

# The Social History of Railroads: Security and Accidents on the Railroads in the Ottoman Empire (1858-1914)

Şahika Karatepe



A thesis presented to the  
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History  
at Boğaziçi University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

June 2017

## Approvals

“The Social History of Railroads: Security and Accidents on the Railroads in the Ottoman Empire (1858-1914)” a thesis prepared by Şahika Karatepe in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Bogaziçi University, has been approved on June 15, 2017 by:

### THESIS ADVISOR

Prof. Dr. Şevket Pamuk  
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History  
Boğaziçi University

### COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kırılı  
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History  
Boğaziçi University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Can Nacar  
History Department  
Koç University



Copyright © 2017 Şahika Karatepe.  
Some rights reserved.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons  
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

To view a copy of this license, visit  
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

## Abstract

“The Social History of Railroads: Security and Accidents on the Railroads in the Ottoman Empire (1858-1914)”

Şahika Karatepe, Master’s Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2017

Prof. Dr. Şevket Pamuk, Thesis Advisor

This thesis, inspired by studies on infrastructure written from interdisciplinary perspectives with the combination of history, sociology, architecture and anthropology, aims to contribute social and labour history which is recently developing in the Ottoman historiography, focusing on the everyday life around the railroads and its environs, in stations and trains for the first time. Focusing on the railroads and its environs as a space, this thesis analyzes the features, which have prevented the safe circulation of train on the tracks and the problems on the control and protection of railroads, which have seen as the economic growth, bureaucratic control and political integrity by the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Supreme Council issued Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads on June 11, 1867. This regulation, which would construct order and tranquility around the railroads, will be implemented by Ottoman bureaucracy and railroad companies and try to control the area with legal and military tools. But, in this new built environment aftermath of the construction, Ottomans’ everyday practices like walking on the tracks, accommodation problems, attacks made to the trains and the rails while the political conjuncture was changing with the rise of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, resistances to camel owners to the railroads, accidents caused by human and technological factors, entrance of animals into the area and weather conditions affected to travel made difficult to control the area. Thus, this thesis, focusing on the official documents located in the Ministry of Public Works Railroad Department folders, examines the relations among Ottoman bureaucracy, railroad authorities where Europeans were directors and Ottomans.

36,568 words

## Özet

“Demiryolları Sosyal Tarihi: Osmanlı Demiryollarında Güvenlik ve Kazalar (1858-1914)”

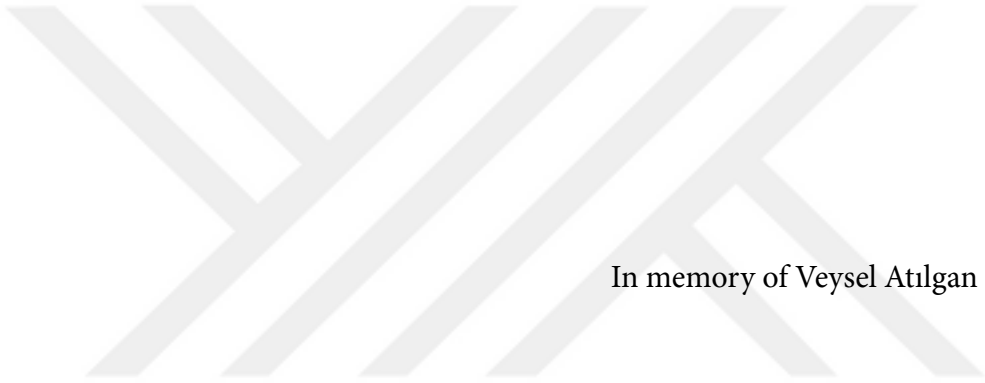
Şahika Karatepe, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2017

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Prof. Dr. Şevket Pamuk, Tez Danışmanı

Uzun yıllardır tarih, sosyoloji, mimari ve antropoloji gibi alanlarca interdisipliner bir perspektifle çalışılan altyapı sistemlerini örnek alan bu tez, ilk kez demiryolları ve çevresi; istasyon ve trenlerdeki gündelik hayata odaklanarak sosyal ve emek tarihyazımına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bir mekan olarak demiryolu ve çevresine odaklanan bu tez, 19.yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ekonomik gelişme, bürokratik kontrol ve siyasi bütünlüğün teminatlarından biri olarak görülen demiryollarının kontrol ve korunmasında ortaya çıkan sorunlar ve trenlerin raylar üzerindeki güvenli seyahatlerini engelleyen etmenleri incelemektedir. Meclis-i Vâla tarafından 11 Haziran 1867'de Demiryolu Usûl-ü Zabıtasına dair Nizamname kabul edilmiştir. İmparatorluk sınırları içerisinde inşa edilen demiryolları çevresinde asayiş ve sükunet sağlamak amacıyla kabul edilen bu nizamname Osmanlı bürokrasisi ve demiryolu şirketleri tarafından uygulanacak ve bu çevrede hukuki ve askeri araçlarla düzeni ve kontrolü sağlamaya çalışacaktır. Ancak inşa edilen demiryolu sonrası oluşan bu yeni çevrede Osmanlıların raylar üzerinde yürümek gibi gündelik hayat pratikleri, barınma problemleri, milliyetçiliğin yükselmesiyle değişen siyasi konjoktürde İmparatorluk yönetiminin simgelerinden biri olan trenler ve raylara yapılan saldırılar deve taşımacılığı yapanların demiryoluna karşı gösterdiği direnişler, insan ve teknolojik etmenli kazalar, hayvanların alanlara girişleri ve hava koşulları gibi seyrüseferi engelleyen etmenlerle öngörülenin aksine kontrol edilmesi kolay olmayan bir çevre ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu başlıkları Osmanlı arşivinde bulunan Nafia Nezareti Demiryolları İdaresi dosyalarında yer alan belgelere dayanarak anlatan bu tez Osmanlı bürokrasisi, yönetiminde çoğunlukla Avrupalıların bulunduğu demiryolu otoriteleri ve Osmanlılar arasındaki ilişkiler üzerine odaklanmaktadır.

36.568 kelime



In memory of Veysel Atilgan

## Table of Contents

List of Tables	<i>ix</i>
List of Figures	<i>ix</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>x</i>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Objectives	1
1.2 Historical Context	6
1.3 Theoretical Background	9
1.4 Methodology	15
<b>2 CATCHING THE TRAIN: ON THE TRACK TO A NEW RAILROAD HISTORIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 What Kind of Railroad History Have We Had?	21
2.2 Methodology	29
2.3 Unfinished History: Social and Labor Themes in Railroad Historiography	30
2.4 What Kind of Railroad History Do We want? Approaches to Railroad History	38
<b>3 MAINTAINING ORDER AROUND RAILROADS: POLICE REGULATION OF OTTOMAN RAILROADS</b>	<b>48</b>
3.1 Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads	49
3.2 Attacks, Robberies, and Brigandage: Disruption of Public Order in the Railroad Environment	52
3.3 The Construction of Walls: Enclosure of Property in the Built Railroad Environment	57
3.4 Summary	63

4 UNCANNY RAILROADS: ACCIDENTS, PEDESTRIANS AND NEGLECT 64

4.1 Objectives 67

4.2 Reporting the Accident: Reading Accident Reports 75

4.3 Living Near the Railroad: Dying on the Tracks 78

4.4 Working the Rails: Solidarity among Railroad Workers 82

5 CONCLUSION 80

APPENDICES

A Turkish Soldiers Protecting Railroads in Macedonia 93

B Accident Causes and Effects 94

C Derailment of the Yeşilköy Train at Samatya 95

D Train Accident in Yeşilköy 96

E Yeşilköy Train Accident in *Şehbal* 97

F Sketch of Ayşe Hanım's Accident 98

BIBLIOGRAPHY 99



## List of Tables

- Table 4.1 Penalties collected by the chief of the Yedikule train station in January 1872 66
- Table 4.2 Penalties collected by the chief of Yedikule train station in February 1872 67
- Table 4.3 List of Railroad Commissioners (*Demiryolu Komiserleri*) in the Ottoman Empire 71

## List of Figures

- Figure 3.1 Plan prepared according to Fatma Hanım's claim, showing the boundaries of her house and the wall. 53
- Figure 4.1 Train accident caricature published in *Eşek*, an Ottoman satirical periodical. 62

## Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my advisor Şevket Pamuk for his excellent guidance and patience during the writing process. Without his encouragements, I would never have been able to finish this thesis. I also thank Cengiz Kırılı, whose courses and perspectives led me to social themes in Ottoman studies. I owe special thanks to Can Nacar who has always encouraged me when I became lost in this thesis. I am indebted to my professors Ahmet Kuyaş, Seda Altuğ, Umut Türem and *proffriend* Philippe Bourmaud for their generous help when most needed.

I was very lucky to have the years of Atacan Atakan, Deniz Başar, Müyesser Eraslan Yalçın, Alexander Schweig, Berna Kamay, Şeyma Afacan, Gülseren Duman, Yener Koç, Mustafa Batman, and my co-workers at the Hrant Dink Foundation, especially Merve Kurt, Müge Yamanyılmaz and Zeynep Oğuz. They listened generously and were with me in difficult times in this process.

I thank Gül and Erdem Tunçer for encouraging me to continue studying at Boğaziçi University and for their endless support.

If *the Poet* did not write *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*, I would never have thought about the history of railroads. I am indebted to my dear father, Osman Nuri Karatepe, and to Uğur Odabaş who imagined the *Vavukekspres* railroad line passing through the rivers and mountains of the Black Sea region. Last, words are not sufficient to express my gratitude to my mother, Şengül Atakan. You have always been a great model of your patience and understanding for me.

NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, and syntax of this thesis in compliance with professional, ethical standards for the editing of student, academic work.

*In England, British trap a strong young devil,  
and shut him up in that great firebox on  
wheels said servant Mustafa.*

– Henry C. Barkley, *Five Years in Bulgaria*

*Hacı Doğan İmamı Osman Hoca: Kimi trenin dev olduğunu söyler, kimi de canavar olarak değerlendirirdi. Her iki tarifi de aynı kapıya çıkmasının nedeni, deniz üzerinde yürüyen bu canavarın bir insanın yılda içtiği suyu bir oturuşta içmesi, dört atla çekilen araba yükü yiyeceği bir günde bitirmesi rivayetleri idi. Üstelik canı sıkıldığı zaman da, ağzından çıkan nefesin insanı kavuracağı söylentileri de vardı. Herkes merak ediyordu. Bu ne çeşit bir canavardı? Canavar yürürken ardından da yetişmek imkansız imiş... Tam bu sırada tren istasyona girdi ve halkı selamlamak için düdüğü çalınca, işte o zaman kıyamet koptu. Demiryolu kenarlarına dizilmiş bulunan halk canlarını kurtarmak için birbirlerini çiğnercesine kaçırmaya başladılar. Trendekiler bizim halimizi görünce kahkalarla gülerken, neye uğradığını bilmeyen halk trene 'kara tren' adını verdi. Sonradan bazı kimselerin aç kalıp da, çocuklarımızı yemesin diye trene ot ve arpa gibi yiyecek götürdüklerini duyduk.*

– Kemal Bağlum, *Beşbin Yılda Nereden Nereye Ankara*

## Introduction

*The railroad left almost nothing unchanged: That was its magic. To those whose lives it touched, it seemed at once so ordinary and so extraordinary -so second nature - that the landscape became unimaginable without it.*

– William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*

### § 1.1 Objectives

As a modern transport infrastructure system, railroads shaped the social and physical environment of cities<sup>1</sup>, as well as their political and economic conditions – especially in the second half of the nineteenth century - in the Ottoman Empire. Since their construction began in Europe circa 1830, railroads were seen as one of the key tools to solve political and economic problems in the Ottoman Empire from which rulers would gain political, economic, and military benefits. The glory of the rail would fix the everlasting financial problems

---

1 Paul Josephson, “Cities and Environment,” in *A Companion to Global Environmental History*, eds. J.R.Mcneill, Erin Stewart Mauldin, (N.J.: Wiley, 2012), 366. Yasemin Avcı, “Kent Tarihi,” in *Tarih için Metodoloji*, ed. Ahmet Şimşek (Ankara: PEGEM Akademi, 2015), 135.

of the empire's wars beginning with the Crimean War, strengthen Ottoman authority, construct the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and centralize bureaucracy in the provinces in terms of developing communication among cities and villages.<sup>2</sup> Rails accelerated the flow of troops, police into the provinces, and the representatives of the Ottoman bureaucracy into the hinterlands. Therefore, in the view of Ottoman bureaucracy railroads were a guaranty of public order and the social control tool in the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, this area should provide safe and secure travel for both passengers, train crew and the people who were present in the railroad environment. The railroad environment geographically comprises the places connected directly to the rails and trains such as the cities, suburbs and villages through which the rails passed, construction sites, train stations, police stations (*karakol*) constructed near train stations to maintain railroad security, as well as factories, mines, forests, rivers, ports, markets, farms, houses, prefabricated houses and sheds located near the railroad lines.

The question of whether railroads were secure and safe to travel with is essential to understand the living conditions around railroad lines. So, in order to construct the area regarding their expectations, the Empire first had to maintain public order around the railroad lines and on the tracks which was crucial for the Ottoman bureaucracy and the railroad companies mostly subsidized by European capital. In the legal reform era of the Tanzimat, the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads (*Memalik-i Mahruse Demiryollarının Usûlü Zabıtasına Dair Nizamname*) was issued on June 11, 1867, by the Supreme Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*) in order to maintain the safe, secure, and rapid circulation of trains.

This thesis, with the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads as its center, first aims to understand how Ottoman modern bureaucracy governed, controlled, and protected the railroads, and secondly aims to uncover the history of laborers and ordinary people around railroad lines. To indicate the railroads

---

2 On the dissemination of centralized Ottoman bureaucracy into the provinces, see: Nadir Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the late 19th century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no.1 (2008): 47.

3 See: Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Sadık Rifat Paşa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvâline Dâ'ir Risâlesi," *Liberal Düşünce*, 3, 1996.

and their environs, I use term *built railroad environment* to comprise the area that railroads created after their physical construction. The term railroad environment explains the geography that Ottoman rulers and railroad authorities designed, controlled and governed.

When the regulation is read attentively, five articles come fore which can be classified under three essential titles security, area planning, and safety, which are the specific areas of research in this thesis. Security and the safety of the railroads are highlighted as primary concerns for the Ottoman bureaucracy and railroad companies. But contrary to what the Ottoman bureaucracy expected over time the railroad environment became an area where security and safety problems arose for several reasons. This thesis reveals these reasons by studying respectively attacks on railroads, construction problems near the railroad lines, and accidents on the tracks.

Everyday practices such as walking along the tracks were defined as trespassing and negligence by the Ottoman bureaucracy because the presence of pedestrians and animals was dangerous for the circulation of the trains. Construction problems near the railroad lines, practices of resistance such as attacks on the railroads where Ottomans directly showed their anger and various demands of Ottoman authorities, technical failures, animals including the area, and weather conditions often prevented safe, rapid circulation in the area, and made it difficult to govern. Moreover, railroads separated different classes of the empire in terms of neighborhoods. Urban historian Murat Güvenç, for instance, stresses how the lower classes of Ottoman society had been expelled from the environs of Haydarpaşa station - which is the starting

point of the Berlin-Baghdad railroad line<sup>4</sup> - in a radio stream entitled *İstanbul Kazan Biz Kepçe*.<sup>5</sup>

In each research area, one encounters foreign railroad authorities and Ottoman representatives as the rulers of the railroad environment facing off against workers and ordinary Ottomans. Thus, the question of authority over the railroad deserves to be mentioned in this thesis. Railroad authority was comprised of railroad company representatives – mostly foreigners - and the Imperial Railroad Commissioner who worked under the command of the Ministry of Public Works. The railroad authority and its encounters with citizens, has recently been studied by Avi Rubin, whose work mostly focus on archival Nizamiye court records (*Ceride-i Mehakim*). In his article, “Civil Disputes between the State and Individuals in the Ottoman Nizamiye Courts,” Rubin analyzes different cases in different regions, exploring Ottomans’ experiences in Nizamiye courts. The third case analyzed by Rubin concerns the expropriation of several plots of private lands by the railroad administration of Syria, which would be used for the construction of new line in the area. According to citizens of the country of Wadi al-‘Ajam in the southeast of the province of Syria, the “Railway Authority’s assessment of the value of their

- 
- 4 According to his topographical research on the Kadıköy subway line, he observed that although the trains were mostly suitable for flat terrain, along the line they climbed forty meters higher than sea level. Because Ottoman elites and bureaucrats did not want to share an environment with lower income groups, the shoreline was reserved for the upper classes. In order to understand the reason behind of this project, prepared by engineers and Ottoman rulers on paper, he asks several questions *Why is the Kadıköy railroad line arc? And why did the Kadıköy railroad line did not along the shore?* His talk is available at Açık Radyo: “Alt Yapılar, Demiryolları: Kadıköy-Hatboyu.” <https://istanbulkazanbizkepce.wordpress.com/2015/09/18/18-19-ve-20-programlar-alt-yapilar-demiryollari-kadikoy-hatboyu/> (accessed 1 December 2015).
- 5 Inspired by Sermet Muhtar Alus’ famous book on Istanbul in which he paints the frame of neighborhoods in the late Ottoman and early Republican period, See: Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997).

lands did not reflect their value as a result, the compensation they received was lower than the amount to which they thought that they were entitled.”<sup>6</sup>

Imperial Railroad Police forces were bureaucratic administrative institutions and practices in terms of understanding modernity not only as an urban concept but also rural.<sup>7</sup> Following Nadir Özbek’s contribution to police studies, I read Imperial Railroad Polices were a modern bureaucratic apparatus in the provinces who had negotiated among railroad companies, Ministry of Public Works and citizens.

Moreover, following Donald Quataert’s findings and conceptualization of a “mine authority” in the Black Sea region of the empire, in his work entitled *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield 1822-1920*, where mostly Europeans worked in the higher echelon of the companies, it is necessary to talk about a railroad authority. Hence, this thesis defends the idea that the railroad authority was mostly comprised of European investors, merchants, and engineers who were investing in the empire, and should be analyzed as local agents with a certain authority in terms of being prominent in the railroad administration in the area. In chapter 3, I discuss how the Oriental railway company had a certain authority by analyzing the language that they used while talking with Ibrahim Edhem Pascha, the Minister of Public Works.

As an interdisciplinary study, combining history with, anthropology, sociology, and urban studies, this thesis focuses on attacks, construction problems, and accidents in order to contribute to the social and labour history of Ottoman Empire. This thesis limits itself to the second half of the nineteenth

- 
- 6 See: Avi Rubin, “Civil Disputes between the State and Individuals in the Ottoman Nizamiye Courts,” *Islamic Law and Society* 19 (2012), 265. The Ottoman Empire also encouraged landholders to sell their land to the railroad companies in the region of İzmir, For further discussion, see Orhan Kurmuş, “The role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913,” (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1974), 56-60.W
- 7 Keep in mind Nadir Özbek’s contribution on the modernization of rural areas which argues that few studies analyzes the police issue as an administrative, urban concept See Nadir Özbek, “Tarihyazıcılığında Güvenlik Kurum ve Pratiklerine İlişkin bir Değerlendirme,” in (ed.) Noémi Levy, Nadir Özbek, Alexandre Toumarkine, *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 1-6.



century until the outbreak of World War I, -known as the Industrial Age-.<sup>8</sup> It is argued that in this period of modernization, railroad governance was institutionalized on the initiative of the Ottoman bureaucracy and the Sublime Porte.

## § 1.2 Historical Context

Before focusing on the details of methodology and the theoretical background of this thesis, I briefly mention why railroad and road construction were essential in the view of Ottoman rulers. To understand how the Ottoman Empire tried to control and govern the built railroad environment, we first examine the historical context of the modernization period in the Ottoman Empire in terms of infrastructure, which increased with the reforms promulgated by Sultan Mahmud II.

When railroad construction began throughout Europe and quickly afterward all around the world, the Ottoman Empire was having everlasting wars and territorial integrity problems in the Balkans, on one hand, and was trying to strengthen the imperial bureaucracy in the provinces, on the other. The empire was undergoing a “larger transformational/modernization program”<sup>9</sup>- not just economically, but politically, socially and intellectually in the first decade of railroad expansion-: 1840’s and 1850’s.

Road construction and the development of infrastructure systems were seen as part of modern reforms and the centralization of the Ottoman state.<sup>10</sup> Sultan Mahmud II, known as the promulgator of modern reforms in the Empire, desired to achieve centralization by expanding bureaucracy in the prov-

---

8 The inauguration of the Constanza-Tchernovada railroad line on the coast of the BlackSea coast of the Ottoman Empire was the beginning point of this thesis.

9 “An Interview with Kent Schull, author of *Prisons in the late Ottoman Empire*.” <http://www.eupublishing.com/userimages/ContentEditor/1405520904835/An%20interview%20with%20Kent%20Schull.pdf> (accessed 18 January 2017).

10 Stanford Shaw, and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol.2: Reform, revolution and republic: the rise of modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 36.

inces through administrators. Because internal economic development directly related to the improvement and maintenance of the infrastructure system, in the early years of Mahmud II's reign, the council of trade and public works went together.

When the Crimean War accelerated with the entrance of technological developments, the Ottomans were experiencing the effect of modern technological tools such as the telegraph, and railroad in terms of rapid communication during the war.<sup>11</sup> Then, the Ministry of Public Works separated from the council of trade, part of the improvement of centralized power and the modernization process of the Tanzimat era.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of the Ottoman bureaucracy in constructing the railroad on lands through which goods and people circulated was the construction of conduct (*inzibat*), tranquility (*sükun*) and public security (*asayiş*). Besides that, railroads would decrease theft and vagabondage caused by the unemployment. To accomplish these aims, the empire constituted reforms to the road system, which had long been conducted under the fief (*timar*) system.

Moreover, railroads would realize the Ottoman Empire's desire for economic wealth, social welfare, progress, and the maintenance of public order. For the agenda of the empire, roads would protect the empire not only from the foreign enemies but also from its own subjects who rebelled against Ottoman rulers.<sup>13</sup> According to the 1856 Reform Act (*Islahat Fermanı*), for in-

- 
- 11 For the history of the construction of the Grand Crimean Central Railway during the Crimean war, see, Brian Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway: the Story of the Railway Built by the British at Balaklava during the Crimean War of 1854-1856*, (Knutsford: Cavalier House, 1997).
- 12 Kudret Emiroğlu, and Ümit Uzman, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: TCDD, 2013), 280 and see, Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Uzerine," in (ed.) Paul Dumont, and François Georgeon, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 347-350.
- 13 Fulya Özkan, "A Road in Rebellion, A History on the Move: The Social History of the Trabzon-Bayezid Road and the Formation of the Modern State in the Late Ottoman World," (PhD Dissertation, SUNY Binghamton University, 2012).

stance, “steps shall also be taken for the formation of roads and canals to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of wealth for the country.”<sup>14</sup>

The nineteenth century was a time of novelties in infrastructural development. Not only were many constructions accomplished, but new regulations were published, and new departments and engagements in the legal and political field were established. Special police forces called Imperial Railroad Commissioner (*Demiryolu Komiserliği*) were established near railroad lines in the mid-1850s. Railroad police, soldiers, and workers called road watchmen were responsible for the security and the maintenance of the regulations around the railroad lines.

Especially in the era of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876), railroad construction and telegraph communications were considered indispensable infrastructure investments - part of a wider project of reconstruction aimed at attracting western capital, stimulating agriculture and industry, and eventually improving the living conditions of the people.<sup>15</sup>

As the number of routes and the distances increased, a specialized administration system became necessary in the empire for the control and protection of the railroad, and the maintenance of the rail circulation.<sup>16</sup> In 1865, the Ministry of Public Works was established.<sup>17</sup> Until 1872, when operating railroad lines in the empire had reached 778 kilometers, the administration of the railroads was undertaken by the Department of Roads and Bridges of Ministry of

---

14 Ibid.

15 Basil C.Gounaris, “Peasants, Brigands, and Navvies: Railway Dreams and Realities in the Ottoman Balkans,” *The Journal of European Economic History* 34, no. 1 (2005), 216.

16 In the early modern era of the empire, *derbendcis* worked as gendarmes to protect the roads, as well as to maintain public order and security. They both did repair projects and protected the area, See Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Derbent Teşkilatı*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1967), 65.

17 Gounaris, Ibid, 216.

Public Works.<sup>18</sup> A Department of Railroads (*Demiryolları İdaresi*) was officially established on September 24, 1872.<sup>19</sup>

### § 1.3 Theoretical Background

To overcome the drawbacks of the Ottoman Empire's transport history - the narrow political and economic focus on railroads- this present study approaches the subjects with a wide theoretical framework.

A recently developing global railroad historiography has benefited from interdisciplinary studies, and these studies have enabled a reading of railroads as space in a broader sense. The last two decades have seen a growing trend towards global spatial and environmental history. Since, environmental history effected Ottoman historiography<sup>20</sup> and since the built railroad environment has not been studied in Ottoman historiography before, this thesis frames the history of this built environment, focusing on attacks, enclosure and accidents on the railroads.

I read railroads as a built environment because the conceptualization of the built environment comprises the surroundings of man-made interventions on the ground in our case an infrastructure system dependent on steam technology. This subsection - in which railroads are defined as the built environment- is an outcome of the interdisciplinary approach and offers a reading of railroads in light of urban sociology and anthropology studies focused specifically on infrastructural systems, urban planning studies, architectural studies, and public health studies.<sup>21</sup>

- 
- 18 Mirliva Feyzi Paşa was assigned as the first director of the department. Major Hayri Bey, Hasan Efendi, Konstantin Efendi and two engineers from Europe served in this department. Moreover, conductors, painters, accountants, and clerks were employed.
- 19 Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1994), 104. Aziz Tekdemir, "Ticaret Nezareti (1839-1876)," (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010).
- 20 Cengiz Kırılı, "From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies," *IJMES* 46, (2014), 378.
- 21 On how the history of technology and environmental history relates to public health, See Jeffrey K.Stine, Joel A.Tarr, "At the Intersection of Histories: Technology and the Environment," *Technology and Culture* 39, No.4, 1998.

I first briefly describe the railroads through the theorization the built environment first conceptualized by Henri Lefebvre and further developed by David Harvey. This concept is also recently discussed in interdisciplinary studies focused on urban sociology, urban anthropology and urban studies.

In his work *Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies*, David Harvey discusses what the built environment means and he further argues that the “use of the built environment, by which I mean the totality of physical structures –houses, roads, factories, offices, sewage systems, parks, cultural institutions educational facilities and so on”<sup>22</sup>. As Harvey further stresses, “the built environment requires collective management and control, and it is therefore almost a certain to be a primary field of struggle between capital and labor over what is good for accumulation and what is good for people.”<sup>23</sup> The idea of the built environment symbolizes man-made physical landscapes, man-made surroundings, roads, houses and water canals etc. Related to our subject, railroads were the new component in the area. In that sense and following from the notion conceptualized by David Harvey, the “built environment” includes cities, landscapes, and interventions in the nature in the twenty-first century. It is the symbol of industrial, modern cities and the tool which triggers the urban life conditions where they reached. Moreover, today, the built environment, is mostly used as a concept by scholars who specializing in urban planning and working on the design of neighborhoods, streets and cities which are not projecting as the walkable areas and causes obesity among people. In that sense, Karen Roof and Ngozi Oleru define the built environment as:

Broadly defined, the built environment is the human-made space in which people, live, work, and recreate on a day-to-day basis. It includes the buildings and spaces we create or modify.<sup>24</sup>

---

22 David Harvey, “Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies,” *Politics&Society* 6, September 1976, 265.

23 Ibid, 278.

24 Karen Roof, Ngozi Oleru, “Public Health: Seattle and King County’s Push for the Built Environment,” *Journal of Environmental Health*, 71/1, July/August 2008, 24.

According to their research, cities should be developed in favor of residents health conditions. Following from these definitions, railroads and their environments created a new area to live nearby and govern, finally an area in our context recreate and redefine itself with the all agents of the environment on a day-to-day basis.

They further underline that “the design of our built environment affects the possibility of injury related to pedestrian and vehicular accidents, and it also influences the possibility of exercise and healthy lifestyles.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, given issues such as the control and protection of an area and safety problems related to accidents, the concept of the built environment broadens our understanding of the railroads and introduces new areas of study for Ottoman historiography.

Moreover, inspired by examples of spatial history, and Henri Lefebvre’s urban theory relate out in *Production of Space*, this thesis defends the idea that the railroad environment is socially and politically constructed day by day by all of the search actors in the area<sup>26</sup> and discusses the notion of a “produced social space” specific to the railroad “the built railroad environment” is adapted to and concretized for the analysis of problems of circulation and transport infrastructure.

This framework is tied to the conceptualization of the “production of social space” by Henri Lefebvre. In his words, “(social) space is a (social) product<sup>27</sup>” and “space is not a static field, fundamentally linked to a material world

- 
- 25 Ibid. For another example discussing the built environment from a public health perspective that underscores the importance of walkable neighborhoods for preventing the obesity in the twenty-first century, see Kevin M. Leyden, “Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods,” *American Journal of Public Health*, 93/9, September 2003, 1546-1551.
- 26 Geographer Brian J. Harley notes that topographical representatives have never been produced independent of political authority See: Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, “Osmanlı şehir tahayyülünün görsel ve edebi izleri: Onaltıncı ve onyedinci yüzyıl menzilname ve seyahatnamelerinde şehir imgeleri,” in (ed.) Serpil Bağcı, Zeynep Yasa Yaman, *Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat. Günsel Renda Onuruna Sempozyum Bildirileri/ Cultural Crossings and Art. Proceedings of a Symposium in Honour of Günsel Renda*, (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2011), 140.
- 27 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (USA: Blackwell, 1991), 26.

through a specific (localized) history and practice.”<sup>28</sup> In recent years there has been significant interest in spatial history. Studies inspired by Henri Lefebvre’s production of space theory put space at the center and offer inspiring examples of the spatial turn in history with the help of digital history in global historiography.<sup>29</sup>

In the railroad context, William Cronon’s *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, Richard White’s *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, Ravi Ahuja’s *Pathways of Empire, Circulation, Public Works and Social Space in Colonial Orissa, c. 1780-1914* and Martin Aguiar’s *Tracking Modernity: India’s Railway and the Culture of Mobility* are pioneering spatial histories that explain spatial relations and changes in the patterns over time, focusing specifically railroads.

