).

The biggest factor in the Hat Revolution was the fact that people had been in the habit of wearing something on their heads for centuries. The real aim was not to make people wear hats but to remove the fez and turban, which had more of a political meaning than a religious symbol. The point of this revolution is that whether you wear a fez, a turban, or a hat, these clothes do not change your religion, they do not bind you to religion or take you out of religion. This situation was tried to be explained to the public. However, in a news article in Vakit newspaper (7 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1341, p. 3), it was mentioned that *"on the day of the holy day, some of the hat wearers took off their hats, put on fez and kalpak and went to the mosque"*.

In April 1923, during a gathering of seven or eight people at the Çankaya Mansion, one individual asked Mustafa Kemal Pasha: "Will we one day be able to wear hats?" Pasha replied: "We shall first make the navy wear hats. Since they are less visible to the public, they will not attract attention. Then the army will wear them, and no one can interfere because it is a military matter. Intellectuals will gradually become accustomed to it as well." Indeed, in the process leading to the Hat Law, naval soldiers began wearing hats in May 1925, followed by the Presidential Guard Regiment and later the land forces (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 229).

Refik Bey, deputy of Konya, and his associates were among the first to express the necessity of a law regarding the wearing of hats and to submit such a proposal (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Zabıt Cerideleri, II/19, 16 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 125). Following parliamentary discussions, the "Law on the Adoption of the Hat" was passed by majority vote on 25 November 1925 (TBMM, Z.C., II/19, 25 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 231). Among the deputies who opposed the law were Bursa deputy Nurettin Pasha and Ergani deputy İhsan Bey (Millet, 26 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 1).

After the adoption of the Hat Law, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which supported the state's policy of creating unity in dress through the wearing of hats, issued a circular on 5 January 1926 declaring that "wearing a hat during prayer was not objectionable" (BCA, Diyanet İşleri Reisliği Kurumu, 51.0.0.0 / 2.13.23). As of 14 January 1926, the Directorate further announced that congregations in mosques should wear hats during prayer in order to ensure uniformity. However, in order not to violate the Hat Law, many people refrained from wearing turbans but also avoided wearing hats, instead walking bareheaded. People carried their prayer caps in their pockets when going to the mosque and performed their worship in this manner (BCA, DİRK, 51.0.0.0 / 13.115.5).

The Hat Reform became one of the most controversial reforms of the Republican era. One reason for this was the propaganda carried out through the press. For example, despite serious political tensions with England, Vakit newspaper published an article on 13 September 1925 titled "We should salute with hats like the English." Likewise, newspapers publishing headlines such as "We should greet one another with hats like the people living in England and northern America" (Vakit, 13 September 1341, p. 2) or "English Hats" (Vakit, 27 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1341, p. 6) failed to sufficiently consider the social sensitivities

surrounding the issue. Certain groups employing religious discourse also used this situation to intensify public reactions. A considerable portion of the population had not yet acquired the level of knowledge necessary to fully assess these changes. When all these developments came together, certain religious figures and opposition groups hostile to the hat reform incited sections of the public, whose religious sensitivities were strong, against the reforms, thereby contributing to social unrest (Figure 1, and 2). As a result, protests against the Hat Law took place in Sivas on 14 November, Kayseri on 22 November, Erzurum on 24 November, Rize on 25 November, Maraş on 26 November, and Giresun on 4 December (Nedim, 1926, p. 349).

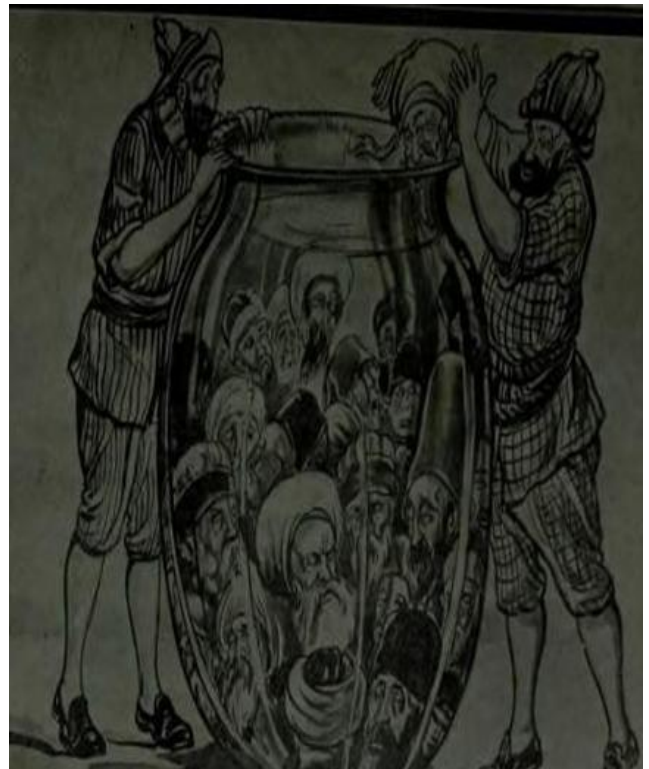
Figure 1.

Akbaba Newspaper 17 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ December 17, 1925 Another handful of rubble...



Figure 2.

Karagöz Newspaper 19 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ December 19, 1925, Old heads are pickled? Hacivat: Good luck Karagöz! Are you making pickles for the winter? Karagöz: Don't you know, they say old glass has become glass. Just like that, old heads have become pickles. I'll put an old head in this jar so that our grandchildren can watch it whenever they want.



Erzurum, in particular, became one of the most significant centers of unrest during the implementation of the Hat Reform. As the incidents that began in Erzurum gradually spread, the Independence Tribunals intervened, prosecuting and punishing those deemed responsible for the disturbances through trials intended to serve as a deterrent. From past to present, Erzurum has remained a cornerstone of the state's eastern policy. It was also widely believed that any power controlling Erzurum would consequently exercise influence over the whole of Anatolia. Throughout history, the rebellions that emerged in Erzurum demonstrate that the city consistently occupied a strategic position for groups seeking to realize various political or ideological ambitions. This significance stemmed both from its geographical location and from its comparatively more religiously conservative social structure than many other regions. For this reason, Erzurum was frequently regarded as a potential center of reactionary movements. Consequently, the impact of the Hat Reform in Erzurum has been particularly noteworthy.

Although the number of existing studies examining the reflections of the Hat Reform in Erzurum is quite limited, research on how and to what extent the Hat Reform was generally effective in Erzurum remains insufficient in the literature. This study aims to partially fill this gap and contribute to the literature. Existing studies were carefully analyzed, and based on this

information and newly obtained documents, a detailed study has been prepared. The effects of the Hat Reform continue to be a subject of debate today, often intertwined with misconceptions. In light of the data obtained, analyses and examinations were conducted to filter out inaccuracies, and it is hoped that this study will contribute to future research in the field of Erzurum's local history.

This study evaluates the emergence of the Hat Incident in Erzurum, the factors that contributed to the outbreak of the incident, the establishment of the Divân-ı Harb (Court Martial), the executions carried out during the process, the arrival of the Ankara Independence Tribunal in Erzurum, and the sentences imposed as a result of the trials conducted by this court within the historical context of the period. The study is based on official publications, documents obtained from the Prime Ministry Republican Archives and the Presidential Archives, as well as contemporary newspapers. In addition, scholarly studies, literary works, memoirs, and articles have been utilized.

