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TURKISH MIGRATIONS FROM THE BALKANS TO İSTANBUL 1877-1890

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1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it has now been submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of the following:

- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study.
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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TURKISH MIGRATIONS FROM THE BALKANS TO ISTANBUL 1877-1890

In this study, II. Abdulhamid era of mass migrations that occurred during the first years tried to analyze. The writing of the Ottoman history occupies very important social events. Because of the Ottoman Empire to play a pivotal role in the growth and development of the social dynamics of political power comes from the front row.

The biggest problem faced by the Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat period as the observed migration. The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, despite the huge growth and power gain, the 19th century, the Balkans began to lose power. After the French Revolution in that cause the biggest social changes in Europe and the Ottoman territories that occurred. That he possesses the power of the Ottoman Empire not only limited to land acquisitions. Adopted by the political understanding of the Ottoman Empire, a situation the state has given moving constantly. In 1783, after the Crimea and the Balkans into the hands of the Russians in the breakaway from the transactions, the loss of soil caused by the state, this land has resulted in creation of migration to as Asia Minor. Another interesting issue is, during the reigns of the Ottoman Empire by giving advertisements in European newspapers, local and foreign that it encourages people to settle in the Ottoman Empire.

1877-1878 the Ottoman Russian War was a turning point in the Ottoman History. Because of the Ottoman Empire after the war in the Balkans that have lost all the territory, and this land has been established many small states. Principality of Bulgaria as a result of the establishment of a Muslim who did not want to live in this region and the Turks began to migrate to Anatolia. That immigration was during the height of the city Istanbul. Migrations that occurred after the city's population increased between 1877-1890. Ethnically, the city went to a fundamental change. Istanbul was a great transformation as topographical. Refugees in the city privatized

the state lands. New immigrant children born in the city's identity and generation and was instrumental in the process.

Key words:

Migrations, Migrants, the Balkans, the Ottoman History, İstanbul

KISA ÖZET

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Ocak 2012

BALKANLAR'DAN İSTANBULA TÜRK GÖÇLERİ 1877-1890

Bu çalışmamızda, II. Abdülhamid döneminin ilk yıllarında meydana gelen kitlesel göçleri analiz etmeye çalıştık. Osmanlı tarihi yazımında toplumsal olaylar çok önemli bir yer işgal eder. Çünkü Osmanlı Devleti'nin büyümesinde ve gelişmesinde siyasi iktidarın önemli rol oynaması kadar toplumsal dinamiklerde ön sırada gelmektedir.

Tanzimat dönemi içerisinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin karşılaştığı en büyük problem olarak göçler görülmektedir. Osmanlı Devleti, Balkanlar'da büyük bir büyüme ve güç kazanmasına rağmen, 19. yüzyılda Balkanlar'dan güç kaybetmeye başladı. Bunda en büyük neden Fransız Devriminden sonra Avrupa'da ve Osmanlı topraklarından meydana gelen toplumsal değişimlerdir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin gücü sadece onun sahip olduğu toprak kazanımları ile sınırlandırılmaz. Osmanlı Devleti'nin benimsediği siyasi anlayış, devleti sürekli olarak hareketli bir durum kazandırmıştır. 1783 yılından sonra Kırım'ın Rusların eline geçmesi ve Balkanlar'da meydana gelen ayrılıkçı hareketler, devletin toprak olarak kaybetmesine neden olduğu gibi, bu topraklardan Anadolu'ya zorunlu olarak göçlerin oluşmasına neden oldu. Diğer bir ilginç konu ise; Abdülmecid döneminde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa gazetelerinde ilanlar vererek, yerli ve yabancı halkı Osmanlı topraklarına yerleşmeyi teşvik etmesidir.

1876-1877 Osmanlı Rus savaşı, Osmanlı Tarihinde bir dönüm noktasıdır. Çünkü Osmanlı Devleti, bu savaş sonrasında Balkanlar'da sahip olduğu bütün toprakları kaybetmiş, ve bu topraklarda pek çok küçük devletçikler kurulmuştur. Bulgaristan Prensiğinin kurulması sonucunda bu bölgede yaşamak istemeyen müslüman ve Türkler Anadoluya göç etmeye başladılar. İstanbul bu göçlerin en yoğun yaşandığı şehir oldu. 1877-1890 arasında meydana gelen göçler sonrasında şehrin nüfusu arttı. Etnik olarak şehir köklü bir değişime gitti. Topoğrafik olarak İstanbul büyük bir dönüşüme uğradı. Şehirde muhacirlere verilen devlet arazileri özelleşti. Doğan yeni nesiller ve muhacir çocukları şehrin kimliğinde ve II.Meşrutiyet süreci içerisinde etkili oldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Göç, Göçmen, Balkanlar, Osmanlı Tarihi, İstanbul,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

İA	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İslam Ansiklopedisi
DİA	Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI ²	Encyclopedia of Islam (Second Edition: Leiden Brill)
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
CD	Cevdet Dahiliye
Y.PRK.KOM	Yıldız Parekende Komisyon
TCTA	Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi

PREFACE

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Erdoğan Keskinliç, for his valuable assistance, concern and sharing his knowledge throughout my MA program. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli, Assoc. Prof. Kemal Özden, Assistant Prof. Ebubekir Ceylan, Ahmet Yaşar, for their guidance, support and critiques.

Turkish migrations are very important from Balkans to Anatolia. This historical and social movement's had studied some academic persons. However these are not enough to understand to migrations of Turkish and Muslims from Balkans to Anatolia. We have to learn how many people migrated from Balkans to Anatolia and their settlement. Their settlement had opened a new village in the Anatolia and in nears of İstanbul.

TURKISH MIGRATIONS FROM THE BALKANS TO ISTANBUL 1877-1890

Introduction

Some of the events that took place at the time has been in short or long process. There are different causes of such events in all of them. Therefore, historical studies must be done according to the different dimensions of the incident and her comments should be made in under this manner.

Historians who study the Ottoman history should investigate an event from different perspectives and think about the Ottoman history according to these results and construct history with these consequences. As it is known, the Ottoman Empire was a Turkish-Islamic state which ruled a huge territory nearly for 600 years. As its establishment took place in a problematic process, its collapse also was problematic. Because the periodization of the Ottoman history does not reflect the reality. The Ottoman case was discussed with the changing intellectual methods of 20th century. It was evaluated under which conditions, and how a political and social evolution took place in the Ottoman history. It became clear that the event does not seem like that it was narrated.¹

To study the Ottoman history is not only the duty of Turkish historians. To study the Ottoman history is also a task of the historians who study Europe, Asia, Africa, even Far East histories. Because the Ottoman State some how has experienced some interaction in all of those states and communities for a short or long period with different reasons. The Ottoman State is an important part of world history. Eventhough it is a such important subject, in the writing of world history its

¹ Cemal Kafadar, "Osmanlı Tarihinde Gerileme Meselesi", *Osmanlı Geriledi mi?* ed. Mustafa Armağan, Etkileşim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2007, pp. 101-164.

deserved place was not given to it. It is a fact that without considering the Ottoman history neither Europe nor the Balkan history can be written. At the formation of Modern Europe and attaining its own identity, the Ottoman State has played an important role. Historical Turk prototype stems from the period which the Ottoman State reigned and from the narratives which was in circulation among the statesmen and common people.² Because of that Islam identified with Turk, in Europe, Turk concept caused the formation of the concept what Islam is. When a European converts to Islam, he is considered as a Turk no matter what his ethnic origin is.³ The image of Turk in Europe showed itself rather as something which is connected with fear. However European States used the Ottoman card as a threatening factor when they tried to counterweight each other. For this reason sometimes European States like Italy and French made alliance the Ottoman State and they tried to preserve their political unity by this alliance.⁴ This kind relationship continued in the Turkish Republic after the collapse of the Ottoman State. This kind relationship did not disregard the historical process, and both concepts were connected with each other.⁵ Just as the Ottoman Turk has played a role in the formation of Europe, Europe caused a considerable impact on the Ottoman State after a certain period. The interaction period which was called by terms such as Europeanism, modernization, westernization has got an important place nearly in 300-year Turkish history. Because this interaction made itself felt not only from the state government, and

² Mustafa Soykut, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy an History of the "Other" in Early Modern Europe: 1453-1683*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin: 2001, pp. 15-46.; Filiz Turhan, *The Ottoman Empire: British Romantic Writings About The Ottoman Empire*, Routledge, New York & London: 2003, pp. 45-75.

³ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, trans. Boğaç Babür Turna, Arkadaş Yayınları, Ankara: 2008, p. 20.

⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Modern Avrupa'nın Gelişmesinde Türk Etkisi", *Osmanlı ve Dünya*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat, Ufuk Kitapları, İstanbul: 2000, pp. 79-92.

⁵ Halil İnalçık, *Turkey and Europe in History*, Eren, İstanbul, pp. 107-129.

operation of institution point of view, but also by its influence in daily life and communal practices.⁶

Especially the evolution of the Ottoman State shows itself in a more radical sense in the reign of Mahmud II chiefly, the new institutions established in this period were the most concrete proof of this evolution and Europe's influence on the State. The Europeanization process which Selim III started but could not finish, and he paid the cost with his life was continued by Mahmud II.⁷ Explaining the beginning, and the cause and effects of these events is the task of historians. Historians should use the scientific methods and make comparisons while they are constructing the past again. If history is not evaluated by historians according to the condition of the time in which the event took place, the result might be wrong.

What is the task and responsibility of the historians? Is it to interpret the events of the past according to their own thoughts? Because the subject of history and its effects can be shaped in many ideological ways. Those who search the past for having support and those who seek to heighten the power of effect can analyse this situation very well. Or should the historian try to explain the subjects in which he is interested, or he likes? Or is his task to fill the gaps in history with his studies and by this way to construct the past again? Those questions and their answers can be different for every historian. But we consider that the most reasonable answer is that the historian must make efforts to fill the gaps which he sees in history. Only in this manner, the cause and effects of the events and their relationship with each other can be understood easily.

⁶ Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, "Osmanlı Batılılaşması", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, İletişim Yayınları, pp. 147-152.; M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Batılılaşma", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, pp. 148-152.

⁷ Kemal Beydilli, "Mahmud II", *DİA*, vol. 27, pp. 352-357.

The situation described above shows itself in best at the researches about the Ottoman history. Historians sometimes, but mostly concentrates on political history and sometimes on the architecture and art, sometimes focused on the biographies of the statesmen. The Ottoman history studies have been conducted from time to time on each subject of it. However on some issues a lot of studies have been done, on the contrary on some issues there were almost no study. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak who intensified his studies on the religious life of Turks in Anatolia and in the understanding of the Islamic faith emphasizes this point often. In both Seljuk and the Ottoman period Islam and the way of understanding Islam which is the determining feature of the social life has not been studied yet at a satisfactory level. These studies were limited to a few master historian's own time, and to their works. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak emphasized on the work which required be making in this area, and defending that the work must not study only some monotonous issues in history.⁸

According to some historians, because of that social and economic history were accepted as more important, political history has been neglected. First, the political history must be established, after that it will be the base for economic and social history. These kind of comments does not mean anything and this will be seen in the coming years.⁹

Mehmet Genç specifies how he turned to the economic history of the Ottoman Empire.

“Osmanlı tarihindeki meçhuller ve çelişkilerle dolu dünyasına girmenin benim için, yüzmeyi iyice öğrenmeden, bütün adalardan uzakta okyanusun ortasına atlamaya benzer bir riski yüklenme anlamına geldiğinden habersizdim.”¹⁰

⁸ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 1996, pp. 25-30.

⁹ Erhan Afyoncu, “Osmanlı Siyasi tarihinin Ana kaynakları: Kronikler”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol. 1, No: 2, İstanbul: 2003, p. 101.

¹⁰ Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, Ötüken Yayınları, İstanbul: 2005, p. 15.

According to Mehmet Genç, the study of economic history is important. Because the success of the Ottoman State was not the product of only the political aspect and understanding. The Ottomans established a certain state, and economic understanding to the regions under its domination. Halil İncalcık who gave all his life to the study of the Ottoman history always specifies his classical view. The Ottoman history is the most distorted and done-sided interpreted history. There is such an unfortunate state of the Ottoman Empire. Giving answers to such one-sided interpretation is not possible with only the analysis of political history.¹¹

It is possible to multiply the examples which are expected from the historians to be studied. Another important point to be investigated in the Ottoman history, especially of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, migration and population movements which it has to face. The migration movement which resulted from the political, social, economic and religious reasons of the Tanzimat period put on the Ottoman central authority into politically and economically difficult situation. To study the subject matter is important because at first people want to learn where they come from and their family ties by learning history. Another point is that without knowing the migration and population movement, a healthy 19th century history can not be written. As those migration movements have had the political and economic reasons, of course, they have resulted the political and economic effects on the Ottoman Empire. Over time, these migrations have led to the emergence of a number of different results.¹² On the other hand, the migration and population movements in the Ottoman territories took place in an amazing situation. In 19th century migration movements have been towards not only the Ottoman Turkey,

¹¹ Halil İncalcık, “Osmanlı Tarihi En Çok Saptırılmış Tek Taraflı Yorumlanmış Tarihtir”, *Cogito*, No: 19, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul: 1999 pp. 25-40.

¹² Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri Tanzimat Devri, İlk Kurulan göçmen Komisyonları Çıkarılan Tüzükler*, Nurgök Matbaası, İstanbul: 1966, pp. 7-8.

Rumelia, and Arap provinces, but also United States, Russia, and Caucasus. Investigation of migration as a factor for helping to determine the family past will also provide information about the history of cities and population structures. The migration in the geography of the Ottoman has led to the establishment of many new settlements.¹³ For example, the town of Mecidiye which was established by Crimean after their migration to Dobruca is a good example for this case. The establishment of the town offers us interesting details about the understanding of the Ottoman urbanism, and of settlement concept at the last period of the Ottoman.¹⁴

Ömer Lütfi Barkan who was one of the founders of modern historiography in Turkey mentioned the importance of workings about demographic movement and its structure by evaluating the archival materials. Ömer Lütfi Barkan was an important figure who has given direction to the works of economic history and carried those works to the academy.¹⁵ In his article, he advocates the need to clarify definitely the economy and social structure for the understanding of politics and the history of institutions. Because according to him the economy determines the politics and the dynamism of economy depends on the social structure and population structure. Study and clarification of the structure and mobility of the Ottoman population plays an important role in understanding the history of the Ottoman.¹⁶

¹³ Faruk Kocacık, “19. Yüzyılda Göçmen Köylerine İlişkin Bazı Yapı Planları”, *Tarih Dergisi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Ord. Prof. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Hatıra Sayısı, No: XXXII, yıl: 1979, pp. 414-426.

¹⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul: 2010, p. 199.; for english, Kemal H. Karpat, “The Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and The Founding of Mecidiye, 1856- 1878”, *Studies on The Ottoman Social and Political History*, Leiden: 2002, pp. 202-234.

¹⁵ Halil İnalçık, “Türkiye’de Modern Tarihçiliğin Kurucuları”, *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildiriler*, vol. 1, Ankara 4-8 Ekim 1999, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 44-50.

¹⁶ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi” *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. 10, Osman Yalçın Matbaası, İstanbul:1953, pp. 1-26.

1. MIGRATION AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1.1 Internal Migration

Population movements and the structure of migration can be evaluated not only from the point of economic history but also of its affects on the state and society after those movements were completed. For this reason looking at the subject only from the point of political history does not give us reliable information. Changes in population formation in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century were the result of these migration movements and its affects were felt in Modern Turkey as an identity. These migration movements started at the end of the Empire and continued throughout the early years of Republic. In the eyes of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, migration from the Balkans towards the newly established Turkey was a matter of nation.¹⁷ In both periods, immigrants were the source of trouble at first, but after their adjustment period to new environment, they became the unseperable part of the state and society.¹⁸ This was an important consequence for both the state and the society. When the researches of migration towards Anatolian cities are investigated, the indisputable affects of immigrants on the society can be seen more clearly. Those newly arrived immigrants carried their own way of life and thoughts, imposed, and caused to a new mobility in all the levels and areas of the society.¹⁹

The Ottoman Empire experienced the first political weakness by the Treaty of Zitvatoruk in 1606.²⁰ Although The Empire tried to recover itself under the

¹⁷ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün açılış nutku. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Vol. 13, devre 5, içtima 2, birinci celse, 11 Kasım 1936 Pazar, p.5.

¹⁸ Kemal Kirişçi, "Migration and Turkey: the Dynamics of state, society and politics", *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4, ed. Reşat Kasaba, Cambridge University Press: 2008, pp. 175-198.

¹⁹ Yaşar Ozan Say, *The Balkan Muhacirs of Akköy: Memory and Identity in a Western a Anatolian Village*, Danışman, Vangelis Kechriotis, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, (Unpublished MA), İstanbul: 2006, pp. 6-10.

²⁰ Nihat Erim, *Devletlerarası Hukuku ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri*, vol. 1, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara: 1953, pp. 17-21.

statesmanship of The Köprülü family, this attempt did not continue long. The successful administration of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha between 1656-1661 was a promising period for the Empire. Also Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed followed his father in the sense of the continuation of the successful administration. Kara Mustafa Pasha, as a result of achievements of Bridge has found himself in front of Vienna. However, the second siege of Vienna July 1683, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire and Europe as well as its own end was the final breaking point. Kara Mustafa Pasha, paid by mistake hurt the second siege of Vienna. Then again, the state itself and the land began to lose toparlayamadı. The state began to lose ground in Europe, although a Muslim living in the area began to reced publicity and settled in different cities within the territory of Thrace. After the first wave of migration took place in 1683 in Skopje. Refugees in a group with the burning of the city was forced to flee to Istanbul.²¹

It is possible to divide the migration history of the Ottoman Empire into two parts. Migration movements, both interior²² and exterior²³, were a circumstance which must be dealt with for the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to its collapse. While the Ottoman State was retreating from Europe, it started to receive a wave of migration from Crimea, Caucasia, the Balkans, Crete, and Aegean Islands. The only group which look at the Ottoman State as a heaven of the relief was not the Muslims. Greeks, Armenians, Jews were also considering the Ottoman State as a secure place for themselves and because of this they were migrating into the Ottoman territories. Millions of people from Crimea, Caucasia and the Balkans migrated. Those migration movements turned to mass population movements in the

²¹ H. Yıldırım Aġanoġlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makûs Talihi Göç*, Kum Saati Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p.31.

²² Osmanlı Devleti'nin kaybetmiş olduđu topraklardan sahip olduđu topraklara olan göçlerdir.

Tanzimat Era and they caused the emergence of big problems for the state. Especially Russia took a special part in the process of those migration movements. The reformation attempts made by Petro the Great had transformed Russia into a steadily growing state whose demands for the power could not be pleased easily.²⁴ By the desire for expanding territory and the lust for the new markets Russia continued to pursue a policy which aims to broaden the influence of Russia in both Crimea and Caucasia. Unfortunately this policy of Russia caused not only that thousands of innocent people lost their lives but also to their immigration to another countries. Again the revolutionary movements which took place between 1830 and 1848 at Europe and their impact on the population movements affected the Ottoman State, because the refugees who escaped after the revolution took refuge in the Ottoman State. When fugitive Hungarian refugees were accepted by the Ottoman State, this situation caused a diplomatic crisis between Russia and the Ottoman State. While Russia was asking for the Ottoman State to extradite Polish and Hungarian fugitives, the Ottoman State was insisting on not to give them back.²⁵

There were some certain reasons about why Hungarian fugitives choose to take refuge in the Ottoman State.²⁶ So, Hungarians were not the only people who took refuge in the Ottoman State. The other peoples, Polish and Italians, who came with Hungarian fugitives, searched for asylum in the Ottoman State. The common reason for taking refuge in the Ottoman State was that they have not trusted Austria and Russia. Another important reason was the expectations of that the Ottoman State can support the fugitives and by this the aimed success could be

²³ Osmanlı Devleti'nin kendi topraklarından ve halkından olan grupların dış dünyaya yaptığı göçlerdir. Bu göçler genellikle; Amerika, Arjantin, Brezilya ve Rusya gibi ülkelere olmuştur.

²⁴ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar*, TTK, Ankara: 1999, pp. 252-273.

²⁵ Musa Gümüş, "1848 Mülteciler Meselesi Örneğinde 19. Yüzyıl Türk Diplomasisi", *History Studies*, No: 2/2, 2010, pp. 251-275.

²⁶ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Türkiye'de Mülteciler Meselesi*, Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul: 1926, pp. 2-12.

taken.²⁷ Most of those fugitives were placed in the region and cities like Kütahya, Halep, and Istanbul. There were high rank soldiers and state officers among the newcomer fugitives.

Some of the fugitives converted to Islam and due to this conversion they could continue their career as before and profitted from the facility of being Muslim in the eyes of State. Those fugitives contributed the evolution of the army and they added their own colour to the common life in the areas which they were settled. At first the culture of Hungarian and Polish fugitives were found strange by the local people, but after a time the interaction took place between them. Investigation on those fugitives and the places where they were settled will be sufficient for observing their affects on the Ottoman Army. It can be seen clearly on the cover page of Bayram Nazır's book that one of the important reasons why those fugitives were accepted by the state was their intellectual capacity. On the other hand those fugitives could not be refused by the Ottoman State, because the state was under the influence of the attempts to be modernized between 1848 and 1850. Because it can be inferred that those fugitives resulted a huge influence on the modernization of the Ottoman State.²⁸ So, the existence of Hungarian King Lajos Kossuth was among the fugitives and he was settled in Kütahya.²⁹ The most striking profession of fugitives were the following; king, foreign minister, defense minister, chief minister, commissioner, undersecretary.³⁰

²⁷ Bayram Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyalı Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul: 2006, p. 38.

²⁸ Musa Gümüş, *1848 İhtilalleri Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecilerinin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri*, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Unpublished MA), Danış. Necdet Hayta, Ankara: 2007

²⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, "Kossuth in Turkey: The Impact of Hungarian Refugees in The Ottoman Empire, 1849-1851", *Studies on The Ottoman Politican and Social History*, Leiden: 2002, pp. 169-184.

³⁰ Nazır, *Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*, p. 399.

The migration from outside to the Ottoman State was consisting of only one part of the population movements. By Russia's desire about being at the Balkans and especially annexation of Crimea to Russia in 1783, the migration from those areas started via Creimea and Caucasia to the Ottoman State. After this date Russia started to erase systematically the trace of Turkic-Islamic heritage in Crimea. The most radical attempt here was the transformation of Islamic-Turkic origin place names to Slaviand Greek names. For example Akmesid, Gözleve, Kefe were converted to Simferopol, Yevpatoriya, and Feodosiya, respectively.³¹ There are many reasons about why Muslim population wanted to migrate. They did not want to live under the yoke of Russia. Also assimilation policy which was done systematically was destroying the Muslim population in the sense of demography.³² On the other hand the efforts of Russia to Christianize the Caucasia, the confiscation process of the property belonged to Muslims with different excuses, the settlement of Russian and Bulgarian people among the Muslims by the Russian government made the migration of Muslims compulsory. The immigrants from Crimea and Caucasia were settled at first in İstanbul, and other port cities like Trabzon, Samsun, and Varna. This flow was so intense that between November 1858 and December 1859 nearly 17.000 immigrants reached Istanbul.³³ This situation and its burden on the treasure of the state were depicted by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa in his report to the capital city. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa explained that those Circasian and Nogay immigrants came from Russia and their expense was a heavy burden on the treasury.³⁴

³¹ Hakan Kırımlı, "Kırım: Rus İdaresi Dönemi", *DİA*, vol. 25, p. 458.

³² James H. Meyer, "Immigration, Return and The Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in The Ottoman Empire, 1860-1914", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 39, (2007), pp. 15-32.

³³ Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, Serander Yayınları, Trabzon: 2006, p. 42.

³⁴ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Maruzat*, preparing, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, Çağrı Yayınları, İstanbul:1980, p. 17.

The migration from Crimea and Caucasia to the Ottoman State must be studied in paralel with each other, because the reason of the migration from both area was the expansionist policy of Russia. The number of Tatar immigrants after the Crimean War had reached 369.028 in 1862. Most of those immigrants not only caused accumulation in İstanbul but also increased the population in the other areas where they were settled. Not only Tatars via İstanbul but also Circaian and Nogays via Crimea were coming to İstanbul. As a result of this intense flow of the immigrants, the number of Circasian and Nogay immigrants reached 14.000 in 1860.³⁵

Most of the immigrants who came from the Balkans, Crimea, and Caucasia to the Ottoman state were being transported via İstanbul to other settlement areas. The number of the immigrants who came by whether under the state control or by private attempts was increasing steadily. Most of them were being settled in the different regions of the state, and the remaining was being settled in İstanbul. Those who settled in İstanbul increased the number of the inhabitants of İstanbul. Because of these newcomers, İstanbul never had population structure considering the diversity of population, and the rate of increase. They not only caused the increase in population but also brought with themselves new problems. As a consequence, the number of inhabitants in İstanbul reached unbelievable numbers. For example between 19 July-23 November 1859, the number of the immigrants who came to İstanbul and were sent to Anatolia was 17.921.³⁶ On the other hand if it is remembered that the number of people who migrated from Crimea and Caucasia

³⁵ Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri 1856-1876*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara: 1997, pp. 86-87.

³⁶ Saydam, p. 85.

was approximately 2.000.000 people, the problem of İstanbul which it had been exposed can be understood very well.³⁷

The immigration from Caucasia and Crimea to the Ottoman State presented different manners according to the politic and diplomatic situation of the state. But the most influential factor was the attitude of Russia against the Muslim population in Crimea and Caucasia. Russia's attitude against Muslims in these two regions was the same both wartime and peacetime. The real intention of Russia's aggressive attitude against The Muslim population even in the peacetime was her desire to expel immediately the Muslims from her territory.³⁸ For this reason the rate of migration from the region to the Ottoman State between 1856 and 1857, 1860 and 1862, 1864 and 1865 was sometimes high and sometimes low. This disorderly flow of the people made the estimation about the population more intricate. Some of the Muslim in the region waited for the suitable time to save their lives, and others without wasting time in the first chance which they have, attempted to reach to the Ottoman State's more secure cities. As a result of the estimation about immigrants were different from each other. According to Kemal Karpat, between 1783 and 1922 1.800.000 Tatars migrated only from Crimea to the Ottoman territories. Because of the factors forementioned, especially in wartime, the rates of increase in population movement were gaining a mass movement feature. The number of the immigrants from Caucasia in 1863 was 40.000³⁹, and it reached to 400.000 in 1864.⁴⁰ By the increase of the influence of Russia in the region, the mass Tatar migration movements took place in Crimea. Between 1854 and 1860 the number of

³⁷ İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, p. 40.

³⁸ Safarov Rafik Firuzoğlu, "Kırım ve Kafkasya'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Göçler", *Osmanlı*, vol.4, editör, Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 687-696.

³⁹ Cahit Arslan, "Bir Soykırımın Adı: 1864 Büyük Çerkes Sürgünü", *Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih*, No: 1, Asam Yayınları, 2006

Tatar immigrants was 176.700 and it reached to 1.400.000 between 1854 and 1876.⁴¹ According to Justin McCarthy, eventhough the numbers could not give precise estimation, it is known that at the same period nearly 1.200.000 immigrants came but only 800.000 of them⁴² could settle in the Ottoman State. This data is important because it shows the difference between the given numbers. Those given numbers and estimation is the most sensible in the light of papers and documents which could be investigated. But this is a fact that even the reliability of the accuracy of the numbers can be subject to suspicion, it is clear that the given numbers were never an exaggeration. Russia was doing her best to accelerate the migration from the region. Russia was not only accelerating the migration but also announcing that she will not accept the returns of immigrants even if they want to return willingly According to this, the immigration was going on because the lack of safety of life in Caucasia. Between the months of April and August of 1860, 100.000 Tatars migrated to the Ottoman State.⁴³

The immigrants escaped from the assimilation policy of Russia in Caucasia and was immigrating to port cities. But because of the intensive bombardment of those cities by Russia in 1864 400.000 Circasians emigrated to the Ottoman territories.