In the words of William Cronon:

Wherever the rails went, they brought sudden sweeping change to the landscapes and communities through which they passed, suggesting the second metaphor that occurs repeatedly in 19th century prose about them. Railroads were more than just natural; their power to transform landscapes partook of the supernatural, drawing upon a mysterious creative energy that was beyond human influence or knowledge. The steam engine on the prairie evoked genies and wands and the magic that could make dreams come true merely by wishing them so. Railroads wrote on Chicagoan, “are talismanic wands. They have a charming power. They do wonders they work miracles. They are better than laws; they are essentially, politically and religiously- the pioneer, and vanguard of civilization.” Because the flat glaciated landscape was peculiarly suited to railroads, ‘adapted as it is by nature for their advantageous construction’, the arrival of these ‘powerful iron agencies’ meant that the land would ‘spring at once into teeming life and animation.’<sup>30</sup>

---

28 Ibid, 30.

29 Richard White, “What is Spatial History?” <https://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29> (accessed 15 June 2016).

30 William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis*, (W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 72-73.

In the words of Richard White:

What distinguished railroads from the natural geography through which they ran was their centrality to measures of value; they transformed everything around them. Substituting time for distance made space political, but only to the extent that politics determined which places got railroads and which did not. The railroads made space political by making the quotidian experience of space one of rapid movement. A railroad train in motion was a movement. A railroad train in motion was a snorting, smoking, roaring thing; for all the beauty of this movement, it was an assault on the human senses, which registered that it was the train's movement that mattered. But it wasn't just the train that moved; the things the train connected seemed to move it.<sup>31</sup>

Besides the theory of social space, another important theoretical discussion is on infrastructure theory. Because this thesis examines the close relationship of the railroad infrastructure system in the Ottoman context, I would like to focus our attention on how controversies emerge around infrastructures and "how communities can along infrastructures to make associated problems more tractable and to craft responses."<sup>32</sup>

A new contribution to interdisciplinary infrastructural studies, convenient for this thesis, is by a bunch of scholars of different disciplines such as engineering, architecture, history, and anthropology from Rice University who wrote an article entitled "*Paradoxical Infrastructures: Ruins, Retrofit and Risk*," in 2016. Authored by a multidisciplinary group of scholars, this article probes

---

31 Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2011).

32 Ashley Carse, "The Anthropology of the Built Environment: What Can Environmental Anthropology Learn from Infrastructure Studies (and Vice Versa)?" <https://aesengagement.wordpress.com/2016/05/17/the-anthropology-of-the-built-environment-what-can-environmental-anthropology-learn-from-infrastructure-studies-and-vice-versa/> (accessed 16 August 2016).



the generative potential of infrastructure at the current historical juncture, arguing that “infrastructure is not inert but rather infused with social meanings and reflective of larger priorities and attentions.”<sup>33</sup>

Further, the article dwells on three key paradoxes of infrastructure: Ruin, retrofit, and risk. The first paradox, ruin, suggests that though infrastructure is generative it also degenerates. A second paradox, retrofit, is “an apparent ontological oxymoron that attempts to bridge temporality from the present to the future and yet ultimately reveals that infrastructural solidity,” in symbolic terms, is more “apparent than actual.” Finally, the third paradox of infrastructure, risk, demonstrates that while a key purpose of infrastructure is to mitigate risk, it also involves new risks as it comes to fruition, like the accidents in our context.

The article concludes with a series of suggestions to view the study of infrastructure in more “contingent and paradoxical forms:”

Infrastructure is material (roads, pipes, sewers, and grids); it is social (institutions, economic systems, and media forms); and it is philosophical (intellectual trajectories: Dreamt up by human ingenuity and nailed down in concrete forms). Infrastructure has a capaciousness and scope that makes it both an infinitely useful concept and a concept that is open to facile misinterpretation or to being encumbered by overuse.<sup>34</sup>

In that sense railroads are material because the railroad system that contains it has own road construction technics with rolling stocks and because it is directly related to communications systems; transferring among the connected cities. Railroads are social, gathering people together while travelling together in the train carriages. Moreover, in the Ottoman context, railroads created new negotiators between the provinces and the Ottoman capital. Railroad commissioners who worked for the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Justice, who had also worked as middleman among the railroad companies and the Ottoman State. Finally, trains are a unique machine. They annihilated time

---

33 Ibid.

34 “Paradoxical Infrastructures: Ruins, Retrofit and Risk,” *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 1-19, 3.

and space, created new way of seeing the world, and shaped the history of photography and cinema given the possibility of panoramic travel on the tracks, passing through tunnels in the mountains or near rivers and the sea. In the Ottoman context, for instance, the famous cinematographers, the Manaki Brothers, traveled with the sultan during his journey to the Balkans in 1911. After having left the Manastır train station and passing through Kaçanik Gorge and the mountains, the moving images sequences demonstrate how the train journey offers panoramic views to the passengers.<sup>35</sup>

## § 1.4 Methodology

This study is grounded in the social and labor history of railroads. This thesis aims to combine social, labor, and environmental history with the history of technology - two emerging new fields in Ottoman historiography since the 2000s. Social history of railroads mostly focuses on two subjects. First one is about the changes of time keeping practices versus traditional religious time in the long nineteenth century in terms of how railroads with telegraph, steamboat and the tramways shaped to transform the idea of punctuality both in the Empire and all around the world.<sup>36</sup> Second one is on the women emancipation in terms of railroads offer new consumer space of public interactions where women come across with men passengers in the wagons.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, in my thesis, keeping in mind the importance of these two issues on time and gender history, I prefer to study on everyday practices, labor relations and accidents in this thesis. Therefore, this study focusing on the first time what was

---

35 See: “Osmanlı’da Çekilen İlk Film...” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4rFN4jNL1w> (accessed 14 January 2015).

36 For Ottoman context, See: François Georgeon, “Changes of time: An aspect of Ottoman Modernization,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 44, 2011, 191. Avner Wishnitzer, ““Our Time:” On The Durability of the *Alaturka* Hour System in the late Ottoman Empire,” *Int. J. Turkish Studies* 16, Nos. 1&2, 2010, 54.

37 For an inspiring example from American railroads, See: Amy Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad and the Rise of Public Domesticity*. (Chapell Hill: University of California Press, 2005).

happening during an attack or an accident in the trains, accidents and the everyday practices around railroad lines, aims to fill gap in the literature to an extent, based on archival records related to Ottoman railroad history in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rich archival materials provide a wide range of content from accidents to everyday life around the railroads.

Because this thesis attempts to understand everyday life conditions around the railroad lines, struggles, practices and methods of resistance to this new technology and to railroad authorities, this thesis will focus on the investigation reports which promote the testimonies of workers and people around railroad lines aftermath of an accident or an attack. The growing literature depends on investigation reports about attacks and accidents (*kaza tahkikat raporları*) which are the main sources of this thesis giving voice to ordinary Ottomans and foreigners who came to empire for working.<sup>38</sup>

The reports written by railroad commissioners are rich sources for tracing ordinary people's practices around the railroad lines. These official documents, written by an Imperial Railroad Commissioner, reveal ordinary Ottomans everyday practices like walking on the tracks or working conditions at the railroad work site. Moreover, the fascinating aspect of these investigation reports, is that for the first time we hear railroad workers voices, feelings and language that they used in their testimonies noted in Ottoman Turkish or in French.

Besides social history, focusing and analyzing railroad history, on a macro level, this thesis contributes one of subfield of environmental history<sup>39</sup>; enviro-

---

38 On the similarities and differences between investigation protocols and accident investigation reports, see chapter 4.

39 For an edited book showing, different subfields of environmental history with specialized examples from Middle Eastern history see Burke, Edmund Davis. Diana K., (ed.) *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East*. Alan Mikhail (ed.), *Water on Sand: Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). For a summary of developing environmental history in Ottoman studies in the past decade, see Onur İnal, "Environmental History as an Emerging Field: a Historiographical Overview,"

technology history<sup>40</sup>, by suggesting the agency of nonhuman actors such as nature, mountains, rivers, animals<sup>41</sup>, infrastructural projects, and machines etc. Moreover, this thesis reveals the extent to which railroad technology directly affected Ottoman life.<sup>42</sup> The history of technology, therefore, has much to gain from more study of environmental areas. Showing how infrastructure systems, modern technologies, and energy transformation shaped nature and the environment of the Ottomans by changing the limits of the soil and space, environmental history not only exposes environmental degradation in an area but also indicates how Ottoman state attempted to control cities over time by first controlling nature with its bureaucratic, economic, and military apparatus.

While the first part, including this introductory chapter and chapter 2, relies on a broad survey of relevant philosophical, geographical, and historical writings as well as on a selection of contemporary publications on railroads and infrastructure, the second part, chapters 3 and 4, is based on documents from the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives as well as on newspapers and

- 
- 40 Stine and Tarr note that historical examination of technology and the environment “allow researchers to gain fresh insights, address problems from different perspectives, and ask probing questions.” It is difficult to write environmental history without paying at least passing attention to technology. Conversely, it can also be difficult to write technological history without touching on some environmental element See: Jeffrey K. Stine and Joel A. Tarr, “At the Intersection of Histories: Technology and Environment,” *Technology and Culture* 39.4 (1998), 601-640. Paul Josephson notes “wherever one looks in environmental history, there are technologies at work, and technological change is bound up with environmental change.” See Paul Josephson, “Technology and Environment,” 341.
- 41 Ships were replaced by steam ships and animals were replaced by machines as the means of transport. Because “transportation and movement had to be efficient, quick and cheap,” machines took the role of “fragile, slow, unreliable and dangerous animals” in the nineteenth century. For further discussion on the replacement of animals, See Alan Mikhail, *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 2013. 59-62.
- 42 According to Karl Appuhn, two views exist in the field of Middle Eastern environmental historiography. Scholars of the first group consider the environment an essential singular factor in human history. The second group view environment as a “heuristic device” for understanding how nature and the environment affects human and social relations, its role for the ideas in Muslim countries, how Islam shaped the idea of the nature and vice versa, see: Karl Appuhn, “The Nature of Ottoman History,” *Eigteenth-Century Studies* 46, No.2, Winter 2013, 302.

memoirs. The documentation for the empirical part predominantly of written evidence preserved in these archives. Archival research focused on the Ottoman capital, its suburbs, oriental railroads passing through Balkan regions, and the İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Kasaba railroads in the vilayet of Aydın other regions are included as well - such as Hedjaz, the Mersin-Adana-Tarsus line, the Anatolian Railroad, and the Berlin-Baghdad railroad – through analysis of secondary sources.

The thesis combines the fields of spatial, social and environmental history<sup>43</sup>, showing how this infrastructure and new technology affected everyday life and how Ottoman society became involved with that environment. Following from a conceptualization of the built environment, referring to manmade surroundings that provide for human activity, thesis evaluates various approaches to Ottoman railroad historiography. This thesis opens new fields for Ottoman historiography by analyzing railroad accidents, attacks, the enclosure in the railroad environment, the birth of railroad authority and the accidents in the changing environment.

The thesis is composed of five chapters including this introduction and the conclusion.

Chapter 2, entitled “Catching the Train: On the Track to New Railroad Historiography,” gives a brief overview of the recent historiography of railroads of the Ottoman Empire to understand the contribution of this thesis to suggest the many ways, railroad historiography should be written focusing on comparative examples from global, interdisciplinary railroad historiography.

With the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads (*Memalik-i Mahruse Demiryollarının Usûl-ü Zabıtasına Dair Nizamname*) at its center, chapter 3 will first discusses how built railroad environment was perceived by the Ottoman bureaucracy. Second, it focuses on security problems by analyzing and attack near Sinekli train station a suburb of the Ottoman capital near Silivri by brigands under the command of Athanase showing how railroad workers intervened in attacks, sabotage and bombings. In this context, an investigation report on the Sinekli train attack (1891) written by the railroad commissioner,

---

43 For further discussion on combining social and environmental history See Stephen Mosley, “Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History,” *Journal of Social History* 39, 2006.

Achille Coumbary, enables comment on the attitudes of the train crew and railroad workers during an attack. As will be seen, one railroad worker (working on nearby tracks) refused – until the brigands forced him - to remove the rails in order to prevent a derailment, maintain the safety and security of the passengers, and prevent a disruption of public order. Another railroad worker working on the train cooperated with the brigands and was part of the highest, and brandished a gun.

Another topic of chapter 3, concerns the issue of walling off railroad property particularly the construction of a wall at the frontiers of the Oriental railroad that hemmed in the property of an urban Ottoman citizen, Fatma Hanım. I discuss the role of ministers and engineers as middlemen among Ottoman rulers, railroad companies, and Ottomans. This subsection will discuss the attitudes of Ottoman rulers in order to protect the right of an Ottoman citizen. Moreover, looking from a gender perspective, I conclude that Fatma Hanım was aware of her rights and who was responsible for the reconstruction after the collapse of the wall.

The next chapter of this thesis, chapter 4, is entitled, “Uncanny Railroads: Accidents, Pedestrians and Neglect,” and I will discuss accidents in Ottoman railroad historiography. It focuses on the everyday practices of Ottomans like walking and sleeping on the tracks, on non-human agents – like technological failures and weather conditions – and on other factors in the environment that caused accidents. To do so, chapter 4 analyzes detailed accident reports kept by the Imperial Railroad police. The death of Ayşe Hanım, daughter of Kürd Hasan, while walking on the tracks of the İzmir-Aydın line, for instance, refers to a family that lived in a tent near the Köşk train station. Lastly, chapter 4 contributes to Ottoman labor historiography arguing that railroad workers had strong solidarity among them in order to not lose their jobs, and not to be judged aftermath of the death of even their co-worker while he was trying to save an ox on the tracks. In this way, this thesis rereads the solidarity idea among the railroad worker class developed by Peter Mentzel.

Given the three research areas- attacks, enclosure, and accidents in area, - this thesis will advance our understanding on the social and labor history of Ottoman railroads, by examining each empirical subsections in their specific features. Finally, the conclusion chapter of the thesis assesses the place of this

thesis in railroad historiography, which has affected mostly state-centered view in Ottoman historiography.

To sum up, this thesis attempts to focus on the potential, offers, advantages<sup>44</sup>, resistances<sup>45</sup>, difficulties<sup>46</sup>, destruction, risks<sup>47</sup>, unexpected situations<sup>48</sup>, and components of the built railroad environment-, which were produced by different actors and features on a daily basis.

- 
- 44 Those who could afford a first class ticket had more comfortable and safer journeys than the others who were travelling in second and third-class carriages. The inside of a train offers a chance to read perfectly what nineteenth-century society look like. First, second and third-class carriages show how the late nineteenth century was shaped by the idea of class distinction. Another discussion of the interior conditions of trains by Richard Sennett stresses that people from different parts of a country and people who rarely encounter one another on the street come together for the first time in this public transportation system. Richard Sennett argues that with the arrangement of the couches on the train, gather people to first look at themselves and to form an idea about themselves secondly to argue or discuss current events. For a discussion of the carriages, see: Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization*. (New York: W.W.Norton, 1994), 343-345.
- 45 See chapter 2.
- 46 During summer, for instance, third-class passengers of the Hijaz railroad line travelled in the open wooden carriages under the sun with their animals.
- 47 Near the swampy ground of the Axios (Vardar) valley, for instance, a type of malaria affected workers and increased fatalities in the area, see: Basil C.Gounaris, "Railway Construction and Labor Availability in Macedonia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *BMGS*, 13 (1998), 148.
- 48 A child, for instance, died in an accident, while playing on the engine of the İzmir-Aydın line. See chapter 4.

## Catching the Train: On the Track to a New Railroad Historiography

### § 2.1 What kind of railroad history have we had<sup>1</sup>

This chapter focuses on different approaches to writing Ottoman railroad history. To do this, the chapter first discusses on the current railroad historiography and on the themes, subjects, and issues on which it has been focused so far. Secondly, social themes and labor history examples will be discussed, as the thesis contribute to these two areas in the ensuing empirical chapters. Fi-

- 
- 1 I borrow this question from Terry Gourvish's article summarizing British railroad historiography's forty years of research experience See Terry Gourvish, "What kind of railway history did we get?," *The Journal of Transport History*, 14/2, 1993. The Journal of Transport History, published three articles from different authors on British railroad historiography. The first article was published in November 1957. The author, Michael Robbins, attempts to discuss how and what kind of British railroad history should be written given that British railroad historiography was under the influence of political and economic history. See Michael Robbins, "What kind of railway history do we want?," *The Journal of Transport History*, 3.2, 1957. Six years after Terry Gourvish's article, Michael Freeman -the author of *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*- reformulates the question and discusses the cultural and art history of railroads. See Michael Freeman, "The railway as cultural metaphor, 'What kind of railway revisited?'" *The Journal of Transport History* 20, no.2 (1999).



nally, analyzing different examples from Western and non-Western historiography, this chapter discuss the social and environmental themes of the historiography from which I think that a railroad historiography can be written.

Ottoman railroad historiography is mostly highlighted in terms of its political, diplomatic, and economic developments.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the history of railroads of the Ottoman Empire has revolved around notions of given global and national interest in infrastructure development paralleling the empire's nationalization, centralization, and economic integration processes in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Previous studies of railroad historiography have not dealt with the broader social meaning of -public works- as such; instead they concern merely what they consider to be imperialist penetration projects of European countries into the empire. The development of Ottoman Empire's transport infrastructure has not been recognized as a significant theme of social history until now and has unfortunately generated little interest among historians.<sup>3</sup> Attention as neither been paid to the social effects of the construction nor the everyday lives of those living around the built railroad environment in the empire.

Specifically, much of the current literature on railroads pays particular attention to the following themes: Political stability, financial problems of construction, diplomatic crisis, economic growth, tax collection, urban growth, mining concession privileges given to railroad companies, circulation of goods and raw materials in global markets, transportation of military troops to war fronts, dissemination of ideas and movements, opening of uncultivated lands to agriculture, settlement of refugees, and railroad worker strikes.

- 
- 2 Donald Quataert, "Working on the Anatolian Railway," in *Social Disintegration and popular resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: reactions to European economic penetration*, (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 72.
  - 3 Fulya Özkan's dissertation concerns the social aspects of the Trabzon-Erzurum-Bayezid road in the late nineteenth century, see: Fulya Özkan, "A Road in Rebellion: A History on the Move: The Social History of the Trabzon-Bayezid Road and the Formation of Modern State in the Late Ottoman World."

Hence, this introductory section briefly overviews the key concepts discussed in Ottoman railroad historiography. It then goes on to the methodology, and the social and labor themes of railroad historiography. Finally, to show how Ottoman railroad historiography can be discussed in a broader sense, the last part of this chapter surveys pioneering studies across the world, taking different approaches.

A number of studies offer valuable insights regarding the economic, diplomatic, and political effects of railroads from the 1970s to today. The idea that railroads – usually constructed section by section<sup>4</sup> - were used as a tool by European imperialism to penetrate the empire, dominates early phase of its historiography.

Immanuel Wallerstein's dependency theory, the place of the empire as a peripheral country in this discussion<sup>5</sup>, the effects of Marxist historiography, and the question of why Middle Eastern countries are underdeveloped compared to the European ones, occupied the early mostly economic historians of railroads.<sup>6</sup>

Economically speaking, dependency theory concerns the integration of the peripheral Ottoman economy into center economies. According to this theory, railroads and steamships, working in connection incorporate the

- 
- 4 As it had been constructed in Egypt, see: On Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 62.
- 5 While the colonial paradigm explains the integration of the Mexican and Indian economies into centralized ones, the Ottoman context is considered an underdeveloped peripheral country which has to integrate economically the central countries See Muhteşem Kaynak, "Demiryolları ve ekonomik gelişme 19.yüzyıl deneyimi," (PhD Dissertation, Gazi University, 1982). For an analysis of how dependency theory has been applied in Ottoman studies See Cenk Reyhan, *Osmanlı'da Kapitalizmin Kökenleri*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2008), 67-80.
- 6 See Yakup N.Karkar, *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1914* (Vantage Press, New York, 1972). Orhan Kurmuş, "The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913". In this thesis, I will use both the dissertation and the book version of Orhan Kurmuş's pioneering work on İzmir-Aydın railroad line. For the extended book version of his dissertation See Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, (Yordam Kitap, İstanbul, 2008).

small-scale Ottoman economy into large scale global markets.<sup>7</sup> Due to rapid increase in the number of railroad lines all over the world, transportation fees decreased and the rate of international trade expanded. Moreover, railroads led to the birth of new industrial branches such as coal, iron, and machine industries.<sup>8</sup>

Şevket Pamuk, whose early works were influenced by dependency theory<sup>9</sup>, further argues that beyond the economic consequences of railroads, its political and financial effects should be studied.<sup>10</sup> According to him, Ottoman authorities expected various profits from their construction. Homeland security, the dissemination of central power to distant provinces, and the deployment of soldiers and necessary materials to war fronts during war period were the major demands of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Moreover, a centralized state could efficiently collect taxes with the construction of railroad lines,<sup>11</sup> eliminating the local powers that had shared the collection of the taxes.<sup>12</sup> Railroads,

- 
- 7 For further discussion on this economic integration process See Muhteşem Kaynak, “Osmanlı Ekonomisinin Dünya Ekonomisine Eklemlenme Sürecinde Osmanlı Demiryollarına Bir Bakış,” *Yapıt* Sayı 5, (1984).
- 8 Fulya Özkan, “A Road in Rebellion: A History on the Move: The Social History of the Trabzon-Bayezid Road and the Formation of Modern State in the Late Ottoman World,” 18.
- 9 See Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).
- 10 Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi: Büyüme, Kurunlar ve Bölüşüm*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 104.
- 11 According to Donald Quataert, the Anatolian railroad line that connected Ankara to Istanbul and rural areas in the 1890s, enabled more efficient tax collection in the environs of railroad line, see: Donald Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı Reformu ve Tarım, 1876-1908*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 162-164. On the direct effect of Anatolian railroad lines on the agriculture production in Anatolia See Ibid, 159-184.
- 12 In his work, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli*, Nadir Özbek summarizes the tax collection system in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. The *aşar* collections were maintained by tendering procedure. On corruption and irregularities in the tax collection system in the Ottoman Empire on peasants reaction during the collection of the *aşar* tax in Ottoman Anatolia, and on the tents relations among multazims, the state, and the Ottomans, see: Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da vergi, siyaset ve toplumsal adalet (1839-1908)*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 92-112.

would decrease transportation fees between Istanbul and the provinces. Besides, railroads would open lands up the agriculture<sup>13</sup> and improve trade. In the plane of Konya, for instance, the Anatolian railroad company increased the amount of fertile land around the railroads with the help of irrigation systems.<sup>14</sup>

Diplomatically speaking, German imperialism in Ottoman lands through the railroad lines, developed the relationship between Kaiser Wilhem II and Sultan Abdulhamid II. Their strong relationship worried other European countries in the late 1890s. Especially Britain and France did not want to lose their influence in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In the words of Sean McMeekin, as long as German colonies leaked the empire's with the help of the Berlin-Baghdad railroad line passing through Iraq, Syria and Arabic provinces where reservoirs of oil were located -, paved the road to World War I.<sup>15</sup>

Militarily speaking, the construction of railroads created new levels of military efficiency by accelerating the circulation of troops. With the rapid<sup>16</sup> deployment of soldiers and economic advances, Ottoman rulers expected that the empire's problems would be solved with this transportation system.<sup>17</sup> In that regard, Sultan Abdulhamid II and German authorities, for instance,

---

13 Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 104-105.

14 Fatih Çolak, *Almanların Konya ve Çevresindeki Faaliyetleri 19.yüzyıl sonu-20.yüzyıl başı*, (İstanbul: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2014). Contemporary artist Judith Raum relying on official documents in German Archives, prepared an exhibition of the Anatolian railroad's degrading effects for agricultural lands and for inhabitants of villages near the tracks. For further discussion on the opening of new agricultural lands in Konya and the efforts of German authorities and the German railroad company See the book based on the exhibition at Salt Galata, Istanbul Judith Raum, *Eser*, (Archive Books, March 2015), 161, 278.

15 See: Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power 1898-1918*, (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

16 Compared to old transportation systems.

17 Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire: Modernity, Industrialization and Ottoman Decline*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014), 11.

thought that the Baghdad and Hijaz railroad lines, would make it easier to transport soldiers to distant provinces in case of an emergency.<sup>18</sup>

Generally speaking, railroad historiography defends the idea that the empire was faced with a flow of European capital into the empire, through the construction of railroad lines from the 1850s to the outbreak of World War I. British, French, and German investors, proceeded with the empire's partnership<sup>19</sup> in terms of financial support, tax privileges, and profit guarantee and kilometric guarantee<sup>20</sup>, constructed railroads – with specific reasons for each construction - in different cities and regions of the empire.

In the early years of railroad construction, British capital dominated Ottoman lands. The 211 kilometer Alexandria-Cairo railroad line, the first of the empire, was constructed in five years to decrease transportation expenses and connect Egypt's port city and capital. It opened in 1856 and shortened the journey duration to India.<sup>21</sup> Until the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, British investors used this line to decrease travel time to India. Another railroad line constructed with British capital connected Constanza - a port city on the Black- Sea coast to - Chernovada - a city on Danube river – and linked the

- 
- 18 Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 485. Özyüksel, *Hejaz Railway*, 7.
- 19 Only the Haydarpaşa-İzmit and Hijaz railroad line were constructed with mostly Ottoman capital.
- 20 Baron Hirsch, financier of the Oriental Railroads extended the road from Istanbul to Edirne to get more kilometric guarantee from the empire See Kurt Grunwald, *Turkenhirsch: A Study of Baron Maurice de Hirsch, entrepreneur and philanthropist*, (Jerusalem: Israel Program for Scientific Translations, 1966), 50. Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 107. For further discussion on the kilometric guarantee for the Anatolian railroad line See Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*. Berlin-Baghdad Railroad line, Jonathan S.Mcmurray, *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway*, (Wesport, Conn: Praeger, 2001). For the İzmir-Aydın railroad line, Orhan Kurmuş, "The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913," Ali Akyıldız "Demiryolları ve Değişme: Batı Anadolu Örneği," in *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).
- 21 See Helen Anne B.Rivlin, "The Railway Question in the Ottoman-Egyptian Crisis of 1850-1852," *Middle East Journal*, 15/4, 1961. Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 36-37.

former line to European railroad lines with a bridge. This line, which opened on October 4, 1860<sup>22</sup>, served to supply grain to Britain.<sup>23</sup> The 224 kilometer Varna-Ruse railroad line, likewise, was built for cheap grain transportation and opened on November 4, 1866.<sup>24</sup>

The construction of the 130 kilometer İzmir-Aydın railroad line took ten years and was officially inaugurated in 1866.<sup>25</sup> The line connected İzmir -located on a gulf in the Aegean Sea - to its suburbs and villages, enabling the transportation of Anatolia's goods and raw materials. On the other hand, the Mersin-Tarsus-Adana railroad line was constructed with the French capital, again connecting hinterlands to another port on a gulf in the Mediterranean – Mersin - in 1886.<sup>26</sup> The history of the Oriental Railway from Berlin to Istanbul tells the story of the construction and operation of railroads in the Balkan provinces, beginning in 1870's.<sup>27</sup> The history<sup>28</sup> of the Anatolian Railway company tells of the economic and political penetration of Germany, in terms of

- 
- 22 Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 40.
- 23 Orhan Kurmuş, "Britain's Dependence on Foreign Food and Some Railway Project in the Balkans," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, 2, 1971, 261.
- 24 Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 40-41. Henry Jacolin, "L'Etablissement de la Première Voie Ferrée entre l'Europe et la Turquie. Chemins de Fer et Diplomatie dans les Balkans," *Revue d'histoire et des chemins de fer*, En Ligne, 35. At the end of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, the railroad line remained on the frontiers of Romania. On December 1882, the Romanian government bought the railroads from Ottoman State for 1.560.000 francs See Ali Akyıldız, "Bir Teknolojik Transferin Değişim Boyutu: Köstence Demiryolu Örneği," in *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 60.
- 25 Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz Railway*, 13.
- 26 Adem Erol, *Mersin-Tarsus-Adana demiryolu*, (Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2003). For how the Mersin-Adana-Tarsus railroad line served economic development in cotton-producing Çukurova, Adana See Meltem Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: the Making of the Adana-Mersin Region*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 97-106.
- 27 See Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*.
- 28 See Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988). For its new print: Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, Mehmet Yerçil, "A history of the Anatolian railway, 1871-1914," (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010). Donald Quataert, "Limited Revolution: The Impact of the Anatolian Railway on Turkish

the German Empire's search for raw materials and new markets outside its borders.<sup>29</sup> In this manner, the İzmit-Ankara line was completed in 1892<sup>30</sup> and Eskişehir-Konya inaugurated in 1896. Anatolian railways, with its branches connecting to Baghdad, made the transportation of cotton, oil, coal, and valuable raw materials from Anatolia and Mesopotamia to Europe easier.<sup>31</sup>

The birth of the Hejaz Railway project cannot be considered without discussing the political conjuncture of the time. In the aftermath of the wars in the Balkans and because of the empire's loss of territory, the secession of Christian subjects from the Ottoman Empire began. In that sense, Sultan Abdülhamid II decided to bring Muslim identities together to maintain political stability and territorial integrity. In these conditions, in the words of Selim Deringil, the popular Hijaz Railroad project<sup>32</sup> was born as part of the sultan's absolutist, Islamic project on his birthday on May 1, 1900.<sup>33</sup> This railroad line, which would connect Damascus to Mecca passing through Amman, Rakka, and the Arabian Peninsula, would cater to pilgrims to Mecca - the sacred city

---

Transportation and the Provisioning of Istanbul, 1890-1908," *The Business History Review*, 51/2, 1977. Donald Quataert, "Working on the Anatolian Railway," in *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

- 29 Edward Mead Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Baghdad Railway: a Study in Imperialism*, (New York: Macmillan, 1923), Jonathan S McMurray, *Distant ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway*, Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: the Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları* and Lothar Rathmann, *Berlin-Bağdat, Alman Emperyalizminin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, (İstanbul, 1982).
- 30 Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı Reformu ve Tarım, 1876-1908*, 162.
- 31 Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 250. McMurray, *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway*, 2.
- 32 Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998), 60-61.
- 33 Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire*, 39.

of the Islamic world.<sup>34</sup> It would strengthen his authority as caliphate of the Islamic world.