Hat Incident in Erzurum

Erzurum is at the crossroads of the Caucasus, Iran, and Anatolia due to its geographical location. Due to this strategic importance, it has been under the rule of many different civilizations. When it was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, it maintained its characteristic of being the region where administrators were carefully appointed. Because Erzurum has been the cornerstone of the state's Eastern Politics from past to present (Küçükuşurlu, 2012, p. 9). At the same time, it was also known that a state that dominated Erzurum would dominate all of Anatolia (Kılıç, 2005, p. 31). Looking at the rebellions that broke out in Erzurum in history, Erzurum has always been a very important center for those who wanted to realize some of their ambitions. This is due to both its geographical location and the fact that it is a more religious city compared to other regions. Therefore, it was always feared that Erzurum would become the center of reaction (Baydar, 2007, p. 72).

By 1925, news began to circulate that the hat would be worn in Erzurum. In fact, the students of the School of Education began to rehearse wearing Russian beanies, berets, and snow caps (İbrahimhakkioğlu, 1961, p. 18). A short time later, as the government required civil servants to wear hats for Republic Day, hats were sent to Erzurum, and teachers, students and civil servants were the first to wear hats. However, the students at the Orphanage wore hats made of navy-blue fabric with backed brims instead of kalpaks. Later, a new order made it compulsory for members of the Chamber of Commerce and neighborhood councils of elders to wear hats as well. While this process was ongoing, in September 1925, Region Deputy Minister Sırrı Süleyman Bey came to Erzurum and made some statements to the gathered people. It was during this speech that he realized that the people of Erzurum were worried about the reforms in the area of dress and clothing. Fevzi Çakmak, the Chief of General Staff, who visited Erzurum after Sırrı Süleyman Bey, also noticed the people's uneasiness about the hat. While some people were hesitant about this revolution because their turbans would be removed from their heads, others were afraid of getting cold and sick because their heads would be uncovered (Küçükuşurlu, 2012, p.478-479). Therefore, in order to familiarize the public with the hat, the students of the School of Education were made to wear hats and march. Some of the hats worn by the students were sewn by tailors, while others were provided by collecting the hats left by the Armenians and Russians (Baydar, 1997, p. 83).

At the same time, clergymen in Erzurum tried to explain that the Hat Revolution did not pose any obstacle to religion by giving advice to the people in their speeches. Especially Solakzade Sadık Efendi, Fehim Efendi, and Hasankale Mufti Kâmil Efendi addressed the following issues in their speeches:

"Religion is belief. Clothing and belief have no relation. Islam did not come to a nation or a tribe. It encompasses all humanity and even all worlds. To be a Muslim, all sincere and sincere beliefs such as recognizing the oneness of Allah, acknowledging His Prophet by heart, knowing that the Qur'an is the word of Allah, doing what He says to do, and not doing what He considers forbidden are sufficient to be a Muslim. Whatever you wear, whatever you eat, wherever you sit, whatever you do, these are not obstacles to belief. There are Muslims in the desert of Africa, in the Arctic, in Sudan, in England, in Japan, everywhere in Africa and America, in communities of people and races with different languages. Clothing changes according to living conditions and civilization. There is no Islamic dress. Kalpak is Russia's and Caucasus's. The cone belongs to shepherds and those living in tribes. Fez; belongs to the Greeks. The scepter first belonged to the Janissaries and then to the clergy" (İbrahimhakkioğlu, 1961, p. 19).

Before the incident, there were rumors that people who did not want to wear hats rioted in Erzurum threw hats to the ground, and attacked people wearing hats. Shortly after the emergence of these rumors, the Hat Incident took place in Erzurum (Ayrım, 1978, p. 109). In order to ensure that the Hat Revolution is adopted by the people in Erzurum more quickly and smoothly, Governor Zühdü Bey gathered forty hodjas in his office and said that he would talk to the hodjas in this meeting about the Hat Revolution and that the answers to be given here would be reported to Ankara. However, none of the teachers, except Fehim Efendi, spoke at the meeting and bowed their heads. Fehim Efendi, on the other hand, explained that *"in Egypt,*

where he had gone to visit the Al-Azhar Madrasa on his return from the Hajj, all the Muslims working in the fields wore hats similar to this one and when he saw them wearing hats, he did not even think that any of them could be infidels and therefore Mustafa Kemal Pasha's orders were appropriate." In the days following this meeting, when the Hat Incident broke out in Erzurum, some people in the crowd went to Fehim Efendi's house and told his wife, who opened the door: "We will take the Hodja away, put a rope around his neck and make him walk the streets!" In response, his wife took off her white headscarf, laid it on the threshold of the door¹, and said to the people who came, "This headscarf is the mother headscarf, if you want, you can step on it and take the Hodja away." The crowd dispersed and left. However, it was reported that Fehim Efendi was very upset by this action, fell ill, and condemned this action in his sermons after that day. He died a short time later. Mustafa Efendi, the Mufti of Erzurum Regiment, who narrated this incident, was also one of the participants in the meeting in the governor's office (Tellibeyzade Hacı Faruk Efendi of Erzurum, 2017, pp. 74-75).

The Beginning of the Hat Incident and Some Opinions on How the Hat Incident Started

It has been reported that just before the Hat Incident in Erzurum, Abdülmecit the Imam of Pirtin Village², known as the "Infidel Imam or Devil Imam", deceived the naive people and gathered them around himself, and in his speeches, he announced when and at what time they would gather and asked all the people to come (İbrahimhakkioğlu, 1961, p. 19).

On Tuesday, November 24, at 7:00 a.m. in the morning, Abdülmecit and his friends gathered in front of the Kara Cehennem Mosque³, and after the mawlid was recited, they chanted "we do not want *giaour* officials" and marched towards the government house. Some of the gathered people went to the house of Mufti Solakzade and asked him to lead them and plead with the governor "to give them some time to wear the hat". When Solakzade refused, they went to Tivnikli Faruk Efendi's house, where they received the same answer (Baydar, 1997, p. 69). Thereupon, street heads were blocked and those going to work and school were directed to the front of the government house. After breaking the windows of the government house with stones, the crowd marched towards the governor's mansion⁴ (İbrahimhakkioğlu, 1961, p. 19). The number of the crowd marching to the governor's mansion was not even 20 people. They aimed to present a petition to the governor stating that they wanted to wear "kalpak" instead of "hat". Governor Zühdü Bey, on the other hand, did not listen to the crowd, tried to disperse the gathered people with gendarmerie force, and took 8-10 of them into custody, which further galvanized the crowd (Nedim, 1993, p. 349). A few people in the group could not control their anger and tried to cut the telegraph wires to cut Governor Zühdü Bey's connection with the outside world (Küçükuşurlu, 2012, p. 481).

Governor Zühdü Bey, on the other hand, maintained his composure despite the chants and actions such as throwing stones and weapons. Even though a gendarmerie officer and a soldier were wounded with bullets and knives during the incident, he still maintained his composure. This incident was suppressed at around 8:30 in the morning with the harsh measures taken jointly by Asım Pasha, the Commander of the Sarıkamış IX Corps, who dispatched cavalry troops, and Hasan Pasha, the Commander of the Fortified Position. In this incident, the windows of the governor's mansion were completely broken (Cumhuriyet, 15 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 3; Figure 3). It was said that those who stoned the government and the governor's mansion and broke their windows were mostly children who were provoked (Baydar, 1997, p. 75).