Only the lucky ones among those immigrants could survive. Because they were being impoverished due to the epidemic diseases which stem from the hardship of the conditions even though they were lucky not to be being shot by Russian guns.

⁴⁰ Kemal H. Karpat, *The Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, The University of Winconsin Press, 1985, pp. 68-69.

⁴¹ Stanford J. Shaw- Ezel Kural Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, vol. 2, trans. Mehmet Harmancı, İstanbul: 2006, p. 152.

⁴² Justin McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün: Osmanlı Müslümanlarına Karşı Yürütülen Ulus Olarak Temizleme İşlemi 1821-1922*, trans. Bilge Umar, İnkılap Yayınevi, İstanbul:1998, pp. 37-38.

There were not only Muslims and Turks among immigrants who came from Caucasia and Crimea. Plenty of different ethnic and religious groups who were subject to Russia's policy left their homes and migrated to the Ottoman State. Jews, Armenians, Georgians, Slavs, Kazaks, and Greeks were among them. After the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe, the Jews in the Balkans were subject to the atrocities like Muslims. The villages of Jews were plundered and their inhabitants were killed.⁴⁴ For example, during the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) Jews of Kazanlık were killed and their female members were raped. The Ottoman State had treated them without any discrimination and settled them in the areas in where they could live without trouble. Non-Muslim immigrants were being settled to where their coreligionists were in majority. Those who settled could not be considered that they saved their lives, because the mortality rate of them in the areas where they settled was increasing due to their numbers and this was triggering the appearance of epidemic diseases. For example in Trabzon 53.000 people lost their lives in 1865.⁴⁵ In Samsun nearly 120-150 people were losing their lives per day between 1864 and 1865. On the other hand in Samsun/Kürtürmağı 11,22, in Samsun/Kılıçdere regions 16,62, people were dying⁴⁶. The reason of this high mortality rate in Samsun and Trabzon was that those cities were port cities and immigrants were being sent to other settlement areas from those cities. The effects of large-scale migration and flow of the immigrants were disturbing the local population in both cities. Because of this most of the local people migrated from the around the port to the interior

⁴³ Saydan, *Kırım ve Kafkas*, p. 86.

⁴⁴ Zvi Keren, "The Fate of the Jewish Communities of Kazanlık and Eski- Zağra in the 1877-78 War", *The Ottoman- Russian War of 1877-78*, ed. Ömer Turan, Ankara: 2007, pp. 113-130.

⁴⁵ Karpas, *The Ottoman Population*, p. 69.; Karpas, *Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, p. 170.

⁴⁶ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas*, pp. 182-183.

areas.⁴⁷ Like Samsun, Adana was another city receiving immigrant city after the Crimean War. Even though Adana was not subject to large-scale migratory movements like Samsun and Trabzon; it harboured immigrants in considerable amounts. The first immigrant group came to Adana between 1859 and 1861. They were Nogays. In this date 20.000 Nogays were sent. Following Nogays, Circasians were sent and settled in the areas which were suitable for settlement of them. Some groups of Circasian were demanding from the Porte immediately to be settled around the Adana region because of the coming of winter and epidemic diseases.⁴⁸ Throughout the 19th century the migratory movements to the Adana and Çukurova region continued. This migration had brought about activity and from the economic point of view, cotton production became more important than previous times.⁴⁹

Emigration Agency sent a report to the Porte in 7 May 1873. In this report, it was being called up for the number of immigrants and their mortality rates, where and how they were settled. As a reply, the Porte pointed out that the more urgent issue is to settle them in a proper way. On the other hand such involvement may take a long time and requires a huge budget. As a result the Porte suspended this issue for the time being. The next year the emigration Agency again called up for the same purpose in 17 February 1874. The Porte pointed out in the reply, although the importance of the issue was emphasized, that there will be a census and in this census the number of immigrants can be determined. However this forementioned

⁴⁷ İbrahim Serbestođlu, “Kırım Savaşı Sonrasında Samsun’da Göç ve Göçmen Sorunu”, *Geçmişten Geleceğe Samsun*, I. Kitap, ed. Cevdet Yılmaz, Samsun Büyükşehir Beyediyesi Yayınları, Samsun: 2006, pp. 83-97.

⁴⁸ Hilmi Bayraktar, “Kırım ve Kafkasya’dan Adana Vilayeti’ne Yapılan Göç ve İskânlar (1869-1907)”, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, No: 22, Konya: 2007, pp. 405-434.; Hilmi Bayraktar, “Kırım Savaşı Sonrası Adana Eyaleti’ne yapılan Nogay Göç ve İskânları (1859- 1861)”, *Bilig*, Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi, No: 45, 2008, pp. 45-72.

⁴⁹ Meltem Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Making of The Adana- Mersin Region 1850-1908*, ed. Suraiya Faroqi- Halil İnalçık, Lediden- Brill: 2010, pp. 65-135.

census could be made in 1881-1882. Because of this delay we are left destitute to the exact number of the immigrants.⁵⁰ However, emigration Agency has tried to settle immigrants in Anatolia regularly from the time immigrants poured out of their homeland. In this process the efforts of state and private enterprise were very effective.⁵¹

The Porte dealt with the immigrants from Caucasia and Crimea closely, but the uneasiness increased in the course of the time. The biggest factors in this discomfort were the favouritism, bribery, embezzlement. Those inappropriate behaviours prevented or delayed the work of settlement of the immigrants. For a solution the Porte sent an inspector to investigate the matter. As we can infer from that the inappropriate behaviours of the officers was another burden on the treasury. For example, Ahmed Vefik Paşa who investigated Anatolia confirmed that one of the kaymakam in İzmit/Sancak embezzled nearly 60.000 *kuruş* from the emergency money which was sent to be used for immigrants.⁵² Eventhough the salary of the officers were increased for preventing the affairs of embezzlement, bribery, and favouritism could not be stopped.

The only reason for the migratory movements of Muslims from Caucasia and Crimea from the Ottoman State was not the recession of the region by the Ottoman State, but Russia's systematic policy to annihilate the existence of Muslim population in the region which was very effective.⁵³ Russia has done this by pressure on the religious belief on the Muslims. Namely, the association which was found by Russian military officers for converting Circasian Muslims to Christianity

⁵⁰ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas*, pp. 151-152.

⁵¹ David Cameron Cuthell, *Muhacirin Komisyonu: An Agent in the Transformation of The Ottoman Anatolia 1860-1866*, (Unpublished PH.D), Columbia University:2005, 165-214

⁵² Eren, *Göç ve Göçmen Meselesi*, p. 74

⁵³ Alper Başer, "Kırım'da Rus Kolonizasyonu 1783-1850", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan, Vol. 6, No: 24, Ankara: 2010, pp. 29-42

was attacking Muslim villages and forcing them to convert.⁵⁴ People who wanted to be freed from this atrocity or resist have only two options: to be dead or the exile to Siberia. For all these reasons Anatolia was being considered as a secure place for the Muslims. If we want to understand the reasons of this migratory movement, we must understand the policy which Russia followed for Crimea and Caucasia.⁵⁵ For this expansionist policy between 1854 and 1862 led to the deportation and partial extermination of the Muslim population.⁵⁶ Another reason for the migration was the Muslim's desire to preserve their own identity, because the current policy of Russia has had the intention of annihilation of Muslim identity in the region. The Muslims of the region were preserving both their lives and identity by migration.

The Ottoman State was charging a daily fee to the immigrants. At the beginning the state was generous but in the course of the time the amount of the daily fee was decreased. Between 1856 and 1876 for the settlement of immigrants a total of 3.522.618, 19 *kuruş* was spent. When we look at the the budget for the state, the money which was assigned can be seen. For example in the budget of 1881-82(1297) 60 million *kuruş*, was assigned. In the budget of 1887-88 (1302) 5.709.000 *kuruş* for nev-i mesarifat and 2.500.000 *kuruş* for mesarifat-i fevkalade were assigned.⁵⁷ This assigned amount could arise if philanthropic support was absent. Because most of the time the immigrants in kind and money. For instance the villagers collected 85.533 *kuruş* for the Crimean immigrants who will be sent to Çanakkale. Again by the same token the needed construction material for the house and seeds for agriculture were given to those immigrants. This kind mutual aid can

⁵⁴ İpek, İmparatorluktan, p. 33.

⁵⁵ Hayri Çapraz, "19. Yüzyılda Çarlık Rusya'sının Kırım Politikası", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan, No: 11, Ankara: Güz 2006, pp. 57-70.

⁵⁶ Mark Pinson, "Russian Policy and The Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to The Ottoman Empire 1854-1862", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No: 2-3, 1973-1974, pp. 101-114.

be seen everywhere immigrants were settled. The grandson of admiral Hafız Ali Paşa donated 400.000 square meters real estate to immigrants. By this way the state could find the territory for their settlement easily.⁵⁸

The increase in the population of İstanbul and in the number of immigrants were causing to the rising of expenses. Between March-August 1870 118.875 *kuruş*, until January 1871 141.750 *kuruş*, between October 1872 and January and January 1873 94.020 *kuruş* was spent. The amount of the money spent differed according to the number of the immigrants. Most of the expenses were made in İstanbul because that the first stop of immigrants was İstanbul.

At the beginning of 19th century the unrest in Greece and demand for separation of Greece from the Ottoman State resulted the independence of Greece. At the same manner Greek army troops committed large-scale atrocities to all the Muslim population who were being killed without discrimination. The unrest in March 1821 against the Ottoman tax collectors changed its first aim, and led to the extermination of the Muslims. From March 1821 to April 1821 15.000 Muslim in Greece were killed.⁵⁹ In 1897 a war broke out between the Ottoman State and Greece. Considering the period, the Ottoman State had made a lot of improvements in the army. More importantly, German army officers were training the Ottoman soldiers. This victory was the result of this novelty in the army. This victory also raised German officers' reputation in the army.⁶⁰ The reason of the war was solely

⁵⁷ Tevfik Güran, *Osmanlı Mali İstatistik Bütçeleri 1841-1918*, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara: 2003, pp. 104-112.

⁵⁸ Eren, *Göç ve Göçmen*, pp. 72-73.

⁵⁹ McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰ Odile Moreau, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Askeri Misyolları", *Osmanlı*, vol. 2, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara:1999, pp. 335-360.; Muzaffer Tepekaya, "Osmanlı- Alman İlişkileri 1870-1914", *Türkler*, vol. 13, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 40-56. ; İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul: 2008, pp. 74-90.

the problem about Crete.⁶¹ The events which broke out in 1895-96 and the efforts of *Etnikki Eteryia* to connect the island to Greece caused unrest which affected not only Muslims but also non-Muslims. When the raids to the Muslim villages and attacks to Muslim population increased, the migration to Anatolia became an inevitable fate for the Muslim population. When the attacks became unbearable Muslims started to migrate from the Island, first to Aegean Islands and from there to the west and south coasts of Anatolia. On the other hand İzmir, Selanik, Antalya, Mersin, and Tarsus had received a lot of immigrants. Adana, Konya, Ankara, Halep, Beyrut, and Suriye became a settlement area for immigrants to a great extent.⁶²

Migrated Muslims from Crete have never received any aid from European States. Like Crimean, Circasian and the Balkan immigrants, Cretan immigrants looked forward to İstanbul. For the help. 100.000 *kuruş* was assigned from İstanbul to the immigrants who applied for the help. But the inadequacy of this aid was reported by the governor of Crete Borevitch to İstanbul by telegraph. The amount of the immigrants was increasing every day. Here upon İstanbul sent 100.000 *kuruş* again.⁶³ Crete was occupied by Greece in February 1897. After that Muslims in rural area started to migrate to the cities. When they withdrew Orthodox population were placed instead of Muslims. Muslims were carrying the only items and properties which did not make them slow down. The most important was that their deportation happened in the time of harvest. Because of this the total loss to the Muslims was 1.500.000 *kuruş*.⁶⁴ When the Muslim control ended in the island, Greece increased its control and pressure in the island. The Muslims who is Turk in

⁶¹ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı 1896-1908*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 2000, p. 185.

⁶² Fahriye Emgili, "Tarsus'ta Girit Göçmenleri 1897-1912", *Ankara DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 25, No: 39, Yıl: 2006 pp. 189-197.

⁶³ Adıyeke, *Girit Bunalımı*, p. 269.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 270.

origin but speaks Greek lost all their hopes and started to migrate. The state had covered the expenses of those new immigrants by additional payment from the treasury.

In the era of Abdülhamid II the problem of migratory movement and of immigrants became a more serious burden and the political and economic affairs of the state came to a deadlock by the help of these problems. However the state had done its best for relieving the pain of the immigrants. The measures taken can be categorized as military, religious, economic, etc. The state at least has built at least one mosque in the area when immigrants settled as a religious measure. The state assigned imam and müezzîn to those mosques. As an economic measure, new stamps were printed and their income was assigned to the immigrants.⁶⁵ On the other hand the income of state lottery of Ziraat Bankası was transferred to them. In the case of citizenship it was announced that the newcomers will be accepted as an the Ottoman citizen. But as an exception the immigrants in İstanbul were kept separate. Cretan immigrants could take their identity cards provided that they prove that they live in İstanbul. For other areas this was not the case. Under the educational measure, the state took in hand the education of orphans as it did for immigrants from the Balkans, Crimea, and Caucasia.⁶⁶

How Greece annexed Crete by political undertaking, British followed suit to annex Cyprus, because Cyprus was important from geographical point of view to protect its interests in Mediterranean, Indian colonies and Egypt. After the deliverance the ultimatum to the Ottoman State in 1878 by the British, a treaty was

⁶⁵ Mehmet Esat Sarıcaoğlu, “İskan-ı Muhacirin İ'ane Pulları (Osmanlı Devleti'nin Göçmen Harcamalarında Uyguladığı Bir Finansman Yöntemi)”, *Osmanlı*, vol. 4, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 603- 611.

⁶⁶ Sawsan Agha Kassab, “II. Abdülhamid Döneminde, Osmanlı Vilayetlerine İskân edilen Giritli Göçmenler”, *Osmanlı*, vol. 4, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 700.; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 8, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1983, pp. 118-125.

signed between the British and the Ottoman State in 4 June 1878. According to this treaty the island belongs to the Ottoman State legally, but the administration of the island was under the control of British. In 12 July 1878 Admiral Lord John Hoy took over the island on behalf of British. Again in the same date Sir Garnet Wolsel took Office in Cyprus as a first British officer. After this in the island some changes took place regarding political and population structure. Although one third of the population was Muslims, after 1878 the number of Greeks increased steadily. The most important factor in the migration of Muslims from the island was the decision of British administration to dismiss Turk officers from their offices. For this reason, for making a living they sold their properties. Most of the buyers were Greeks. Therefore the dominance of Muslims started to be weakened in the sense of socially and economically. As a solution Turks and Muslims started to migrate to the Ottoman Turkey. Thus the Ottoman State was obliged to retreat from the territories in the sense of population. The most apparent reason for this migratory movement was that the new administration did not want the Muslims. The attitude of British administration and of some marginal groups was very effective in this process.⁶⁷

As an interior migration, the migration from the Balkans was the most troublesome for the Ottoman State when the Ottoman State was establishing its existence in the Balkans, it followed a certain policy. Thereby the population of Muslim Turks increased rapidly. For this reason according to an accepted opinion that the Balkans means the Ottoman and because of this the search for determining the Ottoman heritage was unnecessary.⁶⁸ Moreover after the short period Turks took dominance of the population or consisted of the half of the region's population.

⁶⁷ Zafer Çakmak, "Kıbrıs'tan Anadolu'ya Türk Göçü 1878-1938", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, No: 38, Erzurum: 2008, pp. 201-223.

⁶⁸ Maria Todorova, "Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası", *Yeni Balkanlar, Eski Sorunlar*, trans. Bernar Kutluğ, prepa. Kemali Saybaşı- Gencer Özcan, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul:1997

According to the Ottoman's settlement project the Muslims and local population were settled separately. Muslims were settled in the areas which were empty, devastated or has importance economically, by this way those areas became suitable for the social life. They also benefited from also the Balkan policy of state and its expansion in the region by being the owner of vast areas. Because of that most of the local populations were involved in trade. They did not have as much field as Muslims had. Those who were involved in agriculture were working on their own farms or in the Muslims' farms as salary earner .⁶⁹

The Ottoman State did not have any trouble with the local people. The conquest and settlement policy of the Ottoman State obtained the local population's confidence.⁷⁰ The most concrete proof of this was that the Crusades campaigns against the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans did not find any support from the non-Muslim local population.⁷¹ Consequently Turks in the Balkans not only built new settlement but also gave their Islamic identity to those newly established cities. Especially when the cities of the 16th century are investigated, the involvement of Turks in the region and scale of the urbanization could be seen very clearly. Because the state followed peaceful means to prolong its influence in those conquered territories and made other nations accepted this principle, the Balkan nations could survive without losing their identity until 19th century. One of the most important characteristics of cities and towns in the Balkans was that most of the place names have an Anatolian origin. It can be inferred from this fact that

⁶⁹ Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, No: 2, Yıl: 1960, pp. 234-313.

⁷⁰ Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, No: 2, Yıl: 1954, 103-129; for Turkish, *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, İmge Kitabevi, pre. Oktay Özel- Mehmet Öz, Ankara: 2005, pp. 443-472; *Cogito*, Osmanlılar Özel sayısı, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, No: 19, Yıl: 1999, pp. 115-135.

⁷¹ Nicolae Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, vol. 1, trans. Nilüfer Epçeli, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul:2009, p. 397

immigrants gave the name of where they came from to where they settled.⁷² In 19th century the order was working differently. Because American, British missionaries and Russian panslavists were seeding the separatist thoughts in the Balkans.

Most of the migration towards Anatolia took place via Tuna province which is the part of Bulgaria in today. The most important reason of this that it was the most populated Turkish settlement area in the policy of settlement. In 16th century, some the Balkan cities' Turkish population was exceeding some Anatolian cities' population.⁷³

The biggest migration wave came after the Russo-Ottoman War in 1877-78. This war changed drastically the structure of population in the Balkans and Eastern Anatolia. The war caused the loss of enormous territory and migration movements whose aim was sometimes intercontinental. But the most urgent question must be investigated is the effects of those migrations from the Balkans to Anatolia.⁷⁴ This war was named as the “*The War of 93*” because of that it took place in 1293 in lunar calendar. On the other hand after this war millions of people migrated from the Balkans and this war has a special meaning in the Turkish history and society's memory.⁷⁵ Of course this war has a lot of causes but the most prominent is the desire of Russia to expand its territory and influence in the Balkans. Because Russia had gotten behind British and France in the colonialism race, without any delay, it wanted to take over the control of the areas where were considered as backward

⁷² Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “XVI. Yüzyılda Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Demografik Bakımdan Balkanlar'da Bazı Osmanlı Şehirleri”, *Belleten*, TTK Yayınları, vol. LIII, No: 207-208, Ağustos Aralık, Ankara: 1989, pp. 637-678.

⁷³ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Methodu olarak Sürgünler”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI, 1-4, (1949-1950); XIII, 1-4 (1951-1952), pp. 56-78.; XV, (1953-54), 209-237.; Hava Selçuk, *Rumeli'de Osmanlı İskân Siyaseti (1299-1481)*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tez danışmanı, Mustafa Keskin, Kayseri: 2002, (Unpublished Ph.D)

⁷⁴ Justin McCarthy, “The Demography of the 1877-78 Russo- Turkish War”, *The Ottoman- Russian War of 1877-78*, ed. Ömer Turan, Ankara: 2007, pp. 51-74.

countries. On the agenda of Russia, the Ottoman State was first which must be dealt with. Russia used the Orthodox minority of the Ottoman State as an excuse for the declaration of war.⁷⁶ As it was in 1828-29, the war took place in different two parts. Russia attacked from Rumeli and Caucasia front. In Rumeli front, Russia reached Yeşilköy in İstanbul. In the Eastern front it entered to the interior of Erzurum.⁷⁷

Russia after Pedro enlarged its territory in the Balkans and Caucasia. It had done them in a certain political concept. On the other hand Russia's this expansionist policy continued until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.⁷⁸ Especially after 1774, Russia used the Orthodox Christians as a pretext, and interfered with the internal affairs of the Ottoman State, and all of them caused the problem between Russia and the Ottoman State. The real agenda of Russia was to find supporters in the Balkans, and this was done by consulates. According to Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, Russia could open a consulate in wherever Russia wants. The real goals of these consulates were to help the Russians in the area about their economic activities. This was the apparent duty. On the other hand these consulates also had a secret agenda. This was to agitate the local population against the Ottoman State, and to pursuit the policy on behalf of Russia.⁷⁹ We can not separate the migration movements from the policy of establishing state and demographic policy. The clause of being nation state and demographic system goes hand by hand. As a

⁷⁵ Nedim İpek, "93 Muhacereti", *Osmanlı*, vol. 4, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 661-668.

⁷⁶ Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, "1877-78 Osmanlı – Rus Harbinin Sebepleri", *Belleten*, TTK Yayınları, vol. XXVI, No: 103, Ankara: 1962, pp. 567-591.

⁷⁷ Ali İhsan Gencer- Nedim İpek, "1877-78 Osmanlı- Rus Harbi Rumeli Cephesi Vesikaları (Temmuz 1877)", *Belgeler*, TTK Yayınları, vol. XV, No: 19, Ankara: 1993, pp. 205-244.; Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 8, pp. 40-57.; Hikmet Süer, *1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Harbi Balkan Cephesi*, Genelkurmay Basımevi, Ankara: 2004, pp. 65-116.

⁷⁸ Gary M. Hamburg, "Russian Political thought 1700-1917", *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, ed. Dominic Lieven, Cambridge University Press: 2006, pp. 116-145.

⁷⁹ Osman Köse, *1774 Küçük Kaynarca Andlaşması*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 2006, pp. 189.; Osman Köse, "Balkanlar'da Rus Konsolosluklarının Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri", *Türkoloji Dergisi*, No:1, Yıl: 2006, pp. 141-155.

consequence of the attempts to establish a nation state after nationalistic events, millions of people were forced to migrate.⁸⁰ Those migrations paved the way of huge changes in society and policy.⁸¹

Russo-Ottoman War in 1877-78 ended with the defeat of the Ottoman State. This was one of the most humiliating and disastrous defeats in Turkish history. Russia took Kars, Ardahan, and Batum in Caucasia, even entered to the interior of Erzurum. But the biggest defeat took place in the Balkans. Russia came to the adjacent area of İstanbul, Yeşilköy. It was so affective that the discussion about transferring the capital city to Konya took place.⁸² The most profited player from this was Bulgars. Because Bulgaria gained the statue of being autonomous “Bulgaristan Eksarhlığı” was established in 1878.⁸³ This treaty signed in 8 March 1878 gave autonomy to Bulgars, in addition by this treaty Karadağ, Sırbistan, Romanya gained their independence. The advantegous position of Russia annoyed British. In the Treaty of Berlin which British were around the table, the Ottoman State had had to satisfy both Russia and British. The purpose of Russia was to establish a Slav-Bulgaria state in the Ottoman territories. After that Russia was aiming to attach this newly established state to Russia. But this project must be supported by both politically and socially. Then Russians and Bulgarians started to follow the way of decreasing the Muslim population as much as possible. This was done by extermination or by forced migration.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Fikret Adanır- Hilmar Kaiser, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Örneği: Göç, Sürgün ve Ulusun İnşası”, trans. Zeynep Kutluata, *Toplumsal Tarih*, No: 186, Haziran: 2009, pp. 18-27.

⁸¹ Kemal H. Karpat, “Türkler (Osmanlılar), *İA*, vol. 12-2, pp. 359-378.

⁸² Mahir Aydın, “Doksanüç Harbi”, *DİA*, vol. 9, pp. 498-499.

⁸³ Mahir Aydın, *Osmanlı Eyaletinden Üçüncü Bulgar Çarlığına*, Kitabevi Yayınları, İstanbul: 1996, pp. 125-135.

⁸⁴ Bilal Şimşir, “The Turkish Muslim Population of the Civilian Administrative Organization of Bulgaria and the Provinces of Danube and Adrianople During the Russo- Turkish War in 1877-1878”, *The Ottoman- Russian War of 1877-78*, ed. Ömer Turan, Ankara: 2007, pp. 79-97.

The most crucial point in those treaties that the Ottoman State accepted to make necessary arrangement to satisfy the Christian people. This resulted the involvement of European States in the affairs of the Ottoman State.⁸⁵ Consequently European States found the opportunity of making more intense pressure on the Ottoman State. By the pretext that the rights of non-Muslim population was not defended, sometimes diplomatic crisis broke out. On the other hand unjust critiques in the European media about the Ottomans and the Ottoman's behaviour against non-Muslim caused to harp reaction in European public opinion. While European States were requesting that the needed arrangements must be done immediately, the missionaries were suggesting to non-Muslims about the calling for a reform programme from the Porte. By this way the Ottoman State was under an intense pressure from both outside and inside. Especially the schools which opened by missionaries were seeding the idea of that reformation program must be done immediately. Thereby both missionary schools and minority schools were making trouble for providing the involvement of European States to the question.⁸⁶

Especially American and British missionaries after that they understood that can not convert Muslims to Christianity, they changed their target. The first among those targets was the Jews. But after seeing that the Jews were devoted, they intensified their efforts on Bulgarians and Armenians.⁸⁷ The efforts of missionaries would cause the nationalistic conflicts in the future in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Middle East. In the course of the time different nations deserted the idea of reform programme and started to pursue the idea of having their own state. Because of this

⁸⁵ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, vol. 1, Kırım 1, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1991, pp. 1-5.

⁸⁶ Azmi Özcan- Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Tanzimat, Islahat ve Misyonerlik", *İstanbul Araştırmaları*, 1, İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, İstanbul: 1997, pp. 63-79.

⁸⁷ Ömer Turan, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Protestan Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri", *Osmanlı*, vol. 2, ed, Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 204-211.;

behind every separatist movement, the involvement and efforts of missionaries can be seen clearly. The leading person in those separatist movements has received the training in missionary schools or they were tutored by special agents.⁸⁸ Those efforts yielded results as revolutionary movements against the Ottoman State. Even in Suriye the pamphlets whose context was announcing the necessity of revolting against the Ottoman administration could be hang on walls. In that pamphlet it was said that the time of the retreat of Turkish administration had come and Arabs must have their own state. Reawakening of Arabs was recommended also in those pamphlets.⁸⁹ Such as, anti-Turk behaviours in the Balkans caused to the experience of the bloody scenes.

After 1878, Muslim people in the Balkans were in more trouble than Christian people. As we see in the following chapters, Muslim people migrated their lives unlike Christian people who mostly migrated because of economic reasons.⁹⁰ The annihilation of Muslim population by cooperative efforts of both Russia and Bulgaria has not got a long history. Russia supported Bulgarians with every means, because that Russia wanted to take the defeat and loss of the Crimean War in 1853-54 out on Muslims in the Balkans. Bulgarians who are ready in the sense of ideology started to slaughter the Muslims when they have had the arms.⁹¹ The governor of Razlık district Tahsin Uzer was an eyewitness of these atrocities committed by Bulgarians. The stories told by Muslims depressed Tahsin Uzer.

