

THE ANATOLIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES (1888-1914)

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İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

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

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ABSTRACT

THE ANATOLIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES (1888-1914)

SÜT, Pınar

MA, Department of History

Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Abdulhamit Kırmızı

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This thesis focuses on the working conditions of the Anatolian Railway Company employees within the framework of political conjuncture and from a labor perspective in the period between 1888 and 1914, in the Ottoman Empire. It relies on primary and secondary sources to examine the working conditions, the establishment of the labor organization and the challenges it faced, protests and strikes, and the issue of reconciliation between the state and workers. The central goal of the thesis is the discussion the working conditions of the railway workers including such exceptional situations as contagious diseases and incidences regarding the abduction of workers, and the negative effect of these conditions on work life. The characteristics and the importance of the workplace, the political conjuncture, and the labor policy of the government should be considered as interactive forces when examining working life. Another issue addressed in this thesis is the main motive of the government in preparing the Strike Law of 1909, which was an antistrike legislation was the strike of the Anatolian railway employees in 1908. The organizational power of the railway employees and its effects on other workers in other sectors need to be considered regarding the importance the government distributed to the railway employees' strike. One of the main assertions of this thesis is the need to write Ottoman history from a bottom up perspective and from the viewpoint of workers. Thus this study sheds light on not only the international and domestic political situation and conjuncture, but also the lives of the railway workers in order to make up for the long negligence of researchers and historians in this regard so far. This study aims of making a contribution to the efforts to fill the gap that currently exists regarding the history of the Ottoman railways and Ottoman labor history.

Keywords: Ottoman Labor History, Anatolian Railway Employees, Working Life in the Late Ottoman Period.

ÖZ

ANADOLU DEMİRYOLU ÇALIŞANLARI (1888-1914)

SÜT, Pınar

MA, Tarih Bölümü

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Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 1888 ve 1914 yılları arasında Anadolu demiryolu işçilerinin siyasi konjonktür çerçevesinde ve emek perspektifinden çalışma hayatlarına odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma hayatı ile ilgili verileri, emek örgütünün kurulması ve karşılaştığı zorluklar, protesto ve grevler ve işçiler ve devlet arasındaki uzlaşmayı incelemek için birinci ve ikincil el kaynaklara dayanmaktadır. Temel hedef, demiryolu işçilerinin çalışma koşullarını, işçilerin karşılaştığı salgın hastalıklar ve adam kaçırma gibi olağanüstü durumları ve bunların çalışma hayatı üzerindeki olumsuz etkisini vurgulayarak tartışmaktır. Çalışma hayatı incelenirken iş yerinin özellikleri ve önemi, siyasi konjonktür ve devletin emek politikaları birbirini etkileyen güçler olarak düşünülmelidir. Bu tezde ele alınan konulardan biri de hükümetin, grev karşıtı kanun olan Tatil-i Eşgal Kanununun (1909) hazırlanmasının temel sağı Anadolu demiryolu çalışanlarının 1908'de yaptığı grevdir. Demiryolu çalışanlarının örgütlenme gücü ve bunun diğer sektörlerdeki işçilere etkisi hükümetin demiryolu işçilerinin grevine verdiği önemle düşünülmelidir. Bu tezin temel iddialarından biri Osmanlı tarihini aşağıdan yukarı perspektifi ile ve işçilerin bakış açısından yazmaktır. Bu yüzden bu çalışma, sadece uluslararası ve yerel politik durum ve konjonktüre değil, aynı zamanda bu zamana kadar araştırmacılar ve tarihçilerin uzun süreli ihmalini telafi etmek için demiryolu işçilerinin çalışma hayatına ışık tutmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Osmanlı demiryolları tarihi ve Osmanlı emek tarihi ile ilgili mevcut boşluğun doldurulmasına yardımcı olmak amacıyla yazılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Emek Tarihi, Anadolu Demiryolu Çalışanları, Geç Dönem Osmanlı Çalışma Hayatı.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

BOA.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [<i>Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives</i>]
DH. EUM.	Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye [<i>Ministry of Internal Affairs</i>]
DH.İD.	Dahiliye Nezareti İdare Kısmı [<i>Ministry of Internal Affairs, Administration Office</i>]
DH.MKT.	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi [<i>Ministry of Internal Affairs, Scribe's Office</i>]
DH.MKT. MHM.	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi Mühimme Defteri [<i>Ministry of Internal Affairs, Scribe's Office</i>]
HR.TO.	Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası [<i>Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Translation Office</i>]
ŞD. MLK.	Şura-yı Devlet Mülkiye [<i>Council of State</i>]
Y.PRK.	Yıldız Perakende [<i>Yıldız Palace</i>]
ZB.	Zabtiye Nezareti [<i>Ministry of Police</i>]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines and elaborates on the history of the Anatolian Railway Company employees in the Ottoman Empire. The time framework of this study is the period between 1888 and 1914. The first chapter offers a concise description of the historical context of labor history in order to show the development of labor history in the world in general and in Ottoman studies in particular. The second chapter points to the context in which the Anatolian Railway Company emerged. The aim of the chapter is to explain the lines and the construction process, which are related to the working and living conditions of the workers and other employees who worked on these lines. The last chapter examines the characteristics of the division of labor in the Anatolian Railway Company, the working conditions of the workers, the organization of the employees, and finally their great strike in 1908. I chose the year 1888 as a starting point because this was the year the Anatolian Railway Company started to construct the Anatolian railways. 1914 is taken as the last year of the study as it was the year the First World War began. The circumstances of the war altered the political and socio-economic conditions of the Ottoman Empire greatly. Therefore, I believe the war period should be examined separately with close attention to these extraordinary conditions.