In that sense, the Hejaz railway construction's primary aim was to connect the sacred city to the Ottoman capital. To show that Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman bureaucracy was willing to construct this line to unify Muslim subjects of the empire, they decided to construct it with - only - Muslim capital. A donation (*iane*) campaign was started by sultan himself.<sup>35</sup> This "sacred line (*kutsal hat*)"<sup>36</sup> was constructed with the donations of Islamic authorities, rulers, pashas, Egyptians and Indians including government officials and ordinary people. Financially dependent on "voluntary" and "forced" donations, Muslim and non-Muslim workers constructed the Hejaz railway eight years and the line was opened with an official ceremony in 1908.<sup>37</sup>

## § 2.2 Methodology

This brief outline shows the major works and key concepts in the literature. Before discussing social themes studied in railroad historiography, I summarize railroad history methodology in Ottoman historiography. Most of the railroad historiography focuses on the pre-construction and construction period rather than analyzing the effects of railroads on the society.

In general, Ottoman railroad historiography – especially in Turkish scholarship - is written with the chronological order method to analyze the research subject systematically. First, they discuss the global history of railroads and explore the railroad lines in Europe.

---

34 Earlier than in the Ottoman empire and for the same purpose, Egypt constructed a railroad line between Cairo and Suez See On Barak, *On time: Technology and Temporality in Egypt*, 89. At the end of its construction, Hijaz railroad line could only reach to Medina, and then pilgrims had to travel on camels and caravans to Mecca. Because travel conditions were difficult and tiring for pilgrims, pilgrims who came from overseas countries, generally preferred to use the old routes.

35 Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire*, 69-95.

36 For further discussion about the sacred railroad line, see: Selim Deringil, *Ibid*.

37 On the personnel composition of Hijaz railroad line See Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 93-98.



Secondly, they explore how Ottoman state was willing to construct this infrastructure system even as the construction expenses were a financial burden on its treasury following the financial crisis of the 1860s and 1870s. Thus, historians explore the construction expenses, the history of foreign investors in the empire, the supply of money, the credits that banks offered, the kilometeric guarantee for encouraging foreign investment, and the political and diplomatic negotiations among Ottoman government and European countries.

Then historians discuss the land survey process during railroad construction, and the maintenance of railroad workers, civil engineers, and administrators. The next phase concerns the provision of necessary materials for the construction, such as rails, locomotives, and rolling stocks.

The following part – if present - is constituted of the labor and social history of railroads, the working conditions at the work sites, the strained relationship between companies and workers, strikes, resistance to train operations, and “terrorist” attacks on the lines and on the trains - in brief, it is about the long years of construction and operation of the railroad lines and their branches.

The concluding part of the railroad historiography can be divided into two parts. While the first focuses on the economic and political benefits of railroad construction, the second part answers the question of whether the Ottoman state and its representatives succeed and achieved the demands. It also explores the economic, political, and social effects of the railroads on society.

### § 2.3 Unfinished History: Social and Labor Themes in Railroad Historiography

The labor history of Ottoman railroads - from Şehmus Güzel’s study on the Anatolian-Baghdad railroad strike<sup>38</sup> that occurred in the days following the second constitutional period to the developing labor history on account of the

---

38 Şehmus Güzel, “Le mouvement ouvrier et les grèves en Turquie: de l’empire Ottoman à nos jours” (PhD Dissertation, Université d’Aix-Marseill II, 1975).

great efforts of Donald Quataert<sup>39</sup> and Zafer Toprak<sup>40</sup> in the 1980s - has found a place in Ottoman historiography. From the 1970s to today, the interest in labor history has increased over time as social movements have increased in the world. In recent years, there has been an increasing literature on labor history. Especially in the 2000s, with the worldwide rise of neoliberal politics, young scholars have entered the area and produced pioneering examples of Ottoman labor history.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, few systematic studies of social and labor history exist in the railroad historiography, and those few of are discussed in this chapter.<sup>42</sup> The existing literature so far has analyzed the shift from working conditions on construction sites and the social effects of complex railroad systems in the empire. Over the past thirty years, much more information has become available on labor organizations, strikes, the ethnic division of labor and resistance by representatives of traditional transport systems in the empire. The purpose of this section is to review the literature on the aforementioned issues.

Among this historiography, works focusing on the Hejaz railway line history, deserve to be differentiated from other studies in terms of their contribution to the social and labor history of railroads. A study conducted by William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, and another, Murat Özyüksel's *The Hedjaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire*, deal with the social and labor history of railroads apart from economic, political, bureaucratic, and diplomatic developments. They have conducted comprehensive research on social themes

---

39 For a summary of Donald Quataert's works, see: Nurşen Gürboğa, "Osmanlı İktisadi ve Sosyal Tarihinde Bir Emekçi Donald Quataert'in Ardından," *Toplumsal Tarih*, 208, Nisan 2011. Kent Schull, "The Impact of Donald Quataert's "History from Below on Ottoman and Turkish Studies," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34, No.1, 2014.

40 Hakkı Onur (Zafer Toprak), "1908 İşçi Hareketleri ve Jön Türkler," *Yurt ve Dünya*, sayı 2, Mart 1977.

41 Doğan Çetinkaya, "Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı, Tarihyazımı ve Sınıf Bilinci," *Toplumsal Tarih*, 245, 2014.

42 Nevertheless, compared with the developed labor history of the railroads of Europe, United States, India and Latin American countries, Ottoman railroad labor history still awaits its scholars to tackle the great opportunities of the Ottoman archives and the local archives of the railroad companies located in different countries across the world.

in railroad history. William Ochsenwald, for instance, draws on extensive range of sources to assess labor organization in the construction period and the Bedouin attacks on the railroad lines.<sup>43</sup> Apart from his comprehensive book on the railroads, articles written on the labor and the social history of railroads are quite illuminative and the key concepts that they have discussed will be explored in this section.

There is a consensus among historians that railroad work sites in the empire were hazardous. During the construction and post-construction period, workers worked for long hours and were affected by attacks, epidemics<sup>44</sup>, and environmental challenges.<sup>45</sup> Thousands of workers worked on the railroads.<sup>46</sup>

- 
- 43 William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 32-40. The next chapter discusses attacks on railroad lines and trains in detail, so I just want to mention that attacks are read as a social resistance practice in the historiography. For further discussion, See chapter 3.
- 44 An outbreak of cholera occurred in early 1865, for instance, affecting the construction site on the İzmir-Aydın railroad line. Forty-four native workers and fourteen British engineers and technicians died, see: Orhan Kurmuş, "The role of British capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913," For measures taken by the government to prevent a cholera and for the quarantine along the Hijaz railroad line See *Conférence Sanitaire Internationale de Paris 7 Novembre 1911-17 Janvier 1912*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), 171, 279, 794-804. For details of the quarantine service set up by the Ottoman government, in Tabuk See Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 138-139.
- 45 While the temperature was as low as -5 °C/21 °F in the winter at Tabruk, the temperature has reached to 55 °C/131°F during the summer in Jordan See Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 44. Weather conditions not only affected the working environment but also workers' daily wages. Dr. Gavriel Arhangelos notes that though rain and snow were environmental consequences, the company did not pay workers there daily salaries when construction was effected by weather conditions See Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 297.
- 46 On the Yedikule-Küçükçekmece railroad line, for instance, there were more than 2.000 workers See Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 66.

Construction was mostly completed by wage labor. Moreover, soldiers<sup>47</sup>, prisoners, and captured soldiers were forced to work on the railroads.<sup>48</sup> Along some lines, *corvée* was employed.<sup>49</sup> Each railroad line had its own specific difficulties for workers. While workers on Anatolian Railways line suffered from a despotic administration system, Hejaz Railway workers faced difficulties caused by climate and topographical features of the land. On the other hand, all railroad workers - whomever they worked for - in the dangerous and, labor-intensive environment. While one train crew of the Oriental Railway died in a terrorist attack<sup>50</sup>, Bedouin attacks were usual and ordinary for Hejaz Railway workers. The railroad environment was the place where a new class of workers was born in the Middle East given the new job opportunities it offered.<sup>51</sup> In this dangerous area, Ottomans and non-Ottomans - especially Europeans - worked together. Donald Quataert stressed that Europeans and native Ottoman Christians were preferred for jobs for which higher skills were necessary.<sup>52</sup> For the Hedjaz railroad, for instance, in areas where non-Muslims were prevented from entering according to Muslim practice, non-Muslim and Muslim workers would gather in a distant area. There, non-Muslim workers taught the Muslims workers the job so that construction could continue.<sup>53</sup> Railroad worker dredged water canals, cleaned up the soil from the sand and placed the

- 
- 47 On the Hijaz Railroad, for instance, many soldiers called *şimendifer taburları* worked on its construction when the empire could not maintain the construction because of the low wages and challenging working conditions on the site See Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 34-36. Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922)," 54-58. For the book version of his dissertation, see: Kadir Yıldırım, *Osmanlı'da İşçiler (1870-1922): Çalışma Hayatı, Örgütler ve Grevler*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013).
- 48 During First World War, for instance, British soldiers worked on the railroads. For further information, See: Yıldırım, *Ibid*, 81-84.
- 49 For further information on *corvée* on the railroads See Donald Quataert, "Transportation," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 809-811.
- 50 Ali Akyıldız, "Alman Sermayesinin Balkanlar'daki Uzantısı: Selanik-Manastır Demiryolu," *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye*, 132-142.
- 51 Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire 1881-1908*, 72.
- 52 *Ibid*, 75.
- 53 Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*.

heavy rails on the soil. Sultan Abdulhamid II's willingness to connect the Arab provinces to the Ottoman capital by rail through Anatolia<sup>54</sup>, resulted in Ottoman workers and soldiers living in sheds adjacent the construction sites without easy access to water needed both for the construction and for their everyday consumption. In terms of animal labor, camels carried liters of water across the desert to the workers.<sup>55</sup>

Another well-known subject in labor historiography, studies focusing on the strikes mostly discuss Anatolian and Baghdad railway workers who went on strike in the first days of the Second Constitutional Era (1908).<sup>56</sup> But as the historiography shows, the first known railroad workers movement started on the Yarımburgaz-Ömerli rail line in March, 1872.<sup>57</sup> Because of daily wages, workers decided on a work stoppage and blocked the circulation of the trains by setting up a tent on the track. The strike lasted more than twenty days. Another strike was begun on April 6, 1872, at construction site because of a conflict that occurred among workers and employees. But, because this line was being constructed by the empire itself, military troops immediately and easily interfered, to end the strike.<sup>58</sup>

After seeing the economic and political effects of strikes, the new power holders in the Ottoman Empire - the Committee of Union and Progress - banned workers' right to strike with the *Tatil-i Eşgal Kanunu* (Strike Law) of 1909.<sup>59</sup> Workers benefited from the first waves of liberty in the empire, from

- 
- 54 Selim Deringil, *the Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998).
- 55 Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, 186-196.
- 56 At the end of the strike, the company decided to increase salaries by 20 percent.
- 57 Kudret Emiroğlu, Ümit Uzmay, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*, 172-174.
- 58 Though, the capacity of the military troops, is more efficient to prevent the strikes on the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railroad line, railroad workers systematically continued to go in strike for instance, on February 26, 1876 and March 2, 1876, see: Kudret Emiroğlu, Ümit Uzmay, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*.
- 59 Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 294. For further information about the strike law, See Zafer -Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memur ve Müstahdeminin Terk-i İşgali," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 57, 1988. Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922)," 478-503.

the announcement of the Second Constitutional Era on July 23, 1908 until 1909.<sup>60</sup> The number of unionized workers increased, industrial work sites experienced long-term strikes,<sup>61</sup> and new types of labor organization were born in the empire.<sup>62</sup>

Arhangelos Gavril, a doctor who worked for the Anatolian Railway company and was the first president of the Anatolian Railroad workers' union, attested to the long-term strikes and the difficult working conditions of railroad workers. His book, entitled *Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları İdaresi'nin İç Yüzü* and published in 1911, was used as a primary source by historians to tell the history of the strikes organized by the Anatolian Railroad workers' union in the summer and fall of 1908. Moreover, his book details on the working conditions on the work-site and the labor organization of the railroad system.<sup>63</sup> Through his account, we learn how railroad workers competently declared their rights and demands in the face of railroad authorities. During the strike, for instance, they declared that they would no longer work under the cruel system of Mr. Edouard Huguenin, the general director of the Anatolian Railways:

The railroad workers of the Anatolian railroad lines have unanimously decided to demand the discharge of the general director of the Anatolian Railway, Edouard Huguenin, in order to end his despotic, derogatory, arbitrary, and distressing administration of nineteen years at the

- 
- 60 On the strikes of railroad workers across the empire, see: Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922)," 354-374. Peter Mentzel, "The Bulgarian Declaration of Independence and the 1908 Oriental Railway Strike: Conspiracy or Coincedence?," *East European Quarterly*, 37/4 (2003).
- 61 Hakkı Onur (Zafer Toprak), "1908 İşçi Hareketleri ve Jön Türkler," *Yurt ve Dünya*, sayı 2, Mart 1977.
- 62 Kudret Emiroğlu, Ümit Uzman, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: TCDD, 2013). Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922)," 174.
- 63 Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Kısa bir Tashihin Uzun Hikayesi, Anadolu Osmanlı Şimendiferleri, Demiryolları Şirketi Memurinin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i İttihadiyesi," in *Tanzimat'tan günümüze Türkiye işçi sınıfı tarihi 1839-2014: yeni yaklaşımlar, yeni alanlar yeni sorunlar*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015), eds. Doğan Çetinkaya, Mehmet Ö. Alkan, 146.

company. To achieve our demand, in the name of the workers, we would like his resignation in three days. If it is denied, we do not accept the responsibilities.<sup>64</sup>

Another subject under the heading of labor history, is the ethnic division of labor on railroad work-sites. While Europeans and non-Muslim Ottomans possessed greater skills and well-paid positions, Muslims worked in lower positions.<sup>65</sup> Donald Quataert, further argues that predominantly native-born Ottoman Turks, Armenians, and Greeks comprised the majority of the workforce, others emigrated from European countries, found work, and “acquired Ottoman citizenship”. According to his study, although 90 percent of all persons employed by the Anatolian Railroad Company were Ottoman subjects, Europeans - especially Germans - occupied the highest and most lucrative posts. Mostly Muslim Turks held the lowliest positions.<sup>66</sup>

Resistance to the economic changes in the provinces, another topic of the social history of railroads, has been analyzed by railroad historians. Though not discussed in detail, it indirectly developed animal labor history of the empire.<sup>67</sup> Just as, with each new technology and change in the economic, political,

---

64 Ibid, 165.

65 For the Baghdad railroad line, for instance, Murat Özyüksel argues that while Europeans worked in higher echelons, Ottoman Greeks and Armenians held positions at the middle levels. Muslim workers they generally worked in lower positions, See Özyüksel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*, 299. On the number of European working on the railroad lines of the empire, See Yıldırım, “Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922),” 40-41.

66 Quataert, Ibid, 79. For a revision of the ethnic division of labor discussion, See Peter Mentzel, “The ‘Ethnic Division of Labor’ on Ottoman railroads,” *Turcica*, 37: 221-214, 2005. For the composition of workers on the Salonica-Manastır railroad line See Basil C.Gounaris, “Railway Construction and Labour Availability in Macedonia in the Late Nineteenth Century,” 147-148.

67 Until trains brought cast iron water tanks, the camels of contractors hired from Damascus, brought water to railroad workers. For further information about animal labor on the Hijaz railroad line, See Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 43. For a brief history of how rails replaced the animals in terms of transportation in Egypt, see: Alan Mikhail, *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 59-63.

and legal systems, the realization of railroad infrastructure offered a new potential for new markets, new work definitions and new administrative regulations. Resistance by representatives of the “old” transportation system dependent on animal labor clearly shows how railroads are a part of the social and labor history.

When the first train arrived in Aydın (1860), for instance, with the fear of losing their job and their economic power dependent on animal labor, camel owners (*deveciler*), drivers (*arabacılar*) and owners of horse caravans (*beygir kervancıları*) resisted the entrance of trains and railroads into their environs, and lay on the tracks to show their anger.<sup>68</sup> Animals were part of infrastructure construction and key to the economic system.<sup>69</sup> For instance, the rugged geographical conditions along the Büyük Menderes and Küçük Menderes valleys, the absence of a sufficient number of bridges over the rivers, and the destruction of bridges by flood waters prevented wheeled transportation, leaving to a transportation system dependent on camels and mules in Aydın.<sup>70</sup>

The aforementioned scholars have developed examples of remarkable history writing on the railroad history of the empire so far. Future studies on this area, will undoubtedly use their studies as the backbone and the beginning point. However, few writers have been able to draw on systematic research on the social aspects of railroads for. There are several reasons.

As Donald Quataert pointed out in 1974, the impact of the railroads on the Ottoman Empire deserves to be researched still.<sup>71</sup> Thirty-four years after this argument, Donald Quataert further discusses why historians of Ottoman Anatolia, unlike historians of the empire’s Arab provinces were “nearly silent on the issue of subalterns and their place in the making history”.<sup>72</sup> The centrality

---

68 Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 145.

69 During the construction of the Aydın railroad, 10 thousand camels and 500 mules worked on the roads, See: Atilla, *Ibid*, 54.

70 Ali Akyıldız “Demiryolları ve Değişme: Batı Anadolu Örneği,” *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye*, 53.

71 Donald Quataert, “Yakub N. Karkar, *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire: 1856–1914*,” *International Journal of Middle East*, 5/ 4, 1974, 505-506.

72 Donald Quataert, “Pensée 2: Doing Subaltern Studies in Ottoman History,” *International Journal of Middle East* 40, No.3 (Aug.2008), 379.



of the Turkish state and the tradition of state-centered historical writing on the Ottoman Empire caused an ignorance of all classes in society except state elites, making it difficult to read Ottomans' testimonies in the official "state-centered" documents in the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives. Quataert further reminds younger generations that the records of industrial establishments such as factories, railroad facilities, and the tobacco monopoly, as well as the archives of provincial locales, offer detailed documents for subaltern studies.<sup>73</sup>

Hence, keeping these findings and analysis in mind, I suggest that Ottoman railroad historiography is late in catching the social, cultural, gender, environmental, and even still the labor history of railroads. Thus, the following subsection discusses exemplars from the new railroad historiography in order to evaluate this new historiography in the Ottoman context.

## § 2.4 What Kind of Railroad History Do We Want?<sup>74</sup> Approaches to Railroad History

New fields of global historiography have enriched railroad history over the last few decades. From the Annales School to Marxist historiography, from the history of science and medicine<sup>75</sup> to gender studies to cultural history and

73 Quataert, *Ibid*, 380. Erdem Kabadayı repeats the same argument, See: Erdem Kabadayı, "Working in a fez factory in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century: division of labour and networks of migration formed along ethno-religious lines," in (ed.) Touraj Atabaki, Gavin Brockett, *Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labor History*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press), 2009. Likewise, twenty years before Quataert's article on the subaltern studies of the Empire, Zafer Toprak offered the same argument. If the archives of the Gendarme, and the Ministries of Justice, Interior, and Public Works were opened to researchers, the number of studies on labor history and syndical movements would increase See: Zafer Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memur ve Müstahdeminin Terk-i İşgali," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 57, 1988, 50.

74 I borrow this question from Michael Robbins See: Michael Robbins, "What kind of railway history do we want?" *The Journal of Transport History*, 3.2, 1957.

75 British surgeon John Erichsen defined a disease by analyzing tens of people who suffered side effects of a train wreck. Because of the sudden collision, passengers may have injured their

from social history to environmental history<sup>76</sup>, railroad historians have produced many fruitful studies. Through the exchange of ideas among history and other disciplines such as anthropology<sup>77</sup>, engineering, architecture<sup>78</sup>, gender studies<sup>79</sup>, psychology,<sup>80</sup> and environmental studies,<sup>81</sup> railroad history writing has offered many lucrative studies in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The

---

spines. This injury to the spine was named by Erichsen as a railway spine. He further argued that if an accident does not occur because of the negligence of a passenger, railroad companies are the only responsible parties for accidents and are responsible for railway spine, as well. For further information about discussions of railway spine in Mexico, See Michael Matthews, *Ibid*, in Britain Ralph Harrington, *Ibid*. For the USA see; Eric Caplan "Trains and Trauma in the American Gilded Age," in *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930*, (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

- 76 In his article, "What is Environmental History? Why Environmental History?" James O'Connor summarizes the phases through which Western historiography has passed so far. Beginning with political, legal, and constitutional history, Western historiography then passed on to economic history in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Due to the rise of social movements in Europe, historiography shifted to social and cultural history in the mid-twentieth century, and finally, in the words of O'Connor, "culminates in environmental history in the late 20th century." For further discussion on how environmental history become a field of study in history writing, See: James O'Connor, "What is Environmental History? Why Environmental History?" *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 8, Issue 2, June 1997.
- 77 For an interesting narrative of railroad landscape history through analysis of resting trains, in Buenos Aires, See: Stephanie Mccallum, "On Rust," <https://aesengagement.wordpress.com/2016/04/06/on-rust/> (29.05.2016).
- 78 For the railroad architecture of the Anatolian and Baghdad railroad, See: Peter Christensen, "Architecture, Expertise and the German construction of the Ottoman Railway Network, 1868-1919," (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2014). Mehmet Yavuz, *Bahnhofsarchitektur der Anatolischen Bahnen und der Bagdadbahn*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014).
- 79 R. David Mccall, "Everything in Its Place: Gender and Space on America's Railroads, 1830-1899," (Master's Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1999).
- 80 See: Paul Lerner, Mark S.Micale, "Trauma, Psychiatry, and History: A Conceptual and Historiographical Introduction," (ed.) Mark S.Micale, Paul Lerner, *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 12-13.
- 81 The environmental turn proposes that historians study the relationship between nature and humans and the history of non-human actors. A few examples from the railroad environmental history of the railroad are for instance: the maintenance of forests for railroad con-

railroad historiography of Europe<sup>82</sup>, the United States, Egypt, Latin American countries such as Mexico and, Cuba,<sup>83</sup> and India have recently developed with the appearance of interdisciplinary studies in the field. The purpose of this section is to review the literature by discussing pioneering examples from railroad historiography and showing how its authors have criticized their traditional historiography before studying the railroads in a broader context. Train accidents in the history of British, American, and Mexican railroads are analyzed to understand if these societies were affected in a different way from Ottoman society. The focus is on specific disease called railway spine, was discussed throughout the world in the nineteenth century.

---

struction site. Railroad companies harvested wood both as an energy source for the operation of trains and for bridge construction. On wood harvesting, consumption and the administration of forests in the Ottoman Empire, see: Selçuk Dursun, "Forest and the state: History of forestry and forest administration in the Ottoman Empire," (PhD Dissertation, Sabancı University, 2007). In American, Canadian, and Indian railroad construction bridges were made of wood rather than iron. For American railroads, see: Richard White, *Railroaded: Transcontinental Railroads* and his lecture on the use of forests for railroad construction and especially bridge construction, See *Transcontinental Railroads and the Environmental Consequences of Premature Development*,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6NFuBJXxtI> (accessed July 15, 2015). For the Canadian Pacific Railroad, see: Heather Anne Longworth, "Tracks, Tunnels and Trestles: An Environmental History of the Construction of the Pacific Railroads," (Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, 2009), 48. For the effects of the flood on the railroad bridges and examples from the Ottoman Empire, See chapter 4. Concerning the environmental challenges at work sites, Diana di Stefano analyzes how skilled West railway workers in Canada and the United States faced problems like snow slides and other dangerous conditions during winter. For further discussion See: Diana di L. Stefano, "Disasters, Railway Workers and the Law in the Avalanche Country, 1880-1910," *Environmental History Journal*, July 2009. Diana di L. Stefano, "Avalanche Country: Nature, Work, and Culture in the Mountain West 1834-1910," (PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado, 2007), 121-170.

- 82 George Revill's *Railway*, for instance, covers global railroad culture as the "iconic presence in modernity," See: "Tracking Railway Histories," *The Journal of Transport History*, Volume 35. No.2 (December 2014), 243.
- 83 Luis Martínez Fernández, "Railroads," *Encyclopedia of Cuba: people, history, culture*. (New York: Greenwood Press, Orxy Book).

Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *Railway Journey* is considered the first attempt to explore the wider social and cultural meaning of railroads and trains in global historiography. *Railway Journey*, which analyzes the birth of industrialized consciousness and the way people used this technology, reads railroads in a broad sense. In his pathbreaking book, Schivelbusch explores how our perception of time, distance, autonomy, speed, and risk were altered by railroad journeys in the nineteenth century.

His contribution on to the reorganization of space and the change to the consciousness of speed are supported by various number of examples across the world. From Heinrich Heine's essays wherein railroads were represented as killers of space and creators of "fast" travel heading to Orleans in four and a half hours<sup>84</sup> to Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* in which he discusses the differences between a motorcar and a train in terms of speed<sup>85</sup> to Karl Marx's *Grundrisse*, on the relation of spatial distance and products in terms of their quick transportation to market, Schivelbusch analyzes authors and philosophers, exploring how they presented train journeys in Germany, England, and in the United States.

Moreover, he offers many possible areas of study for social and cultural historians interested in everyday life conditions and changes in the industrial era, like the panoramic travel that trains offer, accidents, railway spine, and new types of carriage systems and histories of shock, urban growth, and urbanization.

Wolfgang Schivelbusch is one of the most praiseworthy cultural historians who contributed to the systematic research of concepts and fields upon which railroads have touched. His pioneering work for the first time showed how railroad historiography can be traveled through ideas and that railroads offer "new" history-writing possibilities. In his comprehensive survey, he discusses how the concepts of "old" and "new" were born in the industrial age in terms of transportation issues. In the words of George Revill, his well-known work

---

84 For the direct quote from Heinrich Heine's *Lutezia* on the railroad journey, See: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: the Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th century*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1986), 37.

85 Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 39-40.

will remain the model for writing interdisciplinary cultural histories of this transport system.<sup>86</sup>

Richard White, environmental historian and the author of *Railroaded: The transcontinentals and the making of modern America*, offers new approaches to the economic, labor, and social history of the transcontinental railroads, underscoring that American railroad historiography has thus far ignored the social effects of the railroads:

Railroad history is often seen, like economic, business, or political history, as the fairly bland story of triumphant white men. This story is often devoid of social context. Railroad history, however, does not have to be written or taught this way, because it is, in fact, intimately connected to numerous other areas of historical inquiry. Race and class issues surrounding railroads are closely tied to labor issues. From Indian resistance, to the marginalization of Chinese workers, to union development -railroad history demonstrates the connection between seemingly bland business history, and tense, engaging, often bloody social history.<sup>87</sup>

His work relates the transcontinental railroad history to a wider economic and social perspective. In terms of economics, he analyzes the corrupt finance system of the entrepreneurs and the partnership of powerful federal governments.<sup>88</sup> In the words of White:

Many of my entrepreneurs obtained great fortunes, but they created inefficient, costly, dysfunctional corporations. These corporations did spur innovations in production, but that was the problem. They built

---

86 George Reville, "Tracking Railway Histories," *The Journal of Transport History*, Volume 35. No.2 (December 2014), 245.

87 Richard White, *Railroads Links to Social, Economic, Cultural and Environmental History*, available at: <https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=Railroads+Links+to+Social%2C+Economic%2C+Cultural+and+Environmental+History%2C&oq=Railroads+Links+to+Social%2C+Economic%2C+Cultural+and+Environmental+History%2C&aqs=chrome..69j57j126o11j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8> (accessed 10 June 2016).

88 Richard White, *Railroaded: the Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2011 – Kindle version), Introduction.

railroads that would have never been better left unbuilt, and flooded markets with wheat, silver, cattle and coal for which there was little or no need. They set in motion a train of catastrophes for which paid the price. They often squandered large amounts of capital and labor for no good end. Many of the investments would have been better made in other sectors of the economy.<sup>89</sup>

The history of the transcontinental railroads, which connected America, Canada, and Mexico, begins with the Civil War and ends with “the last and largest of their nineteenth-century failures in the depression of the 1890s.”<sup>90</sup> Railroads not only transported militaries to the fronts during the Civil War but also transferred people to mining areas helping them participate in the gold rushes of the 1860s. Moreover, a railroad constructed with African-American slave labor, Chinese workers<sup>91</sup>, and other immigrant workers<sup>92</sup> could not be conceptualized and written about without touching on the history of slavery in America. Thus, Richard White reiterates that race is one of the big three categories

---

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

91 For the history of working conditions, racial discrimination and wage problems on the work site, and the contract problems of Chinese workers who worked for the Six Companies in San Francisco, See: Richard White, *Railroaded: the Transcontinental Railroads and the Making of Modern America*, Chapter 7: III Contract Labor and the Chinese.