Ayten Sezer, "Osmanlı Döneminde Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri", *Osmanlı*, Vol. 2, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 181-191.

⁸⁸ Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Arap Milliyetçiliğinin Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gelişim Süreci", *Osmanlı*, vol. 2, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 168-178.

⁸⁹ Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Osmanlı Suriyesi'nde Türk Aleyhtarı İlanlar ve Bunlara Karşı Tepkiler 1878-1881", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No: 2, 1998, pp. 73-89.

⁹⁰ Karpat, *Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, pp. 149-189.

⁹¹ Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri 1877-1890*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1999, pp. 15-18.; Bilal N. Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, Vol. 2, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1989, pp. LXI-LXXXVI; McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 59-92.

Whereupon Tahsin Uzer started to pick the guns of Bulgarians up. In two months he picked up 2.000 guns, 10.000 bullets, and nearly 59 grenades from Bulgarians.⁹²

Bulgarians armed by Russia started to do guerilla fighting. They did not dismiss any opportunity for attacking to Muslim villages and there took place atrocities which can not be described. Nevertheless these extermination processes have had repercussions in the European public opinion and media, especially in England.⁹³ But the events were being represented in sharp contrast with the truth. Although the victims were Muslims and Turks, media mirrored them as guilty. The atrocities against Muslims was not seen and European public opinion were being directed by false information. Such news, which was designed by pictures and short stories, was being glamorized. According to British media, Turks were decapitating Bulgarians, and raping the female Bulgarians. It was British bourgeoisie who have their religious relationship with Bulgarians believed in that news.⁹⁴ European media have not only remained blind to the atrocities against Muslims, but also employed those events to advantage of European social thought and political understanding.⁹⁵

In the region consecutive rebellions broke out. For preventing those atrocities against the Muslims, a group of Turk and Circassian took up arms, and started to defend them. But Serbians and Bulgarians intensified their attack to hasten the involvement of European States. Russia gave this support not only by armament but also by media means. For example “Turks were decapitating the Christians.” is a kind of this propaganda bombardment. In those news the number of Bulgarians’ loss was exaggerated and they were served into the British and French public

⁹² Tahsin Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkıyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi*, TTK, Ankara: 1999, pp. 127-129.

⁹³ McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, p. 65.

⁹⁴ Orhan Koloğlu, “Anadolu’ya Yeniden Göç”, *Popüler Tarih Dergisi*, No: 69, Mayıs 2006, pp. 32-39.

opinion. For example the fact that 1000 Bulgarians was dead, but this was related as if 15.000 Bulgarians were killed by Turks. For making the story more dramatic, sometimes fake illustrations and pictures were being attached to these news. By this way British and French media means increased indirectly the migration of Muslims from the Balkans.⁹⁶

The independence of Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, and autonomy of Bulgaria constituted a new problem in the Balkans. Bulgarians' desire to have the Macedonian soils was at the root of Macedonian problem. For having achieved to this goal, Bulgarians have formed brigandage groups, and those groups started to corrupt the security in the region. Even it was reported that in Minelik 2000, in Razlık 4.500 bandits were operating. They were trying to prove the nonexistence of the Ottoman control over the region and attempting a lot of unlawful activities. The most important activities were the sabotage of the administartive buildings, and kidnapping the consulates or citizens of foreign states. By the help of these activities, Bulgarians were aiming the total control of the European states to the region, and after that they could await for their share.

For example, Nun Stone who was the citizen of United States, a protestant missionary, and her companion Tsilka Katerina who was the citizen of the Ottoman State were kidnapped in 21 August 1901 at the village of Banesko in Salonika. The only reason for this kidnapping was to attract attention of European and American public opinion.⁹⁷ The armed struggle was consisted of only a minor part of what Bulgarians did. Those committees supported by Bulgaria were printing the

⁹⁵ Orhan Kolođlu, "93 Harbi'nin Muhacirleri", *Popüler Tarih Dergisi*, No: 70, Haziran 2006, pp. 32-37.

⁹⁶ Barbara Jelavich, *Balkanlar Tarihi*, vol. 1, trans. Haşim Koç- Gülçin Koç, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul: 2006, pp. 403-410.

⁹⁷ Mahir Aydın, "Makedonya Meselesi ve Amerikalı Rahibenin kaçırılması", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, No: 13, İstanbul: 1998, pp. 239-242.

newspapers and pamphlets. By the circulation of them, it was aimed to have the majority on Bulgarian's side. On the other hand it was being claimed in those pamphlets that the required amount of the population of Bulgars for the declaration of independence and annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria was reached. On the other hand Bulgarian bandits were attacking to Bulgarian villages and causing problem in there. Also they were recruiting the member of those villages willingly or unwillingly. The members of those committee and brigandage whose pressure increased were penetrating to Macedonia without arms after completing their ideological trainings. Arms were coming after their arrival by these arms they could kill the Muslims in the region.⁹⁸ Macedonian problem and increased brigandage activities in the Balkans continued throughout the Abdülhamit II's reign period. Bulgarian committee's activities increased when the Porte did not make concessions. All those activities resulted the death or migration of Muslim Turks from the region. Because in the mind of those committee, the majority of the newly established Bulgaria must be consisted of mostly Bulgarians.⁹⁹

When the Russo-Ottoman War in 1877-78 ended, only lucky Muslims could save their lives by reaching to secure zones. Because the migratory movements during the war and after it was taking place between the cities. The only one who can afford the transportation means could migrate to İstanbul. In March 1878 almost all developed Bulgarian cities were filled by immigrants. In between Şumnu-Varna 230.000, in Burgaz 200.000 and in Rodop Mountains 200.000 immigrants were struggling to pass to secure places. Immigrant had had to move fast, especially when they were traveling between cities. Because the announcement of name the

⁹⁸ Mahir Aydın, "Arşiv Belgeleriyle Makedonya'da Bulgar Çete Faaliyetleri", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, No: 9, İstanbul:1989, pp. 209-234.

⁹⁹ Kemal Beydilli, "II. Abdülhamid Devrinde Makedonya Meselesi'ne Dair", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, No: 9, İstanbul: 1989, pp. 77-99.

“Kazak”¹⁰⁰ was enough to take alarm. Also there were other possibilities such as being bombed by Bulgarian artillery troops. It was between Üsküp and Kumanova that they were bombed and thousands of immigrants were killed by this bombardment.¹⁰¹ The highway which is known as “E-5” between Plovdiv and Svilengrad witnessed the bombardment of immigrants by Bulgarians and as a result 50.000 Muslim were killed.¹⁰² At the same manner, in July 1877 in the region of Hainboğazi between Tırnova and Kazanlık, Turk immigrants were killed without any discrimination and their properties were pillaged.¹⁰³ The trinity of Kazak, Russian, and Bulgarian cooperation was common in those kinds of activities. Every member of the group was doing its duty very well to propel Muslims from the region. Not only Bulgarian and Kazak bandits were annihilating the immigrants, but also Russian squadrons were supporting the bandits in respect to their assaults.¹⁰⁴

The death rates were steadily increasing among the immigrants. The unique reason for this was not only Russian, Bulgarian, and Kazaks but also malnutrition, and bad weather conditions. However the Porte tried to correspond to their needs, but intense population movements were causing to delay or inadequacy. The Ottoman started to call for European States to help the immigrants. But because of the Ottoman image in the eyes of European which was the result of false information, these requests did not find any response. Under these circumstances

¹⁰⁰ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 3, kısım 2, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1982, pp. 110-115.; *Karadeniz çevresinde bulunan Kazaklar, özellikle 17. Yüzyıldan itibaren bölgenin asayişini bozmaya başladılar. Kazaklar zaman zaman Rusların ve Lehlilerinde teşviki ile Karadeniz sahillerine baskınlar yapıyordu. Bu gibi durumlarda, Osmanlı Devleti, Kazakların üzerine donanma gönderip yakaladıkları Kazakları tepeliyordu. Rusların, Kazakları bu şekilde desteklemesinin sebebi; zaman zaman Kırım'dan giren Tatarları Rus topraklarında yağma yapıyordu. Buna karşılık olarak ta Rusya, Kazakları Kırım ve Osmanlı topraklarına musallat ediyordu*; Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima*, vol. 2, Haz. Mehmet İpşirli, TTK, Ankara:2007, p. 429.

¹⁰¹ McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, p. 87.

¹⁰² Bilal N. Şimşir, “Bulgaristan Türkler ve Göç Sorunu”, *Bulgaristan'da Türk Varlığı*, Bildiriler 7 Haziran 1985, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1992, p. 47.

¹⁰³ Bilal N. Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, vol. 1, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1989, belge no:23, p. 132.

the chance to be alive for immigrants became more difficult. In December 1878, the half of 40.000 immigrants could have food in Gümülcine. The rest had to wait for the cargo which comes from Drama, to the population of Gümülcine and İskece in December.¹⁰⁵

In 1885 maybe the speed of the migration of Rumelia to Anatolia slowed down but another kind of problems broke out. One of them was the desire of immigrants to return their own places and this could not be prevented. Another problem was that the houses of migrated Muslims could not be used anyway. The only target was not Muslims' houses. Every building which represents Muslim and Turkic identity was destroyed. For example between 1877 and 1879 in Tatarpazarcığı 938 houses, 7 madrasahs, and 21 mosques were destroyed. In Filibe the only 5 of 80 building which were using for educational and religious purpose could stand. The number of educational facilities whose number was 29 in 1877 decreased to 2 in 1879. All of these destructions were made knowingly and several excuses were presented for this purpose. The most used pretexts were those that those buildings were not used anymore, and there was no need anymore to them, they were not aesthetic, etc.¹⁰⁶

By the fact that Bulgaria will continue to be autonomous, official relationship started between the Ottoman State and autonomous Bulgarian government. According to this the request, which the officers that the Ottoman State will send to Bulgaria must be assigned as a commissar of pious foundations stem from the ambiguity of the relationship between two states. The Ottoman State wanted the commissar to report the condition of buildings which have the identity of Islamic

¹⁰⁴ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, vol. 1, belge no:27, p. 135.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 1, belge no: 471, p. 743.

culture and the developments in the region. Another task was to protect the rights of Turks in the region. Eventhough they could not impose sanctions, the reports which they have sent from the region about conditions of buildings which have the trace of Islamic-Turkic heritage.¹⁰⁷

One of the commissars who were appointed to Bulgaria in the reign of Abdülhamid II was Ali Ferruh Bey. He was in the Office from 1902 until his death in 1904. He had sent a detailed report to Abdülhamid II. He had made a broad search and gathered a bulk of information about Islamic buildings and their previous and present conditions. When we look at this report, it can be seen that Bulgarian government was destroying those forementioned buildings systematically and this became permanently the policy of Bulgaria government. Most of buildings were eradicated under the pretexts such as landscaping, road construction, finding the place for graveyard, etc. When the reason of this destruction was asked, the reply given to the Ottoman State was very interesting. Bulgarian government had claimed that the Ottoman State had done the same things in İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa. Because of this a lot of pious foundations were not exist now. By this claim Bulgarian government had wanted to show legal what they have done. We can infer from the report that mosques, small mosques, madrasahs, alms houses, enshrines, dervish lodges, bridges were totally under the control of Bulgarians and most of them were eradicated.¹⁰⁸ Turks, sometimes could return to their homes in Bulgaria, but hey could never possess their homes again. Because of this certain migrations from Bulgaria have started. The ones who have not migrated had to migrate. When

¹⁰⁶ Yavuz Ercan, “Balkan Türkleri ve Bulgarlar”, *Belleten*, TTK Yayınları, vol. LIV, Ankara: Nisan 1990, p. 302.

¹⁰⁷ Mahir Aydın, “Bulgaristan Komiserliği”, *Belgeler*, TTK Yayınları, vol. XVII, No: 21, Ankara: 1996, pp. 72-74.

¹⁰⁸ Mehmet İpşirli, “Bulgaristan’daki Türk Vakıflarının Durumu (XX. Yüzyıl Başları)”, *Belleten*, TTK Yayınları, Vol. LIII, No: 207-208, Aralık: Ağustos- Aralık 1989, pp. 679-707.

the war started in April 1877, the harvest did not start yet. Turks who fled to save their lives could not take anything. The reason of the increase in the death rate of Muslims was the easiness of the pillage and extortion activities. All property belong to Turks remained to Bulgarians and Russians. For example in May 1877 the Turks in Tulça left their 500 tons wheat behind. This huge amount of wheat passed into the hands of Russians.¹⁰⁹

1.2 External Migrations

The Ottoman State was more active than other states in the areas which it had ruled. Because of that it has had a lot of different ethnic and religious groups, it has followed the way of giving them different rights. For this reason it has always been in necessity to develop its juristical structure. It fettered the newly conquered areas and evaluated them. It has had a political goal in this direction. The Ottomans have done their best for governing their subjects in justice. The internal Dynamics of society have set the economic, religious, and social life continuously.¹¹⁰ The Ottoman State in Middle Age was very different from other European States in the sense of state administartion and social structure.¹¹¹ Some certain conditions were to the fore regarding the Ottoman State's in such a active position. The state which wants to reach to its political aim has applied the conquest policy since its establishment. This conquest policy was named in Islamic terminology as "gaza". The Ottomans which emerged as a principality in Western Anatolia, in a short period, has gained the required social and military support. The concept of "gaza" became unseperable part of the Ottoman State's political and social

¹⁰⁹ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, vol. 1, belge no: ek 12, p. 125.

¹¹⁰ Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkuresi Tarihi*, Ötüken Yayınları, İstanbul: 2003, pp. 354-405.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth Zachariadou, "The Ottoman World", *The New Cambridge Medieval History 1415-1500*, vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand, Cambridge University Press: 1998, pp. 812-830.

understanding.¹¹² In the studies about the establishment process of the Ottoman State, the concept of “gaza” was the subject of attempts to detail it continuously.¹¹³ According to Halil İnalçık the concept of “gaza” was the main factor in the Ottoman State’s extention in Asia and Europe.¹¹⁴ This thesis which was put forward by Paul Wittek in 1937 has been accepted by prominent the Ottoman historians.¹¹⁵ Even the subtitle of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey which was written by Stanford J. Shaw was “Gaziler İmparatorluğu”.¹¹⁶ This practice which emerged by the establishment of the state has been the first aim of the Ottoman sultans and this practice found support from the society as well. Even in the time of turbulence it was thought that the possible success would strengthen the state. The recovery in the time of Köprülüs caused Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa’s finding himself before the gate of Vienna. After this period the active conquest policy was deserted and the state began to defend itself. In this way the state played a political role in two ways. Until 1683 conquest and Gaza policy, between 1683 and 1922 defence policy were followed. Experienced politic events or some conditions which were decided in the capital were reflected by the society. It was desired the society to support the political thought. Because of this state played an active role as society. But these attempts always did not produce the desired consequences. Even in some cases that the state followed these policies though the society would not accept them. The most appropriate example for this case was the announcement of Tanzimat Fermanı,

¹¹² İ. Metin Kunt, “The Rise of The Ottoman”, *The New Cambridge Medieval History 1300-1415*, vol. 6, ed. Michael Jones, Cambridge University Press: 2006, pp. 839-863

¹¹³ Kate Fleet, “The Rise of The Ottomans”, *The New Cambridge History of İslam*, vol. 2, ed. Moribel Fierro, Cambridge University Press: 2010, p. 321.

¹¹⁴ Halil İnalçık, “The Emergence of The Ottomans”, *The Cambridge History of İslam*, vol. 1-A, ed. P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, Cambridge University Press: 1970, p.321.

¹¹⁵ Ronald C. Jennings, “Gazi Tezi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler”, *Söğüt’ten İstanbul’a*, pre. Oktay Özel-Mehmet Öz, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara: 2005, pp. 429-441.; Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye*, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul: 2009, pp. 9-24.

and the reaction of the society to it after the announcement. The Ottoman State announced the edict to alleviate the pressure of Europe, but after that the state has been forced to wrestle with the level of society which was not contended. The interesting point of the case is that non-Muslims gained the equal rights with Muslims, but not Muslims but also non-Muslims reacted to the edict.¹¹⁷

In the classical age the Ottoman State settled a lot of Anatolian Turks, nomad families to improve the condition of Rumelia.¹¹⁸ Those Turks and Muslims have secured the persistence of the Ottoman State in the region. State applied sometimes this method to the newly conquered areas. At the conquest of Crete and Cyprus, the same idea was effective and Muslims were settled to these areas. The Ottoman State was involved with the settlement arrangement also in its interior regions. For controlling some families and tribes the state settled them into different areas. Eventhough majority of them were settled in Rumelia, some of them were sent to Anatolia. The most important factor of tribes's settlement was their disobedience against central authority, their illegal activities and their refuse to give tax payment. The state was interested in the elimination of this situation by settling those tribes in Anatolia during 18th¹¹⁹ and 19th century.¹²⁰

We mentioned that as a result of the policy of state regarding some troublesome tribes's settlement into another area some movement emerged. This movement was under the control of the state and was done in an order. But also the

¹¹⁶ Stanford Shaw, *History of The Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazi*, vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1976.

¹¹⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler", *Bellekten*, TTK Yayınları, vol. XXVII, No: 112, Ankara: 1964, pp. 623-649.

¹¹⁸ Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan*, Osman Yalçın Matbaası, İstanbul: 1957, p. 9.

¹¹⁹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin yerleştirilmesi*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 2006, pp. 43-56.

¹²⁰ Fatih Sansar, "Tanzimat Döneminde Aşiretlerin İskânı", *Türkler*, vol. 13, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 907-923.

Ottoman State was being shaken by big banditry actions and this caused to big population movements. Because of this the population of Anatolia showed a constant change during 16th and 17th century. The biggest factor was that peasants and big landowners left their lands.¹²¹ The biggest movement was Celali İsyancıları which occurred between 1596 and 1611.¹²² After this rebellion plenty of villages were deserted and agricultural productivity had decreased. İstanbul was also influenced from this shift in population. A lot of people who escaped from the rebellion took refuge in İstanbul.¹²³ Even the pressure of rebellious bandits were so intense, some villages wrote the petition to İstanbul to stop those unlawful trend, if it is not stopped they threatened the state that they would desert their villages.

Those runaway peasants were passing into other provinces and settled in other cities. Some of them were preferring to go to the mountains and taking refuge from rebellious bandits. Even these were some who took service of rebellious for their food only.¹²⁴ Majority of population deserted their villages because of the high tax rates, debt, famine, and banditry activities. So that, after this rebellion suppressed, according to the investigation from Bazı district 33 out of 38 villages were deserted and their inhabitants went to İstanbul. Even in some villages there was no anyone who can be asked the amount of damage. The biggest reason of the migration in this period was the famine. The import of wheat from Rumelia to Anatolia was banned. Because this can imperil the army and İstanbul. The peasants who did not see any hope and had been stranded began to escape. This situation

¹²¹ Oktay Özel, "Population Changes in The Ottoman Anatolia During The 16 th and 17 th Centuries: The "Demographic Crisis" Reconsidered", *IJMES*, no: 36 (2004), pp. 183-205.

¹²² Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima*, vol. 2, Haz. Mehmet İpşirli, TTK, Ankara: 2007, p. 331

¹²³ Fatma Acun, "Celali İsyancıları 1591-1611", *Türkler*, vol. 9, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 695-708.

¹²⁴ *Bu konuda Kuyucu Murad Paşa'nın bir çocuğu sorguya çekmesi iyi bir örnektir. Tarih-i Naima*, vol. 2, p. 353.

eliminated the productivity which was already in decline¹²⁵ such economic migration movements continued until the collapse of the state. But the migration movements in 19th century followed a different way. The directions of these movements were from Anatolia towards the outer world.

In 19th century there occurred migration movements in the Ottoman territories because of similar reasons. But these migrations were different from the migration in the classical age of the Ottoman State.¹²⁶ These movements took place in the manner of that peasants deserted the Ottoman soils. This kind migration is named as exterior migration.¹²⁷ The exterior migration showed difference by the help of changing economic dimensions. Migrations took place from the Ottoman Rumelia, Anatolia, and Arab provinces to other countries in which trade gives more benefit and industrialization was completed. We want to put an end to the migration movements in the Ottoman territories in 19th century by evaluating the exterior migrations. As it mentioned above, exterior migrations took place in three different areas Rumelia, Anatolia, and Arab provinces. The exterior migration in Rumelia occurred by Bulgarian's migration to Russia. Russians making Bulgarians migrated to their soils started in 1850s and continued by increasing speed.

Russia started the attempts to get Christians on its side by population change since 18th century. In 1775 Alexi Orlov had settled some Christians to the Balkans. Those newly arrived group was settled in Kerç and Yenikale by the permission of Czarina Catherina. This policy of migration to Russia continued throughout the years of 1776. The number of immigrants reached to 1.200 in the

¹²⁵ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celali İsyanları*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara: 1975, p. 457.

¹²⁶ Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber London: 1973; for Turkish, Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, trans. Ruşen Sezer, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul: 2003.

time of Şahin Giray.¹²⁸ Muslim migration from Crimea, Caucasia, and the Balkans caused Muslim's place to be occupied. Russia attempted to heal the economic losses caused by the migration of these people with the transportation of people from other regions. Russia followed this method within a political framework throughout 19th century especially in Siberia. After a period of time, considerable Russian colonies in Siberia, Caucasia and Central Asia came into being.¹²⁹ By this way there would be no hope for Muslims and Turks to return to their own homes. For example Russia had settled 75.000 Slav to the areas instead of Tatars who took refuge in the Ottoman State after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.¹³⁰

There was an increase during Russo-Ottoman Wars in the number of Bulgarians who migrated from Rumelia to Russia. In the time of 1787-1792, of 1806-1812, of 1828-1829, of 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman Wars and 1853-56 Crimean War, Bulgarians migrated to Russia; too. The leading cause of Russia's aim about Bulgarian migration from Rumelia was its plans about Bulgarians. Russia tried Bulgarians to migrate to the places which were depleted with by Muslims and Turks with the help of Bulgarian priests. Despite all attempts of Russia in this direction were in vain. Because according to Nedim İpek Bulgarians could not be permanent inhabitant of where they went and their returned to their previous places.¹³¹ Bulgarians who migrated from the Ottoman lands have thought that Russians would afford better conditions to them. But when they have reached to their new places;

¹²⁷ Ahmet Akgündüz, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dış Göçler", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 80, bahar 1999, p. 150.

¹²⁸ Osman Köse, *Küçük Kaynarca Andlaşması*, pp. 250-251.

¹²⁹ James Forsyth, *A History of The Peoples of Siberia: Russian's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge University Press: 1992, pp. 190-226.

¹³⁰ Hüdai Şentürk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bulgar Meselesi (1850-1875)*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara: 1992, p. 97.

¹³¹ İpek, *İmparatorluktan*, p. 283.

they saw that they were not more luxurious condition than previous.¹³² Because of this they returned to their deserted homes. When they have come, they saw that Circassian and Tatar immigrants were settled instead of them to their homes. State decided to open new settlement areas for those returned Bulgarians. In a short time Bulgarians were settled in new and old settlement areas. Russia experienced a great manufacturing weakness. Russia settled Bulgarians and European immigrants in the area. For example between 1784 and 1787 Russia get new immigrants from Corsica, Liverna, Pire, Cezova and Germany. Between 1806 and 1812 Russia settled Orthodox Gagauz and Bulgarians in Bucak. In 1827 there were 48 Bulgarian colonies in Bucak. Russia tried to induce Bulgarians to migrate by giving them more attractive offers and by advice. But when Russia saw that they were not working, it did not hesitate to use the force against them.

Bulgarians forced migration to Russia was not giving healthy results. Because both those forced to migration and others who did not like their new places were returning back to their places.¹³³ However the state were not making trouble to Bulgarians who want to migrate to Russia willingly.¹³⁴ For example there was some opportunity for Bulgarians to sell their goods except the lands which they cultivated in the name of the state.¹³⁵ On the other hand Bulgarians who migrated from Vidin to Russia sent the petition to İstanbul when they returned about being exempt from duty for some years.¹³⁶ While those returned immigrants were waiting for

¹³² Ufuk Gülsoy, *1828-1829 Osmanlı- Rus Savaşı'nda Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya*, Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul: 1993, pp. 24-25.

¹³³ BOA, A.DVN, Dosya:102, Gömlek: 49, tarih: 27/C/ 1271

¹³⁴ BOA, HR.MKT, 373/70, 06/L/1277

¹³⁵ BOA, HR.MKT, 378/27, 08/Za/1277

¹³⁶ BOA, İ.MTZ (04), 3/76, 29/Ca/ 1278

exemption from the state, the others migrated to Russia were looking at the state to give them assistance to return to their homes.¹³⁷

Russia's migration policy on Bulgarians showed itself at the same manner on Eastern Anatolia and Persian territories. This migration movement that occurred at Anatolia can be examined in two parts. As mentioned above one of them was the migration caused by economic results and standard of living. The other was Russia's political migration movements. As we will see, the so-called Armenian genocide and events of 1915 was interpreted differently by migrated Armenians in United States. This is important because it indicates the political side of the migration movement. When Muslim migrations took place from Crimea, Caucasia and the Balkans to Anatolia, non-Muslim migration occurred from Anatolia, Caucasia to United States and Russia. Even in 1860s some non-Muslim families whose concerns were related with mining migrated to Caucasia. The most important reason of this migration movement was economic concerns. Another reason was the Circassian's attitude. Because the Circassians who did not yet settle or was not satisfied with their settlement areas were the sources of fear in Karadeniz region. As a matter of fact Greek immigrants whose ship did not come Samsun raised money among them hired out a ship and went to Russia. Like Bulgarians, Greeks who migrated to Caucasia and Russia did not enjoy the places they went. When they saw that Russians would settle them into mountainous zones, they gave up to settle these and they returned to Anatolia. The Porte made arrangement to obviate non-Muslim and Greeks migration from Anatolia. The first of these arrangements was to settle

¹³⁷ BOA, İ.MTZ (04), 3/79, 01/Şa/1278

the armed Circassians in Karadeniz region to the interior zones. Another important arrangement was to stop the transportation of immigrants to Trabzon.¹³⁸

Armenian's migration and settlement in America had had an important place in the exterior migrations. Because until the second half of 19th century there was no Armenian population in America. The first Armenian migration to America took place in 1850s. At the beginning of Armenian migration to America, American Protestant missionaries played an important role. Thanks to missionaries suggestions and facilities provided by the missionaries, young Armenian peoples migrated and settled in America. Later on those who completed their education continued to do their jobs what they did in Anatolia and İstanbul. They became the connection point for trade between İstanbul and America.¹³⁹ American Protestant missionaries supported not only Bulgarian nationalistic movements in the Balkans, but also Armenian nationalists in Anatolia. Thus Armenians in the second half of 19th century put on the spot the Ottoman State by arranging local rebellions. In this circumstance not only United States but also other great powers played an important role.¹⁴⁰ American missionaries were organized even in the remotest zones of Anatolia. They were attracting the local people by opening schools and health clinics. Uygur Kocabaşođlu classified this circumstance under three headings. The preparatory period (1820-1839), the settlement period (1840-1870), and harvest period (1871-1900). That was exactly how the situation had been after the missionaries' works. Because the events in the process prove the accuracy of the

¹³⁸ İpek, *İmparatorluktan*, pp. 283-287.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 290.