It is significant to write about the history of ordinary people, since accounts of Ottoman history from above are so abundant but not those from below. One of the main assertions of this thesis is to write Ottoman history from a bottom up perspective and from the viewpoint of workers. There are few studies that contain the stories of Ottoman workers, although the number is increasing recently. Many accounts of Ottoman studies focus on center-periphery relations, but from the center's perspective. I believe the examination of the changing conditions and their impact on the ordinary people can provide us with a better understanding of the results of the reforms for the general public. Thus, this thesis aims at contributing to the history of the Ottoman working class and it can be seen as an example of history from below.

I have chosen to work on the history of the Ottoman railway company and its workers because of the dearth of studies on this issue. There are many studies that include the political economy or solely the political aspects and consequences of such railway projects as those represented by the Baghdad Railway, the Hijaz lines, and the Rumeli Railway Company. However, many of these studies do not address the conditions of the employees let alone the workers among them. The reason why I have decided to do research on the railway sector is that the railway workers in the Ottoman Empire were very active, especially after the Constitutional Revolution of 1908. They can be accepted as the locomotives of labor movements in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the first antistrike legislation passed after the great Anatolian Railway Strike of 14-16 September 1908. Activities of the Anatolian railway workers made the government go into action, although there were many strikes and protests during July and August of 1908. This was the period of strike waves, which prompted the government to adopt a labor policy as reflected in its implementation of the Strike Law of 1909. Moreover, the working conditions of the railway workers were highly difficult, similar to those of the workers who worked in mines or on the docks. In the railway transportation sector, there was no certain workplace, and the mobilization of the workers depended on the lines. This was a significant factor also because it explains how the workers worked under harsh conditions and in distant places. For example, weather conditions exposed them to illnesses and to dangers of abduction or attacks.

There are many works on railway companies in the Ottoman Empire and the history of the Ottoman railways in general. Most importantly, Ufuk Gülsoy, Vahdettin Engin, and Murat Özyüksel wrote about the Ottoman railways. Many of these studies cover the construction of the railways in the empire and the challenges faced by the state to find the means and investment funds to expand the railways. They generally depict the technical, economic, and political aspects of the Ottoman railway system. The evaluation of the political conjuncture in conjunction with the construction of the railways is the main focus of these works. However, this study focuses not only on the international and domestic political situation and conjuncture, but also on the lives of the railway workers, which most researchers and historians have tended to overlook thus far. This does not mean I ignore the political implications of railway construction, but I attempt to change the top-down, state-centered approach that dominates these

works to an analysis of conditions and acts of railway workers on the implications of the Ottoman government's labor policy and vice versa.

The theoretical framework of this thesis falls within the margins of labor history, and in general, history from below. One of the main challenges that has emerged so far has been how to deal with the Ottoman government's labor policy in the railway sector. I will present the working conditions of the railway workers and these workers' place in the history of the Ottoman labor movement. It is quite clear that the working conditions of the workers were bad and the workers had low wages. These problems led them to react against the labor policies of the state, especially after the 1908 Revolution, and they played a leading part in the labor movement. It is obvious that the government's fears of the economic and political consequences of labor movements and its own goals that were not friendly shaped its labor policy in ways.

Although the issue of labor organization has been previously studied by researchers, it is significant for this work as well. The Fraternity Union of the Anatolian railway employees was a very important labor union in the Ottoman Empire. The issue of the representation of the workers is a debatable one. Examination of the challenges that the railway employees faced to maintain their representative power against the company and the state became crucial, because these challenges indicate the power and the benefits of the organization of the employees. The regulation of the company helps us to comment on whether it was a trade union or not. I claim that it is a proto example of trade unions in the Ottoman Empire.

I use both primary and secondary sources. One of my primary sources is the memoir of Gabriel Arhengelos, *Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu ve Bağdat Demiryolu Şirketi Osmaniyesi İdaresinin İçyüzü I-II*.¹ He was a doctor who worked for the Anatolian and the Baghdad Railways. He wrote about the railway issue from the opposite side of the state. His work sheds light on the conditions and the political mobility of the workers. This memoir is very significant and pivotal because it is the only memoir that reached us until today on the issue of the working life of the railway employees. This thesis relies heavily on this memoir in addition to state documents from the Ottoman Archives, other primary sources, and secondary sources. I examined the document collections that fall under the categories of *İktisat* (Economy), *Nafia*

¹ Arhengelos, Gabriel. *Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu ve Bağdat Demiryolu Şirketi Osmaniyesi İdaresinin İçyüzü I-II*, İstanbul. 1327.

(Public Works), *Belediye* (Municipality), and *Dahiliye* (Internal Affairs). Moreover, I checked collections under *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası* particularly *Dahiliye* (Internal Affairs) and *Zaptiye* (Police), and finally the archives of the Turkish State Railways. All these state-oriented documents represent the state policy towards the employees and the labor employment policy on the railways. I believe a study that includes such a biased standpoint will prove inadequate in view of the main goals of this thesis. I have reached data on the working conditions, the establishment of the labor organization and the challenges of existence it faced, the protests and the strikes, and the issue of reconciliation between the state and the workers by using the variety of sources indicated above.

There are many problems in writing history from below, especially when the field does not have adequate sources. This problem has affected my research as well and can be seen as one of its weaknesses. Although I was able to reach many types of books, newspapers, and documents, there still remains insufficient information about the lives of workers. One of the reasons for this weakness is that the workers appear in historical recordings only when they have a problem with the state or the employer. Still, the effort to write the history of ordinary people make this work a modest contribution to the field. All data related to the railway employees were considered during the research process of this thesis. Thus the method used in this study can be considered as one its strengths.

Railway investment was a new and big attempt for the government regarding its economic and political implications. Thus, the Ottoman government was very sensitive in urgent cases such as diseases or strikes. I argue that the characteristics and the importance of the workplace, the political conjuncture, and the labor policy of the government should be considered together when examining working life.