92 For the history of an Irish immigrant worker, see William Pinkerton’s memoirs about his experience on the St. Louis-San Francisco railroad line in the late 1870s in Richard White, *Ibid.*, and Chapter 7: “A Railroad Life: William Pinkerton.” Moreover, today railroad historiography is the part of new spatial history projects through GIS programs. At Stanford University, for instance, Richard White conducted a twelve-year research project on the economic and social history of the Transcontinental Railroad line. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/railroaded/> (accessed 10 May 2016). *The Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project* seeks to understand how Chinese migrant workers helped shape the physical and social landscape of the American West during the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad line. Thousands of Chinese workers worked for three years doing back-breaking labor. Between 1865 and 1869. See: <http://web.stanford.edu/group/chineserailroad/cgi-bin/wordpress/about-our-project/> (accessed 10 May 2016).

of social history.<sup>93</sup> To show that America belongs only to Americans, discrimination against Chinese workers in the environs of the railroads increased in time. In the late 1870s, for instance, the San Franciscan drayman and entrepreneur David Kearney adopted the slogan “The Chinese must go!” for the racist, antimonopoly party for which he worked.<sup>94</sup>

Non-Western railroad historiography is remarkable for developing social themes of railroad historiography and can be an exemplar for Ottoman historiography. Beginning in colonial India, the pioneer scholar of railroad historiography, Ian Kerr, argues that Ritika Prasad’s *Tracks of Change: Railways and everyday life in colonial India* –focusing on the conditions that defined everyday travel for third-class passengers across the region on railroads, marks the maturation of a trend present in the historiography of South Asian railroads since the turn of the current millennium.<sup>95</sup> Historians pay much more attention to the multidimensional ways in which railroads were central to the making of modern India.

Kerr summarizes the specific features of this historiography in three points. Rather than telling the history of “what railroads were,” the way and how railroads affected the everyday life is the central concern of this historiography. Second, the representatives of this scholarship have focused more on “sociocultural and representational dimensions” than others who have focused on economic history – used quantitative methodologies. As an example of sociocultural, representational, and economic narratives, this new historiography provides a detailed labor history.<sup>96</sup> Finally, the last point concerns the sources of the historiography. While many historians of modern India used English texts as their source, historians contributing to this new historiography- preferred to use some primary sources written/spoken in different written and spoken languages of India.

---

93 Richard White, “Railroads Links to Social, Economic, Cultural and Environmental History,”

94 Richard White, *Railroaded: the Transcontinental Railroads and the Making of Modern America*, Chapter 7: III Contract Labor and the Chinese.

95 Ian Kerr, “Chugging into Unfamiliar Stations, A New History of India’s Railway,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol LI, no.19, 2016, 28.

96 *Ibid*, 31.

Regarding Mexican historiography, the author of *A Social History of Mexico's Railroads*, Teresa Van Hoy, criticizes railroad historiography along the same vein:

Affiliated with the major school of business history in Mexico City, the new scholarship emphasizes internal factors, both of the railway companies and of the nation, in shaping railroad development. Still largely absent is the social history of railroad development, notably its impact on rural and provincial Mexicans resident in communities traversed by rails.<sup>97</sup>

As a contribution to this new historiography, the author of *The Civilizing Machine: A Cultural History of Mexican Railroads, 1876-1910*, Michael Matthews explores negative side effects of the railroad such as train accidents, deaths, destruction, and disorder, further contributing to social history fields. He further analyses a dispute on the railway spine disease among railroad companies, surgeons and the Mexicans in which historians can capture how a definition of disease led to shape insurance as a necessity in travel expenses and how railroad companies tried to manipulate the media throughout the century in all over the world.

With respect to the history of time and time-keeping practices in the industrial age in the Middle East<sup>98</sup>, On Barak's recent work *On Time* explores the social and cultural effects of modern technological tools in Khedival and colonial Egypt. In his book, On Barak is questioning whether or not modern technology, steamers, railroads, the telegraph, tramways and the telephone

---

97 Teresa Van Hoy, *A Social History of Mexico's Railroads*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), xvii.

98 For how railroad timetables played a major role in Ottoman society's modern practices of time, see: François Georgeon, "Changes of time: An Aspect of Ottoman Modernization," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.44, 2011, 189-195. Zafer Toprak, "Demiryolu, Devlet ve Modernite," Nil Birol, "Managing the Time of the Bureaucrat in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Central Administration," (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University), 19-21. For a critique of the idea that modern time consciousness did develop dependently from industrialization process, see: Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 185-191.



played a crucial role in the quick spread of time-keeping practices between 1830 and 1940.<sup>99</sup>

Against the idea that standardized, “European” time keeping and social synchronization were easily and rapidly adopted by society, On Barak tries to understand in a different way how time-keeping practices developed in Egypt. With his concept of *countertempos*, developed by Barak discusses how and where “Egyptian slowness” and “European speed” met and what the consequences of this meeting were. He explores the idea that standardized time-keeping and social synchronization in Egypt were not direct consequences of tools of modern communication and transportation.<sup>100</sup>

*Countertempos*, instead examines how Egyptians responded to European technology when dealing with time schedules at industrial work sites, specific time-tables for trains, and the developing idea of punctuality in bureaucracy and at workplaces. Barak, further argues that time-keeping practices in Egypt had their own specific features. While time became a product of capitalism in industrial society and while industrial society became known for its organization of time, punctuality, linearity, “these newly introduced means of transportation and communication did not drive social synchronization in Egypt.”<sup>101</sup>

Based on Egyptian State Railway magazines, Arabic dailies, journals, and novels, *On Time* is remarkable contribution to the social and cultural history of railroad history in the Middle East. Moreover, with respect to railroad historiography, he deals with how time is gendered as women and men wait for trains in the stations<sup>102</sup>, how interior of the trains are categorized according to the tickets Egyptians could afford<sup>103</sup> and how time became a product of the

---

99 Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Egypt*, 5.

100 Ibid.

101 Barak, Ibid.

102 According to Barak, while feminine time is task oriented, masculine time is clock time.

103 A hierarchy was constructed according to seating arrangements guaranteed by ticket fees belonging to the different department of a train. Third-class carriages came after the engine. The second-class carriages, which in Egypt were owned by “effendis,” followed the third class carriage. First-class carriages occupied mostly by Europeans, ridiculed the other passengers for smelling and for peddling merchandise on board. On further discussion, See: On Barak,

capitalist system that was imposed upon railroad workers in the sense that workers had to obey strict time-keeping rules, prepared by British officials on the work sites.<sup>104</sup>

These aforementioned studies offer new perspectives on the role of railroads and trains, beyond an economic and political perspective. A summary of their main findings, principal issues, and the suggestions, that have arisen in this discussion, is provided in the next chapters which aim to contribute to the social and labor history of Ottoman railroads.

In a nutshell, the social history of Ottoman railroads is a novel subject on which few works have been published. Tom Zoellner underscores that “the pool of railway literature is oceanic,” and all I intend, is to briefly introduce the new railroad historiography and encourage historians to study the complex causes and consequences of railroads vis-à-vis their social context.<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps the most exciting thing about the precise role of railroad history for the coming years, is that it brings a broader critical approach to bear on primary and secondary sources. Beyond economic and political history, I hope that this research will serve as a base for future railroad studies.

---

“Egyptian Times: Temporality, Personhood and the Techno-Political Making of Modern Egypt, 1830-1930,” (PhD Dissertation, New York University), 222.

104 Another example shows that railroad workers should continue practicing the time reading and their work duties at home, according to British railroad authorities, See: On Barak, “Egyptian Times: Temporality, Personhood and the Techno-Political Making of Modern Egypt, 1830-1930,” 178.

105 George Revill, “Tracking Railway Histories,” 243.

## Maintaining Order Around Railroads: Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads

**O**n a macro level, this chapter of the thesis, first discusses how the built railroad environment was officially defined, planned, and governed by the modern Ottoman bureaucracy, depended on police regulation. I then argue that this environment was actually built by actors on a daily basis by analyzing everyday practices of Ottomans in the area and by examining their presence in the area.

Secondly, attacks under the pretext of security and enclosure under the pretext of area planning are discussed, and analyzed with a focus on official documents. In terms of attacks and convenient to social and labour perspective of this thesis, this chapter details during the attacks and discusses railroad workers different attitudes and reactions and how they intervened during attacks in their own words, through written investigation reports prepared by the imperial Railroad Commissioner.

Moreover, to define the physical limits of the railroads, in terms of area planning, I discuss the case of a wall that enclosed the property of an urban Ottoman citizen, Fatma Hanım, in the railroad environment near the Yedikule-Küçükçekmece railroad line. Beyond that, I will discuss how the Ottoman bureaucracy and engineers played a constructive, intermediary role between the Oriental Railway Company and Fatma Hanım so as not deprive her citizen face to Oriental Railway Company.

### § 3.1 Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads

Related to the reformist state approach and as the part of the modernization reform process, and in order to protect the railroads, maintain the safe circulation of trains, and keep public order in the area, the Ottoman bureaucracy used legal tools to implement regulations. It was as an attempt to generalize and standardize rules appropriate to the nineteenth century's spirit of reform.<sup>1</sup> One should analyze police regulation of Ottoman Railroads in the same vein.

This regulation for the first time partially studied by Kadir Yıldırım in his doctoral dissertation. The fact that his work focuses on the labor relations of the Empire at the Industrial age, his primary aim was to understand how this regulation had effected railroad workers labor organizations. Commenting on the regulation, Yıldırım argues that general strikes were forbidden according to article 14. Those who prevents the circulation without intervening deadly crime under- would stop the car-train circulation with the strikes- any circumstances would be punished one year to three years imprisonment. As Yıldırım mentioned though this article did not directly target workers, because instead of preventing the strikes, article aims to protect the railroads and transportation from the every sort of crimes.<sup>2</sup>

The Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads, prepared by the Ministry of Public Works Railroad Commission, discussed in the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vala Ahkam-ı Adliye), approved by Sultan Abdülaziz, and then issued on June 11, 1867.<sup>3</sup> This regulation consisted of four

- 
- 1 As argued by Alp Yücel Kaya and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, another important feature of the nineteenth century modern state, is the generalization and standardization of the rules that organize social and economic life, by abolishing local and private profits, and privileges for changing practices according to spatial, regional, religious, professional, class groups. For further discussion, See: Alp Yücel Kaya, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'" *Tarih Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, Güz 2009/9, 7.
  - 2 Kadir Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922)," (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul University, 2011), 477.
  - 3 During the preparation process for the regulation to be presented to the Meclis-i Vala, the Ministry of Public Works Railroad Commission, gathered under the presidency of Mr. Ritter

chapters (*fasıl*) and twenty-two articles (*madde*) – some of which changed in time, and additional articles were added. The Ministries of Public Works and Justice were responsible for the implementation of the regulation.

When the regulation is attentively read, five titles stand out, and three of which are the subjects of this thesis. The first, entitled “about the relative measures to be taken for the safe circulation of the railroads” (*demiryollar ile mürur ve uburu temin edecek tedabire dairdir*), is about attacks – derailments, bombings, sabotage that caused deaths, injuries, damaged the railroads, and disrupted the public order. The second one, entitled “about the relative measures to be taken for the protection of the railroads” (*demiryollarının hüsnü muhafazasına dairdir*), highlights security issues on the railroads and in the trains, directly relating to accidents and incidents that cause accidents such as walking practices, and trespassing.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, the regulation concentrates on the physical limits of the railroads, strictly defining the frontiers of the railroads described by the Ottoman bureaucracy. The first title of last section, is entitled “about passengers and foreign persons in terms of railroad service” (*yolcular ile demiryolu hizmetinde bulunmyan kesen hakkındadır*) and the last is “about the observation and prosecution of crimes, offenses, and

---

referred to police regulations of railroads in France. The council worked on three different regulations to submit for the approval of the government. On the discussions See: BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 08 S 1284 (June 11, 1867). In noteworthy studies on the police studies in the Ottoman Empire, Levy notes that it is impossible to understand the evolution of the notions of crime, protecting public order and punishment, without comparing developments in other countries, especially developments in Western Europe. In this context, we refer to French model, See: Noémi Levy, “Giriş,” in (ed.) Noémi Levy, Alexandre Toumarkine, *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20.yüzyıllar*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), 3. Following from Noemi Levy's contribution to the police studies, the Imperial railroad police administration system in the Ottoman Empire, was influenced by the similar special surveillance system of the railroad police administration system of France and was established by decree on February, 22 1855, See: Dominique Kalifa, Pierre Karila-Cohen, “L'homme de l'entre-deux, L'identité brouillée du commissaire de police au XIX siècle,” (ed.) Dominique Kalifa, Pierre Karila-Cohen, *Le commissaire de police au XIX siècle*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008), 10. For the number of railroad police in France overall, see: Ibid. 236.

4 Thus, the next chapter focuses on accidents.

the investigation process” (*cinayet ve cünha ve kabahatlerin ve hilâfi nizam hareketlerin icrayi tahkik ve muhakemesine dairdir*).

In Article 14 of Section 3 of the regulation, those not in the service of the railroads were prohibited from entering limited (*demiryolun mesdud* and *gayrı mesdut*) areas.<sup>5</sup> This multi-authored area had multidimensional administration system. The area was officially reserved for the railroad administration – the including Public Works Railroad Department and railroad company employees. Those who did not belong to this *official*<sup>6</sup> environment, could neither stand (*tevakkuf*) nor walk around (*gezmesi*) in the area.<sup>7</sup> If people or animals entered the railroad limits, they (the proprietor of animals, as well) should pay twenty *mecidiye* (*bir adet yirmilik mecdiye*).<sup>8</sup> The interior of the railroads (*demiryolu derununa*) only officially open to directors (*müdürler*), gendarmes (*zaptiye memurin ve zabitanı*), local gendarmes (*mahalli zaptiye neferatı*), the imperial railroad commissioner and engineers (*demiryolu nezaretine memur devleti âliye komiserler ile mühendisleri*)<sup>9</sup>, customs officers (*gümrük memuru*), and customs administration officers (*rüşumat memurları*). Before entering the railroad environment, these individuals had to inform the director where they wished to go.<sup>10</sup> If someone or an animal (which were obviously not used for their labor) entered the environment, watchmen (*bekçiler*) and servants

5 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 08 S 1284 (June 11, 1867).

6 I use the word *officially* to indicate “in the eyes of Ottoman bureaucracy and railroad companies.”

7 Ibid: *ikinci fasıl madde on dört: Demiryolu hizmetinde müstahdem bulunmayan kesianın demiryolun mesdud ve gayrı mesdut olan kıt'alarından içeri girmesi ve tasviye kumu mefruş (döşenmiş) ve demir çubuklar memdut olan yerlerinde tevakkuf veyahut gezmesi...*

8 BOA, Ibid: *... ve gerek zikrolunan demiryolu dahilinde veyahut demiryolunun etrafı duvar ile mesdut olmadığı takdirde demiryol etrafında bulunan hendekler veyahut yolun mebni olduğu imalâtı türabiye şevklerinin kaideleri meyanesinde olan mesafe dahiline beygir ve hayvanatı saire ithali memnu olup hilâfi hareket edenlerden bir adet yirmilik mecdiye cezayinaktı alınacaktır.*

9 Because railroad technology specifically requires expertise on machine systems and a wider reading of the capacity to control nature like expertise on road topography, railroad engineers discerned possible difficulties of working in an area before the construction process. To adapt easily and quickly to this system, Ottoman engineers (*mühendis*) worked with European colleagues with whom shared their experiences and knowledge.

10 BOA, Ibid: *... şukadar ki girecekleri mevkiğin müdirine evvelce haber vereceklerdir.*

(*demiryolun sair hademeleri*) could get remove them out of the railroads. If someone resist, officials were in charge to get them from the area of the railroads without permission. Any interventions to prevent the circulation of trains, would be prevented by soldiers, watchmen, and railroad authorities.

Heretofore we have discussed the official definition of this built environment. The following two subsections, focus on attacks especially railroad workers different attitudes and reactions during an attack and on a house constructed near the Yedikule-Küçükçekmece railroad line.

### § 3.2 Attacks, Robberies, and Brigandage: Disruption of Public Order in the Railroad Environment

Not everything that passed along the railroad lines was beneficial. In a way, railroads become associated with violent, and violence was a “regular traveler on railroads”.<sup>11</sup> The question of the security of the railroad environment references many issues in the Ottoman Empire. With no particular hierarchy, security problems related to the security of passengers, train crews, and unexpected guests – such as drunks, beggars, cows, and horses - in the environment. Though attackers knew that a hierarchy existed among workers, engineers, and commissioners, each servants have been affected by the attacks. Besides, attacks caused accidents and thus attacks and accidents had an inter-related relationship.

Given Charles Tilly’s concept of collective violence and the fact that Ottoman historiography has not paid enough attention to reading violent attacks more broadly than the state-centered perspective, this thesis underlines the importance of sociological, political, and cultural boundaries while explaining collective, violent attacks like sabotage, bombings, and mass killings.<sup>12</sup> When

---

11 For attacks on the British railroad, see: (ed.) Jack Simmons, Gordon Biddle, *The Oxford Companion to British Railway History from 1603s to 1990s*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 119. For attacks on Egyptian railroads, for instance, see: Jennifer Leslee Deer, “Cultivating the State: Cash Crop Agriculture, Irrigation and the Geography of Authority in Colonial Southern Egypt, 1868-1931,” (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2009), 245-248.

12 Charles Tilly, *the Politics of Collective Violence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5-25.

the primary and secondary sources on the attacks are analyzed, different political, economic and social reasons from different regions of the empire, can be understood as the impetus for the attacks.

As Tilly underscored, thinking on these relations and discussing questions such as why attackers preferred to use violence including the disruption of public order, killing, and injuring citizens instead of finding a solution within the social contract in other words, with political tools should be studied attentively<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, this attempt does not intend to legitimize these attacks. It is an initial, legitimate point for historians to determine the motivations behind the attacks.

Hence, İlkay Yılmaz's book called, *II.Abdülhamid Döneminde Güvenlik Politikaları, Mürur Tezkereleri, Pasaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları: Serseri, Anarşist ve Fesadın Peşinde* constitutes an important contribution to Ottoman historiography. She explores how collective, violent attacks, including bombings of Oriental railroads led to the birth of the concepts of mob, brigand and anarchist in the view of Ottoman bureaucrats i.e., people who rebelled against Ottoman officials (*memurini devleti âliyeye karşı serkeşlik edenler*<sup>14</sup>), as well as how the state responded these attacks and revolts, in an age of nationalism that characterized the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid<sup>15</sup>.

No matter the reason behind an attack, any intervention on the railroads were considered as one of the important and major crime in the Empire and railroads and trais were places exposed to deadly attacks.<sup>16</sup> The attacks on the

---

13 Tilly, Ibid.

14 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 08 S 1284 (June 11, 1867).

15 İlkay Yılmaz, *II.Abdülhamid Döneminde Güvenlik Politikaları, Mürur Tezkereleri, Pasaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları: Serseri, Anarşist ve Fesadın Peşinde*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014).

16 Though our concern is the second half of the nineteenth century in other words, after the implementation of modern legal practices for criminal cases, Sharia law still a key tool to understand how *katül tarik* was analyzed by Ottoman rulers, See: İlhan Akbulut, "İslam Hukukunda Suçlar ve Cezalar," *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 52/1, 2003, 177.



Oriental railroad lines<sup>17</sup>, the Bedouin attacks on the Hedjaz railroad line<sup>18</sup> both during construction and when the trains were operating on the rails, and the attacks on the railroad lines of the İzmir and Aydın region, can be read as resistance to changing economic and social conditions after having reached these regions.<sup>19</sup> For Sultan Abdülhamid II and Ottoman bureaucracy, for instance, the Hijaz Railroad project, was first off an attempt to easily transport pilgrims (*hüccac*) to Mecca and Medina. William Ochsenwald, likewise underscores that, since the Hijaz railroad line was being constructed replace caravans that had mostly been controlled by Bedouin tribes in the area, it financially affected tribes' economic situation. These attacks were made directly on a material symbol of the empire, in other words on the network and communication tools of the state. They targeted railroad authorities, merchants, passengers, and workers<sup>20</sup> as well as railroads, roads, trains and telegraphic lines.<sup>21</sup>

- 
- 17 On attacks on railroads in Bulgaria, in Belova, Sarımbey, Filibe, Tirnova and Yanbolu, see: Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 210-214.
- 18 See: Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, 118-130.
- 19 Ibid, 122.
- 20 An Italian laborer, for instance was murdered during an attack. See: Basil C. Gounaris, "Peasants, Brigands, and Navvies: Railway Dreams and Realities in the Ottoman Balkans," 219. In order to prevent attacks, railroad companies wrote to the Ministry of Public Works demanding an increase in the number of soldiers to more efficiently protect railroad lines, trains, and stations. For an example from Sinekli, a neighborhood near Silivri, İstanbul, See: BOA, T.DMI 950/19, 3.Z.1312 (May 28, 1895). For another example from the Çerkezköy-Mustafapaşa railroad line, see: BOA, T.DMI 1020/24, 13.L.1321 (January 1, 1904). A letter written on October, 7 1888 by the Oriental railroad company to the Imperial police of Philippoli, Esad Efendi, concerning the protection of railroad workers in Karaağaç, See: BOA, T.DMI: 910/116, 21/S/1306 (October 27, 1888). Another letter written by Mr. Kühlmann to Governor Hasan Paşa demanding a higher number of soldiers and police around Silivri, See: BOA, T.DMI 859/21, 16.M.1299 (December 28, 1881).
- 21 For attacks on telegraph lines in the Hijaz region during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid and their effects on society, and for the reasons why the Ottoman governor and the commander of the Hijaz, Bedouin tribes tried to cut the connection between the capital and the Hijaz vilayet, See: Mostafa Minawi, "Lines in the Sand: The Ottoman Empire's Policies of Expansion and Consolidation on its African and Arabian Frontiers (1882-1902)," (Phd Dissertation, New York University, 2011), 198-249.

İlkay Yılmaz gives similar examples from Istanbul of attempted attack such as putting heavy rocks on the tracks to derail running trains.<sup>22</sup> On March 7, 1903, for instance, gendarmes found 110 pieces 26 kilograms of dynamite near Çatalca, close to the Ambardere-Yıkıkhane railroad.<sup>23</sup> The coming train was stopped and the dynamite was cleared away. The investigation process began with footprints found in the area that the dynamite had been located.<sup>24</sup> During the long investigation process, the Ministry of Interior tried to find the individual responsible for the incident in the village. Even though railroad watchmen (*demiryolu bekçileri*) were responsible for the maintenance of the railroads, they were at the same time suspect in the eyes of Ottoman bureaucracy during the investigation after the attacks.<sup>25</sup> Detailed written investigation reports show that there were cases in which members of train crews participated in different ways in attacks, sabotages, and bombings. In this context, an investigation report on the Sinekli train attack written by railroad commissioner Achille Coumbary comments on the reactions of the train crew and railroad workers during an attack.

An example from Sinekli shows how a train chief participated in working an attack, worked with and helping the brigands. According to a newspaper article entitled *Attack to Conventional Train*, published in *La Turquie* on January 19, 1891, a famous bandit of the area, Barade capetan Athanase, along

- 
- 22 For various attacks mostly Istanbul, its environs, and in the Balkans, See: BOA, T.d.002265, *Demiryolları Vukuat Defteri*. For an attack on the Küçükçekmece train station by a band of robbers during the night of December 31, 1876 and the investigation process, see: *The Levant Herald*, 16 January 1871, 938. On the attacks by Albanian soldiers on the Firüzbey-Verisovitz stations in November 1903, see: BOA, T.DMI, 1020/27, 14.L.1321 (January 2, 1904). Albanian villagers resisted the tax meanwhile, Albanian rebel bands grew in the mountains and attacked Ottoman officials and troops. For an analysis of the attacks, See: Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: reform, revolution and the republic: the rise of modern Turkey*, 1808-1975, 200.
- 23 İlkay Yılmaz, *II.Abdülhamid döneminde güvenlik politikaları, mürur tezkereleri, pasaportlar ve otel kayıtları: serseri, anarşist ve fesadın peşinde*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 53.
- 24 Ibid, 54.
- 25 Ibid, 55. For an illustration showing railroad security guards at night, in an unknown location, See appendix A.

other with thirty-three bandits came to kilometer 116 of the railroad line near Sinekli station at 7 o'clock the previous Sunday.<sup>26</sup> Two watchmen, İbrahim and Ömer Çavuş were in charge of the maintenance of the line and were at that time waiting in their barracks. A group of brigands attacked the barracks and ordered İbrahim and Ömer to derail the coming train. The chief bandit, known as "Captain" Athanase among the brigands, called the chief watchman and ordered him to remove two rails from the track. But because derailment would have serious results in the end, the watchman warned Athanase:

What's the point? When you have dead bodies? Do you think that your attack won't affect the passengers? Well, ok, I'll give the conventional signal and the train will stop. Then, you can act.<sup>27</sup>

Athanase did not listen his warnings, and three rails were removed to accomplish the attack. When train was approaching the area, one of the watchmen surreptitiously tried to give a stop signal in order to warn the train and prevent the derailment. He gave a red lantern, but was then seen and captured by the brigands. The brigands threatened him and he signaled a white lantern, which indicated to the engineer that the road was safe to pass. The train continued and derailed. The attack began with the fire.<sup>28</sup> During the attack, the train chief participated on the orders of Athanase. He shot many passengers. They collected gold watches, jewelry, and money.

Brigands benefited from information that the train chief knowledge from his position among the train crew. He pointed them to a wagon and showed Athanase, a Jewish passenger. Athanase asked to passenger what he had in his pockets. Another Jew, Jaco Poppo the moneychanger (*sarrafa*), was shot by Athanase after he refused to give his money to him. Athanase took 750 lira

---

26 *La Turquie*, 19.01.1891. News articles were written according to the imperial railroad commissioner Achille Coumbary Efendi's investigation reports.

27 *La Turquie*, Ibid.

28 The brigands carried Martini and Winchester guns, each of them had two revolvers, and carried large caliber pistols on their belts. At the end of the attack, the trace of the attack could be seen through the bullets on the exterior façade of the wagons.

from his pocket. At the end, brigands took some people captive and ran away. After their departure, the train crew released the workers and watchmen.

Then they employed the portable telegraph device, which was found always on trains. The company immediately received the signal and send help from Çerkezköy and Istanbul. After the attack, the railroad company decided to construct a side road (*voie latérale*) to reopen the line for circulation. With the help of approximately 200 workers, the side road was constructed and trains began to run on the following Monday evening.<sup>29</sup>

As aforementioned examples show, the space of progress in the sense of the economic, political, and social ideals of Ottoman rulers, became a space of disorder that had to be fixed to maintain the circulation of trains on the tracks. Definitions of new sorts of crime appeared with the everyday struggles of Ottoman subjects and the everyday practices of ordinary Ottomans.

Hereafter we focused on the built railroad environment and how this area was constructed politically, economically, physically, and socially on daily basis. The next subsection, as pointed out before, focuses on area planning and the physical limits of the area as defined in the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads.

### § 3.3 The Construction of Walls: Enclosure of Property in the Built Railroad Environment

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the empire officially defined to whom this built environment belonged and its physical frontiers where it begins and ends. According to the arrangement between the Ottoman state and the railroad companies, the land where rails were located, was rented to the railroad companies for limited time. Thus, this area would no longer be open for the free usage of the people according to the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads.

---

29 The construction of the side road was affected by a storm that day. An electrician working on a telegraph pole, for instance, was struck by lightning and died, See: *La Turquie*, Ibid.

This section of thesis analyses a dispute between the Oriental Railway Company and an urban Ottoman citizen, Fatma Hanım, in Istanbul. It concerns how and why Fatma Hanım was confronted by the railroad authority in the first place regarding the construction of a wall to enclose her house the collapse of that same wall a year later, which was located in the railroad environment even though it was prohibited by Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads. Finally discusses how Edhem Pasha Minister of Public Works and the Council of Judicial Regulation became involved in the issue.

This dispute came after the collapse of a wall constructed by the railroad company that surrounded Fatma Hanım's house near the railroad line offers new areas of study and brings a new dimension to the study of private property that has recently developed in terms of disputes regarding private property relations and rights in the Ottoman Empire, urban history as well. Moreover, the way Fatma Hanım searched for her right and insisted on the case is reminiscent of the case of Eleni Hatun's gardens in Ayvalık, whereby she tried to take back the land title of her gardens from notables of the village just after the enactment of the Land Code of 1858 which gave the chance to officially, in modern sense possess a land title document- in 1858.<sup>30</sup> In this context, I think this case is remarkable and noteworthy.

As seen in Fatma Hanım's case, correspondence among representatives of the railroad company and the Ministry of Public Works and in this case, directly with Edhem Pasha clearly show through the tone of the language used by company representatives that railroad companies had a certain authority in the empire. Beyond that, engineers who worked for the companies and the ministry played an intermediary role, offering solutions based on their expe-

---

30 Eleni Yanaro, a resident of the Fener neighborhood of Istanbul claimed after her husband's death her tasarruf right to approximately thirty olive groves in the 1910s, See: Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19.yüzyılda Anadolu'da Mülkiyet Hakları Nasıl İnşa Edildi?," *Tarih ve Toplum, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, Güz 2006, 4. On the land code of 1858, see: Meltem Toksöz, "Modernisation in the Ottoman Empire: the 1858 Land Code and Property Regimes from a Regional Perspective," in *Halcyon Days in Crete VIII. Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies*, Crete University Press, 2013.

rience and knowledge to solve problems peacefully. Just as the railroad commissioner, engineers acted as a bridge between the Ottoman bureaucracy, company representatives, and Ottomans. In the case of Fatma Hanım's wall, municipal engineers (*Şehremaneti*) Refik Efendi and İsmail Efendi personally discussed the problem with her and observed the current condition of the wall on the site.