Upon these events, the governor immediately declared a curfew, and on the same day, martial law was declared for one month with the decision of the Council of Ministers (Nedim, 1993, p. 349). As it can be understood from what has been said, according to some, this incident was issued in order not to wear a hat, according to some, in order to give some time to wear a hat, and according to some, in order not to wear a hat everywhere. However, the common opinion is that, as a result, it was an incident against the Hat Revolution (Küçükuşurlu, 2012, p. 483).

Hasan Pasha, the Commander of the Fortified Position, stated that the Hat Incident was caused by people who were incapable of understanding their own identity, who deceived some gullible people with their mischief under the veil of religion, who actually served the ambitions of our enemies, and who lacked a sense of homeland. Furthermore, Hasan Pasha said: "These people were not only punished for their disobedience to the government and the laws, but also deserved divine punishment. The brave people of Erzurum, who founded the basis of the Government of the present Republic; not even the nose of an innocent among you has been bloodied. During the bloody demonstrations organized by the instigators, they attacked the house of Governor Zühdü Beyefendi, who represented our supreme government in Erzurum and directed all his comfort and peace to the happiness of Erzurum and tried to attempt his life... You were

¹ This custom is still widespread in the East. Especially among Kurdish families, when a fight out, one of the mothers in the family steps in and throws her headscarf forward. This means "end the fight". Both sides respect this and end the fight. It is also said that this custom is sunnah in Islam.

² Today, Aşkale Güllüdere Neighborhood.

³ Today, it is Cennetzaade Mosque, which is located next to Şair Nef'i Primary School.

⁴ Today, it is the building where Erzurum Yakutiye Municipality is located.

warned by the bullets fired by the soldiers against the perpetrators of the incident, you realized what kind of goal they wanted to drag you blindly to, and you refrained from being a tool of these traitors... The people should be busy with their work and power in complete tranquility, no one should have forbidden weapons on their person or in their homes, and whatever happens, the government should be notified immediately to hand these insolent people over to the law, not believing those who may deceive you, if not from within, then from outside" (Cumhuriyet, 20 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 2).

Erzurum MP Rüştü Pasha asked İsmet Pasha for an explanation about the Erzurum Incident in the TBMM and İsmet Pasha explained the situation as follows:

"... Some people in Erzurum tried to partially close the bazaar, they came in front of the governor's residence and front of the Provincial Office, they shouted 'we do not want giaour officials', they organized demonstrations, the police intervened. They did not obey the warnings of the police, whereupon the government forces dispersed those who dared to do so. By yesterday evening, 27 people had been arrested. The general public reacted to the incident with hatred. Apparently, some men had gained notoriety for espionage in the past years, including former sheiks. They took advantage of the general amnesty law and got out, and now, while they were free, they were active again and making preparations. All of them have been arrested. We are on top of the case, and in order to speed up the follow-up and to inform the parliament as soon as possible, martial law has been declared in places where martial law has not been declared in Erzurum. A few people are the organizers and disruptors in this affair. We want to expose them through rapid investigation and take swift action. ..." (TBMM, Z.C., II/19, 25 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 218; Son Saat, 27 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 1; İkdâm, 13 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 1).

Akşam Newspaper (27 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341) published the following article about the Hat Incident:

"...For a long time, some people in Erzurum have been taking insidious actions not to wear a hat due to the provocation of a few hoodlums. It is understood that during the week, a few people gathered a few ignorant people and a few innocent people who followed them and came in front of the Provincial Office and shouted 'We do not want giaour officials'."

Son Saat Newspaper (27 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341):

"...Erzurum is a part of the country far from the cultural centers. The people remained in ignorance because the former rulers thought only of their personal reign and spent all the nation's revenues on ostentation rather than education. Despite this, the people showed that they thought for themselves approved of all the actions of the government, and did not look at the reform movements in a bad light. This incident was not organized by the people, but by three or five dissatisfied people" and brought a different perspective to the Hat Incident.

Although this incident in Erzurum was described in most of the newspapers of the period as a reactionary act against the revolutions, it was later revealed that it was an incident that was organized in order not to wear a hat as a result of the trials. Especially Son Saat newspaper (27 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341) wrote that "the incident did not last even as long as a soap bubble, it was a protest against the revolutionary steps taken and the crowd was immediately dispersed with the declaration of martial law".

İsmet Pasha, MP for Malatya, evaluated the common points between the incidents that occurred both in Erzurum and other regions due to the Hat Revolution in the parliament and gave some information:

"The incident that took place in Erzurum on November 24, 1925, started with Giaour Imam and Hodja Osman threatening the Provincial Authority with their friends. However, at the beginning of the incident, the prominent people were arrested and referred to the Court. On November 25, 1925, there was an incident in Rize. With the guidance of one or two hodjas, a movement was attempted with the claim that 'we are heading towards irreligion, the government should prevent irreligion'. This incident was immediately suppressed and prominent people were arrested. On November 26, 1925, in Maraş, a man named İbrahim Hodja gathered some people in a mosque and tried to organize a demonstration against the government center, and the leaders of the incident were arrested that day. Some of the perpetrators of these riots were in the local courts and some were referred to the Ankara Independence Court. On December 4, 1925, some people in Giresun wanted to revolt at the instigation of a teacher named Sheikh Muharrem. Sheikh Muharrem was also arrested." "Within these reactionary attempts and movements, certain propaganda, common everywhere, was effective. There were rumors that widows were being sent to Russia and that İsmet Pasha was dead or murdered. For example, they said 'widows are being collected and shipped to Russia'... The agitators tried to spread their propaganda with rumors that İsmet Pasha had been murdered and that widows had been sent abroad, but the basis of the propaganda was as weak and flimsy as it was false. It is noteworthy that such attractive points of propaganda were expressed in the same way on all sides, that the events took place near each other, and that in all of these events before the events took place, men from outside were at the forefront. 10-15 days before the movement that took place in Erzurum on November 24, Haji Osman came from outside; Ahmet Hamdi, who attempted to revolt in Kayseri, came to Kayseri after a long journey; Sheikh

Muharrem, who caused trouble in Giresun, came from outside in the heat of the moment. The common points of these propagandas are the contact with the outside world, the fact that they take place in the same time periods, and the idea that they are all managed from a center.” İsmet Pasha also mentioned an incident in 1924 and said the following about its connection to these events: “On December 7, on the north of Hazro⁵ and Garzan⁶, bandits attacked one of our troops and then a caravan carrying ammunition to our company in the town of Hazro. It was understood that this incident was carried out especially with the provocation and suggestion of foreign states in order to organize a new operation in the East. This operation was accepted as an attempt to start a new rebellion on December 7, at a time when the Mosul issue was being discussed in Geneva. I want you to pay attention here. Do you know from which cities help was received to suppress the rebellion last year? Mobilized troops were dispatched from Sivas, Adana, Erzurum, Giresun and Rize. If we put all these events together with their history and manifestations, it is possible to come to the following conclusion: When they were going to organize a new rebellion movement in the East, they wanted to poison the areas to which we would send troops in order to punish such a movement immediately, as they did last year, with reaction. Even if some were deceived among those who participate in this reactionary movement, those who were at the head of these revolts had connections with these revolts, either knowingly or unknowingly, and probably by gathering in a center that knew, some of the foreign states that were against the homeland have connections with these revolts” (TBMM, Z.C., II/20, 12 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, pp. 109-111).⁷

In Erzurum, due to the Hat Incident, martial law was declared for one month on November 24, 1925 (Cumhuriyet, 26 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341; Figure 4) and the Divân-ı Harb Court was established (BCA, Başbakanlık Kararlar Daire Başkanlığı, 30.18.1.1/16.71.9). The members of the Divân-ı Harb Court established in Erzurum were Prosecutor İbrahim Edhem Bey, Fortified Position Commander Hasan Pasha, Governor Zühdü Bey and Asım Pasha. On November 29, 1925, Remzi Bey was appointed as the main prosecutor and Ahmet Bey as the interrogation judge of the Divân-ı Harb Court. The Divân-ı Harb Court started arrests and detentions without waiting for the Ankara Independence Court to arrive in Erzurum (BCA, Bakanlıklar Arası Tayin Daire Başkanlığı, 30.11.1.1./20.53.12).