¹⁴⁰ Mim Kemal Öke, *Yüzyılın Kan Davası: Ermeni Sorunu 1914-1923*, Aksoy Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 2000, pp. 86-98.

classification.¹⁴¹ Because of the quality of missionary schools and their original education programmes was attracting the Armenian community.¹⁴²

Another reasons for Armenian migration were the famine, epidemic diseases and the shrinking trade volume. The need for manpower of United States caused the Armenian migration from Anatolia to United States. In this period not only migration from Anatolia to United States because of the forementioned reasons but also at the same time migration from Europe to United States was taking place. Thus, in 1850s the number of European in America reached to 1.713.251 .¹⁴³ Especially broad, fertile lands and the rapid development of cities inspired immigrants with the American Dream.¹⁴⁴ Not only with the economic concerns and educational purposes, but at the same time for security was another reason for themigration to United States. After a time the shape of migration to United States changed. Armenians who migrated and settled in America became an important factor for themigration of other Armenians who were stil living in Anatolia. Since 1850s Armenians began to migrate to developed countries, especially to America. As a result Armenian population for establishing an Armenian state began to shrink in Eastern Anatolia. But this reduction led to more death of Muslims in the region.¹⁴⁵

In 1891 3.297 Armenian migrated from Anatolia to United States. Towards the end of 1892 30.000 Syrian, 10.000 Armenian and 200 Muslims migrated. This

¹⁴¹ Dilşen İnce Erdoğan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Amerikalı Misyonerler ve Van Ermeni İsyamı 1896*, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılapları Tarihi Enstitüsü, danışman. Prof. Dr. Ergün Aybars, (Unpublished PH.D), İzmir: 2007, pp. 88-110.

¹⁴² Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul: 1989, pp. 77-97.

¹⁴³ Ufuk Gülsoy, "Osmanlı Topraklarına Avrupa'dan Muhacir İskanı", *İlmi Araştırmalar*, No: 3, İstanbul: 1996, pp. 51-65.

¹⁴⁴ Van B. Goç, *Beynel Milel Usul-ü Temsil İskan-ı Muhacirin*, trans.. Habil Adem, Kitabhane-i Sudi, İstanbul: 1324, pp. 50-120.

wave of migration had continued until WWI. Between 1860 and 1914 1.200.000 the Ottoman citizen migrated to United States. So, in United States a considerable Turkish colony came into being. It was consisted of nearly 40.000 people and they did not cut off their relationship with Turkey. But, some changes occurred in the generations who were born in United States.¹⁴⁶ Both the strict health checks of America and the Ottoman State's attitude were affective in reducing or increasing of the migration, but periodically migrations occurred from Anatolia to United States.¹⁴⁷

Sometimes there were some Armenians who returned back to Anatolia from United States. But many of them came to Anatolia to make trouble. Because those returned Armenians were keeping their Armenian identity and were using their U.S. citizenship. There occurred some diplomatic crisis between United States and the Ottoman State which wanted to eliminate such conditions. For this reason some negotiations were made between two states. According to these negotiations it was decided how those Armenians who have U.S. citizenship would be treated.¹⁴⁸ Armenians who want to change their citizenships had to get permission before hand. But this was not always the followed way. For example Armenians who migrated from Erzurum, Van, and Sivas provinces to the United States changed their citizenships without the permission.¹⁴⁹ The Ottoman State were attempting to determine those who made this change in an illegal process, during the checking of

¹⁴⁵ İpek, *İmparatorluktan*, pp. 290-91.; *Ermeni Komiteleri 1891-1895*, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara: 2001, pp. 6-17.; Münir Sürayya Bey, *Ermeni Meselesi'nin Siyasi Tarihçesi 1877-1914*, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara: 2001, pp. 1-30.

¹⁴⁶ İpek, *İmparatorluktan*, pp. 292.; Karpas, *Etnik Yapılanlar ve Göçler*, pp. 357-405.; Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914", *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, Vol. 17, No: 2, Mayıs 1985, pp. 175-209.

¹⁴⁷ Ahmed Emin, "Amerika'da Türk Muhacirler", *Darülfunun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. 1, No: 2, İstanbul: 1331 (1916), pp. 179-188.

¹⁴⁸ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeni- Amerikan İlişkileri*, vol. 1, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara: 2007, belge no: 6 p. 17.

their passports. Because of this officers were warned to be careful.¹⁵⁰ Another important caution was not to allow the entering of Armenians who had passed to U.S. citizenship illegally.¹⁵¹ The Ottoman State was gathering information about migrated Armenians in U.S. According to this, it was learnt that the Armenians migrated from Harput, Muş, Diyarbakır were involved with the preparation of rebellion in the Ottoman soils. Those Armenians were propagating against Turks. In churches the preparation of the planned rebellion were being told. On the other hand the needed guns and armaments were being shipped to İstanbul in a way. The purchased guns were being hidden in box which designed as bedstead, and dynamites in gasoline tanks. They were being tried to be shipped to İstanbul.¹⁵²

Armenians experienced the biggest population change during the 1828-29 Russo-Ottoman War. As mentioned before, Russia desired to reach to Middle East and its riches via Eastern Anatolia and Caucasia and also to İstanbul via the Balkans. By this way it could benefit from the Indian's blessings. On behalf of this desire, it was pursuing some different policies. Armius Vambery saw during his journey in Central Asia how Russia was implementing its thoughts at a close range. The circumstance which made him sad was the addiction of Turk scholars to opium. Vambery saw a plenty of çilehanes and in most of these places opium was being used. Before Russia's spreading the usage of opium, Turk Hans have given no respite to Russians. But after spreading of opium into palaces and especially to army, Khanate of Hokand's power began to shrink. Only after that Russia took the dominance of Central Asia.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, belge no:15, pp. no: 37

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, belge no:16, pp. no:39

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, Belge no:25, pp. no: 61

¹⁵² *Ibid*, belge no: 10, p. 30

¹⁵³ Mim Kemal Öke, *Vambery, Belgelerle Bir Devletlerarası Casusun Yaşam Öyküsü*, Bilgi Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 1985, pp. 22-23.

Russia assumed the guardianship of Armenians in Anatolia and Bulgarians in the Balkans.¹⁵⁴ The circumstance of 1828-29 Russo-Ottoman War was the same the condition of 1877-78 War in the eyes of some historians. Nearly at the same manner in both wars, Russia occupied the same regions. But Russia followed a different way in 1828-29 War. After this war Russia killed or exiled the Muslim population in Erivan region like it did in Caucasia and Crimea. To these evacuated areas, Armenians who were brought from Eastern Anatolia were settled. After deportation of Muslims from Erivan, Armenians who will make the majority in future were settled. Like in Crimea and Caucasia the majority of population was made up from Muslims. But after this population changes, the numbers of Muslim in the region decreased too much. According to researches the Armenian population of Armenia multiplied in this artificial way. If there was no Russia's policy about to change the structure of population in the region, the majority would be in the hands of Muslims. After 1828-29 Russo-Ottoman War, nearly 90.000 Armenians followed the Russian troops when the troops were retreating. Only from Erzurum 10.000 Armenian families migrated and those immigrants joined 40.000 Armenians from Iran. They reached Erivan. According to Justin McCarthy Russia evinced its intention clearly in the Eastern Anatolia.¹⁵⁵

This change in population was the biggest experienced change in Eastern Anatolia during 19th century. The wealth of state dependence on the abundance of people. This concept had been implemented by the Ottoman State before a long time, and every effort was mad efor the comfort of people and their existence in their own places. This can be interpreted from the economic and politic point of

¹⁵⁴ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeni Rus İlişkileri*, Osmanlı arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, vol. 1 Ankara: 2006, belge no: 3, pp. 9; belge: 21, pp. 55, belge:26, pp. 64, belge:32, pp. 79, belge:48, p. 112

¹⁵⁵ McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 31-32.

view.¹⁵⁶ Europe made the concept of wealth of people with as its political understanding. Russia became aware of this understanding and settled Bulgarians, Slavs, or Armenians in the place of Muslims who were deported. The wealth and diversity of people have the meaning for state to take a step forward from the economic point of view. On the other hand by population policy other states were being weakened. It can be claimed that the purpose of Russia to settle Armenians in Erivan via Iran was this policy. According to Kemal Beydilli the fact that 100.000 Armenians migrated from Eastern Anatolia is an important indicator to show the losses of the state in the sense of economy and politic.¹⁵⁷

The Armenian migration to Russia did not occur in only 1828-29 War. In the following periods Armenians continued to migrate to Erivan and Caucasia. Armenian rebellious groups were taking assistance from Russia in the sense of both military equipment and ideological trainings.¹⁵⁸ Russia was supporting Armenians and their causes in both visual and written media.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand some rumors emerged. According to these rumors Armenians who migrated to Russia would be unified with other groups in Russia and they would return to Anatolia.¹⁶⁰ Because sometimes Armenians came from Russia was attacking to the villages.¹⁶¹

The Ottoman State met with serious problems because of these big migration movements in 19th century. The biggest problems were the problem of finding settlement areas in a short time, the hardship of adjustment of immigrants to their

¹⁵⁶ Yunus Koç, “Osmanlı’da Kent İskânı ve Demografi XV. - XVIII. Yüzyıllar”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol. 3, No: 6, İstanbul: 2005, pp. 161-210.

¹⁵⁷ Kemal Beydilli, “1828-1829 Osmanlı Rus Savaşında Doğu Anadolu’dan Rusya’ya Göç ettirilen Ermeniler”, *Belgeler*, TTK Yayınları, Vol. XIII, No: 17, Ankara: 1988, pp. 365-401.

¹⁵⁸ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeni Rus İlişkileri*, vol. 1, belge: 49, no: 113.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, belge no: 55, p. 121.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, belge no: 67, p. no: 145.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, belge no: 69, p. no: 148.

new environments.¹⁶² Because when the immigrants do not enjoy their settlement areas, there would be problems. They were quarreling with the local peoples and they were disturbing the peace. Because of this state was spending efforts not to have problems. At the top of the problems which Ahmet Cevdet Paşa had to deal with in his governorship between February-November 1878 were the problems between local peoples of Syria and the settled Muslim immigrants. The settlement of immigrants from Rumelia, Circassian of Caucasia was causing the trouble in the region whose majority was consisted of Arabs.¹⁶³

Almost from everywhere the Ottoman retreated, migrations occurred to the Ottoman State's soils. Those who lived in Arabian provinces and did not accept the hegemony of Europeans began to migrate to Syria. But this caused another new problem. The French occupation's process which started since 1830s was completed in 1847. After this date the immigrants from Algeria came to Syria. Those migrations continued from time to time. Towards the end of century 15.000 Algerian were settled in Syria.¹⁶⁴

According to Gülfettin Çelik the increase in the non-Muslim population in Western Anatolia region was preoccupying the Ottoman statesman. It became the subject of concern about how this increase can be stopped and of the matter of Muslim's settlement. Especially the increase of non-Muslim population in İstanbul was seen as a threat. The Bosnian migrations after 1850s and especially after the annexation of Bosnia by Austria has provided the Ottoman State with the needed population requirement. Bosnian immigrants were especially settled around

¹⁶² Faruk Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler 1878-1890", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, No: I, İstanbul: 1980, p. 154.

¹⁶³ Tufan Buzpınar, "Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Suriye Valiliği (Şubat- Kasım 1878)", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, No: 9, İstanbul: 2003, p. 46.

¹⁶⁴ Tufan Buzpınar, "Suriye'ye Yerleşen Cezayirli Muhacirlerin Tabiiyeti Meselesi 1847-1900", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No: 1, İstanbul: 1997, pp. 91-106.

İstanbul. Even most serious plans were made. The villages which will be established should have at least 50 homes. Because of this Bosnian immigrants were settled in “hazine-i hassa” farms.¹⁶⁵

The Circassian immigrants caused big problem first in Rumelia and then in Anatolia, Arab provinces. Circassian was harrying the local people. Especially they were taking aim at Christian and non-Muslim groups in there.¹⁶⁶ Those assaults were coming in the form of extortion, plunder, cattle stealing.¹⁶⁷

1.3 Jewish Immigration to Palestine

Another problem which the Ottoman State had to deal with was the desire of Jewish about being settled in Palestine. As mentioned before, the Ottoman State has accepted every refugee no matter what their religion or ethnic identity. Jews began to migrate from Rumelia, Russia and especially Europe because of the hatred against them in 19th century.¹⁶⁸ The rapid increase in the population of Jews in Russia Empire was seen as a threat for the central state.¹⁶⁹ According to census in 1897 the number of Jews was nearly 14 million in Russia.¹⁷⁰ With Muslims and Turk migrations also Jewish migration began. The state put those Jews in Western Anatolia, İstanbul and other appropriate places except Palestine. But due to that the British support¹⁷¹ and Jews’ desire about settling in Palestine turned the matter into

¹⁶⁵ Gülfettin Çelik, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Nüfus ve İskân Politikası”, *Divan Dergisi*, yıl 4, No: 6, İstanbul: 1999/1, p. 102.

¹⁶⁶ BOA, HR. TO, 252/38, 26/6/1877; 253/3, 31/1/1878; 252/44, 27/5/1877

¹⁶⁷ BOA, HR. TO, 252/43, 26/5/1877

¹⁶⁸ Berat Yıldız, *Emigrations from the Russian Empire to The Ottoman Empire: An Analysis in the Light of the new Arhcival Materials*, Department of International Relations Bilkent University (Unpublished MA), Ankara: 2006, pp. 12-25.

¹⁶⁹ Benjamin Nathans, “Jews”, *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, ed. Dominic Lieven, Cambridge University press: 2006, p. 191.

¹⁷⁰ Viladimir Bonrovnikov, “Islam in the Russian Empire”, *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, ed. Dominic Lieven, Cambridge University Press: 2006, p. 203.

¹⁷¹ Azmi Özcan, “İngiltere”, *DİA*, vol. 22, pp. 304-307.

an international problem.¹⁷² Until 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman War there was no such problem. From the early times Jews were living in Paalestine as a minority. But this minority anytime could not be majority in anywhere. The Ottoman State showed required attention to Jews. For example one Jewish convoy was settled first in İstanbul, and then in Dubrovnik. Those settled Jews' all requirements such as house, land, flour for making bread, animal and carts were provided by the state.¹⁷³ Again at the same manner another Jewish convoy was shipped to Silistre and settled there. All their requirements were provided by the permission of the state.¹⁷⁴

Russia's attitude was in the direction of converting them to Christianity. This oppression was made by money or force. Those Jews who did not change their religion in both circumstances began to migrate to the Ottoman soils.¹⁷⁵ Except Palestine, all the Ottoman territories were open to the settlementt of Jewish. But Jewish migration to Palestine was banned definitely.¹⁷⁶ The Ottoman State began to deal with the problem which was the result of Jewish settlement in Palestine in the way of how it dealt with the problems caused by Circassian immigrants. But the problem turned to an international matter and this did not prevent the Jews to settle in Palestine.

Mass Jewish migration occured in the second half of 19th century. Between 1881 and 1891 145.000 Jewish migrated from Russia to other areas in which they can take refuge. Another important wave of migration occured in 1892. In this date

¹⁷² Tufan Buzpınar, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde Filistin'e Yahudi Göçü Meselesi (1878-1908)", *Türkler*, vol. 13, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 78-79.

¹⁷³ BOA, HR, MKT, 213/91, 15/Ra/1274

¹⁷⁴ BOA, HR. MKT, 214/6, 15/Ra/1274

¹⁷⁵ BOA, Y.PRK. TKM, 22/49/1309

¹⁷⁶ BOA, YPRK, TŞF, 6/72, 10/Za/1319

500.000 Jewish migrated from Eastern and Sout-eastern Europe to United States, England, Canada, and the Ottoman State.¹⁷⁷

Abdülhamid before solving the immigrants problems after 1877-78 War, he was to be faced with a host of dificulties which stemmed from the request of Jewsih was forwarded to himself by the peoples who interested in the subject matter. One of them was Laurence Oliphant. He has presented a memorandum which contains the sensible reasons about why Jewish must be settled in Palestine. In this memorandum Oliphant mentioned not only about the Jewish settlement, but also how a Jewish presence would be advantegous to the region. His persistent demands were understood as the expression of political Zionism.¹⁷⁸ But at the date which Oliphant presented his memorandum, the political Zionism did not come into being yet. The real intention of his defence for thememorandum was to protect the interests of England in the region and to pave the way of creation of Jewish colony in Palestine.¹⁷⁹

The memorandum presented by Oliphant in May and June of 1879 was discussed in the assembly in 8 May 1880. The reason of this one year standby was that the assembly was busy with the Egypt problem. Because of that Oliphant knew this fact; he waited for the consulting day in the assembly. In the time of standby there was no warm relationship between the Ottoman State and England. But it is the subjecct of discussion whether this situation affected the decision of assembly or not. As a result the memorandum of Oliphant was not accepted in the assembly. The

¹⁷⁷ Bayram Kodaman- Nedim İpek, “Yahudilerin Filistin’e Yerleştirilmeleriyle İlgili olarak II. Abdülhamid’e 1879’da Sunulan Layiha”, *Belleten*, TTK Yayınları, vol. LVII, No: 219, Ankara: 1993, pp. 571.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 566.

¹⁷⁹ Tufan Buzpınar, “II. Abdülhamid Döneminin ilk Yıllarında Filistin’e Yahudi İskân Girişimleri (1878-1882)”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, No: 30, Eylül- Ekim 1994, p. 58.; S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland From the Earliest Times Until the Present Day*, vol. 3, trans. I. Friedlaender, Varda Books: 2001, pp. 40-48.

reason of this refusal was that the region was not comfortable to the Jewish settlement. Because some immigrants were settled in the area before a dozen those immigrants were Muslims, some problems broke out in the area. For example Muslim immigrants settled in Syria after 1877-78 War encountered reaction from local peoples and they had had to return back to Adana and İzmir.¹⁸⁰ Despite the refusal of his memorandum, Oliphant struggled for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in the area until his death.

In the emergence of the problem of Jewish migration and settlement in Palestine, England has had an important role. Despite all restrictions Jewish peoples found a way of slipping into Palestine soils. Eventhough not in formal procedure Jewish settled in Syria and Palestine region. Even some immigrants got property possession and made efforts for the opening of the area for the settlement.¹⁸¹ Because the problem has gained another statue. It became a matter of international politics. For this reason the Jewish migration and settlement emerged as the Palestine Question. Abdülhamid wanted the assistance of Germany in his struggle against Zionism. Germany was the home for both the serious supporters of Zionism and the severe enemy of Zionism. Germany preferred to stand near and finding a suitable position in Middle East policy.¹⁸² England was trying too imposing the Jewish migration to Palestine by the help of charming proposals. England offered its assistance to prevent the expansionist policy of Mehmet Ali Paşa.

The Jewish settlement the area would be useful for England. Because England was considering that it gets behind Russia and France in the region. Because of this England involved in the preparation of Palestine for a potential

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 61.

¹⁸¹ BOA, HR. HMŞ. İŞO, 219/74, 28/Ni/1302

Jewish settlement. For accelerating its imperial operation it focused on the missionary activities. Especially it gave a special attention to conversion of Jewish to Christianity. By this way England was expecting to take dominance both in the sense of religion and trade which France was dominant.¹⁸³ The Palestine Question gained another aspect when England occupied Egypt in 1882. Jewish immigrants coming from Russia towards Palestine saw that England was protecting them. Because from the missionary activity point of view Russian Jews were seeming more vulnerable to be converted. The consulates like Dixon who came to the Office in 1890 was trying to make Jews buy property and land in Palestine despite jeopardizing his Office. .¹⁸⁴ The intense involvement of England in Palestine resulted the Jewish settlement in the area rather than Palestine passed out of the Ottoman State's hands. The ventures which occurred in the second half of 19th century have continued until the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine soils. On the other hand those involvements of England paved the way of the Jewish state.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Mim Kemal Öke, *Siyonizm'den Uygarlık Çatışmasına Filistin Sorunu*, Ufuk Kitapları, İstanbul: 2002, pp. 68-69.

¹⁸³ Tufan Buzpınar, "Suriye ve Filistin'de Avrupa Nüfuz Mücadelesinde Yeni Bir Unsur: İngiliz Misyonerleri (19. yüzyıl)", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No: 10, 2003, pp. 107-120.

¹⁸⁴ Tufan Buzpınar, "Filistin Meselesi'nin Ortaya Çıkmasında İngiltere'nin Rolü", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, No: 68, Kış 2002, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸⁵ Karpat, *Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, pp. 287-327.; Kemal H. Karpat, "Jewish Population Movements in The Ottoman Empire 1861-1914", *Studies on The Ottoman Social and Political*

2. COMING OF IMMIGRANTS TO ISTANBUL (1877-1890)

As mentioned above the Ottoman State has been confronted with huge population movements in different geographies. The transformation of those population movements reverberated to the Ottoman State as mass migration waves. Although different provinces received migration, İstanbul was the first place which preferred by immigrants because of being the capital city.¹⁸⁶ As mentioned before and we will see in the following chapters, another reason of why immigrants wanted to be İstanbul was their hope about the possibility to return back to their homes in the Balkans. Because of geographical and political position, İstanbul had to bear the burden of migration. Although migrations from different geographies reached to İstanbul, the reason of why immigrants came to İstanbul can be categorized in three headlines. Immigrants wanted to reach İstanbul by using the fastest transportation means and their private enterprises.¹⁸⁷ Most of these means were land route, railways and sea route. These routes could not answer the need of immigrant's eventhough all of them were much developed towards the end of 19th century.

Eventhough the construction of railways has been started after the Crimean War, its construction process was interrupted in 1870s. Most of the first railways were constructed by European companies. Even so, the total amount of railways until 1888 was 1.780 kilometer. Abdülhamid's special concern about railways was

History, Leiden: 2002, pp. 146-168.; Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Routledge, 3rd Edition, London&Newyork: 2004, pp. 73-80.

¹⁸⁶ Mehmet Yılmaz, *Konya Vilayetine Muhacir Yerleşimleri 1854-1914*, Danış. Nejat Göyünç, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Bilim Dalı (Unpublished PH.D), Konya: 1996, pp. 200-215.; Mehmet Çanlı, "Balkanlar'dan Muğla'ya Göç ve Sosyo- Ekonomik Değişim", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan, No: 12, Ankara: 2007, pp. 49-67., http://www.karam.org.tr/Makaleler/657632930_canli.pdf

¹⁸⁷ Erol Açıköğretmen, *1877-1878 Kışında İstanbul: Göçmenlerle İlgili Sorunlar, Çözümler*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yakınçağ ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Anabilim Dalı (Unpublished PH.D), İstanbul: 1982, p. 19.

its economic potential. For this reason Abdülhamid gave the priority to the construction of railways which connect İstanbul to other European cities.¹⁸⁸

Since the first yeras of his sultanate, Abdülhamid tried to develop the railways policy of Abdülaziz. In this period the old railways was repaired and new ones was constructed. These railwyas did not only provide the economic benefits. They increased the tension between Muslims and non-Muslims in Turkey, and especially in İstanbul. Another affect was the appearance of the class difference of society. Because wealthy persons of İstanbul were searching for villas around İzmit Körfezi and Marmara Sea, because of that the transportation is easy in there.¹⁸⁹ In the first years the railway connection were consisted of between İstanbul-Edirne, Edirne-Filiba, Yanbolu-Belova, Tirnova-Yanbolu, Edirne –Dedeğaç, Selanik-Üsküp, and Üsküp-Metroviçe. Later on those connections were extended to Selanik-Üsküp, from there to Belgrad and to İstanbul/Belova in between 1885-1888. By this way İstanbul was connected to Selanik, Vienna, and Paris in Europe. Despite to these developments the capacity of railways for connecting the Ottoman geography to each other was not sufficient.¹⁹⁰

Similarly highway standarts was not enough for broad the Ottoman geography. People were using mostly drift ways. The absence of a standart highway made the migration from the Balkans to İstanbul difficult. The inadequacy of highways for transportation caused the formation of mass railstations and searoutes.¹⁹¹ Abdülhamid gave importance not only to railways but also the construction and reparation of highways. The budget for construction of highways in 1891 was 14.39 million *kuruş* and this budget was extended to 31.5 million *kuruş*

¹⁸⁸ Shaw and Shaw, *Osmanlı İmp. Ve Modern Turkey*, II. p. 278.

¹⁸⁹ Donald Quataert, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Demiryolları”, *TCTA*, vol. 6, pp. 1633-1635.

between 1907 and 1908.¹⁹² The compulsory work in the construction of highways was decided in the period of Abdülaziz could not be done as it was decided. Eventhough sometimes the construction process continued smoothly, most of the time there were difficulties. For thisreason new highways could not be constructed. Even the roads of İstanbul were not standart. Except around the palaces, the conditions of roads in İstanbul were in bad condition. After raining there were floods. Even sometimes people were using the porter for crossing the roads.¹⁹³

Sea route was rather at the control of foreign companies. Those companies were in the Ottoman soil for trade. On the other hand they were making seaway passanger transportation. In this period the Ottoman companies have had 23 ships. They were sailing in Bosphorus, Marmara and Karadeniz Sea.¹⁹⁴ The technological capacities of these ships were important in the sense of transportation and trading volume. According to these 3.047 out of 50.000 sea vehicles which carry the Ottoman flag were working with the steam power. In 1905 this number reached to 4.756 and total number of these ships reached to 68.794. In the transportation of immigrants sea vehicles were in minority. The ships which used for immigrant transporatation was working with the steam power. Because when Rumelian immigrants were carried to İstanbul and Karadeniz shores, those ships were returning back to take another immigrant party. Even though the Ottoman shores were suitable for ship constructions, Abdülhamid did not give the priority to sea routes, and this caused the dominance of foreign companies in this field. The primitive conditions of the Ottoman ships paved the way of people prefering the

¹⁹⁰ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 8, p. 468.

¹⁹¹ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 33.

¹⁹² Shaw and Shaw, *Osmanlı İmp*, II, p. 279.

¹⁹³ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 8, p. 462.

¹⁹⁴ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 33.

foreign companies for sea transportation.¹⁹⁵ According to an event related by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, eventhough Abdülaziz constructed a powerful filotilla; Abdülhamid did not give importance to it. Those ships were deserted to rust away in Haliç. Even so the navy started to feed chickens and cultivate the luzerne in these ships.¹⁹⁶

In here we tried shortly to show the condition of sea, land, and railways routes. Now we will attempt to explain the arrival of immigrants under the title of highways, searoutes, and railways.

2.1 Highways

When the Russians progress and atrocities in Rumelia picked up speed immigrants escaped to save their lives. As mentioned before this migration has not begun after these atrocities. They have waited for settling down of the tension. But when the seriousness of the situation was seen they had started to migrate. Because of that the main roads were dangerous; they had used the ride roads for reaching to İstanbul. Via Edirne.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand after the bombardment of castles all along the shore of Danube by Russians, Russians occupied Zıştovi, Tırnova and Osmanpazarı. The inhabitants of these cities went to Şumnu. To reach İstanbul by highways were more dangerous than using searoutes and railways. Because as mentioned before, Russian and Bulgarian bandits were ambushing them. Because of this people ran into the train sations and seaports.

When the Russian expansion reached Edirne, the people of Edirne joined the immigrants and went with them to İstanbul, Selanik, and Gelibolu. After the annexation of Edirne by Russians in 20 January 1878, Turk immigrants began to

¹⁹⁵ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 8, p. 465.