As an urban Ottoman citizen, Fatma Hanım constructed a wooden house near Bucakbahçe, a district of the Narlıkapı neighborhood, which was within the limits of the Küçükçekmece-Yedikule railroad.<sup>31</sup> To enclose her property and indicate the limits of her house in the railroad area, the Oriental Railway Company constructed a wall surrounding her house, preventing any harm for her house and for the railroads and trains.<sup>32</sup> If any house was already constructed before railroads were laid in the area, it should be entirely be enclosed by walls in order to maintain railroad security and safety, provide a secure place for everyone in this environment, decrease damages caused by accidents in the environs where incidents place, and prevent fires around the railroad lines.<sup>33</sup> Thus, according to the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads, any construction in the area was prohibited but she somehow constructed a wooden house there.<sup>34</sup>

As the plan in Figure 3.1 clearly shows, Fatma Hanım's property overlapped the boundaries of the railroad line. The position of Fatma Hanım's

---

31 Construction of the fifteen-kilometer Yedikule-Küçükçekmece railroad line started on June 4, 1870. More than 2,000 workers worked complete the line quickly as possible, See: Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 66.

32 BOA, T.DMI 807/88, 7.Ca.1290 (July 3, 1873).

33 The running train sparked by speed increasing the chance of fires in the surrounding environment.

34 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 08 S 1284 (June, 11, 1867) madde 9: *Demiryolu hattından lâakal üç arşun mesafe dahiline muhafaza duvarından başka müceddeden ebniye inşası memnudur. Zikrolunan üç arşun mesafe demiryolu hattının güzergâhında gerek hafrile tesviye olunan mahallerin zaviyei ülyalarından ve gerek toprak imlâsile tesviye olunan mahallerin zaviyei süflâlarından ve gerek demiryolu hendeklerinin dışarı doğru olan kıyısından ve bunlar olmadığı takdirde tarikin harici demir çubukları hududundan iki arşun fasıla bırakılarak çizilecek hattın itaberen hesap olunacak yani bu takdirde demiryolunun harici çubuklarıyla ebniye inşası mecaz olan mahallin mabeyni beş arşun mesafe olmak lâzım gelecektir.*

property and the location of railroads, are shown with red lines drawn by railroad company in a plan sent to Ministry of Public Works. As the railroad company was working to expand the line towards Sirkeci, it wished to solve problem with Fatma Hanım as quickly as possible.

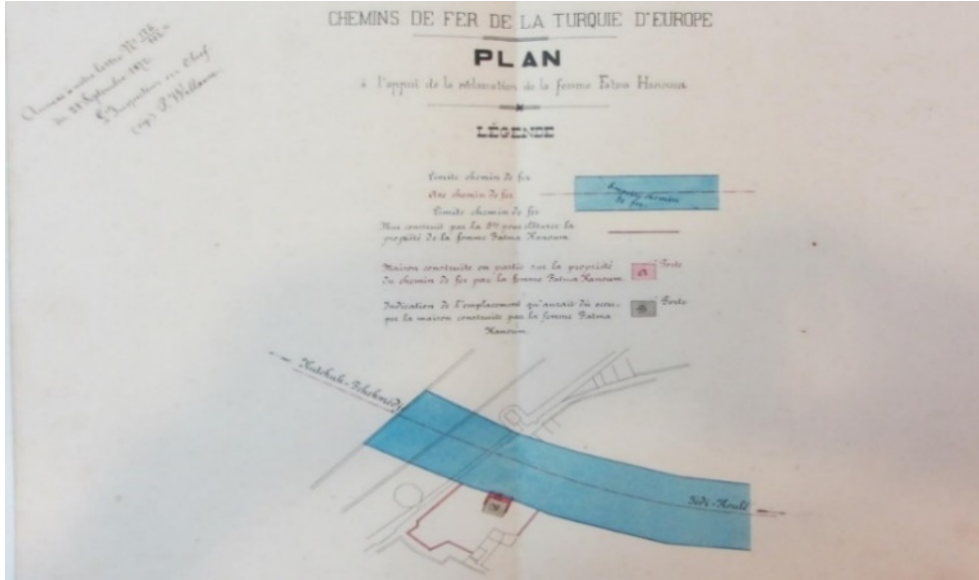


Figure 3.1 Plan prepared according to Fatma Hanım's claim, showing the boundaries of her house and the wall.<sup>35</sup>

A year after the construction of the wall, enclosing the Fatma Hanım's property, wall collapsed.<sup>36</sup> Because, a wall had to be constructed, Fatma Hanım and the Oriental railway company began to negotiate between themselves. Regarding the reclamations of the company, Fatma Hanım at first resisted constructing the wall to show that the company was responsible of the unstable wall and had to pay a sum to her. In response to Fatma Hanım's demands and the railroad company's claims, engineers working for the municipality, observed whether the wall had been solidly constructed by railroad company's engineers. In the end, they suggested a sum for the reconstruction of the wall: 16,872 *kuruş*. The railroad company found this sum too high, they offered a total sum in total 7,500 *kuruş* to Fatma Hanım. She refused to accept this new

35 BOA, T.DMI 807/88, 7.Ca.1290 (July 03, 1873).

36 BOA, T.DMI 807/88, 7.Ca.1290 (July, 03, 1873).

offer and insisted on the former sum and that the reconstruction of the wall be realized by the company. In the words of Mr. William, chief inspector of the railroad company, Fatma Hanım claimed that the wall had not been solidly constructed in order to be compensated, in other words, to get the sum determined by the engineers of the municipality.

After her claims, the municipality sent their engineer Rıfat Efendi to observe the condition of wall on-site.<sup>37</sup> As an expert intermediary, Rıfat Efendi based his expertise and knowledge on his education and his experience, mediating among citizens and the company.<sup>38</sup> According to his observation of the wall, he concluded that wall had been solidly constructed compared to other walls in the environs of the railroad. Mr. Milovich, an engineer for the Ministry of Public Works, reached the same conclusion Rıfat Efendi. Hereafter, company underlines an important point in this issue, if these two engineers had been invented, because they have seen as the *capable man*.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, on November 4, 1871, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha wrote to Mr. William, chief inspector of the Oriental Railway Company regarding Fatma Hanım's request concerning the collapsed wall surrounding her house. To enclose the house, in other words to indicate her property's limits and separate it from that of the railroads, a wall was constructed by the Oriental Railway company. This wall collapsed a year after its construction. After having read two different reports about the conditions of the wall, prepared by engineers of the railroad company and the municipality, respectively, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, as intermediary, underscored her indigence, and invited the chief inspector to adjust her claims - either the reconstruction of the wall, or the payment of 5355 *kuruş* recompense for the reconstruction of the wall. Regarding the second report,

---

37 Ibid.

38 I borrow this term from Alan Mikhail. In his work, he explains the role of engineers who worked as a *middleman* negotiating their benefits and imperial concerns. Engineers helped Egyptian peasants during the construction of canals to maintain water in the countryside, see: Alan Mikhail, "Engineering the Ottoman Empire: Irrigation and the Persistence of Early Modern Expertise," in *Halycon Days in Crete VIII: Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies*, (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015), 399-413.

39 BOA, Ibid.



written by İbrahim Bey, and engineer of the municipality, Edhem Pasha concluded two points:

- ◆ Fatma Hanım's new house on the railroad company was aligned after the report written by the construction company's engineer, according to laws and regulations.
- ◆ Construction of a wooden house in the city limits is not contrary to the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads, which does not explicitly prohibit the construction of wooden houses along the course of Sirkeci and Yedikule line. (In this neighborhood, houses were generally constructed in wood.)

The idea of the engineer as a capable man shows first that the decision of an engineer represents the truth about the current condition of the wall. Second, because engineers are considered experts, official authorities, the company, and Fatma Hanım had to respect their findings and align their demands according to the report written by the engineers. Therefore, the company pointed out to the Ministry of Public Works that the reports show that wall was solidly constructed following. If it collapsed it was not because of their fault or negligence; instead, the reason was that Fatma Hanım did not take care of the physical condition of the wall.<sup>40</sup>

After having had negotiations with the director of Public Works, Constant Efendi, the company agreed that if they reconstructed the wall, their only obligation to put an end her claims and as compensation was a sum of 20 Turkish lira (because she pretended that she had lost this sum as her garden had remained, for a time, uncultivated.).<sup>41</sup> After a long conversation among Fatma Hanım, the railroad company, and the Ministry of Public Works, they could not agree on the amount of money that the company should pay Fatma Hanım and how the wall would be reconstructed. Hence, to find a solution, the Council of Judicial Regulations became involved in the process. It decided that the company should reconstruct the wall as soon as possible and pay 20 lira to her in light of Fatma Hanım's deprivation.

---

40 Ibid.

41 In the views of Mr. Williaın, the reclamation of this woman, was not grounded and was unfair.

Considering this case and her resistance to demands regarding the wall construction, we see that Fatma Hanım was aware of her rights and who was responsible for the reconstruction after the collapse of the wall. Besides that, the attitude of Ottoman bureaucracy, especially as it appeared in the words of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha – the Minister of Public Works –, shows how the Ottoman bureaucracy tried to find a solution that would not deprive Fatma Hanım, a citizen. Thus, the Ottoman bureaucracy convinced the Oriental railway company to undertake the reconstruction, instead of accepting company's demands, which were unfavorable for Fatma Hanım. They neither accepted the amount of money the company offered Fatma Hanım nor the demolition of her house. In the end, the Council of Judicial Regulations (*Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) closed the case in favor of Fatma Hanım's demands.

### § 3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I firstly discuss how the built railroad environment was officially defined by Ottoman bureaucracy. Then, I focus on the attacks in which I trace how railroad workers intervened the attacks while some of them tried to prevent coming accidents on railroads and the issue of enclosing a property around the railroads based on definitions in the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads. As another key issue in the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads that is crucial for understanding safety problems on the tracks, accidents are analyzed as the symbols of the rareness, deficiency, insufficiency and anomaly of progress in the following chapter.<sup>42</sup> Thus, next chapter of the thesis will focus on the railroad accidents, which have not been efficiently problematized in Ottoman historiography. It historicizes accidents from a social and labor perspective in Ottoman railroad historiography.

---

42 For further discussion on the accident concept, see: Michael le Van, "Chasing the Wreck: On Accidents," *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* Vol. 8, No. 3, August 2012, 1-3.

## Uncanny Railroads: Accidents, Pedestrians, and Negligence

*Pre-industrial catastrophes were natural events, natural accidents. They attacked the objects they destroyed from the outside, as storms, floods, thunderbolts, and hailstones. After the Industrial Revolution, destruction by technological accident came from the inside. The technical apparatuses destroyed themselves by means of their own power.*

– Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*

A short time after the trains began to move, different sorts of dangerous accidents began to occur. Railroad safety became a heated discussion in the public consciousness around the world, and the lives of the citizens of the nineteenth century across the world were shaped by accidents on the tracks.<sup>1</sup> The death of a pedestrian on the rails, of brakeman trying to apply the brakes, of an ox on the rails, or of a third-class carriage passengers were proof of how in the age of railways people came close to death all around the world. Railroad

---

1 Tony Judt, “The Glory of the Rails,” *The New York Review*, December 23, 2010.

accidents were mentioned, discussed and its reasons were analyzed in newspapers and periodicals including those of Ottomans. Hundreds of accident became popular news in Porfirian Mexico<sup>2</sup>, India<sup>3</sup>, France,<sup>4</sup> and Victorian England<sup>5</sup>. Because accidents left huge wreck on the rails narrated from the reporters of the newspapers<sup>6</sup> and train accidents were illustrated in the periodicals.<sup>7</sup>

The complex nature of the built railroad environment - already discussed in Chapter 3 - ; the technological level of the railroad material, the unexpected everyday practices of Ottomans around the railroad lines like walking on the

- 
- 2 Reporters sent to the scene to observe how the accident happened and to interview the railway authorities in Mexico. Moreover, many Spanish songs called *cantos ferrocarrileros* (railroad songs) told of train wrecks in Mexico, See: Michael Matthews, "Railway Culture and the Civilizing Mission in Mexico 1876-1910," 184.
  - 3 See: Martin Aguiar, *Tracking Modernity: India's Railway and the Culture of Mobility*, 157.
  - 4 Sparks from the wheels during the derailment of a train and caused a fire on the road to Paris from Versailles on May 8, 1842, and was transformed in an eyewitness account of the Meudon train disaster, See: Par un témoin oculaire, "Récit Historique et Complet des Désastres Arrivés sur le Chemins de fer de Versailles le 8 Mai 1842," Paris France Thibaut, Librairie-Editeur, 1842.
  - 5 In one story, Charles Dickens narrates the reasons for train wrecks; the signalmen were such invisible as ghosts for the train conductors. Because there were no signal in the case of emergency; conductor could not stop the train when an accident is nearly happening, see: Norris Pope, "Dickens's "The Signalman" and Information Problems in the Railway Age," *Technology and Culture* 42 No.3, (Jul.2001), 446.
  - 6 See *La Turquie*, 122 (dimanche 7 et lundi 8, 1891). For the photo of the accident in Yeşilköy and the reactions of the Ottomans, See: appendices D and E. For train accidents on Indian railroads and how they were represented in periodicals as the collapse of colonial rule, see: Aguiar, *Tracking Modernity*, 157-159.
  - 7 Illustrations prepared according to a hurried sketch, show the horror and surprise of passengers and people around the railroad line who witnessed the accident. For a detailed analysis of the train accident and the illustrations published in the *Illustrated London News* in the nineteenth century, See: Paul Fyfe, "Illustrating the accident: Railways and the Catastrophic Picturesque in the *Illustrated London News*," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46, Number 1, Spring 2013, 61-91. Even if we look carefully at the accident registers and investigation reports prepared by the Imperial Railroad Police and the railroad companies, we cannot determine how Ottomans reacted emotionally to the deadly accident. The illustration above shows an unusual accident that took place on August 10, 1875, and imagines how Ottomans reacted. For an example from Ottoman society, See: appendix C.

tracks etc<sup>8</sup>; the neglect or rashness of the workers; the mechanical failure of trains, the negligence of railroad company employees, and environmental challenges<sup>9</sup> have comprised the causes of the accidents.

Related to the safety issue highlighted in the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads and discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on accidents to show the difficulty of creating the safe circulation of trains on the tracks and how it was related to many different factors. Through different sorts of accident examples – related to human and non-human factors - occurred in this environment, this chapter shows how Ottomans used the railroad lines and how they turned it to their benefit through unexpected practices that were defined as the negligence by the modern Ottoman bureaucracy. Therefore, in a subsection entitled “Living Near the Railroads, Dying on the Tracks,” I study the death of Ayşe Hanım as she was walking along the tracks through detailed accident report. As a final point, this chapter focuses on how accidents created

- 
- 8 Some informations reminds suggests the possibility of suicide attempts, through machinists' observation that pedestrians walking on the tracks, did not leave the tracks, though machinist had already gave loudly blown the whistles.
- 9 Undoubtedly, environmental challenges were a significant factor in an accident, which is why the Imperial Railroad Commissioner asked the weather conditions: to observe whether or not bad weather conditions would affect the circulation of the train. On June 12, 1885, for instance, a freight train numbered 544 had to wait approximately twenty minutes along the Salonik-Mitrowitza railroad line because the Vardar River had demolished the tracks after heavy rainfall, See: BOA, T.d.272 Chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe Registre des Accidents Lignes de Constantinople, Sarambey, Dédéaghadj, Yamboli, Salonique-Mitrovitza Année 1885 Demiryolu Şirketinin İstanbul-Sarambey-Dedeğaç, Yanbolu-Selanik Mitroviçe hattının seyir defteri. On March 27, 1894, a mixed train numbered 4, driven by the mechanic Filcaris, departed from Adana station at the prescribed time of 8 o'clock in the morning. According to the railroad companies' estimated time schedule, the train would reach Mersin station at 10:47. Nevertheless, due to strong winds, the train reached Mersin at 11.14 with a twenty-seven minute delay, See: BOA, T.d.275 Chemin de fer d'Asie Registre des Accidents Ligne Casaba, Aidin, Beyrouth-Damas- Hauran-et-Biredjik sur l'Euphrate, Mersine Tarsous Adana, Moudania-Brousse, Yaffa Jerusalem de l'année 1894 Bursa-Mudanya demiryolu seyrü sefer defteri. On accidents because of heavy rains on the İzmir-Aydın railroad line see: Orhan Kurmuş, “The role of British capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913,” 55. The majority of accident registers include same categorizations of causes and effects. BOA, T.d.267 Année 1890. For the causes and the consequences of the accidents, See: appendix B.

a sense of solidarity among railroad workers discussing on the death of railroad workers while he tried to save an ox's life standing on tracks.<sup>10</sup>

Before getting into the details of these subsections, I first indicate how train accidents have been historicized in Ottoman historiography. Moreover, I will briefly discuss accident investigation reports which make workers' faces and identities tangible are a main source for this chapter. These investigation reports prepared by the Imperial Railroad Commissioner are discussed in detail in a way that contributes Ottoman labor history in a similar fashion as the mine accident reports revealed by labor historian Donald Quataert.

#### § 4.1 Objectives

Peter Mentzel, who is the only historian to study railroad safety, train accidents and sabotages in detail, collected for the first time data about train accidents and sabotage on the Oriental railroads focusing on newspapers and archival documents.<sup>11</sup> He also addressed the idea of solidarity among railroad workers from different ethnic groups and nations – which is the subject of the last subsection of this thesis – in the aftermath of deadly accidents in the Ottoman Empire in his article entitled “Accidents, Sabotage, and Terrorism: Work Hazards on Ottoman Railways,”. According to Mentzel, train accident records are mostly incomplete, and he insists that it is difficult to accurately count number of train accidents in the Ottoman Empire. But the Ministry of Public Works archive – located in Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives - gives historians the chance to count them.

The numerous Railroad Administration (*Demiryolları İdaresi*) folders located in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives include correspondences among the Ministry of Public Work (*Nafia Nezareti*), the Imperial Railroad

---

10 On January, 17 1887, for instance, a curious twelve years old wanted to play with a wagon as if a toy, tried to climb over the running train on its way to İzmir from Alaşehir, and died under the heavy train. See: BOA, T.d.273 Chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Asie Régistre du Accidents, Ligne Haydarpaşa-İzmit, Cassaba, Aydın, Mersine-Adana, Année 1887.

11 Peter Mentzel, “Accidents, Sabotage, and Terrorism: Work Hazards on Ottoman Railways,” (ed.) Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* vol.2.

Commission (*Demiryolu Komiserliği*), and railroad companies (*demiryolu kumpanyaları*), reporting on various informative accident cases that occurred in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>12</sup> To estimate an annual number, I have counted only register notebooks that has complete annual records. Because the Haifa-Jerusalem, Sarambey-Yanbolu, Mudanya-Bursa, and Beirut-Bilecik records do not include monthly accident registers from the beginning to the end of the year, these numbers were not counted.<sup>13</sup> The data collected from different years through the accident register notebooks kept by Imperial Railroad Commission - including 1882, 1885, 1888, 1890 and 1894 - show that a total of eighty eight accidents occurred on the İzmir-Kasaba, İzmir-Aydın, İstanbul-Edirne, Dedeğaç, Haydarpaşa-İzmit, and Mersin-Adana-Tarsus railroad lines.

However, this number is not a complete count of train accident in the Ottoman Empire's boundaries. Accident register notebooks were mostly incomplete. The fact that railroad companies could be judged because of an accident based on railroad police regulation in the Ottoman Empire, companies tried to keep accident information secret from the Imperial Railroad Commission which companies were obliged to inform every accident and crime that occurred in their railroad environment.<sup>14</sup> On January 26, 1886, Ahmed Çavuş, a worker of the line, injured his foot in an accident. Because the company did not report the accident, the railroad police commissioner learned about it seventeen days after the fact.<sup>15</sup> According to the company, this accident had no

- 
- 12 On the history of Ministry of Public Works, see: Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980). Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and the Modern Turkey*. The Ministry of Public Works was established in November 1848, See: Engin, Rumeli Demiryolları, 28-29.
- 13 524 railroad administration folders exists in the Prime Minister Ottoman archives, see: BOA, T.DMI (Ticaret, Nafia, Ziraat, Orman, Meadin Demiryolları İdaresi) 793 to T.DMI 1234 from 10.B.1261 to 26.M.1326, T.HDMI (Hicaz Demiryolları İdaresi) 1237 to T.HDMI 1315 from 1300 to 19.B.1342, T.HDMI (Haydarpaşa Demiryolları İdaresi) 1316 to 1321 from 5.S.1289 to 9.S.1340. Because, of time limitations, I could not study all these folders.
- 14 An example from the Mersin-Adana-Tarsus railroad shows that the Adana railroad commissioner warned railroad company representatives for not informing the commission of work accidents in their company. Adem Erol, "Mersin-Adana-Tarsus Demiryolu," (Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2003).
- 15 Ibid.

particularly important feature work reporting (...*hadise-i mezkurun ehemmiyeti ha'iz olmamasından...*) which is why company representatives did not send correspondence to the railroad police commissioner reporting the accident.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 4.1 Train accident caricature published in *Eşek*, Ottoman satirical periodical. (12 Ağustos 1328/25 Ekim 1912), 14.

From the first appearance of moving trains on rails in the Ottoman Empire, roughly in the second half of the nineteenth century to the first years of World War I, Ottoman magazines underscored that the number of the accidents necessitated concern for railroad safety in the railroad environment.<sup>17</sup>

This new type of industrial disaster was occurring in an environment that was new to the Ottomans and killed and injured many of them over the years. According to the Adana-Mersin railroad police chief, one accident happened

16 Ibid.

17 For examples of the accidents from the Constanza-Tchernovada railroad. First line in the Ottoman Balkans, See: Akyıldız, “Bir Teknolojik Transferin Değişim Boyutu: Köstence Demiryolu Örneği,” *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da iktisadi modernleşme ve uluslararası sermaye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 59-75.



at 9:50 the morning of May 17, 1885. Mixed train number one hit a 14 or 15 year old shepherd, at kilometer 30 of the line as he was sleeping in the ditch along the line.<sup>18</sup> He suddenly woke up when the train passed. Three fingers of his hand were crushed and his forehead was injured.

These accidents were written up in Ottoman periodicals. The Figure 4.1 was published in a satirical magazine called *Eşek* (Donkey).<sup>19</sup> The image summarizes the history of train accidents in the Ottoman Empire. A couple of donkey are having one of their daily conversations about railroad technology disasters in unknown place. While the male donkey is enjoying his tobacco pipe with a cup of coffee, the female is holding her baby tight in her arms. They are talking about trains flying off the rails:

Donkey: It's impossible. Europeans are proud of flying their planes, as if it's such a big deal! ... We are flying trains (*şimendifer*) here.<sup>20</sup>

Just as it opened the discussion of train accidents to the readers of the magazine, trains (*şimendifer*), are designed as machine that must run on the rails instead of flying in the air. Within this impressive caricature the anonymous caricaturist drew attention to railroad safety issues in the Ottoman Empire<sup>21</sup>.

- 
- 18 BOA, T.d.272 Chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe Registre des Accidents Lignes de Constantinople, Sarambey, Dédéaghadj, Yamboli, Salonique-Mitrovitza Année 1885 Demiryolu Şirketinin İstanbul-Sarambey-Dedeğaç, Yanbolu-Selanik Mitroviçe hattının seyir defteri.
- 19 For a brief history of *Eşek* published by Baha Tevfik, See: M.Bülent Varlık, "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet Mizah," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, V.4, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1098.
- 20 *Eşek: olur şey değil! avrupalılar tayare uçuruyoruz diye iftihar idiyorlar. güya büyük şey!.. biz burada şimendiferleri uçuruyoruz.*
- 21 In another magazine prepared and financially sponsored by the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia Nezareti*) under the Community of Union and Progress regime, *Revue Technique d'Orient* (Technical Periodical of the Orient), an article was published on June 15, 1911. It was about a new technological tool for the brake system which would make it possible to decrease the number of train accidents within the empire's boundaries. The unknown author mentions that there have been many disasters on the railroads in the last twenty years because of a lack of railroad safety in the Ottoman Empire. According to the author, the main reason of was technological failure. Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi Kütüphanesi, A003434,

Through the dialogue passing between the couple, one can assume that a great number of train accidents happened in the Empire. That is why they preferred to use the metaphor of flying. Besides the language the donkey couple used, the scattered small pieces of the train are the proof of how the train accidents could be hazardous in the railroad environment.

Moreover, because Ottomans everyday practices caused danger in the area and seen as imprudence (*ihdiyatsızlık*), negligence (*dikkatsızlık*), default (*ihmal*), and carelessness (*tekasül*) when mentioned and discussed in Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads – the modern Ottoman bureaucracy tried prevent or limit such actions with legal precautions to prevent trespassing along the railroads with the aim of preventing accidents with pedestrians and animals on the rails. The Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads underscores that if someone walks along the rails, it first means they have trespassed on the railroad company's property and second that their walking practice as increased the possibility of an accident and made it difficult to maintain the order in the area. If any accident occurs along the tracks, in the stations, or on the trains that was caused by thoughtlessness, inattention, or negligence of the victims, criminals will be imprisoned from eight days to six months according to Article 4 of the regulation.<sup>22</sup> Besides imprisonment, workers who worked

---

“La Sécurité des Voyageurs en Chemin de fer,” *Revue Technique d'Orient: Revue Illustrée Industrie, Travaux Publics, Chemins de Fer, Ponts et Chaussées, Métallurgie, Electrotechnique, Architecture, Arts, Mines, Agriculture, Eclairage Etc.*, Constantinople, 1er Année 15 Juin 1911, 14. In *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*, which surveys the political, economic, social, and cultural history of railroads within the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, Kudret Emiroğlu and Ümit Uzmay reserved two pages for the accidents (*kazalar*) article. They give examples from the history of the British Empire, France and Turkey but not from the Ottoman Empire. As they point out, with the development of the brake system, the number of accidents began to decline over time, see: Kudret Emiroğlu, Ümit Uzmay, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*, 233.

- 22 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 8 S 1284 (June 11, 1867) *dördüncü madde herkim ki ihtiyatsızlık ve dikkatsızlikten veya ihmal ve tekasülden veyahut kavanin ve nizamata riayetsizlikten naşi timur yolunda ve mevkiîlarında bir kazaya sebep olur ve bu kazadan carihalar zuhur eder ise sekiz gündən altı aya kadar hapis ve işbu kazadan bir veyahat bir kaç şahsın vefatı zuhur eder ise bais olan şahıs altı aydan iki seneye kadar hapsolunur ve kendisinden beş altından yirmi altına kadar cezayınaktı alınır*

along railroad line, employees, and train station chief, were charged with collecting a penalty (*nakti ceza*) from Ottomans walking on the rails, in order to maintain security and safety in the area.

Peter Mentzel explores the idea of neglect and analyzes accidents in the same vein:

Most of the accidents involving trains and non-railway personnel; however seem to have been cases of tragic inattention by pedestrians or train crews or both. A woman named Saliha bint Abdullah, for example, was crushed by a Salonica bound train near the village of Pileste in June 1909. A similar accident in March 1907 is reported on Hijaz railway in Amman. Nearer to İstanbul, a victim described in the account only as “peasant” was killed near Çukurhisar station (just west of Eskişehir) on the CFOA while crossing the track with his horse.<sup>23</sup>

The term negligence<sup>24</sup> was used by the Imperial Railroad Commission, in a great number of the accident reports and register notebooks found in the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives in the *Ticaret Nafia Demiryolları İdaresi*

---

23 Peter Mentzel, “Accidents, Sabotage, and Terrorism: Work Hazards on Ottoman Railways,”

24 In a unique example of history writing, Sonya Mirzoyan and Candan Badem studied Tiflis-Aleksandropol-Kars railroad together as part of special project. This book focuses on the economic and labor history of this railroad line, which was constructed during the Kars oblast experience in Kars in the late nineteenth century. This work focuses on the military importance of railroads, and economic and political discussions through railroad construction. It’s also mentions accidents that happened on the railroad line and how they concerned bureaucrats and railroad company employees. They stressed the question of negligence with respect to the accident issue, as well. Similar to experiences in the Ottoman Empire, railroad accidents were not always recorded or reports were prepared insufficiently. When one looks carefully at the accident reports from the Kars-Tiflis-Bakü railroad line, one can reach the same argument that I have posited for the Ottoman Empire. After accident investigations, Mirzoyan and Badem that the gendarme, officers, and railroad company employees tried to blame the victims themselves. For further discussion, See: Sonya Mirzoyan, Candan Badem, *The Construction of the Tiflis-Aleksandropol-Kars Railway (1895-1899)*, *Մնկյա Միդրդիան, Ջանդան Բադեմ. Թիֆլիս- Ալեքսանդրոպոլ- Կարս երկաթգծի կառուցումը (1895-1899)*, *Tiflis-Gümrü-Kars Demir Yolunun İnşası (1895-1899)*. The Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, 55-58.

folders. A major cause of accidents was the neglect and inattention of victims according to many of the accident reports written in different regions by the Imperial Railroad Commission. The Ottoman railroad police and the railroad companies could not control the railroad environment as they wished to govern it.<sup>25</sup> Accident examples I analyze in this chapter are mostly caused by human-related factors. As a consequence, the idea of negligence provides significant information about the everyday practices of Ottomans.<sup>26</sup>

According to the Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads, if people or animals enter the railroad area, they should immediately be removed from this entity. Once animal owners paid the penalty they could retrieve their animals from the police.<sup>27</sup> On behalf of the Oriental Railway company (*Şark Timuryol-*

25 Railroad companies complained about the decreasing number of Ottoman soldiers in the railroad environment. For an example from the Selanik-Dedeğaç railroad line, see: BOA, TFR.1.MN 10/910, 12.4.1323, in Silivri, see: BOA, T.DMI 859/21 (16.M.1299).