First of all, following the instructions of martial law, weapons in the hands of the people were confiscated by the Central Command. Until December 10, 1925, 3,000 different weapons were seized in Erzurum and its districts (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 491). However, there is no documented evidence that weapons were used by the crowd gathered during the incident. As a result of the first trials, the Divân-ı Harb Court issued a verdict against 16 people it arrested and 3 people were executed and 2 people were sentenced to ten years imprisonment. As a result of the investigations conducted in Erzurum in three days until November 29, 1925, 114 people were arrested (Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 29 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, p. 1). The first to be executed were Abdülmecit Hodja, known as “Giaour Imam” and Gullebizâde⁸ Akif Aga. As a result of the investigation conducted by the court, it was understood that they had prepared the uprising that took place in Erzurum in 1907, that they had wounded the governor of the time, Atif Bey, over the “animal tax” and that they had also caused this rebellion to break out. The number of those executed reached 6 as of December 1, 1925 (Akşam, 1 Kânun-i Evvel 1341, p. 1; İkdâm, 1 Kânun-i Evvel 1341, p. 1).

In line with some of the information given, it was suggested that the people behind the scenes of the Hat Incident were former Unionists, and among them were Nalbantoğlu Captain İsmail Hakkı from Gez Neighbour, Pire Mehmet, Ebulhindili Cafer, Cinoğlu Haji, Mezararkalı Mevlüt, Papılacı Mahmut. It was also claimed that of *Muhafaza-i Mukaddesat Cemiyeti* and the Russian Consulate, which had been established against the Bolshevik movements, was a provocative factor in this incident (Baydar, 1997, p. 6; Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 485). Among the organizers of the event, there were those who considered wearing a hat as “irreligion” as well as those who supported it based on personal and ideological considerations. The majority of the perpetrators of the incident were people who did not know what they were doing, acted on hearsay and were provoked. As a result of the incident, the actual perpetrators were punished, but there were also those who were detained and punished as a result of slander by people with whom there was bad blood. There are also those who have been implicated in this incident because of their opposition to the state in the past and those who are innocent. As a result of the biased attitude of the administrators in Erzurum towards this incident, the number of those arrested and punished was high (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 514).

⁵ Today, it is a district of Diyarbakır.

⁶ Today, it is the old name of Yanarsu town, which is in Kurtalan district of Siirt province.

⁷ In addition, although we cannot understand how effective this propaganda was, it is known that Şalcı Balcı, who was executed in Erzurum, was also a widow.

⁸ It is known that way because they made handles for pots and pans and doors.

Figure 3.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper 15 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ December 15, 1925. People who suppressed the reactionary incident in Erzurum within a few hours: From top to bottom: Asım Pasha, Governor Zühdü Bey, Hasan Pasha Commander of the Fortified Area, İbrahim Edhem Bey General Prosecutor.



Figure 4.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper 26 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ December 26, 1925 / A picture of the declaration of martial law in Erzurum.



While the trial process was ongoing, the people of Erzurum sent a telegram to the parliament condemning the incident. The telegram reads as follows:

"A regrettable incident occurred this morning by some limited rascals whose bodies are missing for the country, but thanks to the measures taken by our government on some suspicions, it was suppressed as soon as it broke out, praise be to God. The pure and decent people of Erzurum, who respectfully accept the decisions of our government, who have proven with their service after the incident how they hate rebellion, sedition, and reaction and how they consider its extermination an urgent duty, express their sorrow for this incident. We curse those who caused this incident and express the sincerest wish of the people of Erzurum that the perpetrators of the stain that is likely to be brought on the name of our country today be executed in a very severe manner" (TBMM, Z.C., II/19, 25 Teşrîn-i Sâni 1341, pp. 219-220).

Mustafa Kemal Pasha's reply to the telegram sent by the people of Erzurum is as follows:

"I received your telegram expressing the heartfelt feelings of the honorable people of Erzurum and their personal devotion to the revolutions. Thank you. You can be assured that the punishment deserved by the traitors and those who humiliate the people and attempt to disrupt the general order and tranquility will be carried out without delay." The telegram sent by Mustafa Kemal Pasha was announced on Friday, November 28, 1925, in front of the government house in the presence of military troops, government officials, party and municipal delegations, and the public, and the majority of the people could not contain themselves and cried (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, pp. 498, 490).

The one-month-long martial law declared in Erzurum was lifted on December 24, 1925, and the Martial Law Court ceased its activities (TBMM, Z.C., II/20, 24 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ 24 December 1925, p. 252). The people of Erzurum were saddened by this event and wanted to give Mustafa Kemal Pasha the present Atatürk House as a gift to show their loyalty to the state. This building is the house where Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his friends, who came to Erzurum for the Erzurum Congress on July 3, 1919, stayed for 52 days. Upon a decision taken by the Erzurum Provincial Assembly on December 30, 1925, to present Mustafa Kemal Pasha with a house in Erzurum, they initiated the purchase process for this building (Atnur, 2005, pp. 313, 315). The Erzurum delegation, consisting of Mayor Nafiz (Dumlu) and Tevfik Bey from Bayburt, left for Ankara on January 22, 1926, to deliver the key and title deed of the house (BCA, Başbakanlık Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü, 30.10.0.0 / 1.1.1.12).

Execution of the Sentences Given by the Divan-ı Harb Court

The names of those who were executed and sentenced to various penalties as a result of the trials held at the Divân-ı Harb Court have been tried to be revealed in line with the information obtained from research works and newspaper archives. Since there is no clear information about the names and numbers of the executed people, the following people appear as a result of the information we have obtained from the sources. However, it should be noted that since the same names are given in different newspapers, they are not mentioned separately:

According to Vakit Newspaper (6 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341); Smith Ethem Craftsman, Coffee Maker Halil, Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Grocery Haji Ali. According to the Halk Newspaper (6-8 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341); Smith Ahmet (Edhem) Craftsman, Coffee Maker Halil, Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Grocery Haji Ali, Bayburtlu Hüseyin son Mehmed, Hurşid son Mahmud, Erzurumlu Hakkı Ziya, Tobacconist Karga Mehmed. According to Cumhuriyet Newspaper (15 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341; Figure 5); Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Grocery Haji Ali, Sheikh Ethem Craftsman, Haji Osman (Gacıroğlu Osman Efendi). According to İkdâm Newspaper (15 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341); Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Dadaşbaşı Smuggler İsmail. According to Hâkimiyet-i Milliye (6-8 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341); Sheikh Smith Edhem Craftsman, Coffee Maker Halil, Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Grocery Haji Ali, Hızarcı İsmail, Imam Haji Hakkı Onur of Yoncalık Neighbour, Bayburtlu Hüseyin son Mehmed, Hurşit son Mahmud, Erzurumlu Kel Ziya, Tobacconist Karga Mahmud, Erzurumlu Kâzım. According to Zeki Başar; Giaour Imam Abdülmecit, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Gacıroğlu Osman Efendi, Smith Ethem Craftsman, Greengrocer Haji Ali, Haji Galip, Baker Halil, Gez Neighbour Müezzîn Hafız, Hızarcı İsmail, Karga Mehmet (Mahmud), Grocer Ziya son Kâzım, Mahmut Efendi, Şöhret Kadın (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 506). According to Mustafa Çetin Baydar (1997, pp. 76-79); Sheikh Gacıroğlu Osman Efendi, Pırtın Imam Abdülmecit Efendi, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Haji Galip, Hızarcı İsmail, Baker Halil Efendi, Greengrocer Ali, Şalcı Şöhret Kadın, Papakçı Mahmut, Karga Mehmet, Hafız Ali, Grocery Cırh. According to Mustafa Yılmaz Çağlayan (2014, p. 350); Ali Galip Efendi, Haji Osman Efendi, Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey, Gullebizâde Akif Ağa, Şalcı Şöhret Bacı, Papakçı Mahmut, Tobacconist Karga Mehmet, Pırtın İmamı Abdülmecit, Hızarcı İsmail, Baker Halil Efendi, Culfa Mahmut Nedim Efendi, Smith Sheikh Şevki, Eşlekci Kâmil, Greengrocer Haji Arif, Grocery Kâzım Ağa's son İsmail.

Figure 5.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper 15 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341/ December 15, 1925 0: Gullebioğlu Akif, 1: Abdülmecit whom they call Giaour Imam, 2: Grocery Haji Ali, 3: Imam Haji Hakkı, 4: Imam Musa, 5: Imam Hafız, 6: Sheikh Ethem Craftsman Side photo: Haji Hodja Osman (Gacıroğlu Osman Efendi): This is the man who deceived ignorant people by gathering them around him in the mosque, and who was found to be a pioneer and was shamefully executed.



According to Nedim (1993, p. 349), those executed were members of the Muhafaza-i Mukaddesat Cemiyeti, members of the TCF (Terakki Perver Cumhuriyet Fırkası), and the leaders of some sects in the city. In addition to those executed, there were also names such as a smith from the Dere neighborhood who died as a result of a shot fired into the air during the incident, Godcu Hasan who was shot while trying to cut the telephone wires in front of the government house, and Kırbaşzâde Fevzi who was not in Erzurum during the incident but came to the city later and was shot and killed. Grocery Ömer Baba, a grocer at Tebrizkapısı, and Mehmed son Abdullah from Haso Komu of Tekman also died during this incident (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 505).

In addition, the fact that people who had supported Mustafa Kemal Pasha from the beginning were killed and eliminated in an organized plot and replaced by new rich people, aghas, and beys was one of the important issues discussed in Erzurum after these executions (Ayrım, 1978, p. 110).

The convicted names and their sentences are as follows; Those sentenced to 15 years of galleys: Tahmisci Mustafa son Dursun, Butcher Bekir. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment: Molla Yusuf son of Dursun, Attar Haji Mehmet. Sentenced to 14 years imprisonment: Abdullah's son Haji Veli Derviş, Hasankale Telegraph Manager Halit. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment: Imam Hafiz Davut son of Sait Imam of Bakırcı Neighbour, Musa Kâzım son of İbrahim Imam of Sheiks Neighbour, Haji Hakkı son of Ali Imam of Yoncalık Neighbour, Mehmet Gülü son of Rençber Mustafa, Mehmet son of Butcher Mustafa, Mustafa son of Kelleci Yusuf, Hüseyin son of Oturakçı Blind Mehmet, Kâmil son of Bezzaz Haji Emin, Hafiz son of teacher Ebubekir, Merchant Hafiz Halit Gevzi son of Mehmet, Abacı Şamil son of Nurettin, Yamacı/Abacı İshak son of Yakup, Butcher Kurban son of Ali, Butcher Maksut son of Ali, Butcher Selim son of Ali, Headman Dursunoğlu Hakkı, Kurdish Ziya son of Bekir, Muezzin Mehmet son of Haji Salih, Sabri son of Haji Ali, Merchant Ali son of Ömer, Haydar son of Mustafa, Kulera Mustafa son of Mehmet, Mevlüt son of Hasan, Bekir son of Abdullah, Sabri the grocer (deserted) in absentia, Dabak İshak, Ahmet son of Mezararkalı Mevlüt, Niyazi the grocer Arifoğlu, Mehmet son of Mustafa, Fahri the butcher son of Haji Hüseyin, Yasin son of Ismail the innkeeper, Abacı Mehmet son of Kahraman, Ali son of Abdurrahman, Torunoğlu Haji, Mahmutoğlu Hasan, Dikici Halil son of Mahmut, Ömer son of Osman son of Bekaroğulların, Alıcı Hüseyin, Ahmet son of Dellal Hüseyin, Maya Ahmet the butcher. Sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment: Mekkârecibaşı Süleyman son of Esat. Sentenced to 7.5 years in the galleys: Abacı Yakup. Sentenced to 3 years imprisonment: Greengrocer İshak, son of Dursun, Attar Osman son of Ömer, Grocery Tevfik son of Mustafa, Hüsnü son of Mehmet from Kirişçi Tradesmen, Ziya son of Kışıcı Dede, Şakiroğlu İsmail, Canbaz Ziya son of Mustafa, Kâzım son of Ağa, Mevlüt son of Burhan, Coffee Maker Yakup son of Demir, Pehlül son of İbrahim, Şerif son of Hasan. Those sentenced to 2.5 years imprisonment: Hürrem son of Yusuf the watchman, Resuloğlu Abbas, Fazıl the butcher. Those sentenced to 1 month imprisonment: Municipality Member Mustafa son Şükrü. Sentenced to 24 hours imprisonment: Ağa son of Mehmet.

As a result, according to some sources, the Divân-ı Harb Court first executed 13 men and one woman. Together with Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey, who was shot by the gendarmerie, the death toll was 15. The number of those sentenced to various heavy penalties and exiled is 73. 8-10 families were subjected to living outside Erzurum (İbrahimhakkıoğlu, 1961, p. 19). In total, 117 Erzurum residents were sentenced to various penalties. Various sources provide different information on the number and names of those executed and sentenced in Erzurum due to the Hat Incident. The reason for this confusion was the lack of regular information flow due to the declaration of martial law in Erzurum immediately after the incident (Küçükuğurlu, 2012, p. 507). However, it is also known that, apart from the Independence Courts, among the Martial Law Courts established in many parts of Turkey, the one established in Erzurum was the one that imposed the highest number of death sentences. The Independence Courts, on the other hand, generally did not interfere with these sentences in order not to undermine the prestige of these courts (Aybars, 2006, p. 405).