The dearth of academic research on this issue in the field directed me to study it. This study aims at filling the gap that exists regarding the workers in the history of the Ottoman railways. The results of this research will thus help fill a deficiency in the field. Lastly, this thesis plans as well to pave the way for further studies in the history of the railway workers.

CHAPTER 2

A GLANCE AT LABOR HISTORIOGRAPHY

This chapter aims to elaborate on the historical background of labor history concisely in order to indicate the continuity of studies on labor history and to see the development of this field in general, in Ottoman studies particularly. In the first part, theoretical advances in historiography in the twentieth and the twenty first centuries will be probed. In the second part, a concise background of labor history both in the world and in studies on late Ottoman and Turkish Republican periods will be explained. Finally in the third section, the issues of global labor history and the possibility of adopting new approaches in Ottoman labor history will be discussed. In other words, the adaptation of transnational labor history to Ottoman historical inquires will be addressed in a theoretical framework. This chapter includes new trends of global history because the Anatolian Railway Company was a foreign organization and it employed many foreigners and non-Ottoman people. Although all employment of the company was not composed of international workers, certain examples will be given modestly to show the conditions of foreign employees in the Ottoman Empire and their relations to the Ottoman workers. The heterogeneous character of the labor force of the company directs one to examine the employees of the company from a transnational approach.

2.1. Theoretical Advances in Historiography

History writing in the world was directed and shaped by Western academic historical enquiries for a long time. Many developments have occurred, including the rise of new methods and different theoretical orientations, and the writing of history has changed accordingly. These developments challenged the use of some common and dominant models, such as the modernization theory, Orientalism, or Occidentalism. For instance, the modernization theory offers an essentially

Eurocentric explanation of modern world history², yet historians in different parts of the world began to problematize it. The goal of historians started to form an alternative history writing as opposed to the Euro-centric approach that dominated the twentieth century. Second, traditional history writing was built on the narratives of nations and powerful men who formed the main framework of political history. After the 1970s, especially with the effects of new social movements, the way of writing history changed. Such categories on various subjects such as women, ordinary people, subalterns, or mentalities became the main objects of historical inquiries. Social and cultural history replaced the long dominant pure political and diplomatic history.

The direct influence of political circumstances to historiography is now accepted as a natural result that resembles the interaction among the past, present, and future. Historiography now involves everything related to human beings. Following the postmodern confusion, it is no longer a valid endeavor to project a supposititious, nostalgic, and comfortable uniformity of sentiment as in earlier times.³ Postmodern criticism opened a new gate for historical inquiries that avoids unique truth, sole interpretation, and total objectivity, and represents a new and nonlinear understanding of the past. Historians are now aware of the relationship between power and production of knowledge, as well as the significance of discourse in narrating the past.

There is a growing trend in academia that favors new world history, which is different from traditional Western based and chronological world history. The attention to new world history increased especially in the USA. It highlights different regions and cultures without reference to a hierarchical sequence. This can be accepted as a reaction to Western centered models such as modernization and orientalism. It has influenced many fields in the discipline of history including labor history, which is being shaped by the new global approach in academic historical practices especially in the last two decades.

² Jerry H. Bentley, "The New World History", in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, eds. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, (USA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 398.

³ Daniel Woolf, "Historiography", in *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. M.C. Horowitz, (USA: Thomson Gale, 2005), vol. I., p. Lxxx.

2.2. A Concise Background of Labor History

Labor history is a field that developed in Europe in the nineteenth century. It is generally divided into two main trends: Old, and new labor history. Old labor history refers to the institutional side of labor, the role of the state in shaping working conditions, and also the labor movements. New labor history, on the other hand, focuses on the life of workers rather than the role of the state. It looks for the place of gender, ethnicity, and religion in social and political contexts whether in formal or informal relations.⁴ There is continuity between old and the new labor history, and historians have reconstructed the history of the working classes and the workers' movements.⁵ Historians now have turned to produce a new context for labor history by widening the approach and the content of historical studies.

Traditional labor history was written generally by syndicalists or political party members for a long time. Today, historians undertake this task and enlarge its margins as a field of study. Researchers no longer rely on class analysis or class consciousness, because these dynamics are not enough to examine the life of workers whether in a broad or narrow sense generally regarding the factors of ethnicity, gender, religion, or region. As historians, we cannot separate labor history from politics, yet historical research should not be engaged in a political fight or ideological clashes, and these concerns should not determine a historian's intentions. We should bear in mind that "history is what happened, not what might have happened".⁶ This simple explanation will be more meaningful in seeing the evolution of labor history thus far. The following sections offers the summary of labor history in the world and Ottoman contexts. This explanation is based on changes in approaches that prevailed in the field.

⁴ Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett, "Giriş", in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Emek Tarihi*, by Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), p. 8.

⁵ Marcel van der Linden, "Labor History: The Old, The New and The Global": *African Studies*, 66:2-3, p. 171.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, "Labor History and Ideology", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No.4 (Summer, 1974), p. 376.

2.2.1. Labor History in the Western World

Initially, all studies of labor were political and began to attract the attention of scholars academically in the 1830s and 1840s with regards to the condition of the new proletariat. The first works on labor had a tendency to solve the problems of workers, and basically focused on what to do about them. For example, it was very teleological in theory. Labor history flourished along with labor movements. There were certain problems in labor history in the age of its development in terms of approaches and methods. First, labor history tended to make little distinction between the working classes, the labor movement, party, ideology, or specific organizations. Hence, labor history meant labor movement history. Second, it tended to be antiquarian and preoccupied with labor movements. Third, this kind of history writing tended to form a model for an accepted version of history.⁷

Traditional labor movement historiography⁸ dominated the period of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Initially, labor movement history writing was quite independent from the domain of academia. Syndicalists wrote the history of the working class. It involved the organization of labor, legal and political problems, the economic and political positions of workers, and finally labor-management relations.⁹ Trade unionism and the issues of collective bargaining became the main motives of this type of history writing.