26 “On Thursday afternoon, as the Tramway carriages were descending the slope of Ak-Serai in İstanbul, a young Armenian broker, who was standing beside the conductor, had the *imprudence* to jump off before the wagons had come to a stop, when losing his balance, he fell backwards, and one of the wheels passed over his head, and killed him on the spot. Accidents of this kind, lamentable as they are, are of course entirely due to the rashness of those who are victims of them.” *The Levant Herald*, 15 January 1871. Besides the idea of the so-called negligence of the people, railroad companies’ desire to increase the profits during construction caused many accidents on the railroads. Vahdettin Engin underscores, for instance, that on the Oriental railroads the railroad company was cutting costs. In a letter dated January 22, 1874, was sent from the Ministry of Public Works to Baron Hirsch and Baron Sclechta, warning them and demanding that the company take measures to prevent accidents. On the İstanbul-Edirne, Edirne-Dedeğaç, Selanik-Üsküb and Banaluka-Novı railroad lines many accidents occurred due to poor quality material of bar, See: Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 119.

27 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 8 S 1284 (June 11, 1867) *madde 14 ...bekçiler ve demiryolun sair hademeleri bilaruhsat demiryol derununa veyahut demiryolu mülhak olan kıtaattan birisine girmiş olan kesanı hemen dışarıya çıkaracaklar ve itaat etmedikleri halde zaptıye marifetile ihraç edeceklerdir demiryolu üzerinde veyahut ona müteallik mahallelerde beygir ve hayvanatı saire bulundukta bunlar tevkif olunup koyun ve keçi ve dana ise beheri için beş kuruş ve inek ve öküz ve manda ve deve ise beheri için elli kuruş cezayınaktı alınmaksızın eshabına iade olunmayacaktır...*

*ları İdaresi*), the dispatcher of the Yedikule train station sent the collected penalties for January and February 1872 to the Yeşilköy Imperial Railroad Commissioner, Cooper Efendi.<sup>28</sup>

Table 4.1 Penalties collected by the chief of the Yedikule train station in January 1872.

Date	Details	Collected Amount
January, 7	Horse rider removed from the track	20 para
January, 18	Horse rider removed from the track	20 para
January, 23	Horse rider removed from the track	20 para
January, 25	2 oxen stopped on the track	40 para
January, 27	Horse rider removed from the track	20 para
January, 27	3 sheep stopped on the track	15 para
Total		135 para

Table 4.2 Penalties collected by the chief of the Yedikule train station in February 1872.

Date	Details	Collected Amount	Observations
18 February	Sheep removed from the Yedikule railroad line	5 para	
20 February	Horse riders removed from the Yedikule railroad line	20 para	
21 February	Man standing at the entrance to the station	10 para	The man only had 10 para
Total		35 para	

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 show the amounts collected due to people and animals trespassing into the railroad environment in other words, in the property lines of the railroad company in accordance with Article 14 of the Police Regulation

28 BOA, T.DMI 800/123, 20.Z.1288 (March 12, 1872).

of the Ottoman Empire. As these tables demonstrate, animals not only walked unconsciously on the tracks but the people rode horse there as a means of transportation.<sup>29</sup>

Hereafter we have focused on Peter Mentzel's work on the accidents, the number and the different types of accidents on the railroad lines of the Empire, the precautions taken by Ottoman bureaucracy and how accidents were discussed so far in the periodicals all over the world. The next subsection focuses on the specific features of the railroad accident reports, which comprise the main source for this chapter.

## § 4.2 Reporting the Accident: Reading Accident Reports

The accident investigation reports (*kaza tahkikat raporları*) which are the main source for this chapter, written on interrogation protocol (*istintakname*) forms, allow Ottoman historians first to indicate who were the actors in that environment, then to discuss the results of the accidents on the rails, and finally to show how the problems were solved by railroad authorities<sup>30</sup>.

During the archival research period for this thesis, I observed that the number of accident investigation reports especially increased in 1880's. I thus decided to pay more attention to this period, but the periods before and after the 1880's must be studied and analyzed in further studies to determine whether or not the Ottoman bureaucracy's attitude changed. Just as Donald Quatert argued for mine accident reports, train accident reports represent the professionalization and the growth of a railroad bureaucracy charged with maintaining and observing railroad security and safety.<sup>31</sup> The most fascinating

---

29 Before judging Ottomans for walking practices on the rails – as was repeated by European railroad authorities - we should ask following question to understand the new, changing environment in the late nineteenth century: Why did Ottomans walk the rails even though they knew it was dangerous? Technically, the terrain prepared for the railroad construction was first flattened and then ballasted, before the tracks and rails were laid. I argue that because walking on flat terrain was more easier and more comfortable than walking on rugged terrain - especially on rainy days - they preferred to walk along the railroad tracks.

30 Besides accident investigation reports, there are accident register notebooks in the Prime Minister of Ottoman Archives which detail the places and dates of accidents.

31 Quataert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire*, 235-241.

aspect of these accident investigation reports is that for the first time we hear railroad workers' first hand narratives, which were written down in Ottoman Turkish and French.

The accident registers that Donald Quataert analyzed in his study are similar to the train accident register notebooks and investigation protocols that I study on in this chapter. Accident reports give details about the mine accidents and draw a broad frame of the accidents to understand how and why they happened. Quataert further argues that the reports describe some personal information about the victims and witnesses "the names, occupations, ages, marital status, and number of children of workers who either fell victim to or were witnesses of mine accidents".<sup>32</sup> Like train accident reports, mine accident reports that were written by state officials, "offer the rare opportunity to hear workers voices- as reported, however, by state officials". In the words of Donald Quataert, their faces and identities become tangible in their testimonies.

According to the Police Regulation of the Ottoman Railroads, to reveal how an accident happened and who was responsible from the accident, a commission would convene under the presidency of the Imperial Railroad Commissioner working for the Ministry of Public Works. Article 21 decrees that, witnesses be interrogated and finally reports by Imperial Railroad Commission.<sup>33</sup> The original copy of the minutes were kept by Imperial Railroad Commission, while copies of the reports written after the investigation process were sent to be Public Railroad Administration (*Umum Demiryollar İdaresi*) and the Ministry of Justice (*Adliye Nezareti*).

Accident reports were prepared after an hours-long investigation process led by the Ottoman Imperial Railroad Commissioner and his crew comprised

---

32 Ibid, 151.

33 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, 8 S 1284 (June 11, 1867) *birinci madde işbu nizamnamede münderic cinayet ve cünha ve kabahat ve hilafı nizam hareketlerin vukuunda atide muharrer usul veçhile muamele olunacaktır birinci fasılda beyan olunan ahvalin vukuunda keyfiyet kumpanya veyahut teftişi idare memurlarından biri tarafından komiserre haber verilip komiseri mumaileyh hükümeti mahalliye tarafından tayin olunacak zabıta memurunu bilistishap derhal tahkikat lazıme icra etmek üzere cürüm veyahut kabahatin mahalli vukuuna azimet edecek ve dava mehakimi adliyede rü'yet olunacaktır.*

of railroad bureaucracy and railroad company representatives. The commission tried to answer the following questions: Could or should the accident have been avoided, and if so how? Was the accident foreseeable? Thus, the first thing that an accident report states is how, where, when and why the accident happened in that environment. Second, with a careful reading the testimonies of the train crew, eye-witness and people related to the victims, we understand the conditions that led to accidents.

Convenient to our concern on the labour history, the main part of these reports is crucial. In this testimonies, we are vis-à-vis ideas, reactions, ways of thinking, and emotions of the people who experienced the accident. Given that they are from the Imperial Railroad Commissioner's pen, the historian must consider that these testimonies of the people under investigation are paraphrased but still worth analyzing. There are two types of deposition of witnesses in the accident reports. On one hand, there are the direct answers of victims and witnesses which the Imperial Railroad Police transcribed word for word. On the other, one can observe indirect answers noted by the railroad commissioner. The following is an example of the former. In report of an accident that took place on September 4, 1888, between the Edirne and Kadıköy train stations, the mechanic Babalarcık answers questions:

Q: How many workers were at kilometer 17 of the line?

A: One of them was on the right side, the other was waiting on the left, 150 meters apart.

Q: Would you like to add something?

A: No.

Another important issue to highlight is reports reveal for the first time how the Imperial Railroad Commission functions, how it prepared the reports, and what were the interactions among the Imperial Railroad Commission (*Demiryolu Komiserliği*), the train crew, and the Ottomans.

To conclude this subsection, I emphasize Quataert's contribution on using accident reports for the social history of Ottoman Empire, which made me think about the social history of accidents on the Ottoman railroads. Train accident reports not only mention working conditions along the railroads but also the everyday living conditions, practices and difficulties around the railroad lines. Thus, the next subsection analyzes Ayşe Hanım's death on the



tracks, and highlights one of the everyday practices of Ottomans; walking on the tracks.

### § 4.3 Living Near the Railroads: Dying on the Tracks

Railroad companies offered new job opportunities to Ottomans beyond agriculture, and animal husbandry, migration within the empire's boundaries increased - not only because of the dissolution of the empire but also opportunities on railroad and industrial work sites such as silk and tobacco, in the mines of the Black Sea region, and in the big cities of the empire. Thus, during their construction, railroad company employees, station chiefs, railroad workers, and Ottomans settled near the tracks to benefit from opportunities that the railroad companies offered.<sup>34</sup>

In this subsection, I relate the death of Ayşe Hanım, the deaf and dumb daughter of Kürd Hasan who migrated to Aydın and lived in a shed nearby the Köşk Station. Though we do not know the exact reason why her family immigrated to Aydın, it was likely that Ayşe Hanım and her family would have benefited the positive economic effects of the railroads and would have found work in Aydın region.

On October 13, 1881, Ayşe Hanım went out to pick figs for her family. On the switch of the Köşk Station, she was knocked over by an engine on the rails, was grievously injured and died on the spot with the passing of freight train number one.<sup>35</sup>

To reveal who was responsible for the accident, the Imperial Railroad Police started a canvas on the same day. For this purpose, they recorded the following statements of the personnel of the train.<sup>36</sup> A police agent of the Ottoman government and a representative of the railroad company also participated in the investigation process (*tahkikat*) of such accidents. Under the presidency of the Imperial Railroad Commissioner from İzmir to Aydın,

---

34 Çolak, *Almanların Konya ve Çevresindeki Faaliyetleri 19.yüzyıl sonu-20.yüzyıl başı*, 135-136.

35 BOA, T.DMI 859/16, 14 M 1299 (November 21, 1881).

36 BOA, T.DMI 859/16, 14 M 1299 (December 06, 1881).

Wroblewski Efendi<sup>37</sup>, an accident report about Ayşe Hanım's death was prepared with the help of assistant commissioner Armenak Efendi and the representative of the railroad company, Fr. Mazade.

Table 4.3 List of Railroad Commissioners (*Demiryolu Komiserleri*) in the Ottoman Empire. (1891)<sup>38</sup>

Railroad Line	Name	City of Residence
İstanbul to Edirne	Achille Coumbary Efendi	İstanbul
Haydarpaşa to İzmit	Nebih Bey	Haydarpaşa
Edirne to Dedeğaç	Cooper Efendi	Edirne
İzmir to Aydın	Wroblewski Efendi	İzmir
İzmir to Kasaba	Şemi Efendi	İzmir
Selanik to Mitroviça	Hayri Bey	Selanik
Filibe to Sarambey	Esad Muhlis Bey	Filibe
Tirnova to Yanbolu	Esad Muhlis Bey	Filibe
Adana	Margosyan Efendi	Edirne

Chief of the train Manoli Zédjo, mechanic James Suthering, train conductor Félice, switchman Petro Karakulak, Ayşe Hanım's younger sister Hatice, police chief of Köşk station Şakir Efendi, and a professor in the village, Yusuf Müderis Efendi, were respectively questioned by the Imperial Railroad Commissioner.

On October 13, the chief of the train, Manoli Zédjo, accompanied freight train number one, which was comprised of engine number four, one wagon and twelve carriages, ten of which were empty. This train had left the Ömürlü station at the prescribed time and arrived at the Köşk station. Two miles from the last station he noticed a woman walking on the track between the rails. The engine began to whistle, the brakes were applied, and the train continued slowly penetrating the first switch of the station. It seemed the woman had not

37 The annual of the Ottoman Empire indicates that Wroblewski Efendi was serving as an Imperial Railroad Commissioner of İzmir to Aydın in the Ministry of Public Works in 1891. Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental (Ancien Indicateur) du Commerce, de l'Industrie, de l'Administration et de la Magistature, 1891 Heigri 1308-1309*. (Ch.Lorilleux & Compagnie, Paris), 112.

38 Ibid, 112.

heard the signals, because at a certain point in time she threw herself out of the road in order to cross over it. This occurred just in front of the engine which knocked her over.

The train stopped immediately, he got off the train to carry her to the emergency carriage which was taken away outside of the road. He then sent a telegrams to Mr. Surses, general director of the company, to announce the accident. On the orders of Mr.Surses, the injured woman was sent to Aydin on a special train.<sup>39</sup>

He further mentioned that he had no idea why she had not heard the loud whistles of the train. The signal system is designed to prevent accidents. A rope, located in each locomotive, was directly connected to the bell on the locomotive. Under any dangerous circumstances such as a potential derailment, this rope made possible to warn the machinist about the coming or transpiring accident. Another system is air brake's simplest form in which compressed air is sent from car by car passing through an air tube (*hava borusu*) to the main locomotive of the train. When air reaches the locomotive, it whistles loudly (*kuvvetli bir seda*).<sup>40</sup> Then he learned that she was deaf and dumb from birth. The personnel of the train was comprised of him, the mechanic James Suthering, the fireman Félice and the porter Carabet together with.<sup>41</sup>

---

39 BOA, T.DMI 859/16, 14 M 1299 (November 21, 1881) : *Le 13/25 Il parait que cette femme avait négligée les signaux à siffler, puisqu'à un moment donné elle se jeta sur la voie pour la traverser presque devant la machine par laquelle elle fut renversé. --- Le train s'arreta presque instantanement, je suis descendu pour porter secours à la voiture qui fut enlevée en dehors de la voie. Sur ce, j'ai télégraphié à Mr. Surse. Directeur general pour lui annonçant l'accident; par son ordre, la blessé fut envoyé à Aidin par un train spécial.*

40 Sevim Erdem, Sultan II.Abdülhamit Devri (1876-1908) Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bayındırlık Faaliyetleri, (PhD Dissertation, Fırat Üniversitesi 2010), 239.

41 BOA, T.DMI 859/16, 14 M 1299 (November 21, 1881): *Je ne connais pas la victime, mais d'après l'affirmation des Villageois de Kiosk, elle serait sourde, muette et descendait d'une famille atteinte de la meme infirmité. - J'ai appris plus tard que la victime serait morte à l'hopital d'Aidin.-- Le personnel des trains se composait de moi, du mécanicien James Suthering, Chauffeur Felice et du hamal Carabet ainsi que du collecteur Théodore.* On the history of porters in the Ottoman Empire and for details about how Armenian community was part of this job network in İstanbul in the nineteenth century, See: Can Nacar, "İstanbul Gurbetinde Çalışmak ve

According to mechanic James Suthering's statement, while Ayşe Hanım was walking along the rails, the train was moving very slowly. But at the moment of entering a switch, the woman in question tried to crossover to the other side.<sup>42</sup> Suthering, to avoid being blamed for the accident, repeats that he made every effort to stop the train but the victim was only 2 m away from the engine, so even for all his efforts, he could not succeed in stopping the train.

The woman was knocked over and the engine injured her arm. When he finally stopped the train, he got off to take her to hospital. She was leading for a long time so Suthering took her handkerchief from her head and bandaged her arm.<sup>43</sup> As a prominent resident of Köşk village, the professor Yusuf Müderis Efendi was also questioned. He declared that he had no knowledge of the accident or how it happened but further emphasized that the victim was deaf and dumb by birth. To strengthen his argument he testified that Ayşe Hanım's brother was deaf and dumb as well.

At the end of the investigation, the commission declared its conclusion item by item. It is concluded that Ayşe Hanım, the daughter of Kürd Hasan, did not hear the signals of the train because of her hearing disability and died at Aydın hospital. The train was not moving faster than normal.

By the time the crew of the train realized that there was a woman who walking the rails, it was too late to stop the train. They could not prevent the accident and she was knocked over by a wagon. The commission did not convict Ayşe Hanım of her negligence; rather they declared that the accident occurred because of her disability.

This thesis discusses the solidarity among workers who constructed a language in order not to be found responsible or not lose their jobs. Finally, they show how workers were competent at their jobs. The final part of this chapter will analyze accidents from labor history perspective.

---

Yaşamak," in *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi 1839-2014 Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Yeni Alanlar, Yeni Sorunlar* Ed: Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, Mehmet Ö. Alkan, İstanbul 2015, 120-132.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

#### § 4.4 Working the Rails: Solidarity among Railroad Workers

The tracks which were constructed with heavy iron of rails almost entirely imported from European countries, offered Ottomans and foreigners an opportunity to work in non-stop, challenging, dangerous, and underpaid working conditions on an industrial work site, machines, and bureaucracy. This complex system needed various forms of skilled and unskilled labor.<sup>44</sup> Regarding geographical difficulties and administrative systems, work site conditions were different in different regions of the that geography of the Ottoman Empire, but railroad work sites everywhere in the empire offered a dangerous and tiring working place to its workers.<sup>45</sup> Along the Hedjaz railroad for instance, workers began early in the morning with the sunrise and worked until the end of the day with the sunset. They worked under the burning sun and the surveillance of Ottoman soldiers, in fear of possible Bedouin raids on the site.<sup>46</sup>

The question of what makes possible to define an accident as a work accident, is answered in an analysis of the hazardous conditions of early capitalism in the Ottoman Empire and in the idea of the negligence alleged by railroad companies and the authorities of the Ministry of Public Works. Thus, just as Peter Mentzel underscores that steam railroads of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were inherently dangerous places to work. In his article, he focuses on work accidents that occurred along the Anatolian and Oriental Railroads. He further argues that:

- 
- 44 Donald Quataert, a labor historian of the Ottoman Empire, especially focusing on workers in the nineteenth century, classifies the types of worker in the railroad environment and their working conditions in the empire. On the different job positions offered by the railroad companies of the Anatolian and Berlin-Baghdad railroad lines, see: Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire 1881-1908*, 75.
- 45 On November 12, 1885, for instance, at the seventh kilometer of the Mersin-Adana-Tarsus railroad line, the railroad worker Agop was trapped under the ballast wagon and died thirty minutes later. See: Adem Erol, *Mersin-Adana-Tarsus Demiryolu*.
- 46 On the Bedouin attacks to Hedjaz railroad line, see: Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000). Ochsenwald, *the Hijaz Railroad*, 32-38, 41-53. Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, 111-122.

Railway companies during the nineteenth century were generally slow in implementing devices or policies that would contribute to a safer working environment.<sup>47</sup>

According to Mentzel, the dangerous environment of railroad labor created a strong sense of solidarity among railroad workers from different ethnic groups. The testimonies of that railroad workers gave during the investigations of train accidents, which are the main sources for this chapter, support the idea of this solidarity and their knowledge of how to control the machine as an accident was nearly occurring.<sup>48</sup>

The following accident case of the death of the railroad worker Théodori who worked for the İzmir-Aydın railroad company supports Peter Mentzel's idea of solidarity among railroad workers which. What makes this case valuable for analysis, is that it concerns the death of a worker on the tracks. The train crew of freight train number seven was questioned about the death of their co-worker. Could the train crew be responsible death of their friend? Did they take all precautions given the coming accident? Who was responsible? Did Théodori not know how to act in the railroad environment around moving machines, or was there any surprising condition at that time?

Moreover, detailed accident reports, crew testimonies, and the hierarchy in the railroad environment contribute the discussion of the working class in the Ottoman Empire in the sense that railroad workers reacted and thought about the death of their co-worker. From their testimonies, I identify strong solidarity –even in the case in which a coworker died - among the workers in order to not lose their jobs. Every employee of the train crew was aware of their responsibilities and fulfilled their responsibilities. Close readings of their statements show that railway men had a certain knowledge about the investigation process after deadly accidents on the tracks. Secondly, there might be pressure on railroad workers to blame the victims and thereby absolve the railroad companies of the accident.

---

47 Peter Mentzel, "Accidents, Sabotage, and Terrorism: Work Hazards on Ottoman Railways," (ed.) Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki. *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* vol.2.

48 Ibid, 226.

According to the statements of Théodori's co-workers, for instance, Théodori had long worked for the company and during that time he gained the trust of the company's employees and workers.<sup>49</sup> Dimitri Tratola, the chief of the train crew, declared that he fully trusted him and did not expect any accident. In his words:

On the morning of the current month, eleven, I ordered worker Théodori to check the condition of the bolts between miles 54 and 61. He had almost accomplished his work. He had worked many years in the company so I fully trusted him. I cautioned him to pay attention when the train passed, and then I returned to my work. Then I went to place where the accident happened. I found his corpse; his body was cut in two. I don't know how the accident occurred. I took him and loaded him into the wagonette to Aziziye. The report was written in Ayasülük police station. A *zaptiye* (gendarme) came to confirm his death. Because accident happened along the middle of the line outside of and inhabited area, I very much doubt if there were any witnesses to the accident except the train crew.<sup>50</sup>

After having completed Dimitri Nikola's order of checking the condition of the bolts on the rail, the safe circulation of the trains would have maintained. In Nikola's view, regarding his orders, Théodori should have already left the rails. But the testimonies of the train chief Nicoli and the train conductor Stavris, suggest that Théodori got crushed under the train to prevent the death of an animal by the train in the railroad environment.<sup>51</sup>

Freight train number seven, which had twenty loaded cars and a baggage wagon, was coming from Balatçık station when the train conductor Stavris observed an ox standing on the right and a man standing on the left side. As soon as he heard mechanic Batista blow the whistle, Stavris applied the brakes and the train ran over something. Théodori had jumped on the tracks when

---

49 BOA, T.DMI 859/9, 8.M.1299 (November 15, 1881).

50 Ibid.

51 For other examples of animal deaths on the tracks from Kosova, See: BOA, TFR.I.KV 22/2157 (November 30, 1900).

the train was approaching the ox, but he did not succeed in saving the ox's life. The ox and Théodori died on November 11, 1881.<sup>52</sup> The ox and Théodori left blood trails on the machine. Because the accident happened in an isolated district, the commission found the testimony of the porter (*hamal*) Mevlüd satisfactory, and accepted the idea that there was no possibility of any witnesses other than the train crew. The commission ended the interrogations and declared the conclusion of the investigation after having questioned the train crew.

The commission, comprised of Railroad Commissioner (*Demiryolu Komiseri*) Mittowski Efendi, assistant commissioner Armenak Efendi, police officer Mehmed Efendi, and the representative of the railroad company, Fr. Mazade, explained their conclusion in six points.

First, on November 11 freight train number seven, while passing mile 60.5, caused the death of railroad worker of the company, Théodori, while he was working on the rails between miles 51 and 61. Second, the train was moving as it was supposed to run and slowed before reaching the place of accident. Neither the track, nor the rolling stock was damaged during the accident. Third, in *my* view<sup>53</sup>, it seems that train crew saw his blood on the machine. Fourth, the victim, since he had long worked for the company, should have been aware of such dangers and should have taken the possible consequences of his behavior under consideration. Fifth, an ox was noticed on the track along with the worker Théodori. The mechanic Batista assumed that a man would get off the track and for this reason he was concerned only about ox's life. Sixth and finally, given the lack of information, the investigation could not clearly pronounce the incident as an accident or a suicide. The commission regarded that the accident happened because of the negligence of Théodori.

In conclusion, just as Peter Mentzel discusses the solidarity concept among railroad workers, this thesis attempts to defend the idea that solidarity existed among them. But not only in the sense that Mentzel underscores. It existed in a different, unexpected way. When we closely read the workers' testimonies given during the interrogation phase of the accident investigation made after

---

52 BOA, T.DMI 859/9, 8.M.1299 (November 15, 1881).

53 In Imperial Commissioner Mittowski Efendi's view.



the deadly accident, one observes that the train crew and eyewitnesses testify as if they spoke the same language. The phrases that workers constructed, and the terms and words they used are similar. There is always a possibility of being found liable according Article 5 of Police Regulation of Ottoman Railroads<sup>54</sup>, and what they tried to show through their testimonies to the commission is that they successfully completed all of the mandates of their jobs.

In an accident that occurred on March 12, 1880, for instance, train number one passed over the body of sleeping man at kilometer 82/100 of the Oriental Railroad.<sup>55</sup> The man died from loss of blood though he was immediately transferred to a hospital after the consultation of the railroad company's doctor in Yedikule. At the end of a long investigation process, the accident commission reached the same conclusion: The accident happened because the victim was drunk and fell asleep on the tracks. When one peruses the investigation process led by the Imperial Commission, one can conclude that there was no extraordinary condition with respect to train. Nobody from train crew made mistake in the realization of their responsibilities. Besides, no one from among the train crew was responsible for the accident. As the following examples show:

Brakeman (*Gardifren*<sup>56</sup>) Ballino, was questioned about the accident and testified:

I was on the first brake, when I heard a warning signal. I immediately applied my brake and jumped out of the train. I found a man whose leg was stuck under the eleventh and twelfth wagon. He was carried to wagon 9 and transported to Istanbul. After having given the stop signal, the train continued about 130 meters. The train was moving its regular speed.

---

54 Ibid.

55 BOA, T.DMI 861/14, 4.C.1299 (May 23, 1882).

56 On the job definition of brakemen, see (Ed.) Jack Simmons, Gordon Biddle, *the Oxford Companion to British Railway History: From 1603 to the 1900s*. Emiroğlu, Üzmay, Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi, 162-164. Brakemen (*Frenci*) were responsible to activate the brake system of the train in case of emergency. They worked in a cabin, located at the end of the last wagon called the *paratör*. This small cabin contained only the brake lever, and they worked long hours.

Brakemen (*Gardıfren*) İbrahim, was questioned about the accident and testified:

I was on the second brake. When I heard the warning signal near the eight-second kilometer, I immediately applied my brake and jumped out of the train. The train chief said to me that we had run over a man. We carried him to the wagon number 9. After having given the stop signal, the train moved about 100-130 meters. Speed of the train normal.

Brakemen (*Gardıfren*) Laskari, was questioned about the accident and testified:

After having heard the stop signal I applied the brake, jumped out of the train, and observed the man under twelfth and thirteenth wagons. The railway guard said to me that this man had passed in front of him. He was drunk. We carried him to a wagon and transported him to Istanbul. Speed of the train normal.”

The three brakemen of train number one gave more or less the same testimony.<sup>57</sup> Railroad workers' expertise of the language shows that they already knew how they should talk during an investigation to not be blamed and held responsible for the accident.<sup>58</sup>

Though we know where the commission conducted the investigation and will how many days or hours it took, one cannot determine whether or not the workers gave their testimonies together. Did they stay together in the same room or did the commission question them one by one? But their very similar testimonies, are strong proof showing that the commission and railroad company employees pushed them to give more or less the same testimonies.

---

57 For similar examples of the neglect term, see: BOA, T.DMI 859/9, 8.M.1298 (November 30, 1881).

58 BOA, I.MVL 575/25816, o8 S 1284 (June 11, 1867): *herhangi makineci veyahut kılavuz demiryolu arabalarının esnayı seyrühareketinde mevkiinde bulunmaz ise altı aydan iki seneye kadar hapis ile tedip olunur ve bundan başka o makule makineci veya kılavuzun tardı hakkında tarafı saltanatı seniyyeden vukubulan emir derhal icra kılınacaktır.*

The conclusions of the reports highlight the reactions of the railroad companies and the Ottoman bureaucracy, which insisted that victims were responsible for the accidents. Behind the idea of the negligence there is also an idea of self-protection. In that sense, accident reports, though it is not highlighted in this thesis, accident reports can provide information on the features of railroad workers class in which one can discuss the tensions, difficulties and discussions among the class.



## Conclusion

This thesis contributes to the social and labor history of railroads by studying the built railroad environment in the Ottoman Empire from the 1850's up until World War I. The motivation for selecting this topic is its neglect in the state-centered view in Ottoman Turkish academic historiography despite its being an interesting, informative field of research. Ottoman railroad historiography has so far focused on the economic, political and diplomatic history and has not interested in social, environmental and labor themes that the broader railroad historiography as offered. This research has been particularly interested in exploring the link among these fields.

Thus, the scope of the present study was determined by a need to transcend the limitations of earlier railroad histories of the Ottoman Empire in the light of the Ministry of Public Work Railroad Administration archives located in the Prime Minister of Ottoman archives in Istanbul. The original contributions of the thesis are that it reveals new, unused archival materials and provides a general descriptive picture of the "built railroad environment" phenomena.

Hence, this thesis explains how the railroad environment was built by Ottoman rulers and railroad companies, how railroads and trains shaped the everyday lives of Ottomans - ordinary people, workers, women and children -

nearby the railroads, the history of the railroad authority and the railroad administration elsewhere in the empire. These issues have mostly been neglected by historians.