¹⁹⁶ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Makedonya'dan Orta Asya'ya Enver Paşa*, vol. 1, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul: 1970, p. 168.

migrate as mass of people. The real migrations by highways started after the occupation of Edirne by Russians and their arrival to Yeşilköy.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand with the defeat of the army which under the command of Süleyman Paşa in 8 January 1879, nearly 80.000 immigrants from Gümülcine became defenceless.¹⁹⁹ 10.000 out of them lost their lives. It was decided that transportation of 30.000 of them to Anatolia. But there were still 40.000 immigrants. This caused the continuity of the migration to İstanbul via highways.²⁰⁰

2.2 Seaways

Immigrants were coming mostly by sea routes and railways. This was being chosen because it was cheap, fast and compulsory. The transportation volume of ships were different due to their sizes.²⁰¹ On the other, the administration of Istanbul were trying to prevent the migration to the city. If it is not possible their aim was to keep migration under the control. Immigrants from the Balkans were transported to İstanbul by foreign company's ships. The leading companies were Lloyd, Fraissinet, and Messageries Maritimes. Immigrants brought by company ships were being off loaded and being settled in the settlement areas.²⁰² But the settlement of those immigrants in İstanbul was not always possible. For example by sea routes 30.000 immigrants from Varna were transferred to İstanbul. But because of that there was no room in İstanbul; those immigrants were sent to Adana, Syria, and İzmit.²⁰³ Those immigrants who came via sea routes should have license. This was a

¹⁹⁷ Açıkoğretmen, *1877-1878 Kışında İstanbul*, p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 34.

¹⁹⁹ Erol Özbilgen, *Osmanlı'nın Balkanlar'dan Çekilişi: Süleyman Hüsnü Paşa ve Dönemi*, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 2006, pp. 132-153.

²⁰⁰ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, II, pp. 117-198-202.

²⁰¹ Açıkoğretmen, *1877-78 Kışında İstanbul*, pp. 25-27.

²⁰² İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 37.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 38.

caution to make the transportation more steady. For this reason this requirement was being reminded to foreign companies.²⁰⁴

On the other hand this necessity was declared strictly not to take passengers without license. For example in 12 June 1879 this was declared to British companies.²⁰⁵ The Ottoman government was sometimes preferring leasing the foreign ships because its own ships were not enough for the transportation. Russia, Greece, Egypt were the leading countries which the Ottoman State chartered the ship. This situation was informed by France's Varna ambassador Boyssett to ambassador Fournier in İstanbul. According to report Russian and Austrian steamboats took refugees from Şumnu and carried them to İstanbul.²⁰⁶ Because of the mass of immigrants the peace in İstanbul began to shrink. Hereupon the Ottoman officers called for French ambassador for the reduction of the cost of tickets for immigrants who will go to Antalya and Mersin.²⁰⁷ France accepted this request and it wanted the payment in cash.²⁰⁸ Despite all warning immigrants who have not got a license were being taken to the ships. It has been informed that in one French steamboat there were 150 immigrants were being carried without their license. This situation was declared to the embassy.²⁰⁹ On the other hand British officers were claiming that this task was the responsibility of the Ottoman government. Eventhough they were informing that they have not taken any document about those kinds of immigrants to the Ottoman government.²¹⁰ As a reply government was trying to prevent of those kind illegal immigrant transportation. The transportation of immigrants by steamships was requested,

²⁰⁴ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, II. p. 309

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, II. p. 314.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, II, p. 243.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 390.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 402.

steamships were being sent. For example immigrants in Karaağaç port sent their request to İstanbul and their request was answered positively. Hereupon government sent a steamship to the mentioned port.²¹¹ It was learned that 16.000 immigrants gathered in Dedeağaç region. 10.500 out of them were taken to the steamships. The remaining 5.500 immigrants were informed that they would wait for the next voyage. There was constant information traffic about the transportation of sick and wounded immediately. For this reason the priority was given to wounded, sick, women and childrens, because the death rate and the number of immigrants were increasing in the region.²¹²

Immigrants who ran away from Russian and Bulgarian bandits were pouring into the shores and they were causing the chaos. When the amount of steamships was not enough, the Ottoman state was requesting the ships from British government and French Lloyd Company.²¹³

2.3 Railways

Migrations from the Balkans to İstanbul were made by Rumelia Railways. The route between Edirne and İstanbul received an intense immigration flow especially from Danube province.²¹⁴ Railways was seen like searoutes as a way of survival. Flowing immigrants were stuffed to wagons. Even the roofs of the wagons were full of the immigrants. They were coming to İstanbul in this way. For example in Çorlu station nearly 100.000 immigrants gathered and caused a fire. British officer colonel Warter Blunt settled the immigrants and he organized the

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 762

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 737

²¹¹ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, I. p. 302.

²¹² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 316-317.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 319.

²¹⁴ Açıköğretmen, *1877-78 Kışında İstanbul*, pp. 21-25.

transportation of them to appropriate places.²¹⁵ Immigrants from Tatarpazarcığı and Filibe were gathering in Edirne and from there they were trying to reach to İstanbul. But Tatarpazarcığı and Filibe were occupied by Russians, train campaigns were cut.²¹⁶ Immigrants who used the train must have given a fee like those come by sea routes. The fee of immigrants who could not afford, it was paid by the Ottoman State.

Foreign embassies in the Balkans were working sometimes by a manner of dedicated efforts for settling immigrants. But it can not be said that they were successful, because the existence of the same fear in every immigrant was preventing the peace. Seaports and railway stations were seen as the only survival option. Because of this they were thinking that there was no anytime to be settled down.²¹⁷ Hüseyin Raci Efendi related as eyewitness what he saw and the atrocities of Bulgarians with the assistance of Russians. According to his memoirs effeminate man women were arriving at stations barefoot.²¹⁸ The most important of this fear was the atrocities of Russians in towns they occupied. After the occupation of Kızanlık in July 1877 by Russians the people of Filibe region experienced a panic and began to run away towards the stations.²¹⁹

Their efforts to migrate by sea routes and railways did not mean that they have saved their lives. Because the railways were kept by Russians and Bulgarian troops. The reason of this was their intention for preventing the dispatching of the Ottoman army. Russian and Bulgarians were not hesitating to take the remaining properties what immigrants have. The reason was to create fear

²¹⁵ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 35.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 35.

²¹⁷ Hüseyin Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe-i Vak'a-i Zağra* (Zağra Müftüsünün Anıları), pre. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 2004, p. 155.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 181.

²¹⁹ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, I, p. 149.

and panic. This way they hoped that immigrants would never return back. Because of this the Ottoman State from time to time was asking the security level of those trains.²²⁰ Despite all dangers, immigrants were considering the trains a survival means, and they were trying to get on them by stopping in every point.²²¹ Trains sent by İstanbul were being filled with immigrants even before they reached to their destinations. For example the train sent from Edirne to Filibe and Tatarpazarcığı was occupied by immigrants in Mustafapaşa, Harmanlı and Kavacık. Because of this occupation the train was forced to return.²²² As in the case of sea routes, the transportation by railways was wanted to be checked by state. This was important for both immigrant's health and the settlement problem. Because majority of immigrant that came were sick and wounded. The state did not want to be caught out without any preparation. Because those wounded and sick immigrants were threatening the welfare of İstanbul²²³

The hastiness of the state for settling the immigrants immediately was stemming from the anxiety about the stock of food and bad weather condition. Because the cold weather was worsening the seriousness of health problems. According to a document which was sent by Nafiz Bey in 12 January 1878 to governor of Edirne, Cemil Paşa, 15.000 immigrants were waiting for train under the snowfall. He wanted from him to send a train immediately.²²⁴ All the trains were not enough to carry other immigrants in Filibe, Hasköy, Yenimahalle, and Kavacık.²²⁵

²²⁰ *Ibid*, I. p. 261.

²²¹ *Ibid*, I. p. 262.

²²² *Ibid*, I. p. 264.

²²³ *Ibid*, p. 266.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 267-269.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 267.

In the report of Allix who was the assistant of Baker Paşa wrote to Layard related the condition of waiting immigrants between Tatarpazarcığı and İstanbul. This local presentation of immigrants was important because of its information. This situation was the same when we look at the other embassies's documents. According to Allix's report; immigrants were getting on the train with fear of their lives. On the other hand womens were throwing themselves before the trains to stop them. Those who did not find places inside the trains were mounting on the roofs of wagons. Sometimes trains were leaving some wagons because of they were filled too much. Those who could find place inside the trains could not be considered that they have saved their lives. Because of smash, there could be some deaths. Dead immigrants were being thrown to outside while the train was moving.²²⁶ This situation which stings the concience of human beings was the reflection of necessity. Because the body of dead immigrants were dangering the live of other immigrants. Another reason was that those bodies were extra weight on the train.²²⁷

The train campaigns were delayin because of both the density and accidents. For example in 1 February 1878 according to Colonel Blunt's report, 20.000 immigrants gathered at Çorlu station. Again in the same report an accident in which 23 people died was related. After this accident during three days train campaigns had been delayed. Uneasy immigrants from this accident began to come to İstanbul by highways.²²⁸ All immigrants were going to İstanbul because of mortal fear. This was the biggest migration wave which İstanbul has ever seen. In the announcement by assitance committee it was declared that İstanbul has received 80.000 immigrants in the last 10 days. In the announcement also the request for

²²⁶ *Ibid*,I, pp. 288-289.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 290.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 322.

theimmigrants were related. Because the immigrants were hungry and they have not had anything to eat.²²⁹ In another report dated 4 March 1878 200.000 immigrants came to İstanbul and the city confronted with the danger of famine.²³⁰ Gathering of immigrants in İstanbul was causing both the famine and the shrinking of the peace.²³¹

2.4 The Settlement Period of the Refugees to the City

There was not place in İstanbul which was not seperated to settle the immigrants who came during after 1877-78 War. Because of this immigrants were settled to places as near as possible to the city, because they came to İstanbul in groups, state settled them collectively. But this kind treatment caused other problems. The body of people was dense people were resulting in painful consequences. Immigrants who came to İstanbul were settled in mosques, mesits, dervish lodges, madrasahs, svhools, Darüşşafaka, Simkeşhane, palaces, public houses, and public bathrooms etc. These settlemets would cause the mergence of another kind of problems. Those who could not pray because of the crowd in mosques contested to state. They claimed both that mosques were crowded and dirty the settlement of immigrants in schools and madrasahs interrupted the education. For example when highschoools and elementary schools were assigned to immigrants the studets were stranded. They were sent to Dolmabahçe Mosque's facilities to continue to their education.²³² But in those kinds of situations, the solution was not always possible. Sometimes for immigrants those schools were depleted. For example the elementary school in Vefa²³³ was used to settle the

²²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 303.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 358.

²³¹ *Ibid*, p. 157.

²³² BOA, MF.MKT, 53-101,17/S/1295

²³³ BOA, MF, MKT, 63-80, 18/B/1296

immigrants but they were sent to other places because they interrupted the education.²³⁴ Because of the lack of places boys and girls continued to their education in some schools. This situation was accepted by tolerance.²³⁵

The reason of hardship for prayers in mosques was the high death rate among immigrants. Also the cleaning of mosques were not made properly and this hardened the prayer. The bodies of dead people were another reason for the discontinuity of prayer properly. Because, these bodies were the source of epidemic disease. Mosques were not examined whether they were suitable or not for settling the immigrants.²³⁶ Because of immigrants most of the mosques turned into center of sick peoples. Most of the diseases were stemming from the lack of hygiene and infrastructure. For example, the mosques in Kumkapı Muhsine Hatun district were contaminated by immigrants. Mosques in this district were discharged and the building of infrastructure was started.²³⁷ Because of the emergence of diseases from the lack of hygiene caused to the cautions. Disposing of rubbish was forbidden. Those who disposed of rubbish were punished.²³⁸ The number of immigrant's were changing every day.²³⁹

The arrival and settlement of immigrants in İstanbul changed the structure of and appearance of the city. When the population increased, immigrants were settled in unoccupied areas. By this way there emerged new settlement areas. Out of Suriçi and central İstanbul all areas were occupied by immigrants. Especially Çatalca, Üsküdar and Boğaziçi were concentrated to immigrants. When a place was determined to settle the immigrants, the building of homes was started. For example

²³⁴ BOA, MF, MKT, 63-134, 3/Ş/1296

²³⁵ BOA, MF, MKT, 65-44, 27/B/1297

²³⁶ BOA, DH, MKT, 1322-13, 17/L/1294

²³⁷ BAO, DH, MKT, 1338-5, 9/Z/1298

²³⁸ BOA, DH, MKT, 1327-59, 24/Ş/1296

the empty areas in Bakırköy, Çobançeşme was given to immigrants and the building of school and mosque was started. There was an agreement to the name of place as Osmaniye.²⁴⁰ At the same manner the area Uzuncaova in Küçükçekmece was assigned for the settlement of immigrants and the process was started.²⁴¹ State could not settle them into every empty area easily. Because, some people did not want to use of those fertile lands for settlement. For example an empty area in Beykoz was consecrated for the settlement of immigrants but this was constested with the excuse of that this area was the graveyard for Greeks and Armenians. When the fallacy of this claim was understood after an investigation, the area was open to settlement.²⁴² On the other hand distribution of the land between immigrants was another problem. When the distribution of Ali Bey's farm was delayed the settlement of immigrants wss delayed.²⁴³ Muslim immigrants who came to İstanbul were sent to settlement areas under one name. As a new settlement the farms of Sultan were the most appropriate places. Therefore immigrants from Bosnia were settled in those farmsin Küçükçekmece, Beykoz and Üsküdar.²⁴⁴

The state was settling the immigrants first in its places. Also wealthy persons of İstanbul were giving their properties and lands to the immigrants. They did not take any noney as rent from the immigrants. But sometimes improper behaviours of immigrants and their existence without giving rent for a long time could produce problems.²⁴⁵ These situations was worsened by the wrong decision of judges.²⁴⁶ Hüseyin Raci Efendi had noted the faulty of immigrants in following: They did not

²³⁹ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 59.

²⁴⁰ BOA, DH.MKT, 1485-1, 29/CA/1305

²⁴¹ BOA, DH.MKT, 1518-14, 21/L/1305

²⁴² BOA, DH.MKT, 1776-92, 16/RA/1308

²⁴³ BOA, Y.MTV, 4-45,11/Ş/1297

²⁴⁴ BOA, Y.PRK.MŞ, 1-21, 6/RA/1297

²⁴⁵ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 65.

²⁴⁶ BOA, Y.PRK. SGE, 1-102, 29/CA/1300

use the homes given to them properly. They have broken the Windows. They kindled fire inside the rooms. They have cleaned their linen in the sofas. Some thieves in İstanbul benefited from this chaotic situation. They have stolen the property of immigrants.²⁴⁷ For example Hacı Osman from Tırnova was pillaged when he came to İstanbul. His silver moneys were kept by police. After his petition an investigation was started to find his property.²⁴⁸

Immigrants who were wealthy were trying to make their homes by private enterprise. For example Meryem Hanım from Bulgaria wanted a cabin for herself next to Taşkışla school but because that there was not enough money in migration committee, the building expenses were afforded by state.²⁴⁹ Immigrants could not settle in wherever they wanted. In the process of transportation and settlement there was an order. The destructions of forests by immigrants were strictly banned strictly, because the immigrants settled around forests were cutting the woods. This was threatening the order of environment and the wood stocks of İstanbul. To prevent the settlement of immigrants around the forests, state gave the order to the police forces.²⁵⁰ On the other hand the exile of immigrants from Karacbey/Çatalca because of their destruction to forests was not executed. Because this would not be appropriate. Instead of exile, legal prosecution was started about them.²⁵¹

State was trying to keep order while it was involved with the settling the immigrants in appropriate places. The existence of population around 80.000, the army and immigrants around 150.000-200.000 were effecting the order in city.²⁵² When the empty places were not enough, the state was sending immigrants to

²⁴⁷ Hüseyin Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe-i Vak'a*, p. 273, beyit 267-272-273.

²⁴⁸ BOA, ZB, 11-39, 24/MA/1295

²⁴⁹ BOA, DH.MKT, 1444-81, 18/Z/1304

²⁵⁰ BOA, DH.MKT, 1493-35, 25/C/1305, M. Tevfik Pehlivanoğlu, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra orman Yıkımı ve Çevre Tahribi", *TCTA*, vol. 6, pp. 1574-1582.

²⁵¹ BOA, DH.MKT, 1782-4, 4/R/1308;BOA, DH.MKT, 1532-20, /2/1305

adjacent areas. For example because of density of the population of immigrants in İstanbul, some of them were being transported to İzmir, Biga, Mersin, İskenderun, and Beirut by ships.²⁵³ In the transportation and settlement of immigrants the state had confronted with big problems. The delay of a solution which stems from the people, the order in the city collapsed. Especially the delay in assistance was very effective in the existence of disorder. For example some immigrants attempted to plunder a bakery shop in Çemberlitaş but event was suppressed immediately.²⁵⁴

The state was considering both the wellbeing of people in İstanbul and immigrants. No doubt the most affected part of the population were children and womens. Most of the parents lost their children. A lot of orphan children have filled the İstanbul's streets. State gathered all of them and tried to continue to their education. For example the orphans in Gülhane were sent to other schools like Tophane, Bahriye, and Sanayi mektebs according to their abilities.²⁵⁵ From time to time special programmes and schools were designed for them.²⁵⁶ There was a necessity of special budget for those schools. For this, Saffet Paşa has presented a request for it to the sultan. In this request it was pointed out that for a continuously education of those orphans, a special budget must be assigned.²⁵⁷

2.5 Population Migrants in İstanbul (1877-1890)

It is not possible to say exactly how many immigrants have migrated. Also the exact number of immigrants in İstanbul can not be known. Eventhough the numbers were taken from the documents of embassies and from the report of

²⁵² İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 106.

²⁵³ BOA, A} MKT.MHM, 483-43, 128/ZA/1295

²⁵⁴ BOA, Y.PRK. ŞH, 1-30, 29/RA/1297

²⁵⁵ BOA, DH.MKT, 1351-73, 18/N/1303

²⁵⁶ BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ, 3-38, 29/Z/1296

officers the numbers are subject to the discussion. Because to account the number of immigrants was impossible in chaotic situation. Also Russian expansion in the Balkans caused panic in İstanbul. The local people and immigrants were horrified. Because of this all of them sold their homes in European side of İstanbul and went to Anatolian side especially to Çamlıca and Üsküdar.²⁵⁸ Another reason of uncertainty for the number of immigrants was that they were being sent to other places immediately. For this reason the number of immigrants were in constant change.²⁵⁹

Now with the sources and researches we have, we will try to show the number of immigrants in İstanbul. The first immigrant group came to İstanbul in 15 July 1877. This was consisted of 500 people.²⁶⁰ Due to expansion of Russia in the Balkans the number of migrated people in İstanbul showed differences. In the report English ambassador Layard wrote to minister of foreign affairs Derby, it was narrated that Russians passed the Balkans and they were approaching to İstanbul. This document was dated as 16 July 1877. It has not had any information about the number of immigrants. The fear of people in Yeni and Eski Zağra both Muslims and non-Muslims was related.²⁶¹ Again in another document, Layard has narrated that Russians have begun to exterminate Turks in the Balkans, because of this some immigrants have come to İstanbul. It was explained that after this date some immigrants in İstanbul caused some problems. Due to the increase in immigrant population, local people in İstanbul were alarmed. For alleviating the panic, the state had had to release an announcement. According to this announcement every

²⁵⁷ BOA, Y.EE, 44-138, 10/R/1298

²⁵⁸ Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe*, p. 255, beyit 117.

²⁵⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4-71, 27/ZA/1302; Y.PRK.KOM, 4-77, 28/RA/1303; Y.PRK.KOM, 4-78, 22/R/1303; Y.PRK.KOM, 4-86, 2/ZA/1303

²⁶⁰ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, I. p. 140.; İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 56.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 142.

caution was taken for the defense of İstanbul and their security under the responsibility of state and the existence of peace negotiations were announced.²⁶² In another document dated 1 August 1877 it was pointed that Bulgarians and Kazaks were operating in accordance to kill the Turks. According to document the fear and anxiety in İstanbul was the result of immigrant's narrations about what they saw in their previous lands.²⁶³ In the report dated 3 August 1877 it was told that a lot of immigrants came to İstanbul to escape from the atrocities in the Balkans.²⁶⁴

In the report of the district governor of Eski Zağra, 100-150 Turks were being killed per day due to fast armament of Bulgarians. In the report dated 25 August 1877 it was reported that 13.000 immigrants were coming to Edirne and İstanbul.²⁶⁵ The flow of immigrant from Rumelia to İstanbul was connected with the situation of the Ottoman troops. The retreatment of the Ottoman troops have endangered the Turk villages in Rumelia. According to Layard's report dated 11 January 1878 due to the occupation of Rumelia the people of Burgaz, Ahyolu and Missivri began to migrate to İstanbul. For these immigrants 3 ships were sent.²⁶⁶ The condition of immigrants was discussed in the assembly. It was urgent to take caution because the increase in the number of immigrants would cause the problems in İstanbul. It was discussed the way of assistance to thousands of immigrants and deputies were raising money among themselves. Sultan declared that he would care about the problem of immigrants closely. He took the responsibility of assistance committee and he assigned the president of assembly as his representative.²⁶⁷ In the gathering dated 18 January 1878 the condition of Rumelian immigrants was

²⁶² İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 56.

²⁶³ Şimşir, *Rumeli'den*, pp. 170-171.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 175-179.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 221; Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe*, p. 183-202.

²⁶⁶ Şimşir, I, p. 266.

discussed in detail. According to Layard's report İstanbul was receiving 8.000-10.000 immigrants per day.²⁶⁸

Coming of the winter has accelerated the speed of migrations and death rate of immigrants. Immigrants who have not got suitable clothes for winter had another problem. They could not be given enough foods. Because of this mass death were occurred. According to Layard's report dated 19 January 1878 nearly 100.000 immigrants lost their lives due to hunger.²⁶⁹ It was announced in 24 January 1878 to the world that the Ottoman State could not give enough assistance to immigrants.²⁷⁰ According to Nedim İpek the number of immigrants in İstanbul was 150.000.²⁷¹

At the telegram written in 4 February 1878 by Petersburg ambassador Loftus, the Russian troops confronted with an immigrant group whose number was 180.000. When the troops approached to İstanbul the number was around 200.000. When the railway and highways routes were followed, immigrants could be seen. Because of this the trains whose destination is İstanbul were waiting. Especially immigrants who gathered at Çorlu station were endangering both their lives and also the population of İstanbul.²⁷² Between 12-24 January 31 train campaigns were ordered and 54.660 immigrants were transported. The number of immigrants increased by those who came by highways. In 6 February 1878 Layard pointed out that 150.000 immigrants were in İstanbul. Only in Ayasofya mosque 4000 immigrants were settled. In the same report it was pointed out that because of the delay in train campaigns there were huge groups of immigrants. These delays were causing the death of Muslims. Especially women and childrens were affected

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 270-276.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 273.

²⁶⁹ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 57.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid* p. 280.

²⁷¹ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 58.

²⁷² Şimşir, *Göçler*, I, p. 321.

badly.²⁷³ The British ambassador in İstanbul Fawcet wrote in his report that the numbers of immigrants were around 150.000 and majority of them settled around Üsküdar and Bosphorus. At the same report nearly 40.000 immigrants have received assistance but this assistance was not enough. On the other hand state was struggling with epidemic diseases. Another reason for immediately settlement of immigrants was the increase in the epidemic diseases, because the same situation was valid for Edirne, Gelibolu, Selanik, Bursa, Gemlik, and Mudanya.²⁷⁴

According to report written by French ambassador Fournier in 4 March 1878 200.000 immigrants entered to İstanbul. Eventhough İstanbul is the capital city the hunger was felt very heavily. The delay about the settlement process was increasing the population of city.²⁷⁵ Among the reason of this delay was the interruptions in the transportation due to those foreign companies not have received yet their money yet from the state. So they had ended the transportation. Another reason was the dissatisfaction of immigrants regarding their settlement areas. For example the transportation of 3000 immigrants to Cyprus was discussed, but this caused the dissatisfaction of Greeks in Cyprus, and they protested this. Especially Larnaka and Lefkoşe's Greeks have showed serious reactions.²⁷⁶ Despite to these reactions immigrants were settled in Cyprus. There were even some rumors that immigrants were barbarians.²⁷⁷ 2.500 out of them get off the ships under the observation of local people.²⁷⁸ As mentioned these factors delayed the transportations of immigrants. Another reason for gathering immigrants in İstanbul was their hopes about returning to their homes. Despite these hopes, chances of returning were

²⁷³ Şimşir, I, pp. 331-332.; İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 57.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 353-354; İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 57.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 258

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 365-366-367.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 367.

diminishin by the continuity of Russians in the Balkans. For this reason, the number of immigrants in Rumelian towns were increasing. According to Layard's report dated 15 March 1878 220.000 immigrants gathered in Şumnu.²⁷⁹ Before that ambassadorin Varna Reade reported that 200.000 immigrants gathered in Varna.²⁸⁰

In the report of Fournier it was pointed that nearly 900 people were losing their lives per day. According to Dr. Dickson's report written to Layard nearly 300-500 immigrants were dying per day. The reason of this high death rate was the density of immigrants.²⁸¹ Despite this 60.000 in İstanbul, in Anatoliaan side 30.000 and in European side of city 19.000 peoples were waiting.²⁸² According to report written by Layard in 16 April 1878 nearly 25-30 peoples in Ayasofya Mosque were dying per day. In the report it was pointed that it was interesting though the high death rate and dense population structure, the order was under the control. According to Layard's report approximately 80.000 immigrants were living in the Old City.²⁸³ For him when the other immigrants would join to the İstanbul's immigrants, the number would raise to 150.000. In Nedim İpek's research in 4 March 1878 200.000, in 30 March 1878 180.000, in 4 April 1878 160.000, in 13 April 1878, in 26 April 1878 160.000 immigrants were in İstanbul.²⁸⁴ The existence of nearly 150.000 -160.000 immigrants in İstanbul endangered not only the public health but also the trade. The fact that the immigrants were not sent to Rumelia again and the difficulty of sending immigrants to other places affected the costume fees. Consulates offered 2 point increase in the costume fees.²⁸⁵ According to

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 369.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 355.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.

²⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 406-407.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

²⁸⁴ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 57.

²⁸⁵ Şimşir, I. p. 422.

Layard's report dated 28 April 1878, despite 60.000 immigrant's settlement out of İstanbul, the death of 18.000 immigrants, still 160.000 Rumelian immigrants were in İstanbul.²⁸⁶

Dr. Dickson reported to Layard that the health condition of Rumelian immigrants did not recover. The existence of diseases such as typhoid fever, typhus, pneumonia could be increase of death rate among immigrants. In this report it was related that the immigrants in Fındıklı, Tophane, Firuzağa, Kasımpaşa, were in trouble because of both bad weather and inadequate assistance. According to report in Anatolian side nearly 20 people were dying per day. In Fenerbahçe 135 people were dying per week.²⁸⁷ In another report of Dickson he said that in İstanbul 400 people were dying per day. Eventhough there were 27.000 people in Anatolian side, nearly 21 people were dying per day.²⁸⁸ According to the report dated 15 March 1878, 220.000 immigrants were in Şumnu. Varna ambassador Reade wrote this number as 300.000 immigrants. Eventhough some of them were sent to İstanbul and Rumelia, the number was still around 200.000 in Şumnu.²⁸⁹ 10.000-15.000 out of them were dying and this was related in the report.²⁹⁰ In another report written by Dickson in 31 July 1878 to Layard, the death rate in European side of İstanbul was 85 people per day. In those dates the transportation of immigrants out of İstanbul gained speed. The most important reason of this was Ali Suavi incident which will be explained in the following chapter. After this event 178.000 immigrants in İstanbul were sent to other places.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 423-425.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*. pp. 455-456.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 498.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 509-510.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 511.