The classical tradition of labor historiography began to change in terms of its content. Although there is much usage of labor movements as a subject matter in history writing, this classical tradition influenced labor history in a positive way as well. It widened the perspective of labor historians by including organized and unorganized workers, rank-and-file workers and the leaders, conservative workingmen, as well as revolutionary and radical workers. It contained not only the labor movement or a political party, but also the class itself.¹⁰ The first generations in

⁷ Hobsbawm, pp. 371-372.

⁸ Ibid, , p. 374.

⁹ Thomas A. Krueger, "American Labor Historiography, Old and New", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 4. No. 3 (Spring, 1971), p. 279.

¹⁰ Hobsbawm, p. 375.

labor history examined the working classes and labor movements in a largely national context.¹¹ The perspective changed in time due to historiographical developments especially with the influence of postmodern perspective.

New labor history emerged after the 1960s. It started to be defined as a part of social and cultural history, and its central task was to see positive correlation of class and other social and cultural variables.¹² This approach mainly developed in the United States. The most prominent labor historian, E.P. Thompson, was British. However, he stated, “the class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born or enter involuntarily” and added that class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms”.¹³ His work is accepted as a turning point in labor history. It provides a new version of old labor history and introduces new labor history. It seems that there is no strict departure from old labor history. In addition to these contributions, during the last two decades, historians began to question monocausal explanations based on workers’ class position. The focus of historians took a linguistic turn under the influence of a new orientation, namely discourse analysis. The wealth of approaches in labor history especially in the USA and Europe made the field a more exciting enterprise, but as well, a very complex one.¹⁴ Arguably, labor history is linked to the flourishing of historiography and researchers have been trying to keep up with the developments in history writing.

Marcel van der Linden and Lex Heerma van Voss suggest five main periods for the development of labor history in the Western world. The first period is from the 1890s to the First World War. Historians had a more social democratic perspective and focused on labor movements in this period. The Marxist perspective was not so dominant yet. The second period involves the interwar years. Attention to quantitative methods increased in conjunction with economic depression in the world. The third period is from the 1940s to the mid-1960s. During this period, Edward Thompson

¹¹ Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden (eds.), *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion, Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labour History*, (U.S.A.: Berghahn Books, 2002), p. 13.

¹² Krueger, p. 283.

¹³ David Brody, *The Old Labor History and The New: In Search of an American Working Class*, in *The Labor History Reader*, ed. Daniel J. Leab, (USA: University of Illinois, 1995), p. 123.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

wrote his pivotal work *The Making of English Working Class* (1963) and changed the common approach of historians. The fourth period is from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. The use of the labor movement once again attracted researchers' attention to labor organization in the late 1960s and the 1968 student movements. In addition, the study of daily life entered in labor history with the influence of *Alltagsgeschichte*. Finally, the fifth period of labor history starts in the mid-1980s and endures until today. In this period, researchers' interest in labor history diminished perhaps due to the high degree of diversification of research projects in the field and the shifting of researchers' attention to other aspects of social and economic history.¹⁵ Moreover, the organized labor movement declined in this period. This decline as well explain the declining interest in labor history.

Despite such shortcomings of current labor history. Historians cannot avoid the institutional and cultural issues and produce significant studies. Labor history is flourishing along with the historiographical advances as well as with the help of traditional methods.

2.2.2 Labor History in Studies on late the Ottoman and Republican Periods

Ottoman labor history consists of works on Ottoman workers and artisans, their organizations, working sectors, working conditions, labor movements, workers' and their families' daily lives. In other words, Ottoman labor history is about the lives and the variety of experiences of Ottoman waged workers, both in the work places and outside spheres. It consists of the examination of the role of both organized and unorganized workers in the course of the country's development.¹⁶ However, it should be emphasized that the use of wage labor did not spread to the same extent in every region or period of Ottoman history. There must be as well different categories in terms of periods and regions that show peculiar features of the mentioned sector and the workers. For instance, labor history of the Balkan territories and the Middle Eastern region are relatively different from one another in terms of their economic activities or the characteristics of labor composition. Vast territories and existence during an

¹⁵ Brody, pp. 3-10. For detailed information, please see the aforesaid book's introduction.

¹⁶ Krueger, pp. 281-282.

extended period of time caused differences. These factors should be kept in mind when studying Ottoman labor history.

History from below, or people's history, is an umbrella concept that includes a number of populist reactions against the monopolization of history writing by elites and the focuses on the elites.¹⁷ Groups such as women, workers, or artisans along with daily and cultural activities of societies form the main framework of history from below, which puts "ordinary people" into the center.¹⁸ Historians in Turkey still do not regard very highly this reorientation in historiography. They greatly exaggerate the role of the state.¹⁹ Official histories and historians in Turkey have given importance to the history of great men, which is based on narratives of certain leaders or other figures and the role of ordinary people or the masses are generally ignored.

The study of the state and its elites certainly is appropriate since its decisions and actions powerfully affected the nature and evolution of not only the Ottoman body politic but society as well. It is, however, not appropriate for a field as rich and developed as Ottoman history to continue to neglect the history of workers and other non-elite groups.²⁰

The State-led tradition is still very dominant in Ottoman history studies in Turkey and history from below has attracted the attention of few historians so far.