Çetin Altan (1976) the grandson of Hasan Pasha, the Commander of the Fortified Position, said the following about his grandfather in one of his books:

"My grandfather Hasan Pasha was a very tough soldier. When İsmet Pasha was a student at the Artillery School, my grandfather was the school principal. The students of that period, who later became famous commanders, talked about my grandfather's toughness. One week in a city where he was assigned to suppress a hat rebellion, he couldn't get enough and hanged a woman. I think she was the first woman to be hanged for a political crime. Before the woman was hanged, he said, 'I am a woman. He said, 'What's wrong with the hat? My grandfather Hasan Pasha suppressed this rebellion, which consisted of a demonstration of forty people, by setting up trestles, and then the people welcomed the Independence Court that came to the city with great cheer. My opinion is that Hasan Pasha was one of those who did not believe in justice.'" (p. 422),

In another work, when this woman, Şalcı Bacı, is mentioned, it is written that her real name was Şöhret, that she knitted and sold shawls to take care of her orphaned children, and that during the Hat Incident, when she thought that her children were mixed with the crowd gathered and arrested, she went to the governor's office and shouted at the officials wearing hats, shouted at the officials wearing hats there, said harsh words against the Hat Law, and as a result, she was tried and executed (Çağlayan, 2014, p. 349.)

Mustafa Köksal Pirimoğlu, one of Ali Rıza Pirim's grandsons, quoted his father Osman Zeki Pirimoğlu, who lived through that period, as follows:

"At that time, there was a café in the garden between the Government House and the İbrahim Pasha Mosque in Erzurum. This coffee house was a gathering place for the Armenian communists, where the resistance fighters, rich people from Erzurum, and those with km brides at home were denounced. Two women were informing on this café, one was Munise

and the other was a woman called *Şalcı Bacı*. Because of her work as a bundler, *Şalcı Bacı* knew everywhere where there were daughters and daughters-in-law. My grandfather, Ali Rıza Pirim, was also aware that two young girls were in his house. The woman called *Şalcı Bacı* informed the Armenians about this situation. When my father Osman Zeki Pirim's grandmother saw the Armenians coming, she hid my father and all the children in the flour barn, and my father said that through the small hole in the barn, he saw *Şalcı Bacı* and Armenian soldiers raiding the house together. She said that because her grandfather Ali Rıza Pirim was not at home, their house was looted and tormented by Armenians for three days. She added that *Şalcı Bacı* was hanged after being punished in the Hat Incident." (Akdoğan, 2019, p. 85).

Hacı Galip Efendi, one of those executed, always supported the National Struggle both during World War I and in the decisions taken by the Erzurum Congress. During the Hat Incident in Erzurum, he went to the people gathered there and tried to calm them down. However, when the arrests began, Hacı Galip was arrested because he was present and when he was offered to wear a hat, he refused, saying "This would damage my faith". As a result of the trial, the court decided to execute him. He was buried together with Gacıroğlu Osman Efendi in the Dutçu Village Cemetery (Türk, 2013, p. 102).

Süleyman Necati Güneri added the following regarding the allegations that Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey was unjustly killed:

"Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey did not let Armenians into the South and Southeast of Erzurum while Erzurum was under occupation. He served especially during the National Struggle. He was one of the members of Müdafaa-yı Hukuk-u Milliye. After the nation achieved its goal, it retreated to the corner and engaged in farming. He definitely left political life. Governor Zühdü Bey, who was a man who could make a lot of trouble in a spoonful of water, had Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey arrested and brought from his village, and after keeping him at the police station for a while, he was handcuffed and taken to the government because 'the governor wants him'... When he came to the stairs, a gendarmerie officer came out of the door, killed Mr. Fevzi with his pistol, and rolled his body under the stairs... I am sure that the one who used this weapon is not a Turk. Fevzi Bey was a victim of his service." (Cinisi, 2017, pp. 46-47; Güneri, 1999, pp. 47, 51).

Ankara Independence Court in Erzurum

After the Hat Incident broke out in Erzurum, two courts served in this incident after the declaration of martial law. Until the Ankara Independence Court came to Erzurum, the trials were conducted by the Court Martial, but with the arrival of the Ankara Independence Court in Erzurum, the trials began to be conducted by this court. After the Hat Incident broke out, İsmet Pasha reported to the Ankara Independence Court that a gendarmerie officer was seriously injured in the uprising of a crowd of three thousand people in Erzurum, three people from the public died, and martial law was declared for this reason, and that two brothers of Erzurum deputy Rüşti Pasha were among the detainees (Aybars, 2006, p. 409).⁹

The Council of Ministers sent the following telegram to the court on 29 November 1925, declaring that it was necessary to go to Erzurum as soon as possible: *"In order to reveal the common and main reason of the reactionary movements, it would be beneficial for the Independence Court to go to Erzurum as soon as possible, due to the on-site examination of the Erzurum Incident, which is the strongest place and support point of reactionary"* (Aybars, 2006, p. 409). The Ankara Independence Court arrived in Erzurum on 6 December 1925. The Independence Court Board; When he arrived in the city, he was welcomed with great cheers by students, civil servants, soldiers and the people of Erzurum who had supplied hats from outside the city. After attending a banquet given by the Municipality, the delegation immediately began to investigate the incident (Halk Newspaper, 9 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 1).

Ankara Independence Court, in the report it sent to the Turkish Grand National Assembly as a result of its investigation; He said that the incident was an uprising started after the morning prayer by a crowd of 20-30 people gathered around Sheikh Hacı Osman, and that the uprising was suppressed within an hour or two and customary rule was declared and those who caused it were punished. The court drew attention to the fact that the people who participated in this incident were relatives of the deputies from Erzurum and that the incidents occurred as a result of the suggestions given by these deputies (Aybars, 2006, p. 410). The Ankara Independence Tribunal completed its investigations after 2 days of work and left Erzurum. It was concluded that the people of Erzurum had nothing to do with the incident and that they were not even witnesses (İbrahimhakkioğlu, 1961, p. 20). Ali Ayrim, who was a student in Erzurum at the time of the Hat Incident, explained that when the Independence Tribunal came to Erzurum, they realized that the incident was very unimportant and groundless, and that the prosecutor and the governor, who caused many people to be hanged because of this groundless incident, were removed from their posts by the court (Ayrim, 1978, pp. 109-110).

In his statement to the journalists, the Chief Justice Ali Bey said that those who initiated the Erzurum Incident had been punished by the decisions given by the Martial Court and that the matter was over, so they did not stay in Erzurum for long and

⁹ According to Nedim (1993, p. 349)), not 3 but 23 people lost their lives as a result of the fire opened during the measures taken.

decided that only 13 people would be tried in Ankara (Cumhuriyet, 20 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 1). He also added the following about the Hat Incident;

"The Erzurum Incident was a reactionary movement organized by Sheikh Haji Osman, who came to Istanbul about two months ago and made contacts with some of the clerics who were caught there on the same day, and then went to Trabzon and Erzurum, stopping by Giresun and Samsun. It was suppressed with the timely intervention of the Province and the Fortified Command. The swift verdicts of the Martial Court are also noteworthy. In addition, the tremendous cheering in favor of the republic and the affection shown towards us by the honorable people of Erzurum when we went there left deep marks on us." (İkdam, 22 Kânûn-i Evvel 1341, p. 1).

In addition, the Ankara Independence Court also heard the cases of people who were arrested in Istanbul on the grounds that they might be related to the Erzurum incident, and decided to acquit 6 of the detainees (Aybars, 2006, p.413). The 13 people who were referred to the Ankara Independence Court were: Zühdü Efendi from Erzurum, Mehmed from Erzurum and his brother Hodja Osman, Samih Bey from Erzurum, Muhsin Bey from Erzurum, Cafer son of İbrahim from Erzurum, Haji Bey from Erzurum, Kara Sabri, Book seller İsmail, Sabuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, Auditor Ali Bey, Halid son of Hasankale Telegraph and Hazer son of Battal from the Military Contractors (Küçükuşurlu, 2012, p.498). The trial of the defendants from Erzurum began on January 31.