²⁹¹ Karpát, *Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, p. 345.

In the report written by British ambassador Charles Hansen to Layard in 13 November 1878 it was reported that the number of immigrants in İstanbul had decreased to 70.000 in the last two months. But this number arose to 120.000 by the coming of immigrants from Varna and Batum. According to the some reports the last group did not receive enough assistance.²⁹² In the report it was explained that in Sultan Bayezid 32.000, in Sultan Ahmet 9.222, in Şehzadebaşı 13.178, in Akınoğlu and AliPaşa 18.591, in Eyüp 5.971, in Hasköy 2.571, in Yeniköy 1.335, in Büyükdere 1.063, in Anadoluhisarı 3.252 immigrant were settled.²⁹³ From the time the first immigrant group came until 10 September 1879 387.804 immigrants have come to İstanbul. Between January and November 1878 there were 117.000 immigrants were in İstanbul.²⁹⁴ Between October 1879 and September 1880 18.300 immigrants were sent to İstanbul from Varna. After this date there was a considerable decline in the number of immigrants. Despite this fact, in İstanbul there were stil 30.000 immigrants. The number of immigrants declined by 2-3000 per year between 1880-1890. But this decline became more apparent in 1885s. When the attitude of the Balkan states changed, the migration increased. As a matter of fact between March 1886 and February 1887 13.365 immigrants came to İstanbul. According to Bulgarian archives between 1893 and 1902 70.603 people migrated to Turkey.²⁹⁵ Between November 1877 and December 1891 495.339 immigrants were transported from İstanbul to Anatolia. Between November 1877 and February 1879 278.389 people were transported from İstanbul to Anatolia. Between 1876 and 1890 total 768.339 immigrants had come to Turkey.²⁹⁶ When it

²⁹² Şimşir, I, pp. 695-696.

²⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 696.

²⁹⁴ İpek, *Rumeli'den*, p. 58.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-153.

²⁹⁶ Shaw and Shaw, *II*. p. 153.

was considered that the population of İstanbul in 1877 was 700.000, the increase in the population can be seen clearly. According to annual record of state in 1877 İstanbul and its 5 district have had total 719.317 people. In the census of 1893 the population of İstanbul was 873.565, in 1907 792.227 and in 1914 909.978.²⁹⁷ The density of immigrants in the population caused the enmity against them. The scarcity of homes was used by property owners. They had wanted too high rental costs.²⁹⁸

The beggars who wanted to benefit from the chaotic state of İstanbul began to wear the clothes of Rumelian immigrants. On the other hand some opportunist peoples wanted to use the rights which the state gave to immigrants under the identity of immigrants and started to trade without license.²⁹⁹ Between 1877-1890 because of this increase in population the need for water of İstanbul could not be supplied very well. Because of this the inhabitants of Bergos were warned because this was preventing the spring water's coming to Kağıthane brook.³⁰⁰ The aqueducts were repaired.³⁰¹ The usage of water for agricultural purposes was banned.³⁰² While those kind difficulties were being experienced some people were trying to prevent immigrants take water from fountains.³⁰³ The settlement of immigrants in mosques caused an enmity among members of daily prayer in mosques towards immigrants. For example because of congestion in the mosque of Nuruosmaniye 150 immigrants were wounded heavily. The doctor who went to treat the immigrants returned back

²⁹⁷ Nuri Akbayar, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Osmanlı Devleti Nüfusu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yayınları, vol. 5, pp. 1241-1243.

²⁹⁸ Tark Özçelik, *Basiret Gazetesine göre 93 Harbi'nde İstanbul'da Rumeli Göçmenleri (1877-1878)*, danş. Cevdet Küçük, Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul: 1993, s.9, (Unpublished MA)

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

³⁰⁰ BOA, DH.MKT, 1442-90, 6/Z/1304

³⁰¹ BOA, DH.MKT, 1442-82, 5/Z/1304

³⁰² BOA, DH.MKT, 1443-80, 9/Z/1304

³⁰³ Tark Özçelik, *Basiret*, p. 19.

without even seeing them. On the other hand a person named İlyas Efendi was making speeches in mosques against immigrants. Even it was witnessed sometimes he attempted to beat the immigrants and this situation was reported to authorities.³⁰⁴ Immigrants have experienced a lot of difficulties in İstanbul where there was under heavy influx of migration.³⁰⁵

The answer to the question of how many immigrants came to the İstanbul and when tis was occured are ver complicated. The most important reason of this was that even before the migartion wave the population of İstanbul was not known exactly. Also disoreder in the recording doubled this difficulty. The record which was documented by migration agency was in disoredr. Despite these difficulties some information about the population could be gathered from archieves.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 20.

3. EFFECTS OF MIGRATIONS ON THE CITY

3.1 Demographic Effects

In determining the population of İstanbul the settlement of immigrants from the Balkans holds an important place. Istanbul has experienced a huge transformation in both institutional manner and population potential. Institutional transformation determined the style of administration. The rapid increase of population and diversifying in population forced the state to make arrangement in itself. On the contrary of its Islamic city profile in classical age's İstanbul was turned to a trade center. But in 19th century the trade began to be made by banks and capital owners. For doing this, there was not a lot of obligations. Entrepreneurial spirit, capital, monitoring the development of world politics and taking local support were the most important qualities of making trade.³⁰⁶ In classical Islamic city trade was being made by bazaar, bedesten, seaports.³⁰⁷

The Ottoman Empire was giving importance to population and population structure. For this reason the settlement of a specific area by migration was named as “şenlendirme”.³⁰⁸ In the eyes of the Ottoman statesman the well-being of state depends on the wealth of citizens. Even in 1492 when Muslim and Jewish immigrants came to the Ottoman Empire. Beyazıt II showed his surprise with the words that: “Do you think that Ferdinand is a smart person because of he is decreasing the number of his state and increasing the population of my state?”³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 20.

³⁰⁶ Edhem Eldem, *Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi*, trans. Ayşe Berktaş, Osmanlı Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul: 1999, pp. 11-15.

³⁰⁷ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul: An Islamic City, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, no: 1, 1990, s. 1-23; look for Turkish, Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul: Bir islam şehri”, trans. İbrahim Kalın, *İktisat ve Din*, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 1997, pp. 243-268.

³⁰⁸ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “Kolonizasyon ve Şenlendirme”, *Osmanlı*, vol. 4, ed. Güler Eren, YTY, Ankara: 1999, pp. 581-586.

³⁰⁹ Ahmet Akgündüz, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dış Göçler 1783-1922”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 80, Bahar 1999, p. 145, dipnot 1

When İstanbul was conquered by Mehmed II the city was exhausted by occupations and plunders, its population was declined and in a bad condition from every respect. Among the work which Mehmed II has done was to construct the city from the beginning. For the revival of city and taking the shape which Fatih has dreamed for the city, immigrants were transported to the city. These immigrants were not consisted of only Muslim. The families from Jews and Christian which could be useful for the city was settled in İstanbul. The city population which was around 40.000-50.000 soon after the conquest have begun to increase rapidly. The population of İstanbul in 1477 was estimated between 145.000 and 150.000. According to the method of estimation, the numbers show differences. The population of İstanbul was 60-70.000 according to one estimation, but for another this number was 97.956.³¹⁰ According to the numbers Yusuf Halaçoğlu gives the population of İstanbul in 1477 was 185.000.³¹¹ In this process Muslim settled in different areas and started to give an Islamic appearance to the city. On the other hand they reflected in the building structure the special feature of where they came from. The required population was being brought by state. Because the construction of the city could be possible by only social Dynamics and population.

Fatih had charged Subaşı Süleyman Bey with the duty of arranging the settlement. Süleyman bey transported inhabitants of Galata and Silivri to the city center. He transported rich, poor, and craftsman from Bursa to İstanbul. That from Bursa was settled in Eyüp. Especially for the reconstruction of city plenty of craftsmen were needed. When this request was not answered willingly, state forced every city to supply İstanbul by sending 100 craftsman and rich people to İstanbul.

³¹⁰ Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin nüfusu: 1500-1927*, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, vol. 1, Ankara: 1996, p. 69.

³¹¹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XIV- XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılar'da Devlet Teşkilatı ve Sosyal Yapı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara: 2007, p. 104.

In this manner not only Muslims but also Greeks, Armenians, Jews were settled in İstanbul. They were placed in the city according to a plan. For example Greeks were settled in Haliç and Fener. Turks were settled in Üsküdar and Bosphorus. The population of city center and reconstruction began to center around the mosques and their complex which was donated by paşas. Fatih district around Fatih Külliyesi, Muratpaşa district around Muratpaşa Külliyesi, Kocamustafapaşa district around Kocamustafapaşa Külliyesi were the best example of this formation.³¹²

The biggest ambition of Fatih was to make İstanbul a cosmopolitan state center. Because of this he brought different ethnic components to İstanbul. This policy of increasing the population had continued until his sultanate. From every newly conquered area immigrants were transported to İstanbul. Greeks from Foça, Argos, Amasra, Trabzon, Mora, Taşoz, Samatra, Midilli, Agriboz and Kefe, Jews from Italy and Germany were invited to settle in İstanbul. The period of Fatih had gone with the efforts of the biggest population settlement. Muslim and Turks from Konya, Aksaray, Larende, and Ereğli and also prisoners of war were brought to İstanbul. For the revival of city by these immigrants he had ordered the construction of Büyük Bedesten which was the core of Kapalıçarşı.³¹³ This systematically increase in population under the strict state control gave a new spirit and activity to city. The biggest contribution was given by waqfs which have an important place in Islamic sentiment. As a result of public spirit the city has gained the desired power by waqfs.

İstanbul had continued to receive population after the sultanate of Mehmed II. According to Ömer Lütfü Barkan's estimation the population of İstanbul was

³¹² Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul: 1996, pp. 187-190; Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol.4, 2nd edition, Leiden- Brill, pp. 229-239.

³¹³ Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul: Haziran 2009, p. 125.

around 400-500.000. Braudel's estimation was 700.000.³¹⁴ The reason of this difference stems from that both historians have examined the different part of 16th century. While Barkan was trying to estimate the population in the first quarter of the century, Braudel estimated the population in fourth quarter of the century.³¹⁵ İstanbul witnessed a rapid increase in population. One century after Mehmed II, İstanbul became a city like Fatih wanted to see. Even after the big earthquakes the city could stand by the help of its population and public spirit and repaired its wounds. The most important parameter for each sultan was to prevent the shortage of food stuffs. For this reason from time to time the caution was taken. In this manner.

Towards the end of Lawgiver's period, the increase in population had caused serious problems. Those immigrants who were in the hope that they would find good opportunities for earning money and exemption from tax. Tradesman and wealthy persons were coming from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Halep, Şam , Kahire, and İran to İstanbul. But the persons who came from Eastern Anatolia and central Anatolia , Albania, Bulgaria were common people and workers. They were working as porter, gardener, water carrier, boatman, rubber etc.³¹⁶ Because of both unemployment and dense population in the time of Kanuni İstanbul suffered shortage of bread. Even for not to attract more people the constructions of fountains

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 128.

³¹⁵ Behar, *Osmanlı İmp. Ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu*, p. 69.

³¹⁶ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul", *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 23, p. 234.

were stopped.³¹⁷ The Celali rebellions between 1590 and 1610 caused also the escape of peoples and their arrival to İstanbul.³¹⁸

The population which was necessary in the 16th century grew up too much in the 17th century and especially in the 18th century. This time population became the source of disorder not wealth of the state. Among the serious problems in İstanbul, the shortage of food stuffs, inadequate water sources and robbery were the most prominent. Especially robbery, grab, murder became the most confronted crimes. The governors of the city were considering the bachelors as the source of disorder. For this reason one in each 5-10 years those bachelors were apprehended and exiled from the city. For example due to the shortage of food in 1829 4.000 bachelor were arrested and exiled. Among the measure to show guarantor for enetering to the city was used. Officers made this exercise as an arrangement and the imams were assigned to momitor their districts. On the other hand the constructions of new buildings for bachelors was banned.³¹⁹

The epidemic diseases sometimes had been a big trouble for the high death rate and loss of population. Another important factor for the decline of population were fires, Black Death, cholera, smallpox. For example in 1466 because of Black Death 600 people were dying per day. A lot of people had escaped from the city.³²⁰ The epidemic disease in 1470 was so effective that the trade came to a point of stop. In 17th century and especially years of 1625, 1637, 1648, 1653, and 1673 big losses were expieenced. In 1648 1000, in 1792 3000 people were dying from the Black

³¹⁷ Mustafa Selaniki Efendi, *Tarih- i Selaniki (972-1003/ 1563-1595)*, vol. 1, Haz. Mehmet İpşirli, TTK, Ankara:1999, p. 4.; Mehmet Demirtaş, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul’a Göçü Önlemek İçin Alınan Tedbirler ve Görülen Aksamalar”, *Ekev Akademi Dergisi*, Yıl: 11, No: 33, (Güz 2007), p. 201.

³¹⁸ Mustafa Akdağ, “Celali İsyanlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk 1603-1606”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 2, No: 2, yıl:1964, pp. 1-49.

³¹⁹ İnalçık, “İstanbul”, *DİA*, vol. 23, p. 234.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 234-236.

Death per day. The mass deaths occurred especially in 1812 and 1837. According to estimation in 1812 150-300.000 people lost their lives. In 1837 25.000 died because of epidemics. Despite those factors the population of İstanbul increased in the 18th and 19th century.

The population of İstanbul increased during 18th century without stopping. The cautions for preventing this increase did not work. The reason of this situation was that jobless persons were under the protections of their acquaintances. In this situation the determination of real criminals were not possible.³²¹ On the other hand there was some peopling who entered İstanbul by illegal ways. Although sometimes those illegal entered persons were apprehended the migration of families could not be prevented.³²² All of the migrations in 18th century was not because of economic reasons. Especially migration in the period of Selim III was a real problem for the Ottoman capital city.³²³ The existence of optimistic expectations of people because of political reasons was causing their migration to İstanbul. Especially the increase in the taxes in Anatolia and the case of exemption from taxes were making İstanbul a good option to migrate.³²⁴

Ahmed III banned even the migration to adjacent places of İstanbul when he saw that he could not prevent migration to İstanbul. In one edict dated November 1724, the immigrants in Edirne, Hafsa, Babaeski, Burgaz, Karışdırın, Çorlu, Silivri

³²¹ Demirtaş, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul’a Göçü Önlemek için...”, p. 203.

³²² *Ibid*, p. 205.

³²³ Betül Başaran, *Remaking The Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control and Migration in İstanbul at the end of the 18 th century 1789-1793*, The University of Chicago: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, (Unpublished PH.D), December: 2006, pp. 17-71; Yücel Özkaya, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 18. Yüzyılda Göç Sorunu”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.: 14 No: 25 Yayın Tarihi: 1981, pp.171-203. <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/18/833/10539.pdf>

³²⁴ Münir Aktepe, “18. Asrın ilk yarısında İstanbul’un Nüfus Meselesine dair vesikalar”, *Tarih Dergisi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Fen- Edebiyat Fakültesi, vol. 9, No: 13, İstanbul:1958, pp. 1-5.

and even in Çekmeceler would be sent away.³²⁵ If there would be someone who insisted on not to migrate after this caution they would be forced to get out by force of Yeniçeris. Despite all efforts of Mahmud I the migration could not be prevented. For this reason the level of caution was increased and suspicious peoples were expelled from the city. Especially Kurds and Albanians were expelled from the city.³²⁶ In the beginning of 1735 the persons who was seen as suspicious in Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Kartal, Bostancı and Pendik was expelled from the city.³²⁷ Despite all these cautions and exiles the migration to İstanbul could not be prevented and increased every year following. The law of right of Access released by state could not prevent the migration in the 18th century and the migration increased in the 19th century. Eventhough state gave much importance to this law the migration to İstanbul did not decline.³²⁸ While the state was trying to prevent migration and on the other hand it was transporting immigrants from Rumelia.³²⁹ Of course this was the result of political situation. Because in 1828-29 Russians went beyond the Danube and occupied Rumelia. In Eastern Anatolia Russians occupied Kars, Ardahan, and Erzurum. The advance Of Russians towards İstanbul became the source of fear in the capital city. Every Muslim between 12-40 ages was obliged to be ready for the possible defence preparations. Their numbers reached to 80.000. On the other hand it was ordered every person who can hold the gun to gather at Davutpaşa. In 1828, 848 immigrants were settled around Galata and in some

³²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 8.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

³²⁷ Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Çıkarılan Men-i Mürur ve Pasaport Nizamnameleri", *Belgeler*, TTK, vol. XV, No: 19, Ankara: 1993, pp. 169-181.

³²⁸ Baron Von Moltke, *The Russians in Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1828-1829*, London: 1854, pp. 246-261.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

districts of city after the peace negotiations. They were allowed to pass via Varna to İstanbul.³³⁰

As mentioned above in the 19th century while the state was trying to prevent the migration, it had had to accept the migrations due to the political necessities. On the other hand the requirement about finding a guarantor was an easy job. The reason of this was the bribery which increased in the 19th century. The owner of public houses was hiding them who have not got any guarantor by bribery. Another reason of this inefficiency was that state officers were not doing their jobs properly. Not only have those who came by highways, but also others who came by sea routes found a way of escaping from the control. The captains of steamship were taking immigrants who have not got license to their ships. Not only the offices in İstanbul but also other officers in provinces were not doing their jobs properly. Although they should keep the person to give tax, those people can change their places easily.³³¹

Peoples who can not take a license by legal ways were trying to have licences by counterfeiting way. Because of this in 19th century , the possibility of finding counterfeiting case is very easy.³³² In the Tanzimat period migrations occurred from every corner of empire to İstanbul. Because of the same reasons migrations from Eğin district took place. But according to Zeki Arıkan this migration must not be classified like other migrations. Migrations from Eğin and Eastern Anatolia were mad efor having a good life in İstanbul.³³³ Especially in the

³³⁰ Ufuk Gülsoy, “1828 yılında İstanbul’a getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No: VII, Yıl: 1992, p. 248.

³³¹ Mehmet Demirtaş, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul’a Göçü Önlemek İçin Alınan Tedbirler: Men-i Mürur Uygulaması ve Karşılaşılan Güçlükler”, *Belleten*, TTK, vol. LXXIII, No: 268, Ankara: 2009, pp. 739-754.

³³² Zeki Arıkan, “Tanzimat Döneminde Egin ve Çevresinden İstanbul’a yönelik Göçler”, *Tanzimat’ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara: 31 Ekim 3 Kasım 1989, p. 470, dipnot: 14

³³³ *Ibid*, pp. 471-472.

19th century by suggestions of sultans a lot of immigrants came to the Ottoman Empire and especially to İstanbul. Even in 1856 advertisements were published in European newspapers to encourage the migration to the Ottoman soils.³³⁴

In 19th century because of migration, an evolution occurred in the ethnic and religious structure of İstanbul. Although there were non-Muslims among immigrants, majority consisted of Muslims from Crimea, Caucasia, the Balkans. The instable population structure was worsened by these migration waves and caused a deep change. According to foreigners' observation the non-Muslim population was over %50 of the population. But in 1885 the census had showed that Muslim population increased and reached to %70 of population. This information was given by Kemal Karpat is not clearly this estimation belongs to which district's population.³³⁵ Is European side or Anatolian side? This must be known because the religious structure was different in both sides. For example in 1872 İstanbul has had 400.000 non-Muslim and 285.000 Muslims in European side. In 1874 at Anatolian side, there were 340.500 non-Muslims and 455.500 Muslims. Even it is not known the exact population; it must be known which side was under the investigation. Because a certain area does not reflect the population structure of İstanbul. The reason of this increase which could not come into being by birth rate was the migrations from the Balkans, Caucasia, and Crimea.³³⁶ The population of İstanbul was 723.098 in 1877, 895.000 in 1884, and 1.116.946 in 1897.³³⁷ The immigrants who came to İstanbul between 1876 and 1896 wanted to be settled in İstanbul. Most of these who succeed in this purpose were wealthy people. The population of the

³³⁴ Ufuk Gülsoy, "Osmanlı Topraklarına Avrupa'dan muhacir iskanı: 1856- 1859", *İlmi Araştırmalar*, No: 3, İstanbul:1996, pp. 51-63.

³³⁵ Kemal Karpat, *The Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and social characteristics*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p. 86.; Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul: Şubat 2010, p. 116.

³³⁶ Karpat, *The Ottoman Population*, p. 86.; *Osmanlı Nüfusu*, trans. Tırnakçı, p. 165.

city was 718.317 in 1877. This number reached to 873.565 in 1893. In 1897 birth rate was 2.12. The rate of increase in population was 1.64.³³⁸

3.2 Politic and Economic Impacts

As it can be seen that out of the natural population growth, İstanbul became a city in where the mass of the large was settled and because of this its population increased. So that in 1885 60% of population in the city was born in a place other than İstanbul. The reason for this was Muslim-Turkish migration that began after 1877. However the number of districts of İstanbul in this date was increased from 14 to 20.³³⁹ Newly arrived immigrants were settled in İstanbul; Pera, the northwestern and eastern part of Galata, Kasımpaşa, Hasköy, Eyüp, Haliç, Feriköy, Şişli, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, and their neighborhood. On the other hand, some of the immigrant families moved to more conservative places. These immigrants came and started living in the Old City like Fatih, Karagümrük, Cibali, Aksaray, Yenikapı, Yedikule. This settlement influenced the demographic structure and clustering in İstanbul profoundly. Greek, Armenian, and Jews who live in Pera and Galata drawn from these areas and settled in villages on the Bosphorus. Thus, the dense population of Pera and Galata started to be consisted of mostly Muslim-Turks.³⁴⁰

Considerable majority of Muslim-Turk immigrants later could provide the capital from where they came. In 19th century, the rising commercial activities in Pera and Galata began to be taken over by Turk capital owners. The competition for dominance showed an increase by the gradual withdraw of the non-Muslim population in 1877-1890. Thus immigrants began to control the trade in a particular region of İstanbul. The effect of this situation showed itself during the Second

³³⁷ Karpas, *Population*, p. 103.

³³⁸ Nuri Akbayar, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Osmanlı Devleti nüfusu", *TCTA*, vol. 5, p. 1238.

³³⁹ Karpas, *Osmanlı Nüfusu*, p. 219.

Meşrutiyet Era, especially in the development of national economy. In İstanbul not only the economic changes but also the political effects of the immigrants were felt. The immigrants who came to İstanbul produced a demographic change in the city. They also made themselves felt in the capital city of the empire as a political and economic entity. Soon we will describe as in the case of Ali Suavi, from the earliest times the immigrants embarked on an effort to show themselves.³⁴¹

The Young Turk movement which arose in İstanbul as a stronger opposition to the Sultan showed itself especially in Abdülhamid II period. The Committee of Union and Progress Party which emerged after the Abdülhamid II's management style seemed to be like the Young Turk movement, it is very different in terms of thought and organization.³⁴² Thus Abdülhamid II had to struggle with the opposition which he inherited from his ancestors and the other kind opposition which emerged from the political opposition in his own time. The sultanate was given to Abdülhamid II after the events which was completely beyond his control. After his uncle Abdülaziz dethroned in 30 May 1876, Murad V's short sultanate term, and Abdülaziz's death in a n unknown way had caused major political changes in a short time. When Murad loses his mind, Mithat Pasha set in the scene and the slain of Murad V was decided. On the other hand Mithat Pasha made a consultation with Abdülhamid II, and it was announced that if he accepts the declaration of Kanun-i Esasi, he could have access to the throne. When Abdülhamid II was not sanction for him and the state he accepted the declaration of Kanun-i Esasi. After the process of dethronement, Murad V was kept under observation in

³⁴⁰ Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı'da Değişim, Modernleşme ve Uluslaşma*, trans. Dilek Özdemir, İmge Yayınları, Ankara: 2006, p. 512.

³⁴¹ Shaw and Shaw, *II*, p. 154.

³⁴² M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti", *DİA*, vol. 23, p. 476.; Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük 1889-1902*, İletişim Yayınları,

Çırağan Palace. To heal him, every measure was taken. However Murad V did not answer to the doctors and their consultations on behalf of recovery. Aside from to get better, his health began to worsen with each passing day. Other factors no doubt were the attempt to abduct him and the failure of this attempt. The first attempt took place in November 1876. The two Turks and two foreign people who dressed in women clothes³⁴³ attempted to kidnap Murad V. However they were caught, while they tried to enter the palace. Another attempt took place in 15 April 1877. This kidnapping attempt was conducted by the Cleanti Scalieri-Aziz Bey mason committee. According to the plan, Murad V would be kidnapped, in a mosque he would be accepted his sultanate and his sultanate would be declared. However, upon the notification of a member of them failed this attempt. The third kidnapping attempt was made by Ali Suavi and with the help of 500 immigrants in 20 May 1878. In this attempt Ali Suavi was killed.³⁴⁴ The attempt in which Ali Suavi was killed and 500 immigrants attended was organized in the following way;

Murad's mother Şevkefza Hadın Efendi was thinking about that his son has been dethroned unfairly and the claim of her son's insanity was not true. For this reason, she launched a large opposition around the palace. Abdülhamid II took reports about the health of Murad V from local and foreign doctors to show the invalidity of the gossips. But the news about the illegality of these reports were heard outside the palace and the arrangement to kidnap Murad V was started. Murad V was the subject of three kidnapping attempts, but two of them were suppressed in a bloodless manner. The final attempt which Ali Suavi participated was suppressed

İstanbul, pp. 9-73.; Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2008, pp. 9-81.

³⁴³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "V. Murad ile Oğlu Selahaddin Efendisi Kaçırılmak için Kadın Kıyafetinde Çırağana Girmek İsteyen şahıslar", *Belleten*, TTK, vol. VIII, No: 32, Ankara:1944, pp. 589-597.