Historical inquiries are tightly related to ideological battles²¹ and they are, unfortunately, used as a tool to settle scores frequently. Ideological orientation is one of the basic features of the academic tradition in Turkey in social sciences. Likewise, the field of labor history remained very open to ideological clashes and certain academicians and scholars tend to be preoccupied in arbitrary assertions.²² This

¹⁷ John Tosh, *Historians on History*, (ed.) John Tosh, (Great Britain: Pearson, 2009), p. 107.

¹⁸ E.P. Thompson's "The Making of the English Working Class", (New York: Vintage Books, 1966) is accepted as the first and the most significant example of history from below due to its emphasis on the effects of cultural and social changes on the emergence of class.

¹⁹ Donald Quataert, "Introduction" in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sine İşçiler: 1839-1950*, eds. Donald Quataert and Eric Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), p. 21.

²⁰ Donald Quataert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield 1822-1920*, (USA: Berghahn Books, 2006), p. 2.

²¹ Hobsbawm, p. 378.

²² Oya Baydar's PhD dissertation, "*Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı, Doğuşu ve Yapısı*", which was published as a book later in 1969, was not accepted by the jury due to political reasons. Baydar explains this unfortunate experience in the foreword of her book reproachfully. This work is still accepted as one of the most valuable and good works on labor history, though it includes many mistakes. For mistakes and deficiencies, see Yıldırım Koç, *Yanlış-Doğru Cetveli: İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi Yazımında İnatçı Hatalar*, (Ankara, Epos Yayınları, 2010).

situation occurred not only in Turkey but also in Europe.²³ These attitudes prevented the integration of different aspects of human life into historical studies and the appreciation of Marxist theory by social scientists and historians. The conservative ideological climate²⁴ influenced the development of this field in Turkey and also in Europe negatively.

The modernization paradigm dominated the way of writing labor history as it did in other fields of social sciences for a long time in Turkey. The emphasis was usually on the evolution of workers who acted with a conscious political identity and launched strikes when needed. This evolution was accepted as a natural process of history.²⁵ Historians accepted that the line of progress Western Europeans needed to follow was the road for social and economic transformation that Ottoman Empire and Turkey were presumed to have. Historians nowadays avoid the modernization theory and the orientalist stances. This can be accepted as an important step forward. The attempt to avoid of these orientations by historians influenced labor history as well. Modernist and orientalist views in labor history began to lose their importance in academia in Turkey as well.

Specialization can be accepted as both necessary and futile in historical research, since researchers, especially in Turkey, try to maintain artificial margins throughout various fields. This stance impedes the development of interdisciplinary studies as well, due to the so-called “professionalization endeavors”. However, labor historians need to insist on making interdisciplinary and collaborative studies in order to frame more comprehensive works in terms of model and theory, because labor history is related to the disciplines of sociology, labor relations, economics, and law. Models and theories should be consistent with the internal dynamics of the society and state and social change. Historians should adjust the models they use in light of their

²³ Two labor historians from Denmark in 1930s namely Henry Bruun and Georg Norregaard made empirical contributions by using large quantity of primary sources yet they could not gain academic recognition. The doctoral thesis of Brunn was rejected in the University of Copenhagen and thus Norregaard even did not try to get accepted. Because this kind of topics were regarded as they have no merits or scientific reputation. Please see: Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion, Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labour History*, (U.S.A.: Berghahn Books, 2002), p. 11.

²⁴ Voss and Linden, p.10.

²⁵ Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett, Introduction to *Osmanlı Devleti ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Emek Tarihi*, by Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), p. 7.

research data. Otherwise, models can cause a doctrinaire approach. Indeed, ignoring the historical differences caused problems in works on Ottoman workers' movements or protests between the experiences of workers in the Western and Ottoman contexts during the nineteenth century.²⁶The roots of social change and the way it would happen in the Ottoman Empire differed from the conditions that affected working classes in Western Europe.

Today, studying labor history has become more popular with the accumulation of works and the increase in the number of researchers in Turkey. Simultaneously concerns related to the field have emerged.²⁷ Approaches and models have changed over time. In the beginning, the common tendency focused on the history and the development of trade unions and their relations with the state, organizations of workers, basic arrangements, and the relationship of workers with political parties and popular strikes. These emphases led to accounts that attributed a control role to the state. Writing about the history of trade unions and organizations of workers became related in the 1950s. Although various scholars wrote about workers, they called this line of work not labor history, but the history of the working class. The main attention was state-oriented. They avoided writing the history of workers who were unorganized, and of those who were migrants, or peasants. It is true workers came to be visible when they were involved in a trade union or they became part of a common protest or strike. This approach appears inadequate because it led to studies on labor which were composed of only a part of a complex picture. Many prominent academicians, including Alpaslan Işıklı, Kemal Sülker, Ahmet Makal, and Yıldırım

²⁶ Oya Baydar, *Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı, Doğuşu ve Yapısı*, (İstanbul: Habora Yayınevi, 1969), p. 136.

²⁷ Yüksel Akkaya claimed in 1991 that labor history is impoverished, yet we do not have such a condition in recent academic climate. See: Yüksel Akkaya, "Türkiye'de emek tarihinin sefaleti üzerine bazı notlar", *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*, (Winter, 1991), pp. 285-294. See dissertations: Akın Sefer, "The Docks of Revolution: The Struggles of the Port Workers of İstanbul in the late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", unpublished M.A. dissertation, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, 2009; Birten Çelik, "Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketlerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi (1800-1870)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İzmir, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir, 1999; Cevdet Kırpık, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde İşçiler ve İşçi Hareketleri (1876-1914)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Süleyman Demirel University, Isparta, 2004; Kadir Yıldırım, "*Osmanlı'da İşçiler: Çalışma Hayatı, Örgütler, Grevler. (1870-1922)*", İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013; M. Erdem Kabadayı, "Working for the State in a Factory İn İstanbul: The Role of Factory Workers' Etho-Religious and Gender Characteristics in State-Subject Interaction in the Late Ottoman Empire", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, 2008; Nurşen Gürboğa, "Mine Workers, The State, and War: The Ereğli-Zonguldak Coal Basin As The Site Of Contest, 1920-1947", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, 2005; Rahmi Deniz Özbay, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'da Devletin Emek İstihdamı", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, İstanbul, 2003.