The built railroad environment is comprised railroad lines that connected the Imperial capital to its suburbs and provinces, and port cities to agricultural lands, of train station where people gathered while waiting for the next trains, the places where people met with railroad administration staff for met directly with the modern empire's bureaucracy. This built environment had defined regulations and was governed by a multi-dimensional administration system of Ottoman rulers and foreign railroad authorities. The rules and regulations executed by the Railroad police services, Imperial Railroad Commissioner and road watchmen in the environment, in broaden sense was one of the typical example of modernizing Ottoman state's rule which get strength from legal tools with the help of the regulations discussed in *Meclis-i Vala* and the execution of these regulations by Ottoman Imperial Railroad Police and the Ministries of Public Works and Justice.

According to the regulations, this built railroad environment was officially reserved only for those who were part of the railroad bureaucracy, railroad security and people who worked for railroad companies. In this restricted area financed by the Ottoman bureaucracy and railroad companies, people and animals not serving the railroad companies were excluded from to the area. Nonetheless, Ottomans were present in and around the railroads. They were people and animals who were affected by the administration of this environment. They broke railroad environment rules and entered these spaces whether or not the environments were surrounded by barbed wire.<sup>1</sup>

In analyzing their presence, this thesis, reveals the everyday lives of Ottomans around the railroad lines and train stations on a macro level. Thus it is necessary to examine the governance of the area: How the modernized Ottoman bureaucracy control and govern the area and maintain the safe circula-

---

1 Reviel Netz's book on the history of barbed wire discusses how it was used as a tool to control the rural economy in Nazi Germany. For further discussion about barbed wire, especially its role around the railroad lines, see: Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 14-24.

tion of trains through the implementation of legal tool, and the police regulation of Ottoman railroads which was implemented by the Imperial Railroad Commissioner, who in turn was responsible for the maintenance of the regulations and worked as an intermediary among railroad companies, the Ottoman imperial bureaucracy and Ottomans in the area.

On a micro level, through three research subjects of this thesis namely attacks, enclosure and the accidents, thesis aims to show how this area had different types of security and safety problems in different region of the Empire. In terms of attacks, this thesis details what occurred during the attacks for the first time and discusses railroad workers reaction during attacks in their own words, through written investigation reports prepared by the imperial Railroad Commissioner. Moreover, as the analyzed attacks in chapter three showed that, in the late nineteenth century, in the Ottoman Balkans, Anatolia and in the Hijaz region, railroad environment became an open space where Ottoman subjects showed their anger for different reasons.

In terms of enclosure, this thesis explains how the environs of the railroad were planned to maintain the security and safe circulation of trains in the area. Thus, through the analysis of official documents documenting a year long dispute between an urban Ottoman citizen, Fatma Hanım, and the Oriental railroad company, this case underlines the importance of resistance on the implementation of her demands regarding the wall construction. I reach the conclusion that Fatma Hanım was aware of her rights and who was responsible for the reconstruction after the collapse of the wall. Besides that, the attitude of Ottoman bureaucracy, especially as it appeared in the words of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha – the Minister of Public Works -, shows how the Ottoman bureaucracy tried to find a solution that would not deprive Fatma Hanım, a citizen.

The thesis approached accidents in terms of the difficulty of creating safe circulation of trains on the tracks, which was related to many different factors. Through examples of different types of accidents that occurred around railroads –related to human and non-human factors-, this thesis then underscores how Ottomans used railroad lines and turned them to their benefit with unexpected practices defined as negligence by the modern Ottoman modern

bureaucracy. Lastly, chapter 4 contributes to Ottoman labor historiography arguing that railroad workers had strong solidarity to not lose their jobs, and not to be judged aftermath of the death of even their co-worker at the work-site. In this way, this thesis rereads the solidarity idea among the railroad worker class developed by Peter Mentzel.

Hence, this study highlights that railroad studies cannot be written without mentioning and analyzing the presence of Ottomans and non-human actors like animals, machines and environmental factors landscapes, ballast, and wagons. Otherwise any such study is deficient.<sup>2</sup> I think that infrastructural studies should touch upon the political<sup>3</sup>, economic, ecological, legal, cultural, sociological, and gender etc. themes in the historiography.

Through the research that has been carried out, this study strengthens the overall idea that everyday practices of Ottomans around the railroad lines like walking on the tracks, accommodation problems, resistance to the new technologies, attacks, bombings, railroad worker strikes, technical failures, accidents, animals trespassing into the area of the railroads and difficult weather conditions, made it difficult to maintain tranquility and public order in the area.

In conclusion, these findings enhance our understanding of infrastructure studies and add to a growing body of literature on social and labor history. As a concluding remark, I suggest that a further study with more focus on the Imperial Railroad Police system and the history of railroad administration will provide additional insights.

- 
- 2 On the marginalization of animals and their replacement with the engine, see, John Berger, *Why Look at Animals?* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 22.
  - 3 For further discussion of infrastructure as a system, see: ““Imperial Consequences of Things” An Interview with Alan Mikhail,” by Selim Karlıtekin. *CSSAAME Borderlines*, 8 February 2015, <http://cssaamejournal.org/borderlines/imperial-consequences-of-things> (accessed 16 February 2015).

Appendix A Turkish soldiers protecting railroads in Macedonia





## Appendix B Accident Causes and Effects

Causes of the Accidents		Effects of the Accidents	
Neglect of Victims	Axles	Deaths	Cars and Livestock hit by Wagons
Neglect of Agents	Needles	Injuries	Train in distress
Neglect of Other People	Ways, Rails, Ballast Building Material, Mass of fallen rocks, subsidences	Derailments	Runaway Train
Malice	Workplace on the Road	Circulation Interruption	Leaking from Cars
Suicides	Clotures	Delays	
Machines	Snow, Floods, Ice, Fogs etc.	Incidents	
Small flames, combustible burning	Fortuitous Event	Damages and loss	
Tenders ( <i>su ve kömür vagonu</i> ) and wagons	Uncertain or inexplicable cases	Impacts and Collisions	

# Appendix C Derailment of the Yeşilköy train at Samatya

ACCIDENT DE CHEMIN DE FER  
A CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople, le 13 août 1875.

Monsieur, je vous envoie par ce courrier un croquis fait à la hâte du déraillement survenu, le 19 du mois courant, au train express n° 12, se dirigeant de Constantinople à Kutchuk-Tchekmedjé. C'est près de la station de Psomathia qu'eut lieu ce déraillement, dans des conditions tout à fait inconnues jusqu'à présent dans les annales des chemins de fer. Deux rails, reliés par leur éclisse et fortement boulonnés, formant une voûte de quatorze mètres à peu près, traversèrent de part en part un wagon de troisième classe et un compartiment de deuxième. Deux personnes atteintes par le rail furent tuées sur place; d'autres, au nombre de six, furent grièvement blessées.

Le rail pénétra avec une telle force dans le wagon, qu'il perça comme un boulet de canon la plaque en tôle épaisse des tampons.

En outre, le train dérailant, au lieu de suivre la tangente de la courbe, comme cela arrive ordinairement, se rejeta du côté du centre.

Le terrible accident aurait pu avoir de bien plus regrettables conséquences sans la présence d'ajuts et le sang-froid du personnel d'accompagnement du train; sa conduite a été irréprochable en cette triste circonstance, tous les voyageurs se font un devoir d'en convenir. Au premier indice du malheur, à la première oscillation du premier wagon dérailé, ces braves gens, au mépris de leurs propres vies, furent impossibles à la place que le devoir leur imposait, serrèrent au dernier cran les freins et contribuèrent ainsi efficacement à l'arrêt presque instantané du train dérailé et par là à la conservation de plusieurs existences.

L. A.



Un roi du Nouveau-Calabar

Gravure extraite de l'Afrique équatoriale, par M. le marquis de Compiegne.



CONSTANTINOPLE. — Déraillement du chemin de fer de San Stefano à la station de Psomathia. — (D'après le croquis de M. Anasian.)

L'AFRIQUE ÉQUATORIALE

La gravure que nous donnons ci-contre, un roi du Nouveau-Calabar, est empruntée au premier volume de l'ouvrage de M. le marquis de Compiegne publié sur l'Afrique équatoriale. On connaît le voyage de MM. de Compiegne et Marche, Paris, en 1872, sans aucun appui officiel, réduits à leurs propres ressources, obligés de subvenir par un travail acharné, comme naturalistes, aux dépenses considérables qu'ils devaient faire comme voyageurs, nos deux compatriotes ont lutté pendant dix-neuf mois contre les maladies, la faim, les misères, la mauvaise volonté des noirs, les dangers de toutes sortes, et, par des prodiges de courage et de persévérance, sont parvenus jusqu'à six cents milles de la côte. Tandis que trois expéditions, parties d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne, et très-richement organisées, échouaient complètement, ils avaient la gloire d'explorer tout le cours inférieur de l'Ogooué, ses affluents, les lacs si curieux qui bordent son cours, et de nous faire connaître les peuplades qui habitent ses rives.

Par les qualités qu'ils ont déployées dans leur laborieuse expédition, MM. de Compiegne et Marche se sont montrés dignes de figurer parmi les grands voyageurs; par les récits qu'il publie aujourd'hui, M. de Compiegne prend rang parmi les bons conteurs de voyages. Il écrit avec un accent de sincérité qui commande la confiance, et l'on avait vraiment besoin d'un témoin aussi sûr et aussi exact pour connaître un pays sur lequel Duchailu avait débité tant de balivernes. M. de Compiegne a détruit notamment la légende dont son précurseur avait entouré le gorille, M. Duchailu, prenant à la lettre le mot des nègres qui disent du gorille: « C'est du monde, » en avait fait un intermédiaire entre le singe et l'homme, d'une force prodigieuse, rugissant comme un lion et d'une férocité insouise. Ce n'est, en réalité, qu'un gros singe fort laid, qui fait le désespoir des chasseurs devant lesquels il fuit, même quand il est blessé. La fiction est, du reste, bien inutile, quand il s'agit d'un pays aussi nou-

veau, aussi étrange que le bassin de l'Ogooué. L'intérêt s'y rencontre à pleines mains. On relira les pages que M. de Compiegne a écrites sur les mœurs des M'pongwé, sur la coquetterie de leurs femmes, parmi lesquelles il a retrouvé l'usage des faux cheveux, sur ces royaumes qui tyrannisent les villages noirs, sur les fétiches et les superstitions, sur la mystérieuse franc-maçonnerie du Coma, dont on retrouve des similitudes par toute l'Afrique, sur les barbaries des pratiques médicales, sur les orgies et les charivaris dont les bords de l'Ogooué retentissent toute l'année, sur l'épreuve du poison, sur les palabres.

L'Afrique équatoriale justifie le mot de Michelet: « Les relations de voyage sont la plus instructive des lectures. » Avec un contour d'une bonne humeur aussi insatiable que celle de M. de Compiegne, on peut ajouter: et la plus attrayante.

Les Annonces et insertions sont reçues  
Chez MM. L. AUBOUBERT et C<sup>ie</sup>, 19, place de la Bourse,  
et dans les bureaux du journal.

ÉBÉUS



EXPLICATION DU PREMIER ÉBÉUS

La première pierre de l'église future de Montmartre a été posée en grande pompe en présence d'une nombreuse assistance.

Le directeur général: PAUL BAILLOL.

PARIS. — IMPRIMERIE A. BOUSSIAUT, 13, QUAI VOLTAIRE.

**شمال**

عدد - ۳۴

صفحه - ۱۹۵

فرانز گایت آلمانی برائے اٹلی مابین معاہدہ آٹانیاہ  
حال سفر بردہ ۴۰،۰۰۰ کشتیوں زیادہ عسکرک سلاح  
آئندہ یونانی قطعاً متفق آتھندی۔ حالوکہ فرانز  
پویندوروفسکی خودتواریق ایچون بو عسکرکائی دکھدی۔  
اوزمانک آٹان اعظمی وٹک سلامتہ ژئمانیکہک پورلیز  
ڈکوٹیزیرلندہ وقوع پولان بر اتباع غنبدہ پروفیسور  
لہمان (Lahmann) آئیڈمک اپوری فراٹ ایڈی :

اٹلی تواری آئندہ ایشامق حویلی بر مات اپورن نذر، حق  
برماظیم جہیزات امدادٹہ ژوم واردر۔ برجهیزات بر طاظیم ژئمانستیکہ  
فونڈمک اوردہ پروسیا، سیلانی،  
پومرانیائی کال، پوجورد انسان قالی  
کنجمل قابلیت سپاہتاری پوکستہجک،  
انشان آٹانسی ژورمانیکہ، بر اتان تری  
کشم کورہکندہ، پور تریق وجودی  
جہیزل بر نقدن زیادہ وٹک مدافعتہ  
اوریشل بر مات مسلحہ لاندہ۔

پو دایور غوس موتسک غایہ  
شمالیہ ترانی اٹھ پوردی۔ او،  
کنجملک برتریہ عسکرہ اہہ پوردہ  
اولمانس موافق کورہ پوردی۔  
اونٹ غطہ نظری یوس پون باشقا  
ایدی۔ مکتبہ دہ ژمنسولہو  
(Reichsamt) لژ تنسیکہ  
باشلانیدی زمان او، اٹی سنہک  
تجاری ایتری سوردہک شوہہ  
دییوردی :

« تنسلہ تعلیلک مکتبہ  
ادعاہ تمیری غیرقابل خطا آئندہ۔  
دیگر، مکتبہ بر ماعت عسکرہ  
ویرتک مکتبہک استقلال  
انکار اہہ دوشوبوب جالیبارتہ  
مانہ اولانیکز۔ عسکرک تعلیل  
داتما هوای حرکتہ کون کنج سیازی  
سوردہ ناچق وانزک ہیسنہ  
برذوق آسرت او پدیر اچنور۔  
والقیته اوردو کندی ایچون  
معاہہ اراد جدیدہ اضرارہ موق  
اولانج، قطع آٹان منٹک فراتوری  
دہمکتہجک، شن و شاطر جہیزل  
برینہ درشت، چاقین سیال قلم  
اولانج، بو کون آسنتجال اہہ  
تأین ایدمیکر منافعہ مقابل وقوعہ  
عجک معنی ضرری عصرر کشتین  
ایدہمہجک۔ »

غوس موتسک لاتی اوتیق  
بیہودہ ایدی۔ او آئندہ ہنوز نذر  
ایشدیک ایون کتانی یلہ یٹ او  
قدر اٹان کورہمندی، ۸۰۸ اددہ  
ٹوکتیونڈ (Tugendland) جیت  
غیمس تشکل ایش وروسیا،  
سیلانی، پومرانیائی ہر طرفندہ  
ژئمانیک قورگی کناد ایدشدی۔  
بو آئندہ ایدی کہ ملت مسلحہ  
وودہ کتیرل روسیائی فرانسیہ فوندن قورنازق ایچون ملی  
آٹان ژئمانیک کئی تا سیس ایدق فریتوف ژان طہوراییدی۔

تعلیق

ملیم سری

در اہمیت عطاف ایدپوردی ۔  
غوس موتسک پروغرافی :

- ۱ - قول ، بل وناہلاری ہر طرف ایدلشدہ ۔
- ۲ - بیلاہاری ، خط مسگر روزگہ ایدشدہ اپر ایش اپانی ۔
- ۳ - پوسکلف ، دروشک ، اوزداتی آلمانی اپانی ۔
- ۴ - پردہ ، افق انجدہ موزنل امرا ایشہ ۔
- ۵ - سیریلہ ، اہہ چاقق ، دوازلہ طیرمانی ۔
- ۶ - سوردہ ، اہہ چاقق ، قول فولہ چاققہ ۔
- ۷ - حاتی اٹانز ۔

ژالمان بی لطاف بر اوزمانک کشتارندہ زمرودن چلی بر  
مدانہ ایدل ایشی وکا « ایشہ سزک تطبیقات میدانی »  
دیدی۔ او کونڈ اٹانرا طبلہلمہ قدیم یونانی قلیڈا  
دیسک ژواپلو آپیورہ پاریتارتیب ایدپیورہ ، ختفظردہ  
سافردن آپیوروق ، ایدی سنہ مملکتدن سوکرا اپوق  
کازیم سسق ایش اولدہنڈن زمانک کنجملک احتیاط  
بدہسہ کورہ بر ژئمانیک کتانی ترتیب ایدوب فراتندہ۔  
آرمق بی اولدہنی اٹانرا ایدہوم ۔ چوق دہمہ بر قیمت  
غیمس اولمانل آرمق اٹنار ایش اولاسندن  
مجبوب اوپوردہ ۔ آتحاق تدریح  
وہزیولوجی خارٹہ تطبیقا او وقت  
بر اتر وجودہ کتیمش اولہ ایدم  
آمگر، یوس پون ہاوالش اولان  
چندی ۔ چوکہ او کتانی تطبیق  
ایدہک متنن معمل آٹانیاہ ہنوز  
پتشمہندی ۔ ایشہ بو اکتی  
علاظہ بی مثلی ایدپیوردی۔ یون  
قدیمہ ژئمانیک کچدی اودار  
تاریخیدہ کورہ پیورک اوردہ دہ  
بر چوق زمان ژئمانیک آرمیک  
برسادمہ دواپاشن و آتحاق اپورنات  
وہرغلہس دودنہ طبائتہ واپطلسی  
تین ایشدہ ۔ »

ایشہ غوس موتسک تدریح  
وہزیولوجی خارٹہ مستند بر اصول  
تعلیلک آٹانیاہ تطبیقی مستحل  
عد ایشدی بر دورہ اسودج  
ژئمانیک کئی عتندہ آٹانامز  
وجہہ « اینج » آئندہ بر حکمہ قہ  
وہزیوی ژئمانیک کئی اسودجہ  
کال موقبتہ تطبیقہ موق اولشدہ۔

غوس موتس ژئمانیک دردہ  
تعلیل ایدپیور :

- ۱ - وجود ترمینہ عام حرکتہ ۔
- ۲ - کنجملک مارتک سیاہاملان لای  
تطبیقات ۔
- ۳ - نوق ونشہ وپوکٹہ عام اولان  
اپورنات ۔
- ۴ - ہوزمکہ تعلیلاری ۔

غوس موتس ایزدہ ایشل ایدل  
کیٹ حرکت بدینہک قسیمی  
ایدی۔ وہزیولوجی ایشارہ بسطہ  
مرکب ، قولا، کوچ ، قاعدہ ،  
مقبولہ کئی قسماقی ہول اچک  
ایشہممش ، ویورک تشکلات  
خاریمسہ نظراً اقسام حرکتہ  
کورہ بر قسماقی ایشدہ ۔ حالوکہ  
حرکت مقداری عضوک قابلیتہ  
کورہ تعیین و قسماقی ایدپورہ  
استحصال مطلب اولان صحت  
وناس اہل ایش اولور ۔  
ایشہ غوس موتس عبطک سوہ  
علیہسنی آتر کورمک بر خطای  
صمی ہہ دوجار اولش اوپوردی ۔ وہزیولوجی قدا ایشدہ  
برابر اچیق ہوادہ اوپورنہ ، اپریشلہ ، آٹانراہ یٹ زیادہ

عربی طائرک ہندامسہ ایشتارہ حرکتی  
Le départ du train de voyageurs pour San Stefano après l'accident

۴ - دیق اٹانز ۔  
۹ - ژواپلو اٹانز ۔  
۱۰ - اول اٹانز ۔  
۱۱ - کورمک کچنل ۔  
۱۲ - ہوزمکہ تعلیلاری ۔

غوس موتسک قودیدی اساس ، فی اولمانقہ براہر  
طبتک ایشاپ ایتریویکی فعالیت بدیدی تأینہ مدار  
اولہندن یٹ چوق قاعدہل تواد ایشدہ ۔  
پروسیا اوردوسنک ہہ نا اوسترالچ دہ ناپولیون اوردولرینہ  
معلومی آٹان کنجندہ افکار وظہورواہن علیہ کتیمش۔  
ہر آئندہ بو دلایہ قوتی مقاومت حسی اولدہندی ۔

PHOTO: SÉBASTIAN & JOAILLIER  
Le départ du train de voyageurs pour San Stefano après l'accident

# Appendix E Yeşilköy Train Accident, in Şehbal

صفحه - ۱۹۴

## شهبال

عدد - ۳۴

### اسور

#### آلمان ژئوماتیکلری

(کن لئندزده ستم سری یته خطاباً  
بازلان مکتوبه حوالی ۲۴ کانون تاق  
تاریخی ۱۹۳۱-۱۹۳۰ کونکی «کی-ت» ده  
مترجمدر .)

آلان ژئوماتیکلریه دائر زده شیمدییه قدر هیچ برار  
یازمادیندن (معلم مجرم قانق یك ائندیک آئری برظریات  
کتاید) باطبع اجبی لسانده یازنی آئری ندیق اچک  
لازم کیوردی . اسویچدن عودتده پروکسلده  
اون کون مسافرم ائسانده پروکسل دارالمیلین  
طاییس مدیری پروفسور سلوز ایله آلتایانک درسده  
شهریده مقم صیودن دوقئور مالمچک معلوماتنه  
مراجعت ایله هرک کئسانه خلی اهیقل ویتلر  
علاوه ایتیم .

غواي بدنییه عدم تزل دورنی متعاب، شعخاک  
افراده غلبهسی آیین ایدن دهره کچک دورنده ادمان  
بدن - دور یازو هنرلیه وادانی آئوق ورجان یس  
وقایت غولایسیله آئینی طیب ایدن - شخصی  
مهارتزدن عبارت ایدی .

اورودایه اولدیجی کیمی یرشده دخی اوزمانلر  
آنی قیلج تولانیق ، اوق آئی ، اک ششاری  
یکیزی سنبط اچک، آئیر شیلیر قادیرمق، مقبول  
و صریوب اولدیندن هر دهره کی بویصوصده قالیب  
ظرفهسی تریسه سی ایدردی.

اوتوز مکتبلرده تحصیل کمالاً رؤسای روحانییه  
تک ائنده ایدی . اولرک ائتمکده روحک تالیسی  
ایچون وچوئک مژوک ، بیسانده قالیسی لازمی .  
اوتکایچون مکتبلرده ضالیب بدنییه ایجاب ایتدیرون  
ادمانلر هیچ مکتبنده اولوبدییه، منقده لاین یویوان  
قدیم لسانلریه یئدیزده پراهمیت امانه ایدردی .  
اون سکرئنجی عصر میلادیک سوکنده آلتایان  
ده یلیس معلل میانده نجدد رور برعقل ظهور  
ایتدی : یازدوو (Basel), یازدوو هامبورگییه  
دوئمش ، اسی لسانلاره علوم دینهده تحصیل ایتک  
ایتمکد سوکرا معل اولش، ائکارا ستلایوروانی  
سائر عخانلارک پروتستان یلیسلر طرفدن خاک کور .  
لورک کندهسی دینلرک ایتام ایدیش و تجزیه  
ایله کجکی سیراده داچارلرجه فرار ایتشدی .

داچارلرده یازدووک مزایای علمییه قدر  
ایدیهرک داچارلرک عانمان قزایسته ایلر نصیب  
ایدیش ، و برمدت سوکرا بر مؤسسه وجوده  
کتیرمهسته مساعده ایدیشدر . یازدوو اوؤمسه  
دهک پروگراملرک تریسه بدنییه بویوک بر زمان  
تخصیص ایش و یك آز مدت طرفنده مساعینک  
تحرانی کورولونجه آلتایان کومنی طرفدن واقع اولان  
دعوت اوزریه تکرار وطنه دعوت ایتشددر .  
یازدووک ایستدیجی مؤسسه برلینده ۱۷۷۴ ده  
تأسیس اولونشدر . عصرلردن بری مژوک الفات  
اولان دوجو تریسه ایك دمه اولارک آلتایانده  
مکتب پروگراملرک کورولشدر . یازدوو زومسز  
کورودیک دوسلری پروگرامدن حلف ایش بربرلری  
ویشت بدنییه ایه دولولورمشدر .

یازدووک طاییس اسپاسیانلر ایدی ، او یوان  
قدیم غلاملورلریک برستشکاری اولدیندن تنظیم ایتدیجی  
تریسه بدنییه پروگرامی راز افرایوروانه ایدی . بوده یك  
طاییس ایدی . یازدووک طیبوری کئیلری مسکتند ضالیب  
کچیریوردی که بور عکس املدن باشقا برنی نکلهدی .  
یازدووک کئیلره توصیهسی شولردی :

- ۱ - شاردن مژوک سولوق سولوق بیلاقیق .
- ۲ - هفتکله پروکسله پروکسله بیلاقیق .
- ۳ - یاکلر قایت سرت سیمندن لولایی .



بوش غارلرک خشارلرک لوموتیق  
Les débris de la locomotive



ملا درمای کچیرلده اولان بر وادان  
Una waga qui furo cecura



یوك غارلرک بیه  
Ce qui reste du train de marchandises.



فوتور سماع و ددییه

۱ - ایتنجه یازو محسوس ایتنه ایه اکتفا اولونایق .  
۲ - یوشیبه ادمان ایچون یازورده ایتنه سو کجه یان ایلک قان  
کئیلرک .  
۳ - ایتنجه یازو ، شراب اویلاسه بیکله .  
۴ - سوت ، سیزه وایسرتوسر ییرا ایه اکتفا ایدیلرک .  
۵ - ایدی ساقندن زبده افرایوروانیق .  
۶ - استراحت ، بیغافه وولته یس ساعت تخصیص ایدیلرک .  
۷ - علوم و فنونک یس ساعت اشتغال ایدیلرک .  
۸ - ژئوماتیک ، اسقرم و موسیقی اوج ساعت درام ایدیلرک .  
۹ - مارالقولوق سائر ال ایشلرک اکی ساعت مشغول اولونایق .  
۱۰ - کوکک کیری دوت ساعته بوسوزلک تقسیم ایدیلرک  
سوکر ا ادمانه عالم تیللر صیراستده مارانوزلای ، ایلچوانی ،  
قوشین یوز اوستنده ایلرک قانق ، یوزمک ، کورمه کچکک ،

یازدووک وفاق اوزریه علم اطلاق وعقده معلی زالمان  
(Salzman) سلنک آیدیی جییدی تمثیباتی ، قیظ اوئک  
قدر افرایوروان اولدی . زالمان ساقنونیا دوقئسنک  
« شنه عتال » جوارندکی مالکامی اولان راسکی شالوق  
مؤسسه حاله افراع ایتدی و دوق مصارف تأسیسه ب مدار  
اولن اوزره ۱۵۰.۰۰۰ فرانک احسان ایتدی .  
یازدووک وفاق اوزریه ۱۷۸۴-۱۷۸۵ سنی ۱۸ میراننده  
زالمان ایتنه یازلادی .  
زالمان زمانک ائتمکدن عیاشانده ایدی . کیری آئی  
سنه مؤسسه کئیلرک یازنی ایتدی . یك یوق مکتبلرک ،  
ایتراسانه هدف اولدی . قورک کئیرمه دی چالیشدی ، بیماندی ،  
ثبات ایتدی .  
تلفه و فن تریسه حقدنه یك یوق آثار وجوده  
کتیددی . چو یوق تریسه یوق اهریت بربردی  
و شویله بر عالم اسلر قوشیدی :

- ۱ - طایق یاشان ایچون وجوده باقی .
- ۲ - فن و فاضل ایلرک اهریت ائی .
- ۳ - چو یوق لاشدن آکادمه چالیش و اولرله ایلد  
ملا لورکلی .
- ۴ - چو یوقلرک تفریقه سنای ائی .
- ۵ - محسولات طریقه کله مانیکی آکادمه سی ائی .
- ۶ - اسانلرک وجوده کئیرک کیری آئری تالیق ائی .
- ۷ - آئری لایقه استعمال لورکلی .
- ۸ - وقتی سنن اداره ایلرک ییقلی .
- ۹ - عالم افراینه ییقلی لورکلی .
- ۱۰ - چو یوقلرک و قیظه سوره کله اولرله اکتالی .