Trials at the Ankara Independence Court

The indictment prepared by the prosecutor for the persons to be tried in Ankara for the incident in Erzurum is as follows: *"... If we consider and evaluate the development of the events in Erzurum, Rize and Giresun as a whole, it immediately becomes apparent that there is a general commonality between the underlying aims and propaganda and the way they were acted upon. When the apostates of Erzurum cried out for rebellion, 'We do not want an irreligious governor, we do not want an irreligious government...' first of all, they marched towards the goal of getting the prisoners out of prison. When the same incident took place in Rize, the same words were uttered during the chants in the Panamya area of Rize and around the Great Mosque. However, it is as clear as the sun that their aim and objective was to overthrow the government and bring in a government according to their ideas. When the Rize rebels gathered at the Grand Mosque, they expressed their intentions in a much clearer and more explicit manner. It is documented in the minutes of that time that they declared and stated that not only they but also the people of Trabzon, Erzurum, and Giresun would act together with them, and that some pious pashas in Ankara were also working in unity and solidarity."*

"The stranger and more bizarre part of the matter is that a boy named Süleyman, who had come to Kula Kazası in Western Anatolia to work as a watchmaker, explained to some people present at the inn that 'great things would soon happen in Erzurum and Trabzon and that these heathens would surely be defeated' even before the events in Erzurum, Rize and Giresun took place, and it is clear from the testimony of witnesses that he had said this. Thus, it is true that all the events were a conspiracy... Considering the policy pursued by the British and Tsarist Russia in the past, it is obvious that the enemies had to resort to dark mentalities to kill the spirit of independence in the country..."

"I have a full conscientious conviction that Hodja Osman Efendi and Hodja Muhammed Efendi, who, although they were not involved in the Erzurum Revolt, prepared the ground for the uprising by secretly and openly opposing the work and actions of the government and who were captured today as the spiritual perpetrators of the uprising, are clearly guilty in this matter. This is confirmed by the testimony of witnesses and the investigations carried out by local administrators. At the same time, the crimes they committed are among the crimes that fall under Article 45 of the Penal Code according to the special idea of Article 55 of the Penal Code. Muhsin Bey, Cafer Bey, Samih Bey, and Sabuncuzâde Mustafa Efendiler from the Cami-i Kebir Neighborhood were found to have incited and encouraged the people against the government through the testimony of witnesses and investigations in this regard, and the crimes they committed are among the crimes falling under Article 64 of the Penal Code."

"The status of Erzurum Murakib Ali and Hasankaleli Halid is known to you. We have sufficient evidence and documents to prove that they were involved in the rebellion movement. In addition, the crime they committed was one of the crimes under Article 45 of the Penal Code, in accordance with Article 55 of the Penal Code. I request and demand the acquittal of Captain Hazer and his son Muhyiddin, since they have nothing to do with the alleged crimes against them. I request that a penalty be imposed on Judge Zühdü Efendi of Erzurum in accordance with Article 64..." (Nedim, 1993, pp. 271-272, 277-278).

As the prosecutor stated in this indictment, since the names of those who had previously opposed the state were known, even though they had not participated in this incident, they were claimed to have prepared the ground for it and were therefore sought to be punished. In 1937, İsmail son Ahmet was given a one-day prison sentence for not wearing a hat but was released

due to his illness (BCA, BKDB, 30.18.1.2 / 79.83.19). Between 1963 and 1966, a total of 65 people were tried for opposing the Hat Law (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, 2371-544).

Although many years have passed since the Hat Incident, there has always been a group in Erzurum that opposed the hat. This shows that executions and trials served as a reason to keep this dissent alive in people. Today, the headdress, which was seen as an important symbol in the past, is seen as an accessory that keeps up with the fashion changes of nations (Berkes, 1975, p. 485).

Conclusion

The steps taken towards civilization were interpreted by a certain part of the country as “religion is getting out of hand” and this situation created chaos in the country. At that time, nations in the West also took the example of the nations in the East and made progress in their own countries. The books of Muslim scientists were taken to Europe and taught as basic textbooks and they improved themselves. Therefore, taking the laws and regulations of an advanced civilization is not to lose your national identity or your religion, but to improve yourself along with them. However, the purpose of the revolutions and why they were made could not be explained to the public sufficiently. On the contrary, civilization began to appear differently to the people when the reforms were handled in a way that humiliated the people, especially by some administrators and some journalists. Although these reform attempts may have eliminated many groups that exploited religion, they also caused great damage to the public. Because the illiterate people were scared of religion and their religious feelings were exploited to turn against the government, and even though Mustafa Kemal Pasha tried to explain this, the people could not understand this situation because they were not informed about the speeches made. This situation reveals that there was a great gap between the administrators appointed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the people. This is probably because the administrators appointed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha could not explain the revolutions to the people better and the already ignorant people were tried to be provoked by the exploiters who only knew how to read; the old burned with the old. This article also reveals that the people were deceived and used by those who were against the state and modernization in the past, using the Hat Revolution as an excuse.

The banning of the fez and turban with the Hat Law caused some incidents in the country. In this context, Erzurum was one of the regions where unrest broke out and the incidents continued to spread. As a result of these incidents, Martial Law Courts and Independence Courts came into play, and many people were executed in these courts. The Divân-ı Harb Tribunal established as a result of the incident in Erzurum and the execution of people, the number of whom has not yet been determined but is believed to be 21, has also made a great impact in the city and continues to be a subject of debate. It has been debated whether Şalcı Bacı, who was claimed to be the only woman among those executed, actually existed. Because, although his name is not found in both official records and newspaper reports, his name has been put forward by research writers working on local history. Those who thought that Şalcı Bacı actually existed claimed that she was innocently hanged during the Hat Incident in Erzurum because she made a few remarks against the hat, although she had nothing to do with the incident, and caused an increase in criticism against the state.

Finally, we can add the following with the words of İsmail Habip Sevük: “The turban is our ummah, the fez is our Osmanism, the kalpak is our revolution, and the hat is our revolution”.

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30.11.1.1./20.53.12; BCA, Başbakanlık Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü, 30.10.0.0 / 1.1.1.12; BCA, BKDB, 30.18.1.2 / 79.83.19; BCA, DİRK, 51.0.0.0.0 / 13.115.5; Presidential Archives, 2371-544.

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Yapılandırılmış Özet

Yüzyıllarca Doğu Medeniyetinin gerisinde kalan Batı, yaptıkları reform ve rönesanslarla çağ atlamış ve uzun bir zaman sonra Doğu Medeniyetinin önüne geçmiştir. Batılı devletlerin bu kadar geliştiğini göremeyen Doğu devletleri ve milletleri savaş kaybetmeye başladıkça yenilginin arkasındaki sebepleri araştırmış ve onlarda bulunan yeniliklerin alınması, Batılı devletlere karşı savaş kazanabilmenin en önemli yolu olarak görülmüştür. Millî Mücadele'nin askeri safhasının sona ermesiyle birlikte siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel alanlar başta olmak üzere askeri başarıyı da destekleyeceği düşünülen inkılâpların yapılmasına karar verilmiştir. Yapılacak olan inkılâpların amacı halka Cumhuriyet rejimini benimseterek toplumu çağdaş medeniyetler seviyesine ulaştırmaktır. Bu amaçla Mustafa Kemal Paşa, daha önce Osmanlı Devleti'nin yapmış olduğu reform süreçlerini göz önünde bulundurarak yapılacak inkılâplarda daha temkinli ve disiplinli davranmaya çalışmıştır.