³⁴⁴ Cevdet Küçük, "Murad V", *DİA*, vol. 31, p. 185.

bloodily. In the period between 16 December 1878 and his death date 20 May 1878 what he did was unknown.³⁴⁵ Ali Suavi wanted Murad V to be sultan. He believed that if Murad V becomes sultan, the losses of The Russo-Ottoman War could be compensated in a way. He has already made contact with Çırağan Palace, and he began to gather supporters by traveling with his men in the streets of İstanbul. Ali Suavi was almost proclaiming the plans of the revolution in his mind at the Basiret Gazetesi in 19 May 1878. On the other hand, he was traveling the areas in which mosques, mescits, and immigrants are dense, for an awakening among immigrants. Indeed, it was not difficult to find supporters. Because Ali Suavi previously did the tasks in Plovdiv and Sofia and he introduced himself to the immigrants of this region. Other hand, his good education and his ability about making exciting speeches managed to get the support of 500 immigrants. According to instructions, participants of revolution began to gather in front of the mosque of Mecidiyeköy for early morning. The palace guards were defused quickly. Ali Suavi and Nişli Salih entered the room of Murad V which located on the second floor, and Suavi began to come out of Murad V from the palace. Meanwhile, Beşiktaş station guard Hasan Ağa who did not recognize Ali Suavi killed him by hitting Suavi's head with a stick. After murder of Ali Suavi, a clash broke out between the palace guards and Suavi's supporters. 23 people died and 30 people were injured in the conflict. Majority of rebels were the immigrants who came to İstanbul from the Balkans. Because according to Ali Suavi's claims, if Murad V becomes sultan, there can be hope for gaining back the territory of Rumelia. The Balkan immigrants who waiting in a vain in mosques and have made acquaintances with Ali Suavi believed him, and made a raid on the palace. The rebels were questioned by Abdülhamid. Because

³⁴⁵ Cevdet Küçük, "Çırağan Vakası", *DİA*, vol. 8, p. 306.

of this bloody event, Abdülhamid II was very impressed and frightened. Therefore he decided that the presence of mass immigrants in İstanbul would be harmful for him. After this event 178.000 refugees were removed pell-mell from İstanbul. Because the immigrants' dissatisfaction was a threat to sultan, and they were open to provocation.³⁴⁶

Sultan wanted to learn who had organized this event in the state rather than who was involved from the common people in this event with Ali Suavi. The officers who were around him and the others whom the sultan did not trust were exiled from İstanbul. To stop the channel of information about the vent he banned the publication of the newspapers in Turkish. However after a while the people of İstanbul, traders and the Balkan immigrants learned the vent. The most despondent were the Balkan immigrants. They sent letters of apology to sultan to forgive themselves through municipalities.³⁴⁷ They presented the sealed document with the names of Rumelian immigrants in the Ottoman Archives. In one of those documents, 1500 names of Rumelian immigrants has been, they were begging to be accepted by sultan regarding their apology.³⁴⁸

Ali Suavi during six years in Rumeli amade the directorate of tahrirat and became a teacher in high school in Plovdiv. Therefore, he knew very well both the people of region as well as spiritual atmosphere of the Rumelia. He was designing to gain the support of immigrants of Rumelia when he was wandering the İstanbul's streets. Even for increasing the effect of his propaganda he said that a secret organization was established in Rumelia. The refugees who will go to the region would be supported by sultan with financial, emotional sense as well as weapons

³⁴⁶ Küçük, "Çırağan vakası", p. 309; Karpat, *Etnik Yapılanma*, p. 345; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Ali Suavi ve Çırağan Vakası", *Belleten*, TTK, vol. VIII, No: 29, Ankara:1944, pp. 71-118.

³⁴⁷ BOA, YEE, 23-23, 30/CA/1295

against Bulgarians and Russians.³⁴⁹ The presence of Russians who had come to İstanbul caused a fear in both refugees and local peoples. This became an advantage for Ali Suavi. Ali Suavi used immigrants in the case of the progression of each step in the vent of Çırağan Palace. So much so, some people who were not refugees but wore their clothes entered to the palace with them. Infact Murad V asked his son Selahaddin Bey who are those that came. Selahaddin Bey answered that they are immigrants. Dilaver Ağa who was put previously to Çırağan Palace by Abdülhamid II saw that some immigrants were gathering in front of the mosque of Mecidiyeköy, he reported to the nearest officer the situation. The officer sent 6 military guards. But before the arriving of the guards, immigrants already entered the palace and they brought Murad V up to the sofa. When Hasan Paşa learnt that immigrants have accumulated in front of palace and they began to fight, he immediately came to the palace. When Hasan Paşa entered to the palace, Hacı Mahmud Efendi informed him that the palace was stormed by immigrants. When he entered the harem he saw Ali suavi and Murad V. When he approached him, he immediately stroke Ali Suavi with a stick and he killed Suavi in there. After that the immigrants began to flee on the left and right. But those immigrants and invaders who tried to flee was shot by soldiers. As previously mentioned, immigrants from Plovdiv knew Ali Suavi very well. Majority of invaders were from Plovdiv and they admitted their guilt. It can be inferred from the cautions and investigation that the realparticipants of the attack were not the only those immigrants whose number nearly 500 and Ali Suavi. It was said that the British, the soldiers in Taşkışla and even Mithat Paşa were the supporters of the plot. Abdülhamid as a skeptical person deepened the investigation

³⁴⁸ Yukardaki belge; başka bir belge örneği için, Uzunçarşılı, “Ali Suavi ve Çırağan vakası”, levha 33.

³⁴⁹ Uzunçarşılı, “Ali Suavi...”, pp. 74-79.

and had treated it seriously. In the journals that came to the palace was written that the immigrants in İstanbul have the idea of rebellion, they can be provoked easily and this can be a dangerous situation for palace. However this case consisted of only a rumor. One of Rumelian immigrants Hüseyin Raci Efendi said that because of these rumors the name of immigrant was accused of wrongfully. He stated that this rumor is nothing more than a dry whisper.³⁵⁰ After all, this is a rumor or a whisper, Abdülhamid could not leave the event to chance. He took all measures to be taken. Eventhough the breaking of immigrant families, he sent them out of İstanbul immediately.³⁵¹

Ali Suavi was the first person who tried to overthrow Abdülhamid. He did not want to create the model for later attempts, and he exiled, imprisoned everyone who was involved in the event. He turned the punishment of those who were sentenced to death to imprisonment or exile. He later tried to turn the event in his favor. This was a good opportunity to evaluate the government from those who could be opposition to him. Mithat Paşa was at the top of the list because Abdülhamid thought that in his uncle's murder, Mithat Paşa was involved.³⁵² The trial of Mithat Paşa took place in Yıldız Palace at the court that was founded by Abdülhamid. Abdülhamid has assigned his faithful mens and the enemies of Mithat Paşa to the court to avoid any inappropriate decision. Among them there were Ali Sururi who gave journals against Mithat Paşa and Ahmet Cevdet Paşa who did not get along with Mithat Paşa had followed the prosecution of him at the Yıldız Palace.³⁵³ Eventhough the latest dethronement took place before 70 years ago, the rapid manner of dethronement in the case of Abdülaziz and Murad V very worried

³⁵⁰ Hüseyin Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe-i Vak'a-i Zağra*, p. 255, beyit 122,123,124,125.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, beyit; 124-125

³⁵² Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Arkadaş Yayınları, pp. 238-242.

Abdülhamid. In this period political opposition was spreading their ideas through newspapers; Abdülhamid began to eliminate all doubts.³⁵⁴ Because the city's population had increased a lot with the immigrants and they could show different reactions. On the other hand, the unsuccessful attempt to poison Abdülaziz³⁵⁵ and attempts to kidnapping Murad V after his dethronement caused taking harsh measures and even the usage of different ways in order to pacify the opposition politically.³⁵⁶ How the dethronement of Abdülaziz prepared the end of Mithat Paşa, the events after the raid to Çırağan Palace prepared the end of Ali Suavi. However, Ali Suavi' idea of Türkçülük and his political opposition has been inspired by Abdülhamid's opponents.³⁵⁷

These events became a lesson for the immigrants. Because, after 20 May 1878 there was no such an uprising in the towns which they were settled. Abdülhamid did not return back to immigrants. He was closely involved in their settlement and medical expenses. He even he allowed them to be in Dolmabahçe and Çırağan Palace.

Turkish refugees from the Balkans were forced to leave their homeland in which they lived for centuries. Lack of safety of life and the evil behaviours of Bulgarians, Russians, Kazaks and their torture has caused a great sadness in the psychological structure of refugees. One year after the Ali Suavi incident, a news was heard by refugees and this made them excited. The Prince of Bulgaria wanted to come to İstanbul in a such period in which Muslim migrations and deaths continue. But Abdülhamid did not find it proper his coming to İstanbul in such

³⁵³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mithat paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, TTK, Ankara: 1967, pp. 343,358 and 139-148.

³⁵⁴ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "Jön Türk Basını", *TCTA*, vol. 3, pp. 844-856.

³⁵⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Mithat Paşa*, p. 22.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. XII- XVII

period. The Ottoman consulate was instructed to tell this decision to The Bulgarian prince.³⁵⁸ But in Salisbury's telegram which was sent to Layard in 21 May 1879, it was written that this idea is not true. The refusal of Bulgarian prince because of refugees in İstanbul could be bad for the remaining Muslims in Bulgaria.³⁵⁹ Not only Abdülhamid but also Grand vizier saw the arrival of Bulgarian prince to İstanbul as a dangerous thing. Because the reaction of refugees could not be predicted. On the other hand the provocation of 200.000 refugees in the capital city was easy. Abdülhamid did not want Bulgarian prince come to İstanbul because of the bad memories of Ali Suavi incident. However, the fragility of the situation was related to the prince in a courteous manner.³⁶⁰ In the letter sent to Salisbury by Elio, Britain's ambassador to Vienna, this subject was considered differently. According to this letter Abdülhamid's not accepting Bulgarian prince was seen as a weakness.³⁶¹ On the other hand, most of the predictions came true. It was known why Abdülhamid did not accept the prince. The refusal by Abdülhamid was declared to the prince. Bulgarian prince was saddened by this situation. In the letter which Paget sent to Salisbury, it was pointed the possibility of reaction by a large Muslim refugee group was an exaggeration. Despite this, it was not known how Muslim refugees could responded.³⁶²

Not only England but also Austria was saying that Abdülhamid's refusal of the Bulgarian prince was an indication of weakness.³⁶³ According to an article dated 27 June 1879, the Queen of England intervened. She sent a telegram to Abdülhamid.

³⁵⁷ İsmail Doğan, *Tanzimat'ın İki Ucu: Münif paşa ve Ali Suavi*, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul: 1991, pp. 214-240.

³⁵⁸ Şimşir, II, p. 327.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 329.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 333.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.334.

³⁶² *Ibid*, p. 335.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 336-337.

In telegram it was written that a possible refugee uprising in İstanbul was an exaggeration. On the other hand it was recommended to Abdülhamid that his acceptance Bulgarian prince not for days but for 5-10 minutes would be more suitable. Bulgarian prince wanted to see Abdülhamid and to take the throne edict. In the letter sent by Layard to Salisbury in 29 June 1879 was said that the mediation worked and sultan stated his consent about his acceptance of the Bulgarian prince. He was predicting about what they will talk. According to Layard sultan and the Bulgarian prince will talk about the situation of Muslims and refugees within the framework of diplomatic relations.³⁶⁴ Abdülhamid changed his decision and agreed to meet with the Bulgarian prince. The prince was delighted with this news. Thereupon he made a plan about how to reach to İstanbul. His first stop would be Rome, after that Naples and Brindisi, from then he would come to İstanbul.³⁶⁵ In 5 July 1879 Bulgarian prince met with Abdülhamid. The interview was done through embassy members. As mentioned before, the visit was kept short. Therefore Bulgarian prince moved to Varna the same day. But most importantly the refugees in İstanbul did not give a response as it was expected from them.³⁶⁶

As expected the sultan talked with prince about the future of the refugees and their conditions within the framework of diplomatic relations. In the letter sent to Salisbury by Layard was stated that not only the prince and Abdülhamid but also Grand vizier and foreign minister were satisfied. On the meeting, the prince gave his words about that the security of life and property will be provided for Turks, and their return to their places would be conducted safely. According to the same article, the prince of Bulgaria actually had not planned to be throne. However after

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 345.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 346.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 351.

having selected he decided to govern every nation in his territories in equal terms. Most important, the prince wanted the help of Abdülhamid and the Queen of England in his government to show the way of managing the affairs of the state.³⁶⁷ Thus, Abdülhamid was hoping to ensure the life of Turks in Bulgaria by the consultation with Bulgarian prince.

It was not easy to stand on their feet for refugees who came to İstanbul and become economically active. The Ottoman Empire was trying to solve the needs of the refugees in İstanbul itself with the assistance collected with the help from foreign governments. In this economic aid, Britain comes to the forefront. The state and the private assistance were with the Ottoman Empire. For example, Angela Georgina Burdett-Courts was a British woman philanthropist. In 1837, and she inherited a great heritage. However by the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington and Charles Dickens began to use the wealth in charitable purposes. During the 1877-1878 Russo-Ottoman War she established the Turkish Compassionate Fund, and she made large contributions to Rumelian immigrants.³⁶⁸ Reade was the ambassador of Britain in Varna and Rusçuk. He helped the Turkish immigrants of the province of Danube and showed great efforts to protect their rights. Therefore Turkish government thanked him formally.³⁶⁹

Between 1876 and 1890 the population of the city increased nearly 250.000-300.000 by the low rate of the birth. Between these dates a total of 600.000 immigrants used İstanbul as passage. Those immigrants who were settled in Anatolia and Arabia sometimes had attempted to return back to İstanbul. But the return was banned totally by the state. Eventhough this fact was known by

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 354.

³⁶⁸ Şimşir, I. pp. 779-780, other pages 36-189-205-208-213.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 791-792, other pages 19-25-33-35-47-53.

immigrants, the responsibility of these returns was attached to the officers. For example a news about the presence of an immigrant group which moved from Trabzon and Gonen to İstanbul was heard and the officers were accused of being responsible for this.³⁷⁰ In another document, it does not seem that the refugees have much chance of selection. According to the document those from Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia was asked to return to their homes or to prepare to be sent to Anatolia.³⁷¹

The reason why immigrants forced the Ottoman state in the economic sense was that majority of refugees were in need of help of from state. The state was helping to those who were in need of assistance, as well as to those who wanted to benefit from the blessings of the state. Of course those peoples were introducing themselves as refugees and in this way they were having the assistance of the state. According to Hüseyin Raci Efendi the abuses of such people were giving a bad reputation to the refugees.³⁷² When refugees were forced to leave their homeland in one night, they could not get a lot of capital. In the first mass migration wave in the period of 1877-78 the refugees saved only their lives. After 1885 by the relationship between the Ottoman and Bulgaria Muslims in the region could ensure their safety. The establishment of Eastern Rumelia province played an important role. Thus some refugees had begun to return to their homes. Those who will return sold their goods in Bulgaria and continued to live in İstanbul.³⁷³ Those refugees played an effective role in the birth of national bourgeoisie in İstanbul and the Ottoman State. Those capital owner refugees were also engaged in agriculture and livestock while they are in Rumelia. There were no large fertile lands of Anatolia and Rumelia for

³⁷⁰ BOA, DH.MKT, 1500-57, 30/B/1305

³⁷¹ BOA, Y.A.RES, 3-21, 19/CA/1296

³⁷² Hüseyin Raci Efendi, *Tarihçe*, p. 273, beyit 274.

them. Therefore, the refugees in İstanbul began to trade with the capital in their hands in Pera and Galata. The change of economic dominance of city took place in this way. In fact this situation stemmed from both the necessity in which the refugees were and due to Abdülhamid's economic policy. In 1890s İstanbul has had a strong work force with a population which approaching to 1.000.000. The most important point is that İstanbul was consuming much more than its own. Thus, along with the changing mindset, between the city and capital owners a matter of supply and demand emerged. This was also reflecting the changing manner of the economic system of the world.³⁷⁴

Until the second half of 19th century, the Ottoman State was insistent on the traditional economic system. According to the remedy suggestion which presented to the state, it was defended that the new conquest must be done for developing the collapsed economy. According to Şerif Mardi this idea was stemming from the culture of Gaza. For this reason for a long time the Ottoman State could not keep up pace with the changing economic conjuncture. Because in every century the good conditions of previous century was being discussed and the admiration for the past centuries were being related. Deterioration of the feudal system in Europe began to change the economic and the economic mentality. Thus trade came to the forefront and the new relations was established with their economic dimensions. The owners of large lands in Europe used their land in a more productive manner. The Ottoman state began to leave the traditional structure of the Ottoman economy with Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi in the time of Selim III. According to this, in the

³⁷³ Mahir Aydın, *Şarki Rumeli Vilayeti*, TTK, Ankara: 1992, pp. 30-32.

³⁷⁴ Çağlar Keyder, "Osmanlı Devleti ve Dünya Ekonomik Sistemi", *TCTA*, vol. 3, pp. 642-652.

suggestion by British ambassador it was recommended that it must be followed the way of increase the national treasure by using the possibilities of the country.³⁷⁵

Another factor in the changing economic understanding in the Ottoman İstanbul was the settlement of rich European families in İstanbul. Not only European rich families but also the members of Egyptian dynasty's settlement was also another influential factor in this manner. The most important factor in the richness of Egyptian landowners was the Civil War in the United States. Reception is made of cotton from Egypt in the region led to the enrichment of the dynasty and the landowners. The members of the Egyptian dynasty began to live in luxurious residences, mansions and palaces. This became effective on the change of İstanbul's economic and social understanding.³⁷⁶ Although Ahmet Cevdet Paşa said that those Egyptians disrupted the morality of inhabitants of İstanbul. Despite this argument these elite peoples in İstanbul led to the revival of trade and economy especially the women members of the Ottoman dynasty sold their jewelry to catch up the Egyptian dynasty. Again according to Cevdet Paşa: "*bu esnada, esnaf ve rençberana göre para kazanmak dahi corum vakti balık tutmak gibi kolay bir iş olmuştu*".³⁷⁷ In this process the Ottomans went to the effect to gain an identity to the new economic system.³⁷⁸ They chose the way of reviving economic and political ideas and by this way they tried to elevate the Ottoman economy to compete with Europe. In the formation of this situation, only the liberalization of trade was not enough. According to New the Ottomans, only solution was to bring about a local Merchant group. Because in the Ottoman Empire where such a small custom duty was taken,

³⁷⁵ Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İktisadi Düşüncenin gelişimi 1838-1908", *TCTA*, vol. 3, pp. 618-620-625.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 623.

³⁷⁷ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Maruzat*, pre. Y. Halaçoğlu, p. 8; Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e...", *TCTA*, vol. 3, p. 625.

foreign and European traders had established large networks. Therefore the local merchants could not sell their goods and as a result their earnings were falling. On the other hand, domestic banks must be established to provide loans available to those courageous tradesman. Domestic industry must be founded on concrete basis and intellectuals must support this process. In public education not only knowledge of citizens but also full-scale development of society must be aimed.³⁷⁹

The rule of intellectuals in the changing economic structure of the state in 19th century was a major role. As mentioned above, with the new the Ottomans, in the press the articles about economic recovery and theories began to appear. The intellectuals were searching about what to do and tried what comes out their hands as a book or translation. They were attempting to find one solution to the problem. The common point of intellectuals of The Tanzimat period was to have a national unity in the economy.³⁸⁰ The view of many intellectuals of The Tanzimat period agreed on Ahmet Midhat Efendi's opinion. According to Ahmet Mithad Efendi trade should be made by Turks and economic concessions should not be given to the foreigners.³⁸¹ Because in Pera and Galata, there is an intense foreign capital investment. These foreign traders not only work for their benefits but also hinder the emergence of local merchants and economy. France, Britain, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Portugal have had a greater amount of capital. Their biggest advantage was to gain huge amount of capital thanks to the concessions.

³⁷⁸ Şerif Mardin, "Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesi", *Modern Türkiye'de Düşünce*, vol. 1, ed. Tanıl Bora-Murat Gültekingil, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2009, pp. 42-53.

³⁷⁹ Mardin, p. 626.

³⁸⁰ Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat ve Aydınlar", *TCTA*, vol. 1, pp. 46-54; İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, *Alkım*, İstanbul: 2005, pp. 225-257.

³⁸¹ Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'...", p. 628; M. Orhan Okay, "İktisatta Milli Düşünceye Doğru – İlk Görüşlerin 100. Yılı", *Ahmet Midhat Efendi Kitabı*, Yay. pre. Mustafa Armağan, Beykoz Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul: Kasım 2007, pp. 155-173.

Until the end of 19th century there were some financiers governing foreign trade in the geography of Modern Turkey. On the other hand Trabzon, İskenderun, Samsun and Mersin was the center of foreign trade. Throughout the the history of The Ottoman State İstanbul had been the center of import.³⁸² The palace and the increase in population were very effective. The foreign trade was under the control of two distinctive groups.

- 1- European tradesman(English, French, German, Austrian)
- 2- The non-Muslim who were the minority as an the Ottoman citizen (Greek, Armenian, Jewish)

In this situation the emrgence of a national and Turk capital class was almost impossible. The custom taxes for European tradesman were %3. The existence of non-Muslims who were master at the trade meant that Turk tradesman must start from the beginning. On the other hand European tradesman was not going to beyond the sea ports. But Greek and Armenian agents were traveling between Anatolian villages and taking orders. They were sending their export items to seaports.³⁸³

With the non-existence of the national capitalist class, the dependence of the Ottoman State on foreigner had increased. The first loan money taken after Crimean War was doubled years after years. Majority of loan momoney was going to expenses of İstanbul and to salary of officers. The first loan money in 1854 was 75 million franc. This became in 1855 125 million, in 1862 200 million, in 1865 909.091.000, in 1874 1 billion franc. The total debt between 1854-1874 was

³⁸² A. Mesud Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı İzmir Gümrüğü 1818-1839*, Kitapyayınevi, İstanbul: 2007, pp. 66-118.

³⁸³ Şevket Pamuk, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Dış Ticareti”, *TCTA*, vol. 3, pp. 653-665.

5.297.676.500 franc.³⁸⁴ With the establishment of Düyün-u Umumiye state went to the way of paying its debts. The announcement of bankruptcy destroyed both the prestige of the state and morality of intellectuals. For getting out of this situation the way of domestic manufacture and industrialization were chosen. This becomes a long process. Because the struggle of the Ottoman State in industrialization with foreign actors became only possible in the time of Second Meşrutiyet and WWI.³⁸⁵

3.3 Topographic

In the second half of the 19th century because of the migrations İstanbul's population increased and this resulted in a social transformation. Also the topographic structure of the city began to change. Because of immigrants these changes not only occurred in İstanbul but also in other cities in where immigrants were settled densely. For example this transformation has been effective in the emergence of modern England. In 1850s %75 of the people who were over 20 years olds in Manchester, Glasgow, and Bradford was born in other cities.³⁸⁶ In 19th century because of these migrations a lot of new settlement areas emerged. The most important special feature of these settlements was that they were established for the immigrants. Some of them are in following:

A village was established for Bosnian immigrants around Bursa and named as Boşnak Köyü. The name of Selimiye was given to the village which was established near Çorum and in it immigrants from Kars were settled. The

³⁸⁴ Erdoğan Keskinliç, *Osmanlı Düyün-ü Umumiye İdaresi'nin Kuruluşu, Gelişim Çalışması, Safhaları ve Osmanlı Devletine Etkileri*, Dan. Prof. Dr. Yavuz Ercan, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Unpublished Ph.D), Ankara:1997, pp. 41-63.; Keskinliç, "The Ottoman Düyün-ü Umumiye Administration", *The Turks*, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, vol. 4, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 649-659.

³⁸⁵ Jacques Thobie, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancı Sermaye", *TCTA*, vol. 3, pp. 724-739.

³⁸⁶ David Feldman, "Migration", *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1840-1850*, vol. 3, ed. Peter Clark, Cambridge University Press: 2000, p. 185.

Köprüdistrict of Amasya was chose for thesettlement of immigrants and the area was named as Hamidiye. The name of “Bereket” was given to village which was chosen for thesettlement in Aydın province.³⁸⁷ The villages which was established in Hicri 1306 and their names are in the following;³⁸⁸

Kurulan Köyler	Bağlı Bulunduğu İller
Akyazı	Amasya
Hamidiye	Konya
Kepekler	Balıkesir
Hamidiye	Balıkesir
Soğucak	Bursak
Sultaniye	Bursa
Selimiye	Amasya
Boğazköy	Amasya
Oyak Bucağı (Alyan)	Mardin

To multiply and to detail the settlements for immigrants is possible.³⁸⁹ But we will focus on the topographic change in İstanbul.

The topographic border of İstanbul had been determined in the time of Roman Empire. According to this area which named as Constantinopolis had been circled by city walls. This area had become the city center.³⁹⁰ This was valid in the Ottoman Empire. Galata region was aout of the city walls but it could protect its

³⁸⁷ Gül İnan, *1303 Yılında Yapılan Göçler ve Kurulan Muhacir Köyleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü: Mezuniyet Tezi, Tez Danışmanı, Nejat Göyünç, İstanbul:1980. p. 5

³⁸⁸ Hasan Arif Bolat, *Hicri 1306 (1888-89) Yılında Yapılan Göçler ve kurulan Muhacir Köyleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Fen- Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü; Mezuniyet Tezi, Danış. Nejat Göyünç, İstanbul:1980, p. 12.

³⁸⁹ *Bu konuda Nejat Göyünç danışmanlığında pek çok Mezuniyet tezleri İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümünde hazırlanmıştır.*

identity during the Ottoman Empire.³⁹¹ As an exception Eyüp was out of the city center. Because of its religious importance it became a different settlement area than Üsküdar.³⁹² The center of İstanbul was the area which covers the palace. İstanbul showed difference in its historical process. In the time of the Ottoman Empire it had had a new shape. During the earthquakes and fires of 1660 40.000 people died. 280.000 homes, 300 palaces,³⁹³ 100 public houses were destroyed by fires.³⁹⁴

Eventhough the population of non-Muslims almost was equal to Muslim population, dominant religion was İslam. The Ottoman Empire had showed this character always. According to Marc David Baer state followed a different way in the fire of 1660. Most of the city's buildings were destroyed. He has observed the Islamization of quarters of Christian and Jews by the settlement policy after the fire. In his article he explained this situation as the change of attitude of the state.³⁹⁵

With the migrations the city started to go beyond the city walls. In the process of Tanzimat especially in the ear of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz, most of the population had begun to settle in around Bosphorus. The topographic structure began to expand towards Dolambahçe, Beşiktaş, Rumelikavağı, and towards the shores of Marmara and Karadeniz. Another factor was the construction of railways. Most of the populations in European and Anatolian sides had begun to settle around the railways. Most of these settlements were the result of forced migrations. By these settlements İstanbul had experienced

³⁹⁰ Işın Demirkent, "İstanbul", *DİA*, vol. 23, pp. 205-212.; Besim Darkot, "İstanbul", *İA (MEB)*, vol. 5, pp. 1135-1141.

³⁹¹ Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Galata 1453-1553", *Essays in The Ottoman History*, Halil İnalçık, Eren Yayınevi, İstanbul: 1998, pp. 275-376.

³⁹² Tülay Artan, "Eyüp", *DİA*, Vol. 12, pp. 1-6.

³⁹⁴ Robert Mantran *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*, vol.1, trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay- Enver Özcan, TTK, Ankara: 1990, p. 38, ek no:7

³⁹⁵ Marc David Bear, "The Great Fire of The 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in İstanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36, no:2 (May- 2004), pp. 159-181.

more changes.³⁹⁶ By the opening of new settlement areas, a change occurred in the people's amusement understanding. The places for promenade were carried out of the city especially to adjacent areas of Bosphorus.³⁹⁷ The settlement of people out of the city caused the increase in the attractiveness of these places. Sight seeing with horses cart, traveling around brooks by boats replaced the culture of the coffeehouse.³⁹⁸

The settlement of immigrants in İstanbul was made in two ways. One of them was the settlement of immigrants after their arrival by railways and sea routes; the other was the settlement of them before arrival. The dense population problem in the center of city was being tried to be solved by the settlement out of the city. These settlements became permanent settlement areas. After a time these settlements became the district or quarter of İstanbul. For example Mecidiyeköy was established for the settlement of immigrants in the time of Abdülmecid. But in the course of time Mecidiyeköy became the inseparable part of İstanbul.³⁹⁹ On the other hand European side of city, immigrants were settled in empty places and farms. Even for their settlements some administrative buildings were evacuated. For example soldiers and ammunition in one farm were evacuated and this farm was assigned to immigrants.⁴⁰⁰ In this period immigrants were settled in Çekmece, Çatalca, Çamlıca, Üsküdar, Bosphorus and Haliç. While they were being settled, the state was also considering not harming the public domain.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ Cengiz Kırılı, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early 19th Century İstanbul", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no:60, Fall 2001, pp. 125-140.

³⁹⁷ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, Truva Yayınları, İstanbul: 2006, pp. 202-206.

³⁹⁸ Ebru Boyar- Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman İstanbul*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 271-327.