زالمان جسم ایه روح آراستده کی راطه قوشیدی  
تقدیر ایدییور و چو یوقلرک قوای بدنیلری کیمی او  
قوتلری اداره ایدن قوه ارادیه (Volonté) لریکده  
تریسه یق توصیه ایدییوردی . چو یوقلری فانلن  
اینتاب ، ایلک سولوک ایتدیهرک ایچون مکتبلرک  
ویا مجازلرک تریسه زبده اولرک و جداتی تعصب  
ایدهمک راصول تریسه کله تطبیق موافق کور یوردی .  
زالمانک ژئوماتیک حقدنه ککری شو سوز  
له خلاسه ایلدی :

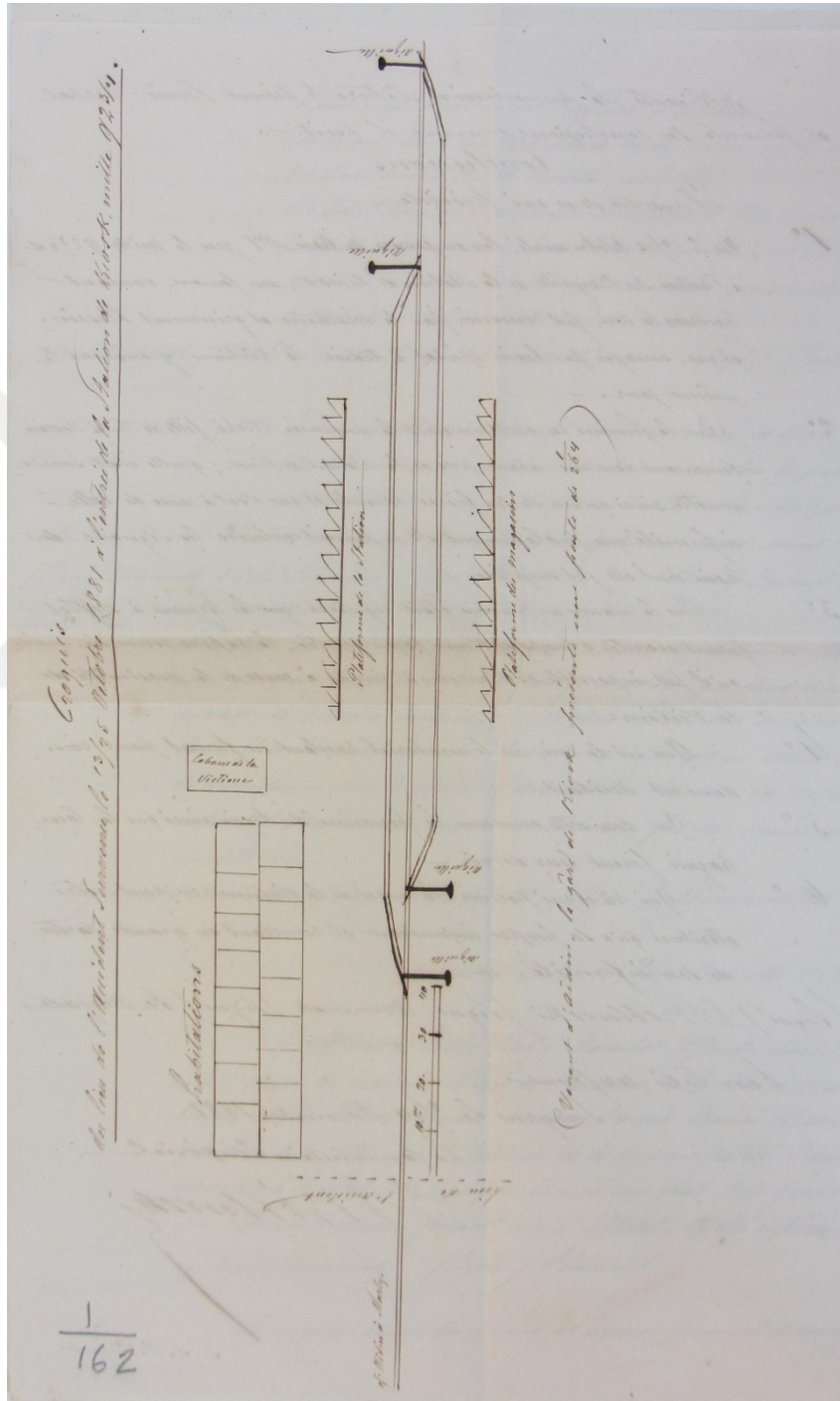
چو یوقلرک و مکتب تریسه اولرله بیلجیه فوت ،  
جسارت ، یونکک و نئسب صولوه کئیرمیدر .  
زالماندن سوکرا ۱۷۸۵ ده مؤسسه تک  
مدیرتی بوش و بوش (Gymnasium) ده ایدیده ایدییور .  
مخونیس بوش حال داراقتوننده اکل تحصیل  
ایتمکدن سوکرا « آئینتو شنه عتال » ده اولا  
یهداغوزی ، جغرافیا و ژئوماتیک دوسلرنه مأمور  
اولش و سوکرا زالمانک و قیظه مدیر اولدی یو  
مؤسسه ده ۱۷۸۵ دن ۱۸۳۹ سنه سنه قدر نام  
ائی دوت سنه خدمت ایتشددر . بومدت طرفنده  
ژئوماتیکک دائر اوج مهم اثر ایتشددر :

- ۱ - کچلره مخصوص ژئوماتیک (Gymnastik  
für die Jugend  
۲ - فکر و بده انشراح ورن اوئلر  
Spielraum Übung und Erholung des Körpers  
und Geistes  
۳ - یوزمک فن (Lehrbuch der Schwimmbad Kunst  
بواج اوردن ریجیسی ژان ایلشیشک (Spion)  
آئرینه براساس تشکیل ایتشددر . دکر آئری یو  
کون یله آلتایانده قیظی غایب ایتمش امانس آتادردر .  
قوش بوش ایك ژئوماتیکک خواهجه ننه نصیب  
یازلادیجی خاطر ائندک شویله نقل ایدییور :

« ۱۷۸۵ ده شنه عتال آئینتوسنه وصولمه پروفسور  
آیستافوس جوارن .

کانون لایق کیری بری کون ابعالظفر معلی ساعت یخکله کیری ی کجه  
مسالده ائره کون یونک یوک قارایه معصمه ایتدی . ایشا ساعت کیری بر قیظ  
آز مقداره یونکمانی فلاسکک دائرک شولوی اناقد کئیر ایش و ورومن مامور  
تعقیقه کوره ، معصمه ایستافوس حرکت ماموریتک سب اولدیجی آلتایان  
پاکیش آلتایانق برلی تریسه ایستافوس ائری یوق ایتدیهرک ، حالیکه  
ایس اولدیندن یوک بر قوش منتسبده ایدیردن . تمکلیه یوقلرک ائکک قلف  
یوک و اکی بویجی و افونق ایتشددر . خسارات مایه ایلرک یی کیری ییله ائره

# Appendix F Sketch of Ayşe Hanım's Accident



1  
162

## Bibliography

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Prime Ministry of Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA*)

I.MVL (*Irade Meclis-i Vala*)

T.d. (*Ticaret Defterleri*)

T.DMI (*Ticaret, Nafia, Meadin, Orman Demiryolları İdaresi*)

TFR.1.KV (*Rumeli Müfettişliği Kosovo Evrakı*)

TFR.1.MN (*Rumeli Müfettişliği Manastır Evrakı*)

PLK (*Plan, Proje, Kroki*)

Library of Istanbul Archeology Museums (*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Kütüphanesi*)

Alascheir Railway Photo Album Constructed by Samuel Bayliss, C.E.

### PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

*Revue Technique d'Orient*

*La Turquie*

*Levant Herald*

*Tasvir-i Efkar*

*Umur-ı Nafia*

*Eşek*

*Şehbal*

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

*Conférence Sanitaire Internationale de Paris 7 Novembre 1911-17 Janvier 1912.*  
Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912.

*Législation Ottomane ou Récueil des Lois, Réglements, Ordonances, Traités, Capitulations et autres Documents Officiels de l'Empire Ottoman.* Constantinople: Bureau du Journal THRAKY, 1874.

Aguiar, Martin. *Tracking Modernity: India's Railway and the Culture of Mobility.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ahuja, Ravi. *Pathways of Empire: Circulation, "Public Works", and Social Space in Colonial Orissa, (c.1780-1914).* Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan, 2009.

Akbulut, İlhan. "İslam Hukukunda Suçlar ve Cezalar." *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 52, no.1 (2003).

Akgüngör, Sedef., and Ceyhan Aldemir, Yeşim Kuştepe, Yaprak Gülcan, Vahap Tecim. "The Effect of Railway Expansion on Population in Turkey, 1856-2000." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* no.42 (2011), 135-57.

Akyıldız, Ali. *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005.

———. *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Alus, Sermet Muhtar. *İstanbul Kazan Ben Keççe.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997.

Appuhn, Karl. "The Nature of Ottoman History." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no.2 (2013), 302-06.

Atabaki, Touraj, and Gavin D. Brockett, eds. *Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labor History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Atilla, Nedim. *İzmir Demiryolları.* İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2002.

- Avcı, Yasemin. "Kent Tarihi." In *Tarih için Metodoloji*, edited by Ahmet Şimşek, Ankara: PEGEM Akademi, 2015.
- Bağcı, Serpil, and Zeynep Yasa Yaman, eds. *Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat. Günsel Renda Onuruna Sempozyum Bildirileri/ Cultural Crossings and Art. Proceedings of a Symposium in Honour of Günsel Renda*. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2011.
- Bağlum, Kemal. *Beşbin Yılda Nereden Nereye Ankara*. Ankara: Bağlum, 1992.
- Balşoy, Gülhan. "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century." *IRSH* 54, no.17 (2009), 45-68.
- Barak, On. "Outsourcing: Energy and Empire in the Age of Coal, 1820-1911," *IJMES* 47, no.3 (2015), 425-445.
- . *On time: Technology and temporality in modern Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.
- Barkley, Henry C. *Between the Danube and the Black Sea: Or Five Years in Bulgaria*. London, 1876.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Radio Benjamin*. London, New York: Verso, 2014.
- Berger, John. *Why Look at Animals?* London: Penguin Books, 2009.
- Berksan, Nazım. *Yol Davamız Nerede?* Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1951.
- Biröl, Nil. "Managing the Time of the Bureacrat in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Central Administration." Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University.
- Bostan, İdris. *Beylikten İmparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2006.
- Bulliett, Richard. *The Camel and the Wheel*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.



- Carse, Ashley. "The Anthropology of the Built Environment: What Can Environmental Anthropology Learn from Infrastructure Studies (and vice versa)?" <https://aesengagement.wordpress.com/2016/05/17/the-anthropology-of-the-built-environment-what-can-environmental-anthropology-learn-from-infrastructure-studies-and-vice-versa/> (accessed 16 August 2016).
- Ceyhan, Cemil Ozan. "Instructions of Railway Staff College in the Ottoman Empire." *International Journal of Turcologia* 6, no.11 (2011).
- Cervati , Raphael C. *Annuaire Oriental (Ancien Indicateur) du Commerce, de l'Industrie, de l'Administration et de la Magistature 1891 Heigri 1308-1309*. Ch.Lorilleux& Compagnie, Paris.
- Christensen, Peter. "Architecture, Expertise, and the German Construction of the Ottoman Railway Network, 1868-1919." PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2014.
- Cooke, Brian. *The Grand Crimean Central Railway: The Story of the Railway Built by the British at Balaklava during the Crimean War of 1854-1856*. Knutsford: Cavalier House, 1997.
- Cooter, Roger, and Bill Luckin. *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations*. Amsterdam: Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1997.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W.Norton, 1991.
- Çetinkaya, Doğan Y. "Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı, Tarihyazımı ve Sınıf Bilinci." *Toplumsal Tarih*, 245, (2014).
- Çetinkaya, Y. Doğan., and Mehmet Ö. Alkan. *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi 1839-2014 Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Yeni Alanlar, Yeni Sorunlar*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015.
- Çolak, Fatih. *Almanların Konya ve Çevresindeki Faaliyetleri 19.yüzyıl sonu-20.yüzyıl başı*. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2014.

- Darnton, Robert. "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris." *American Historical Review*, 105, (2000).
- Davis, Diana.K., and Edmund Burke. *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011.
- Deer, Jennifer Leslee. "Cultivating the State: Cash Crop Agriculture, Irrigation and the Geography of Authority in Colonial Southern Egypt, 1868-1931." PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2009.
- Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*. London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998.
- Dumont, Paul., and François Georgeon, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.
- Dursun, Selçuk. "Çevresel (ekolojik) Tarih Lensinden Osmanlı Tarihine Yeniden Bakmak," *New Trends in Ottoman Studies: Papers presented at the 20th CIEPO Symposium*, Rethymno, 27 June-1 July 2012.
- . "Forest and the State: History of Forestry and Forest Administration in the Ottoman Empire." PhD Dissertation, ODTU, 2007.
- Edwards, Paul N. "Infrastructure and Modernity: Force, Time, and Social Organization in the History of Sociotechnical Systems." *Modernity and Technology*. USA: MIT Press, 2003.
- Eldem, Edhem. "Bir Biyografi Üzerine Düşünceler: İbrahim Edhem Paşa Rum muydu?" *Toplumsal Tarih*, 202, (2010).
- . "Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography," *The Historical Review/ La Revue Historique* VI, (2009).
- Emiroğlu, Kudret., and Ümit Uzmay, *Demiryolu Ansiklopedisi*. Ankara: TCDD, 2013.
- Engin, Vahdettin. *Rumeli Demiryolları*. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1994.

- Engin, Vahdettin., and Ahmet Uçar, Osman Doğan. *Osmanlı'da Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu*. Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2012.
- Erdem, Sevim. "Sultan II.Abdülhamit Devri (1876-1908) Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bayındırlık Faaliyetleri." PhD Dissertation, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2010.
- Erdoğan, Nezi. "Erken Sinemanın Kazası: Nitrat Yangınları ve Önlemler." *Toplumsal Tarih*, 255, (2015).
- Erichsen, John Eric. *On Railway and Other Injuries of the Nervous System*. London: Walton and Maberly, 1866.
- Erol, Adem. "Mersin-Tarsus-Adana Demiryolu." Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2003.
- Faroqi, Suraiya. *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2010.
- Findley, Carter V. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heteropias." (ed.) Matthew Beaumont, Michael J.Freeman, *The Railway and modernity: Time, Space and Machine Ensemble*. Oxford: New York: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Foucault, Michel, Paul Rabinow, *the Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Freeman, Michael. "The Railway as Cultural Metaphor 'What kind of railway History?' Revisited." *The Journal of Transport History* 20, no.2 (1999), 164-164.
- Fyfe, Paul. "Illustrating the Accident: Railways and the Catastrophic Picturesque in the *Illustrated London News*." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46, no.1 (2013), 61-91.
- Georgeon, François. "Changes of time: An aspect of Ottoman modernization." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.44 (2011), 93-124.

- Georgeon, François. and Frédéric Hitzel. *Les Ottomans et Le Temps*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Pirie, Gordon. "Tracking Railway Histories." *The Journal of Transport History* 35, no.2 (2014).
- Gounaris, Basil C. "Railway Construction and Labour Availability in Macedonia in the Late Nineteenth Century." *BMGS* 13 (1998), 139-158.
- . "Peasants, Brigands, and Navvies: Railway Dreams and Realities in the Ottoman Balkans." *The Journal of European Economic History*, 34, no.1 (2005).
- Grallert, Till. "To Whom Belongs the Streets? Investment in Public Space and Popular Contentions in late Ottoman Damascus." *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 61, (2012).
- Grant, Roger. *Railroads and the American People*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Gülsoy, Ufuk. *Hicaz Demiryolu*. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1994.
- Gürboğa, Nurşen. "Osmanlı İktisadi ve Sosyal Tarihinde Bir Emekçi Donald Quataert'in Ardından." *Toplumsal Tarih*, 208, (2011).
- Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)*. Ankara: PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2002.
- Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- . "Labor, Capital and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies." *Politics&Society* 6, (1976), 265-95.
- Hayta, Necdet. *Tarih Araştırmalarına Kaynak Olarak Tasvir-i Efkâr Gazetesi, 1278/1862- 1286/1869*. Ankara: T.C.Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002.
- Hoy, Teresa Miriam van. *A Social History of Mexico's Railroads: Peons, Prisoners and Priests*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman&Littlefield, 2008.

- Inal, Onur. "Environmental History as an Emerging Field in Ottoman Studies: An Historiographical Overview." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XXXVIII (2011).
- Jacolin, Henry. "L'établissement de la Première Voie Ferrée entre l'Europe et la Turquie. Chemins de Fer et Diplomatie dans les Balkans." *Revue d'histoire et des chemins de fer En Ligne*.
- James, Ian. *Paul Virilio*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Judt, Tony. "The Glory of the Rails." *The New York Review of Books*, no.23 (2010).
- Kalifa, Dominique., and Pierre Karila-Cohen. *Le Commissaire de Police au XIX siècle*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008.
- Karay, Refik Halid. *Üç Nesil, Üç Hayat*. Istanbul: İnkilap Yayınevi, 2006.
- Kaya, Alp Yücel and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro Tabir Olunur Tahrir-i Emlak.'" *Tarih Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no.9 (2009).
- Kaynak, Muhteşem. "Demiryolları ve Ekonomik Gelişme 19.yüzyıl Deneyimi." PhD Dissertation, Gazi University, 1982.
- . "Osmanlı Ekonomisinin Dünya Ekonomisine Eklemlenme Sürecinde Osmanlı Demiryollarına Bir Bakış." *Yapıt*, no.5 (1984).
- Kerr, Ian. "Chugging into Unfamiliar Stations, a New History of India's Railway." *Economic & Political Weekly* LI, no. 19 (2016).
- Kırlı, Cengiz. "From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies," *IJMES* 46, (2014).
- Kurmuş, Orhan. "Britain's Dependence on Foreign Food and some Railway Project in the Balkans," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, no.2 (1971), 259-84.
- . "The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia, 1850-1913." PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1974.

- Lanning, Mark B. "Toward a Social Theory of the Built Environment: Frank Lloyd Wright and Broadacre City." *Environmental Review: ER* 3, no. 3 (1979), 11-23.
- Lantz, François. *Chemins de Fer et Perception de l'Espace Dans Les Provinces Arabes de l'Empire Ottoman (1890-1914)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005.
- Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- le Van, Michael. "Chasing the Wreck: On Accidents." in *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 8, no. 3 (2012), 1-3.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell, Oxford, Cambridge, USA, 1991.
- Levy, Noémi., and Nadir Özbek, Alexandre Toumarkine. *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.
- Levy, Noémi., and Alexandre Toumarkine. *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20.yüzyıllar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007.
- Leyden, Kevin M. "Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods." *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no.9 (2003), 1546-51.
- Longworth, Heather Anne. "Tracks, Tunnels and Trestles: An Environmental History of the Construction of the Pacific Railroads." Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, 2009.
- Lotringer, Sylvère., and Paul Virilio. *The Accident of Art*. New York: Cambridge, Mass, 2005.
- Mansel, Philip. *The Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on Mediterranean*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Martykanova, Darina. "Ottoman Engineers: The Redefinition of Expert Identities During the Reign of Abdülhamid II and the Early Years of the Second Constitutional Period." *TURCICA* 45 (2014), 401-403.

- Matthews, Michael. "Railway Culture and the Civilizing Mission in Mexico 1876-1910." PhD Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2008.
- Mccall, R.David. "Everything in its Place: Gender and Space on America's Railroads, 1830-1899." Master's Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1999.
- McMurray, Jonathan. *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad railway*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001.
- McNeill, John R., and Erin Stewart Mauldin. *A Companion to Global Environmental History*. New Jersey: Wiley, 2012.
- McNeill, John.R. "Woods and Warfare in World History." *Environmental History*, 9, (2004), 388-410.
- Mentzel, Peter. "Accidents, Sabotage, and Terrorism: Work Hazards on Ottoman Railways." (ed.) Kiyotaki, Keiko., and Rhoads Murphey. *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies vol.2*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2004, 225-41.
- . "The Bulgarian Declaration of Independence and the 1908 Oriental Railway Strike: Conspiracy or Coincedence?," *East European Quarterly*, 37/4 (2003), 403-18.
- "The Ethnic Division of Labor" on Ottoman Railroads: A Reevaluation." *Turcica*, no.37 (2005), 221-41.
- . *Transportation Technology and imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1923*. Charlottesville: Society for the History of Technology; Washington, D.C. : American Historical Association, 2006.
- Micale, Mark S. Lerner., and Paul Frederick. *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Mikhail, Alan. "A Dog-Eat-Dog Empire Violence and Affection on the Streets of Ottoman Cairo," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35, no.1 (2015), 76-95.

- . “Engineering the Ottoman Empire: Irrigation and the Persistence of Early Modern Expertise.” *Halycon Days in Crete VIII: Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies*, Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015.
- . *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Minawi, Mostafa. “Lines in the Sand: The Ottoman Empire’s Policies of Expansion and Consolidation on its African and Arabian Frontiers (1882-1902).” PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2011.
- Mirzoyan, Sonya., and Candan Badem. *The Construction of the Tiflis-Aleksandropol-Kars Railway (1895-1899)*, *Սոնյա Միրզոյան, Ջանդան Բադեմ. Թիֆլիս - Ալեքսանդրոպոլ - Կարս երկաթգծի կառուցումը (1895-1899)*, *Tiflis-Gümrü-Kars Demiryolunun İnşası (1895-1899)*.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. London, New York, Verso, 2011.
- . “Introduction: Life of Infrastructure,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34, no. 3 (2014), 437-39.
- Mosley, Stephen. “Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History,” *Journal of Social History* 39 (2006), 915-33.
- Netz, Reviel. *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004.
- Micklewright, Nancy C. “Personal, Public and Political (Re)constructions,” (ed.) Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- O’Connor, James. “What is Environmental History? Why Environmental History?” *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 8, no.2 (1997), 3-29.



- Ochsenwald, William. *The Hijaz Railroad*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980.
- Onur, Hakkı (Zafer Toprak), "1908 İşçi Hareketleri ve Jön Türkler," *Yurt ve Dünya* 2, Mart 1977, 277-95.
- Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Derbent Teşkilatı*. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1967.
- Ortaylı, İlber. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1981.
- Özbek, Nadir. "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (2008), 47-67.
- . *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016.
- Özdemir, Şenay. "Osmanlı Denizciliğinde Gemi Kazaları ve Dalışlar," *OTAM* 19, 365-80.
- Özkan, Fulya. "A Road in Rebellion, A History on the Move: The Social History of the Trabzon-Bayezid Road and the Formation of the Modern State in the Late Ottoman World." PhD Dissertation, SUNY Binghamton University, 2012.
- . "Winding Road to Modernization: Trabzon-Erzurum-Bayezid Road in the Late Ottoman World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34, no.1 (2014), 191-205.
- Özyüksel, Murat. *Hicaz Demiryolu*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000.
- . *The Hejaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire: Modernity, Industrialization and Ottoman Decline*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2014.
- . *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013.

- Pamuk, Şevket. *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913: Trade, investment and production*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994.
- . *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi: Büyüme, Kurumlar ve Bölüşüm*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014.
- Par un témoin oculaire, "Récit Historique et Complet des Désastres Arrivés sur le Chemins de Fer de Versailles le 8 Mai 1842," Paris France Thibaut, Librairie-Editeur, 1842.
- Petrov, Milan V. "Everyday Forms of Compliance: Subaltern Commentaries on Ottoman Reform, 1864-1868." *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 2004, 730-59.
- Pope, Norris. "Dickens's "The Signaller" and Information Problems in the Railway Age," *Technology and Culture* 42, no.3 (2001), 436-61.
- Pressel, Wilhelm von. *Les Chemins de Fer en Turquie d'Asie: Projet d'un Réseau Complet*. Zürich, Art. Institut Orell Füssli, 1902.
- Quataert, Donald. *Anadolu'da Osmanlı Reformu ve Tarım, 1876-1908*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008.
- . *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- . "Limited Revolution: The Impact of the Anatolian Railway on Turkish Transportation and the Provisioning of İstanbul, 1890-1908." *The Business History Review* 51, no.2 (1977), 139-60.
- . *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coal-field, 1822-1920*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- . "Pensée 2: Doing Subaltern Studies in Ottoman History." *International Journal of Middle East* 40, no.3 (2008), 379-81.

- . *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*. New York: New York University Press, 1983.
- . “Transportation,” *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 798-824.
- . “Yakub N. Karkar, *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1914*.” *International Journal of Middle East* 5, no. 4 (1974), 181.
- . “19.yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Demiryolları.” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985.
- Quataert, Donald., and Halil İnalcık. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Raum, Judith. *Eser*. Archive Books, 2015.
- Reyhan, Cenk. *Osmanlı’da Kapitalizmin Kökenleri*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2008.
- Richter, Amy. *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad and the Rise of Public Domesticity*. Chapel Hill: University of California Press, 2005.
- Rioux, Jean-Pierre. *La Révolution Industrielle, 1780-1880*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989.
- Ritvo, Harriet. “History and Animal Studies.” *Society&Animals* 10, no.4 (2002), 403-06.
- Roof, Karen., and Ngozi Oleru. “Public Health: Seattle and King County’s Push for the Built Environment.” *Journal of Environmental Health* 71, no.1 (2008), 24-27.
- Rubin, Avi. “Civil Disputes Between the State and Individuals in the Ottoman Nizamiye Courts.” *Islamic Law and Society* 19, (2012), 257-74.

- Sawai, Kazuaki. "Deniz Kazası Arařtırmalarının Önemi ve Osmanlı Tarih Yazımındaki Yeri Amasra'da 1586 Tarihli Deniz Kazası." *Toplumsal Tarih*, 139, 46-50.
- Schivelbush, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th century*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1986.
- Schull, Kent. "The Impact of Donald Quataert's 'History from Below' on Ottoman and Turkish Studies." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 34, no.1 (2014), 126-28.
- Sennett, Richard. *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western civilization*. New York: W.W.Norton, 1994.
- Seyitdanlıođlu, Mehmet. *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vala (1838-1868)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994.
- . "Sadık Rifat Pařa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvâline Dâ'ir Risâlelesi," *Liberal Düşünce*, 3 (1996), 115-24.
- Shaw, Stanford. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution and the Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Simone, Abdulmalik. "Passing Things Along: (In)completing Infrastructure." *New Diversities* 17, no.2 (2015), 151-62.
- Simmons, Jack., and Gordon Biddle. *The Oxford Companion to British railway History from 1603s to 1990s*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Stefano, Diana di L. "Avalanche Country: Nature, Work, and Culture in the Mountain West 1834-1910." PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado, 2007.
- . "Disasters, Railway Workers and the Law in the Avalanche Country, 1880-1910," *Environmental History* 14, no.3, (2009), 476-501.

- Steffy, J. Richard. *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*. Texas A&M University Press, 2012.
- Stine, Jeffrey K., and Joel A. Tarr. "At the Intersection of Histories: Technology and the Environment," *Technology and Culture* 39, no.4 (1998), 601-40.
- Tekdemir, Aziz. "Ticaret Nezareti (1839-1876)." PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010.
- Tekeli, İlhan., and Selim İlkin. *Cumhuriyet'in Harcı: Köktenci Modernitenin Doğuşu*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004.
- Terzibaşoğlu, Yücel. "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19.yüzyılda Anadolu'da Mülkiyet Hakları Nasıl İnşa Edildi?" *Tarih ve Toplum, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 4, 2006, 121-47.
- Tilly, Charles. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Toksöz, Meltem. *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Making of the Adana-Mersin region 1850-1908*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Toprak, Zafer. "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurinin ve Müstahdeminin Terk-i İşgali." *Tarih ve Toplum*, 57, 1988, 45-50.
- Türker, Ebru Aykut. "Alternative Claims on Justice and Law: Rural Arson and Poison Murder in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Empire." PhD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2011.
- Varlık, M.Bülent. "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet Mizah." *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.4, 1985.
- Veyne, Paul. *Writing History; Essay on Epistemology*. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1984.
- Virilio, Paul. *The Original Accident*. Cambridge: Malden, Mass., 2007.
- White, Richard. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W.W. Norton& Co., 2011.

- . “Railroads Links to Social, Economic, Cultural and Environmental History.” <https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=Railroads+Links+to+Social%2C+Economic%2C+Cultural+and+Environmental+History%2C&aq=chrome..69i57.126011joj7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8> (accessed 10 June 2016).
- . “Transcontinental Railroads and the Environmental Consequences of Premature Development.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6NFuBJXxtI> (accessed July 15, 2015).
- . “What is Spatial History?” <https://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29> (accessed 15 June 2016).
- Wishnitzer, Avner. *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- . “Our Time:” On The Durability of the *Alaturka* Hour System in the late Ottoman Empire,” *Int. J. Turkish Studies* 16, Nos. 1&2, 2010.
- Wolmar, Christian. *The Great Railroad Revolution*. New York: Public Affairs, 2013.
- Yavuz, Mehmet. *Bahnhofsarchitektur der Anatolischen Bahnen und der Bagdadbahn*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014.
- Yerçil, Mehmet. “A history of the Anatolian Railway, 1871-1914.” PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010.
- Yıldırım, Kadir. “Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatında İşçi Örgütlenmesi ve İşçi Hareketlerinin Gelişimi (1870-1922).” PhD Dissertation, Istanbul University, 2011.
- . *Osmanlı’da İşçiler (1870-1922): Çalışma Hayatı, Örgütler ve Grevler*, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Yılmaz, İlkey. *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Güvenlik Politikaları, Mürur Tezkereleri, Pasaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları: Serseri, Anarşist ve Fesadın Peşinde*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014.

Zeller, Thomas. "Histories of Transport, Mobility and Environment." *The Journal of Transport History* 35, no.2 (2014).

#### ONLINE SOURCES

"An Interview with Kent Schull, author of *Prisons in the late Ottoman Empire*." <http://www.eupublishing.com/userimages/ContentEditor/1405520904835/An%20interview%20with%20Kent%20Schull.pdf> (accessed 18 January 2017).

"Imperial Consequences of Things" An Interview with Alan Mikhail." by Selim Karlitekin. *CSSAAME Borderlines*, 8 February 2015, <http://cssaamejournal.org/borderlines/imperial-consequences-of-things/> (accessed 16 February 2015).

"18., 19. VE 20. PROGRAMLAR ALT YAPILAR, DEMİRYOLLARI: KADIKÖY – HATBOYU." <https://istanbulkazanbizkepce.wordpress.com/2015/09/18/18-19-ve-20-programlar-alt-yapilar-demiryollari-kadikoy-hatboyu/> (accessed 1 December 2015).

"Transcontinental Railroads and the Environmental Consequences of Premature Development." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6NFuBJXxtI> (accessed 15 July 2015).

"Stanford historian uncovers the dark roots of humanitarianism." <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2015/april/humanitarian-congo-daughton-042315.html> (accessed 16 October 2016).

"Ottoman Railways and Modern Industrial Infrastructure 1880- 1914." [http://almashriq.hiof.no/syria/300/380/385/railways/ottoman\\_trains/](http://almashriq.hiof.no/syria/300/380/385/railways/ottoman_trains/) (accessed 16 October 2015).

“Colorado Railroad Accidents, July 1884 - June 1885.” <http://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/railroaded/gallery/interactive-visualizations#lightbox=gallery/interactive-visualizations/colorado-railroad-accidents-july-1884-june-1885> (accessed 08 April 2016).

“Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project at Stanford University.” <http://web.stanford.edu/group/chineserailroad/cgi-bin/wordpress/about-our-project/> (accessed 10 May 2016).

“Osmanlı’da Çekilen İlk Film...” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4rFN4jNL1w> (accessed 14 January 2015).