Medenileşme yolunda atılan adımlar ülkenin belli bir kesiminde "din elden gidiyor" şeklinde yorumlanmış ve bu durum ülke içinde kaos yaratmıştır. Oysaki zamanında Batı'daki milletlerde Doğu'daki milletleri örnek alarak kendi ülkelerinde çağ atlamışlardır. Hatta Müslüman bilim adamlarının kitapları Avrupa'ya götürülüp, temel derslerin kitapları olarak okutulmuş ve kendilerini geliştirmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla ileri bir medeniyetin kanun ve nizamlarını almak millî benliğinizi ya da dininizi kaybetmek değildir, bunlarla beraber kendinizi geliştirmektir. Fakat inkılâpların amacının ve neden yapıldığının izahı halka yeterince yapılamamıştır. Aksine yapılan inkılâplar özellikle bazı idareciler ve bazı gazeteciler tarafından halkı aşağılayacak tarzda ele alınınca medeniyet halkta farklı zuhur etmeye başlamıştır. Belki bu inkılâp girişimleri sayesinde dini istismar eden birçok zümre ortadan kalkmış olsa da aynı zamanda halkta büyük tahribatlar meydana getirmiştir. Çünkü okuma yazma bilmeyen halkın, din ile korkutularak, hükümete karşı cephe almaları için dini duygularının istismar edilmesinden çekinilmemiş, her ne kadar Mustafa Kemal Paşa bunu anlatmaya çalışmışsa da halk yapılan nutuklardan haberdar olamadığı için bu durumu anlayamamıştır. Bu durum bize Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın atadığı idareciler ile halk arasında büyük bir uçurum olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir. Bunun da sebebi muhtemeldir ki Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın atadığı idarecilerin inkılâpları halka daha iyi anlatamamasından ve zaten cahil olan halkın yine sadece okumayı bilen istismarcılar tarafından kışkırtılmaya çalışılmasıyla; kurunun yanında yaşın da yanmasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Erzurum, coğrafi konumu itibarıyla Kafkasya, İran ve Anadolu'nun geçiş noktasındadır. Bu stratejik öneminden dolayı da birçok farklı medeniyetin hâkimiyeti altına girmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin hâkimiyeti altında olduğu dönemde de idarecilerin özenle atadığı bölge olma özelliğini korumuştur. Çünkü Erzurum geçmişten günümüze devletin Doğu Siyasetinin temel taşı olmuştur. Aynı zamanda Erzurum'a hâkim olan bir devletin tüm Anadolu'ya hâkim olacağı da bilinmektedir. Tarihte Erzurum'da çıkan isyanlara bakıldığında Erzurum her daim birtakım emellerini gerçekleştirmek isteyenler için çok önemli bir merkez olmuştur. Bunun nedeni hem coğrafi konumu hem de diğer bölgelere göre daha mutasassıp bir şehir olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu yüzden her zaman Erzurum'un irticanın merkezi olmasından korkulmuştur. Yapılan inkılâplar arasında en çok infial yaratan Şapka İnkılâbı olmuş ve özellikle Erzurum, çıkan isyanlarda en çok idam cezası veren ve ceza verilen şehirlerin başında bulunmuştur. Geçmişte devlete muhalif olup, modernleşmeye karşı olan kişiler tarafından Şapka İnkılâbı gerekçe gösterilerek halkın kandırıldığı ve kullanıldığı bu makalede ortaya konulmuştur.

Erzurum'da yapılan yargılamalar sonucunda bazı kaynaklara göre Divân-ı Harb Mahkemesi, ilk olarak 13 erkek ve bir kadını idam etmiştir. Jandarmaya vurdurulan Kırbaşzâde Fevzi Bey ile birlikte ölü sayısı 15'dir. Muhtelif ağır cezalara çarptırılan ve sürgüne gönderilenlerin sayısı 73'tür. 8-10 aile de Erzurum dışında yaşamaya tabi tutulmuştur. Toplamda ise 117 Erzurumlunun çeşitli cezalara çarptırıldığı belirtilmektedir. Şapka Hadisesi nedeniyle Erzurum'da idam edilenlerin ve ceza alanların sayısı ve isimleri konusunda, çeşitli kaynaklarda farklı bilgiler yer almaktadır. Bu karışıklığın nedeni ise hadiseden hemen sonra Erzurum'da örfi idarenin ilan edilmesinden dolayı düzenli bilgi akışının olmamasıdır. Fakat şu da bilinmektedir ki; İstiklal Mahkemeleri'nin dışında, Türkiye'nin birçok yerinde kurulan Sıkıyönetim Mahkemeleri arasında en fazla idam cezası verenlerin başında Erzurum'da kurulan mahkeme gelmiştir. İstiklal Mahkemeleri ise, bu mahkemelerin prestijini sarsmamak için, genellikle verilen bu cezalara karışmamıştır.

Nedim'e göre idam edilenler hükümete muhalif kesim olarak adlandırılan Muhafaza-i Mukaddesat Cemiyeti üyeleri, TCF üyeleri ve şehirdeki bazı tarikatların ileri gelenleridir. Hadiseyi tertipleyenler arasında, şapka takmayı "dinsizlik" olarak addedenler olduğu gibi, şahsi ve ideolojik düşüncelerle buna destek verenler de bulunmaktadır. Hadiseyi çıkaranların çoğunluğu, ne yaptığını bilmeyen, kulaktan dolma bilgilerle hareket eden ve bazı tahriklere kapılan kişilerden oluşmuştur. Olay sonucunda asıl suçlular cezalandırıldığı gibi, aralarında husumet bulunan kişilerin birbirine iftira atması sonucunda gözaltına alınan ve cezalandırılanlar da olmuştur. Eski dönemlerde devlete muhalif oldukları için bu olaya karışmış gösterilenler ve suçsuz olanlar da bulunmaktadır. Erzurum'daki idarecilerin bu hadiseye karşı olan taraflı tutumları sonucu tutuklananların ve cezalandırılanların sayısı fazla olmuştur. Ankara İstiklal Mahkemesi'nin savcısı hazırladığı iddianamede de söylediği gibi önceden beri devlete muhalif olan isimler bilindiğinden bu hadiseye katılmamış olsalar da zemin hazırlayıcı oldukları öne sürülerek cezalandırılmak istenmiştir.

İdam edilenler içerisinde tek kadın olduğu öne sürülen Şalcı Bacı'nın gerçekte var olup olmadığı tartışılmıştır. Çünkü hem resmi kayıtlarda hem de gazete haberlerinde ismine rastlanmamakla beraber genelde yerel tarih üzerine çalışan araştırmacı yazarlar tarafından ismi öne sürülmüştür. Şalcı Bacı'nın gerçekte var olduğunu düşünenler Erzurum'da Şapka Hadisesi sırasında hadise ile hiçbir alakası olmaması rağmen şapka aleyhinde birkaç sözde bulunmasından ötürü masum yere asıldığını iddia etmişler ve devlete yöneltilen eleştirilerin artmasına sebep olmuşlardır. İsmail Habip Sevük'ün şu sözü ile son olarak şunu ekleyebiliriz ki; "Kavuk ümmetimiz, fes Osmanlılığımız, kalpak ihtilalimiz, şapka inkılâbımızdır."