Koç, continued this tradition. They can be accepted as the representatives of old labor history in Turkey.

Developments in theoretical perspectives put workers as workers and the major actors of labor history on the agenda of academics and scholars. Their work and daily life conditions were accepted as the focal point of new studies. Thus labor history became integrated into historical studies on the late Ottoman and the Republican periods. Many historians continue to take the old labor history writing tradition as a model. It is clear that the way one handles the topic depends on the standpoint of the researcher. Labor history studies were influenced by the new labor history movement of the last decade of the twentieth century. The everyday life of workers, their different characteristics in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, or religion in the workplace, the environment that shaped them became the new topics of Ottoman labor history. Scholars and academicians who studied in European countries and the USA in general introduced this new orientation. There still are two understandings in academia. Although the discipline's high level of development may have played a significant role in young scholars' relative disinterest in labor history in both Europe and the USA²⁸ until today, we cannot argue that Turkey or other related countries in the Middle East have witnessed similar level of development in labor history.

The multiethnic and multi religious characteristics of the Ottoman Empire have crucial importance on labor and organization. It is necessary to examine the issues of class-consciousness and class in the Ottoman Empire in order to reveal the effects of the mentioned characteristics by regarding various political, economic, and militaristic circumstances in a certain period. Issues on nationalism and socialism and the relations between them are worth examining for the last period of the state. These elements point to the need to take into account the economic and political conditions and to examine local features compared to the different ones appearing in the world.

However, maintaining a balance between structure and agency has been difficult. When historians focus more on people, they involuntarily or voluntarily blur broader processes and structures. If they focus on more macro processes and structures, they face the danger of not examining individual agents and the life of the workers.²⁹

²⁸ Voss and Linden, p. 10.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 23.

This imbalance exists in Turkey as well. There is no certain solution for this problem; i.e. the approach and the maintenance of this balance depends on the researcher's own effort.

By considering all these developments in the field, one can also determine particular time periods for Ottoman labor history in the modern era. Ottoman labor history started to develop in the 1930s with the works of Hüseyin Avni Şanda and the development continued in the 1960s and 1970s with the works of Kemal Sülker and Oya Sencer. The reasons for the increase in the studies of labor history are due to the 1968 movement³⁰ and the strengthening of the labor movement with the rise of unions in Turkey. However, the 1980 Coup d'état impacted not only the political and social atmosphere in Turkey, but also academic works negatively. It interrupted not only the development labor union and movements in political life, but also the coverage of these issues in academic works. Therefore, one needs to consider political conditions and their close links to academic life. This link is valid in the labor history of the western world as well. After the coup, studies increased especially by the beginning of the 1990s. Donald Quataert can be accepted as the leading scholar of this field during the 1990s and even today because he made great contributions to this field and helped break the strict ties with the left and to old labor history. He introduced new labor history and emphasized the importance of studying Ottoman labor history by using Ottoman archives.

2.3. Global Labor History

Global labor history is a new venue in labor history. It advocates the intensification or weakening of the nexus of interactions and crossings among different world regions along with the political, cultural, economic, and social conditions and institutions that facilitate or distract these relations.³¹ The systematization of global labor history is much related to the development of new world history. The new global

³⁰ It is a social movement that occurred in Paris in 1968 against the government of De Gaulle with many labor protests and general strike along with the student movements.

³¹ Peter Winn, "Global Labor History: The Future of the Field", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 82, Fall 2012, p. 88.

history has revealed how complex and cross-cultural exchanges have affected all parts of the world.³² Transitions among various regions make the superimposed political and cultural borders more invisible in historical research. This globalization of historical thought is bound to continue as the exchanges and global migrations continue in the twenty-first century.³³ Global labor history can be seen as a third way of writing labor history, yet it does not mean that there are strict categorizations in this field, it is only a new approach that draws attention to those aspects on the lives of labor hitherto overlooked by the old and new labor history narratives.

Working classes and labor movements have been treated as national entities in labor history so far.³⁴ The history of labor was examined within national boundaries or contexts. Historians investigated how the nation state changed issues related to working life, the conditions of workers, and the characteristics of labor at a very local stage. In the last two decades, however, this approach changed under the influence of global perspectives on labor history, which inspire comparisons across various parts of the world and highlight intercontinental interactions and connections.³⁵ Transnationalism has enabled historians to break away from nationally determined timescales that dominated the outlook. It provides the chance to address different and larger chronological changes in the larger world and comparisons among nation states.³⁶ Global labor history attracted attention to transnational and even transcontinental studies of the history of social movements and labor relations.³⁷ Transnational labor history focuses on border crossings that are linked to state labor

³² Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, "Introduction: The Cultural History of Historical Thought", in *A Companion To Western Historical Thought*, eds. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, (USA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 3.

³³ Kramer and Maza, p. 10.

³⁴ Marcel van der Linden, "Globalizing Labour Historiography: The IISH Approach", in : Josef Ehmer, Helga Grebing and Peter Gutschner (eds), "Arbeit": Geschichte — Gegenwart — Zukunft (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), p. 1.

³⁵ M.Erdem Kabadayı and Kate Elizabeth Creasey, "Working in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey: Ottoman and Turkish Labor History within a Global Perspective", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, Volume 82/Fall 2012, p. 188.