³⁹⁹ "Mecidiyeköy", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayımları, İstanbul:1994, vol. 5, p. 317.

⁴⁰⁰ BOA, DH .MKT, 1336-104, 13/Ş/1298

⁴⁰¹ BOA, DH. MKT, 1380-62, 26/S/1304

Another reason why Rumelian immigrants were settled in out of the city was that they could be responsible for the fires, especially in the winter.⁴⁰² Especially state owned lands became the property of immigrants. For example the lands named as Pşabahçe in Çatalca was allocated among immigrants.⁴⁰³ Eyüp, Tophane, Ayvansaray, Edirnekapı, Karamustafapaşa, were the places in which immigrants were settled densely.⁴⁰⁴ Kanlıca region was also another settlement area in this respect.⁴⁰⁵

These settlement areas of the period of Abdülhamid did not increase the population but caused in the general sense the development. This kind settlement caused the emergence of chantytowns.⁴⁰⁶ By the increase in the population the construction of new roads and utilities were started. While the broad roads were constructed, the existences of dead streatts were not allowed. The most important, geometric building plans for streets, homes, and the settlement areas were preferred. The real intention of this attitude was to prevent the city from the fires, because the new buildings had to be made of Stone. Houses made of wooden were banned. There was no tolerance to poor peoples who were insisting on woeden houses. By the increase of population port areas were reinvigorated. In these areas hifh buildings were built. By the effect of Westernization it was decided to build open squaares. Bekir Paşa was sent to London for his education. After his graduation he came to İstanbul. He was assigned to Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun. He was interested in the planning of the city. According to his plan about İstanbul; he decided to put mosques on the center. Süleymaniye, Sultanahmet, Yeni

⁴⁰² BOA, DH. MKT, 1471-33, 7/R/1305

⁴⁰³ BOA, DH. MKT, 1420-8, 21/Ş/1304

⁴⁰⁴ BOA, Y.PRK. KOM, 1-4, 5/L/1294

⁴⁰⁵ BOA, Y. PRK. KOM, 1-20, 6/S/1295

⁴⁰⁶ Eren, *Türkiye 'de Göç ve Göçmen*, pp. 37-57.

mosque, Sultan Selim Camii, Laleli and Nuruosmaniye mosques determined as a center. All roads of İstanbul were running towards them. Mosques were circled by wide empty places. Between various quarters, a lot of parks and gardens were placed.⁴⁰⁷

The city planning in the 19th century was not restricted only to İstanbul. This process was followed in all European cities and came into being without stopping. The general understanding was that for an easy intercommunication the wide roads had to be built, and wide squares, parks, and gardens must be placed in cities. Even the newly established the Balkan States gave importance to this matter. Especially Bulgaria, Romania, made effort to erase the signs of the Ottoman heritage and they have built their cities all over. This city planning caused to a huge economic and political transformation. Eventhough they had newly gained their independence, Bulgaria and Romania made more advancement in the sense of city planning and İstanbul got behind them.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ İlhan Tekeli, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Kentsel Dönüşüm”, *TCTA*, vol. 4, p. 885

⁴⁰⁸ Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans 1820-1920*, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki:1996, pp. 19-68.

Conclusion

In our thesis we have made investigation about the cause and effects of migrations which took place between 1877-1890. Generally we tried to explain the migrations from Crimea, Caucasia, the Balkans to İstanbul. While we attempt to show that the Muslims migration movements towards the Ottoman Empire in 19th century occurred at the same time as another migration wave out of the Ottoman soils. The subject of the latter migration was mostly non-Muslims. Especially Armenians' migration to Erivan and Bulgarians' settlement in the areas which was evacuated by Muslims in Russia were the evidences that those migration was made by political purposes.

Eventhough the subject of migration is important, it could not be the focus of the attention. The researches about migration did not go beyond so far. From the Balkans, Crimea, Caucasia to a lot of towns and cities of Anatolia, migration movements took place. It is a necessity of the researches which examine the migration according to cities, destinations, the number of groups etc. If we could not give a proper answer to the question of how and when we migrated, we can not write a complete the Ottoman and Turkish history, because the migrations started in 19th century and they continued until the end of first half of 20th century.

The migration to İstanbul briefly examined in this thesis. Importance of the subject, and the fact that İstanbul, the capital, due to rapid growth. İstanbul recently showed a rapid growth and change. To as the shape change caused a change in the population of İstanbul. Immigration, status in the great migrations and the city housing the front ranks olmuştur. Preparing our thesis benefited from archival documents. We scanned the used resources on the subject. Of course, errors, although it is a compact bibliography in İstanbul reveals the migrations.

The most noteworthy issue with the state for immigration and how to contact refugees. Another important issue is, the migration events in the Turkish press, and in particular how the echo Of interest in the European press. Much as in the European press as a subject is not processed with the Turkish migrations. Turkish immigration, the European press, propaganda and electoral concerns of governments with different communicated. Europe has been the great migrations in recent times. This migration resulted from greater economic and political pressures. In this case, in Europe, these tumors.

Istanbul's population is always a matter of debate. The Ottoman Empire tried to make the regular population censuses do not always conclusive as desired. The other hand, the census counted only men and women be considered a separate issue. Due to the political events of recent times the population of Istanbul has a movement hzılı. Besides the political exiles of the Ottoman Empire and European immigrants to show him an attractive way to encourage increased interest in the city. Grow the other hand, trade volume continuously owners of large capital was compelled to settle in Istanbul. Over the volume of commercial banks in Istanbul than in recent times and large capital paid by companies. Istanbul is more than the non-Muslim population, and especially dealing with trade between Europe and Istanbul led to the establishment of large vineyards. Istanbul Greek revolts that occurred in the Balkans is not too happy with the owners of trade. After these events, because people are losing land and the Ottoman Empire caused the decline in trade volume. The Ottoman state took measures against riots rum. In 1878, the Muslim Turks in Bulgaria in the region even more difficult to establish principalities messed. Because, the Bulgarians in Bulgaria with the highest population in the region for the establishment of the state is supposed to be. Counts,

and general observations, whereas the majority of the Muslim Turks, provided or provided by the subject of equality. In this case, the ethnic cleansing of Muslim Turks, separation or death caused by migration.

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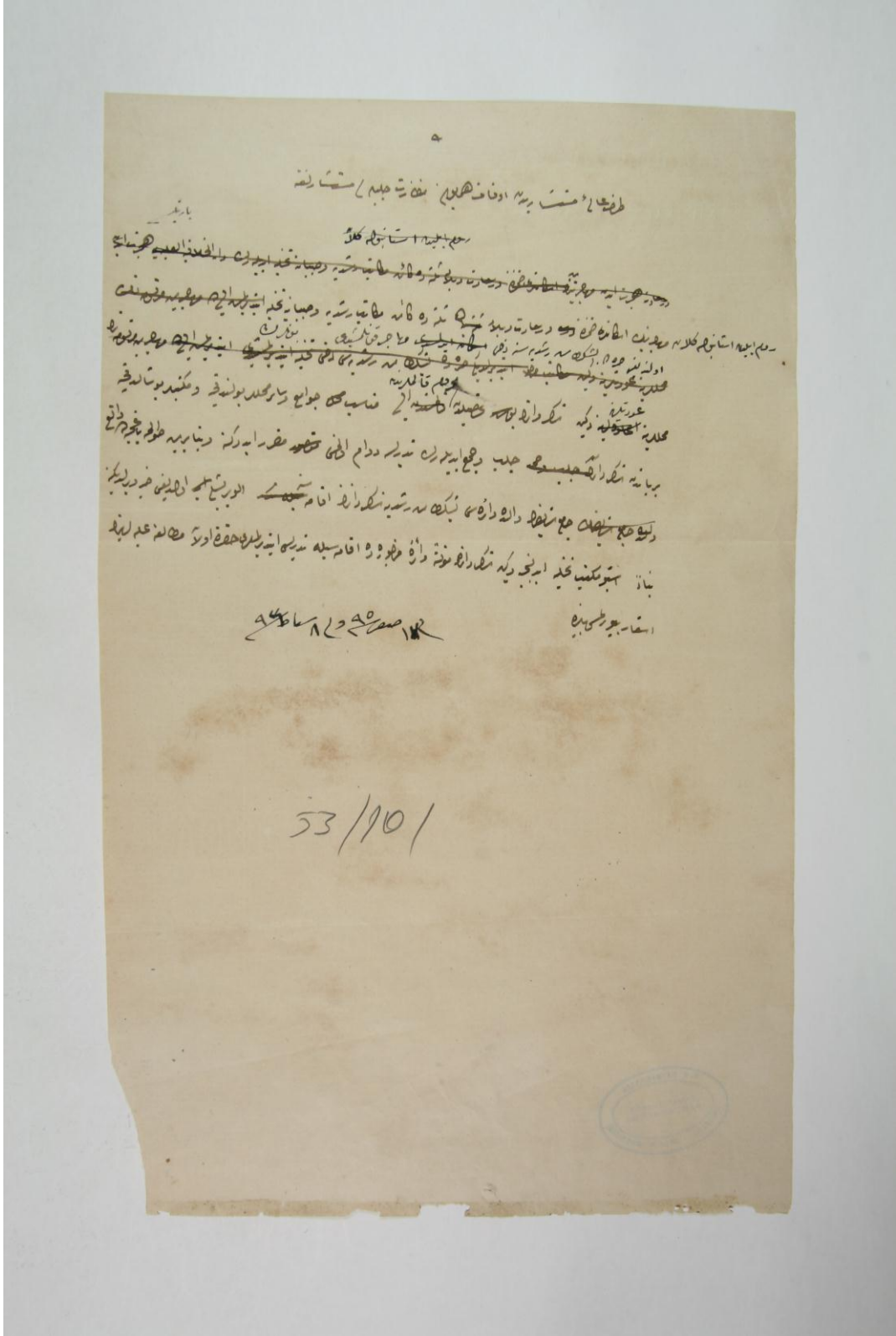
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APPENDIX



Ek I: İstanbul'daki Rüştiye ve Sıbyan Mekteplerinin Rumeli'den gelen muhacirlere tahsis edilmesi.

(BOA, MF.MKT, 53-101;1295/S/17)

حادثه لایله آسانده روم قییمه دربارت کونفراره عیاضت ایرد نفوسک مقدراتی دیویند لایسکا انضمت جیمه سوزدولدیله
 مملکتی جیمه کونفراریه نفوسه موجودی میده بوضله در

مجموعه
 ۴۸۷۸۰۶

روم در ایالت جیمه حومه ایالت

قونیه ولایت جلایه	۱۸۰۶۰
حوم	۶۷۷۸
المنوره	۶۵۶۶
خداوندکار	۵۶۱۹۸
حلب	۱۵۷۰۹
شطوپ	۴۶۱۷۵
ازمدت نفوسه	۹۰۸۱
ایریم ولایت جلایه	۶۵۹۸۱
حایک	۱۸۶۸
اطنه ولایت جلایه	۱۷۵۶۹
سراس	۹۷۶۵
بقا ایالت	۷۰۰۰
ایریم ولایت جلایه	۱۴۴۵۸
مجموعه	۳۷۶۱۷۵

مملکتی حایک کونفراریه

۶۱۹۱۸

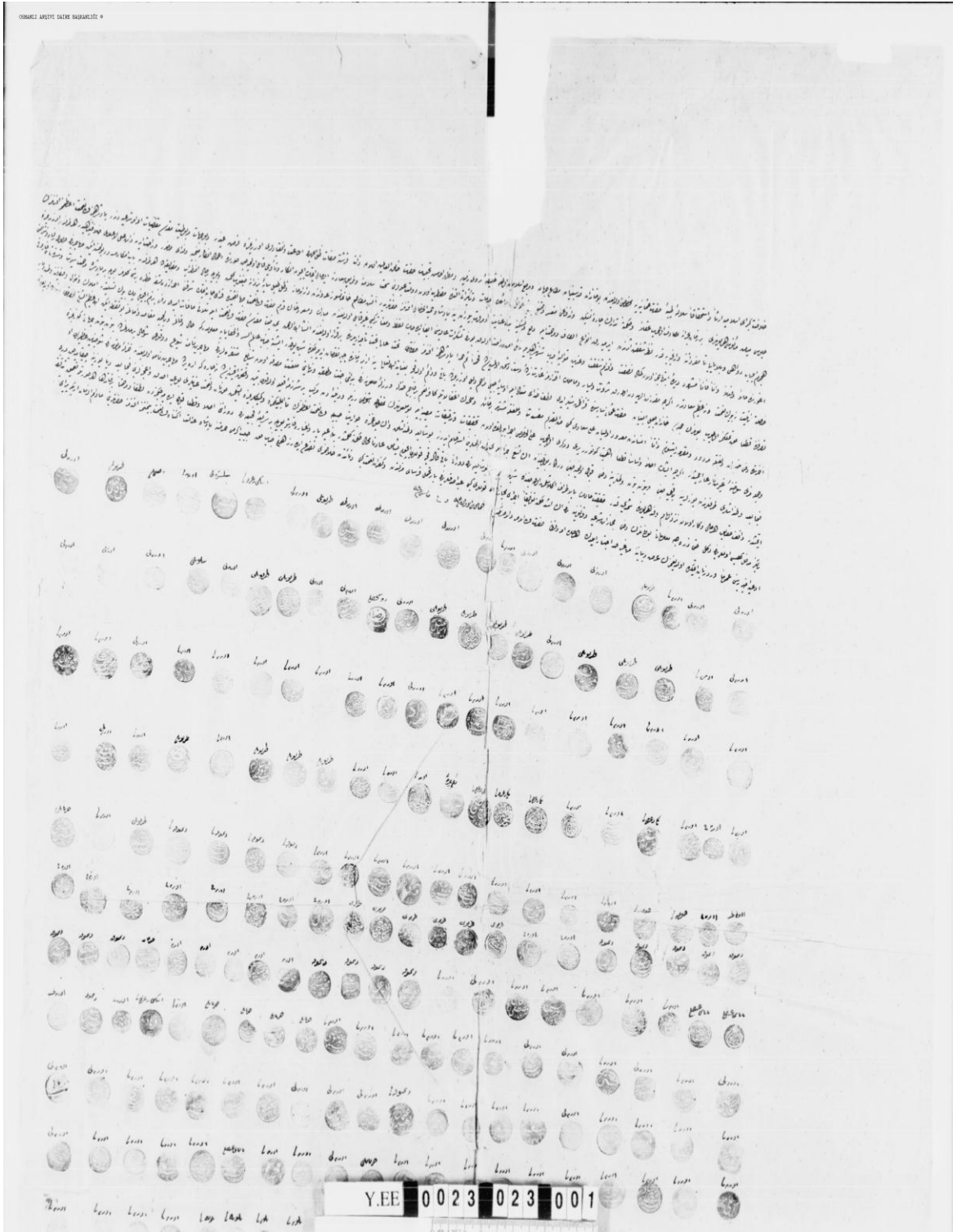
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ایریم ایالت ایالتی نفوسه
 ۹۵

Ek II: İstanbul'a gelen muhacirlerin miktarı ile Anadolu ve Arabistan'a sevk edilen muhacir miktarını gösterir.

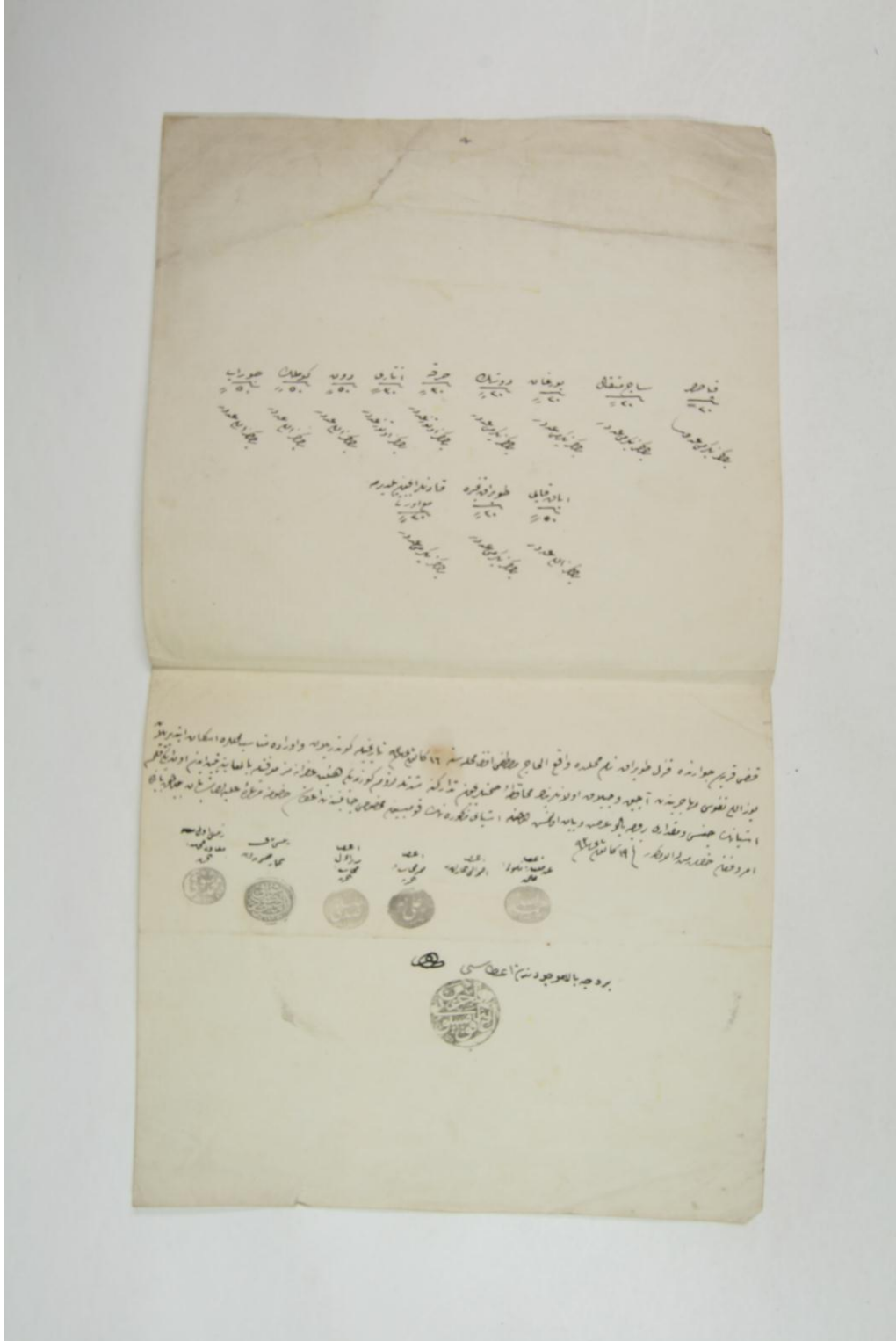
BOA, Y.A.HUS, 43-3, 1296/L/8



Ek VI: 20 Mayıs 1878'deki Çırağan Vakasından dolayı muhacirlerin Padişah II. Abdülhamid'den özür dilemeleri (BOA, YEE, 23-23, 30/CA/1295)



Ibid.



Ek VII:Kadıköy civarına yerleştirilen muhacirlere dağıtılan yardımın cinsi ve miktarı BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 1-17, 1295/M/27



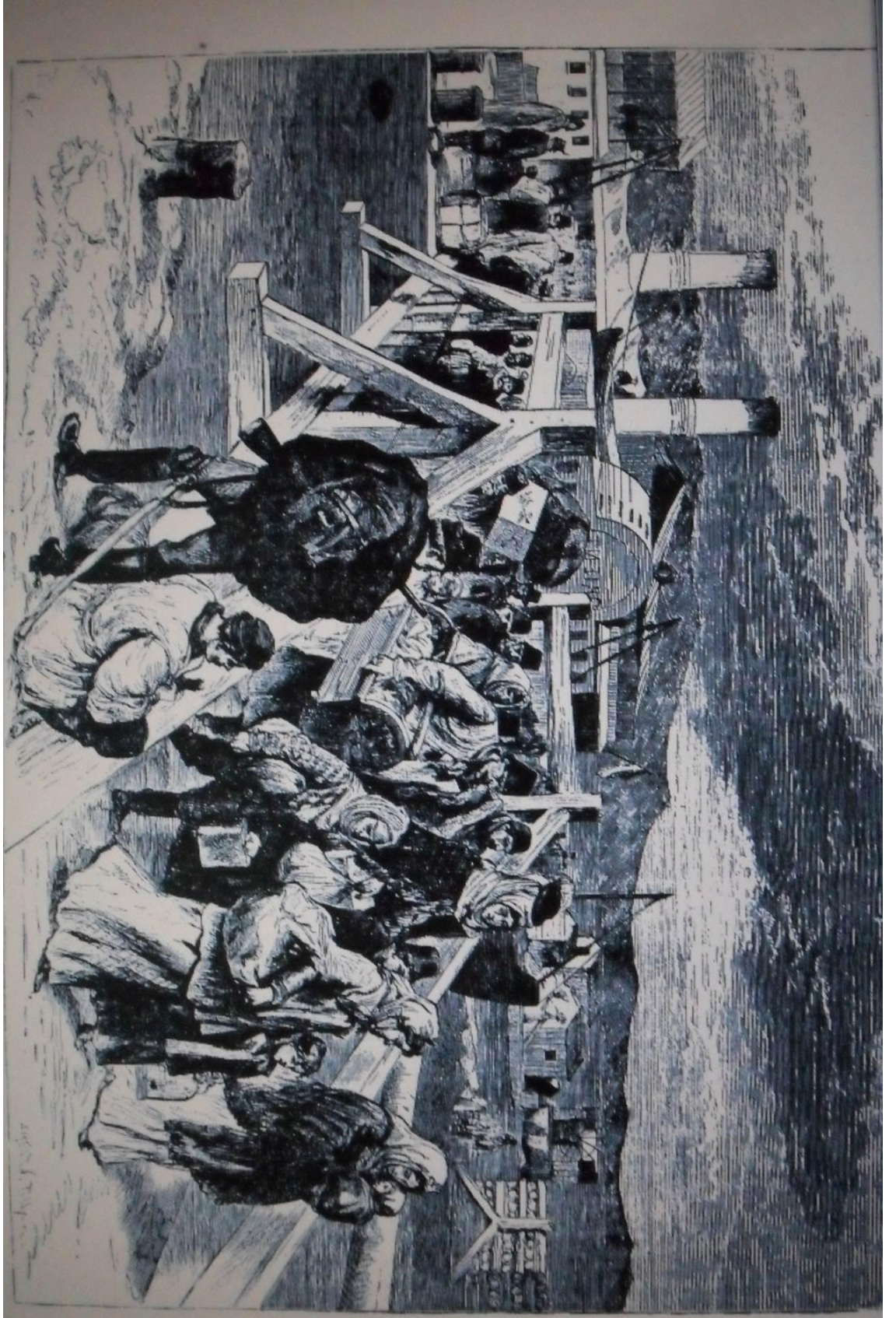
Resim I: 1900'lü yıllarda İstanbul'da Çerkez muhacirler

Orhan Kolođlu, "93 Harbi'nin Muhacirleri", *Popüler Tarih Dergisi*, No: 70, Haziran 2006, pp. 32-37

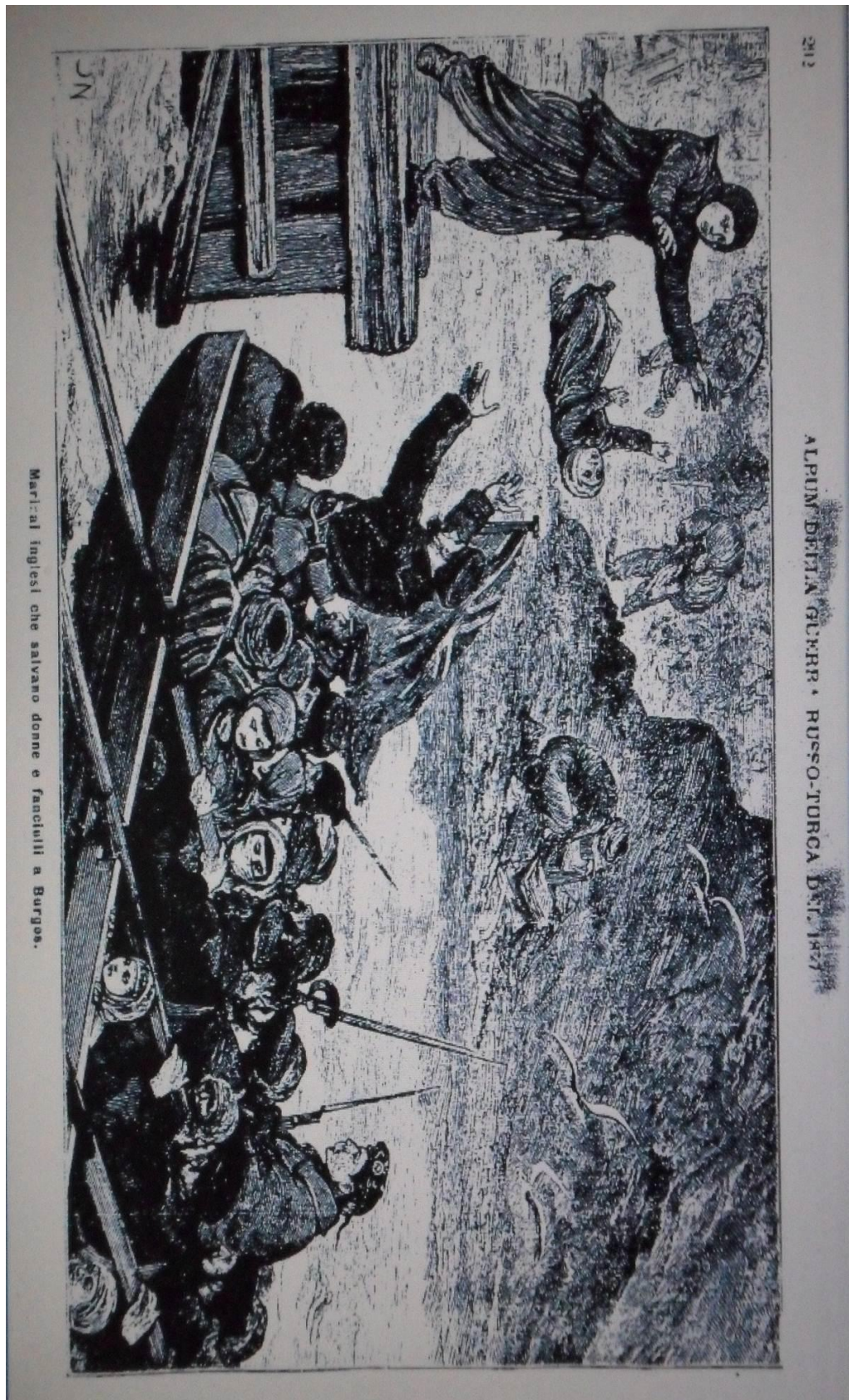


Resim II : Avrupa basınına yansıyan bir Türk'ün Bulgar'ı öldürmesi

Orhan Kolođlu, "Anadolu'ya Yeniden Göç", *Popüler Tarih Dergisi*, No: 69, Mayıs 2006, pp. 32-39



Resim III: Müslüman Muhacirlerin göç etmesi, (Album Della Guerra Russo- Turca Dell 1877-1878, Milano:1878, s. 69)



Resim IV: Rumeli muhacirlerinin kayıklara binmesi: (Album Della Guerra Russo-Turca Dell 1877-1878, Milano:1878, s. 292)