³⁶ Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism, Contemporary European History", Vol. 14, No. 4, *Theme Issue: Transnational Communities in European History, 1920-1970* (Nov., 2005), p. 429.

³⁷ Linden, "Labor History: The Old, The New and The Global", p. 173.

policies, labor market demands, actions of workers and working class institutions.³⁸ It should be pointed out this orientation is much related to methodological and conceptual shifts³⁹ in labor history writing, especially thanks to the contribution of migration studies, which have been developed by sociologists. Actually, historical migration studies developed parallel to “exploring transnational processes of working-class formation”.⁴⁰ It can be added that transnational history is not geographically determined and even small geographic areas can be subjects of transnational studies. The possibility of comparison and the chance to reveal interactions drive these studies.⁴¹

Transnational history studies also provide historians the chance of not being restricted to a certain time period unlike old labor history, which generally deals with the modern era. The transnational approach encourages the study of labor force flow in the pre-modern times, is another important topic in labor history. Concepts such as the working class and social movements are the products of modern times. However, the transnational approach allows historians to look at the experiences of hard-working people in the pre-modern times and helps show the change in the way labor force formed over a long time period.

As it seems, there is an emphasis on border crossings in this field, yet it is not borderless because it explores the formation of borders and how border crossings influenced these formations.⁴² Identity formation in general and in a multiethnic milieu in particular and the clashes that occurred due to integration problems are all crucial issues of new labor history. The continuity between migrants and their home countries are also considered by historians. Due to the migrants’ links to their homelands, they experience the articulation and transformation of their identities in dialectic interaction with notions in the region to which they migrated. By this way, transnational identities can emerge autonomously from the domain of the nation states. One can criticize the emphasis put on the role of the state and thereby enhancing the role of state apparatus

³⁸ Michael Hanagan, “An Agenda for Transnational Labor History”, *International Review of Social History*, 49 (2004), p. 455.

³⁹ Kabadayı and Creasey, p. 188.

⁴⁰ Linden, “Globalizing Labour Historiography: The IISH Approach”, p. 1.

⁴¹ Linden, “Labor History: The Old, The New and The Global”, p. 173.

⁴² Hanagan, pp. 455-456.

in this type of history writing, even though it is called global history. However, the characteristics of borders are very significant because they are inter-state or intra-imperial and this affects the routes, the directionality, and the adaptation process of the workers in the region to which they migrate.⁴³

Global labor history can be accepted as a different perspective on labor history studies. It does not aim to be a unique model. It is the study of transnational and transcontinental aspects of labor relations and workers' social movements at another stage of analysis. It goes beyond the borders of the nation states with the basic intention to reveal the interactions among various parts of the world. This transnational approach helps the researcher to move beyond the domain of the legal labor force. It introduces one to un-free, unpaid, transient, and unofficial activities. Internal dynamics of the states are significant, yet it must be repeated that the concern of global labor history is to understand societies in a global context with an emphasis on such transnational phenomena as migrations, commodity flows, wars and similar reasons.⁴⁴ All labor historians need not follow the transnational approach, but they should bear in mind transnational interactions and their results or reflections in the history of workers. The role of nation states cannot be ignored at this stage.

However, historians should be aware of such methodological pitfalls of the field as those caused by nationalist and Eurocentric outlooks. To start with, nation state can be taken for granted, assuming its existence long before the nineteenth century anachronically. In addition, each society can be identified with a geographically based area. This leads to overlooking the transactions and movements among societies. Indeed, one of the main matters of global labor history is to break the hold of the state based approach by considering the role of the nation states in shaping international relations. Awareness of these methodological pitfalls help us produce subtler studies. Third, young historians can face the problem of Eurocentrism. This can lead to the belief that a greater Europe shows the way to global connections.⁴⁵ Fourth, it is not perhaps a pitfall, but historians should reconsider the different internal dynamics of the countries or empires they study, since comparisons sometimes can cause huge

⁴³ Hanagan, pp. 457-461.

⁴⁴ Linden, "Globalizing Labour Historiography: The IISH Approach", pp. 2-3.

⁴⁵ Linden, "Labor History: The Old, The New and The Global", pp. 174-175.

methodological flaws. Notwithstanding, “historical comparisons” in transnational labor studies, in Marc Bloch’s terms, help one constitute a parallel examination of neighboring and contemporary societies and probing mutual influences.⁴⁶ Comparative studies generally contribute to the exposure of changes at micro and macro levels in transnational approach. Historians should look at broad structural patterns including capitalist economy, demography, family patterns, cultural codes, state policies and its organizations.⁴⁷ The goal is not to find a grand narrative, but the exploration of large-scale migrations, their relations to cross cultural interactions and their economic consequences.

Global labor history includes many dynamics within itself at a very broad scale. The ring of migration is one aspect of global labor history. In addition, it involves the workers’ socialization in various stages, such as in family, social networks, and education, all of which generally help shape the mentality of the workers. Global labor history has multiple sides. Consequently, as Winn states, its research agendas have a geographic and analytic scope and the covering of which will need an army of researchers from many regions or countries.⁴⁸ This advice increases the importance of professionalization and the collaborative studies in labor history as claimed above. Here, the historians require professionalization in order to produce new studies that contribute to the development of labor history in a broad sense.

Trade union internationalism is another topic of this field. The history of trade unions show us how workers’ organizations and unions in various parts of the world have had connections with each other. International solidarity is the most commonly used discourse that should also be examined from the perspective of global labor history, since one of the easiest ways to evaluate the movements and the protests of workers context-free is to look into the international support. It is clear that the old labor history as well paid close attention official relations between the national trade unions and other trade unions in the world. Nevertheless, new labor historians handle the issue differently from old labor historians approach. The global approach puts individual workers rather than institutions at the center. The emphasis is different

⁴⁶ Linden, “Globalizing Labour Historiography: The IISH Approach”, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Winn, p. 89.

because the new approach is a hybrid interpretation that interfuses trade union internationalism with new social movements.

2.4. The Possibility of the Adaptation of Transnational Approach to Ottoman History Studies

The new transnational approach is appropriate for Ottoman labor studies, because many nation states were established after the dissolution of the state. The successors of the Ottoman Empire, include Balkan States such as Bulgaria, Greece, as well as such Middle Eastern countries as Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. However, Ottoman historians have not tried to integrate transnational labor studies into the Ottoman case. Therefore, the academic milieu of Ottoman studies have not benefited from the contributions of this field. Whether it is discussed or not, all these states have historical connections to Ottoman heritage and these connections should enable historians to produce collaborative studies.

This thesis mentions global labor history because it is a new approach that can generate new questions, discussions, and perspectives in the field, thereby contributing to historical studies on the area. Second, this thesis addresses the recruitment picture in the Anatolian Railway Company. Global labor history offers a perspective particularly suitable to understanding this picture because the company employed many skilled and unskilled foreign workers. The variety in the work force in terms of ethnicity and region may be considered as well from this point of view. The clashes among the workers and the tension between the company and especially the Muslim workers may shed some light on the variety of identities and its reflections on work life. For example, while the working conditions of foreigners are thought to be worse off than those of the native employees in general, this was not the case in the Anatolian railway company. Ottoman workers had more disadvantages and less opportunities regarding their work conditions when compared to foreign workers. The organizations of workers as well reflected the heterogeneity of the Ottoman population and workforce. The Fraternity Union of the railway workers had a heterogeneous character, reflecting the eclectic structure of the labor force. Furthermore, industrialization is a relatively global trend that influenced most parts of the world. Handling both internal and external dynamics helps one understand the effects of this

global trend. Finally, researchers should consider the crucial role of labor migration because it determined the form of the workforce in the Ottoman Empire. There were many skilled and unskilled foreign workers working for the Company, as mentioned above. The reasons for migrations from various parts of the world such as Italy, Iran, or Austria can provide significant data to understand the motives behind them. Therefore, the topic here can be handled through a transnational perspective. These are the reasons why this chapter includes a discussion on transnational labor history and the possibilities of implementing this approach in studies on Ottoman history.

Labor historians from the successor states of the Ottoman Empire can come together to undertake comparative studies that examine cross-border issues as they impacted on the labor force, the processes of the making of the working classes, and their interaction with due attention to workers' reactions within the general framework of the new capitalist economy. Cooperation of historians from the successor states should enable the writing of transnational labor history. There are many historians who worked on labor issues of different regions such as Salonika, Izmir, Istanbul, Damascus, or Cairo, but the emphasis here is on the need to study the interaction processes between at least two regions. This suggestion corresponds to Linden's *collective model*, whereby several national scholars "collaborate on a comparative research project". Linden offers the *project model* to researchers as an alternative to comparisons of several national reports written by respective specialists.⁴⁹ Both can be implemented in Ottoman labor history studies. The number of studies on labor history is still increasing in the Ottoman field, but historians need to pay closer attention to adopt an appropriate methodological approach. Transnational labor history is not only about movements and interactions between states with clear borders. Works on trans-continental studies are as well part of this path adding another dimension to it. Işıl Acehan's related article illustrates this point.⁵⁰

As mentioned above, migrants generally maintained connections with their homelands and could shape themselves as well as the sending area. For instance, socialism, which brought new ideas and ideological outlooks to the Ottoman Empire

⁴⁹ Linden, "Globalizing Labour Historiography: The IISH Approach", pp. 11-12.

⁵⁰ Işıl Acehan, "Amerika'da Osmanlı Sokağı: Peabody, Massachusetts'te Türk Deri İşçileri", in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Emek Tarihi*, by Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

spread by non-Muslim workers. The migration of labor force can shape migrants as well as the region to which workers migrated. The ongoing connections between migrants and homelands, and the connection between fellow migrants and the previous migrants need to be probed.⁵¹ For instance, the transformation of professions within the same ethnic group was due to the migration chain.⁵²

Clearly, a better understanding of the changing conditions calls for paying attention to the interaction across the borders, the comparison of transit states, and the circumstances to which the workers try to adopt.

The attempt to write transnational history in Ottoman studies proves challenging due to theoretical inconsistencies and the problem of sources. Traditional labor history studies are based on state documents along with newspapers, European consular reports, journals, diaries or other writings of workers.⁵³ State documents of related countries and other mentioned similar studies remain indispensable sources. Moreover, oral history can be very useful in this field, but this method produces information that sheds light on only the twentieth century. The examination of social memory to detect the experiences in Ottoman times can only be based on documents, memoirs, or other written sources. Concisely, oral history can be used as an alternative tool in research on the history of workers in the last decade of the Ottoman Empire and in the Republican era.

Interpretation of the information available in these sources offers challenges. Ties with the political left generally poses a problem of generalization and blurs certain aspects of labor history, but it cannot be ignored that left-wing traditions developed this field in Turkey, as they did in other countries in the world. Nevertheless, there is no positive correlation between the increase in the number of labor movements in Turkey and the popularity of writing labor history. Labor history included the history of workers and work relations in order to glorify workers of the past generations. Similarly the Marxist perspective, which sees workers as the basic engine of change, entails a tendency to glorify the history of workers. Quataert, as the most significant

⁵¹ Hanagan, p. 460.

⁵² Aytakin, E. Atilla. *Tarlalardan Ocaklara, Sefaletten Mücadeleye: Zonguldak-Ereğli Kömür Havzası İşçileri 1848-1922*, (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2006), p. 18.

⁵³ Donald Quataert, "The Social History of Labor in the Ottoman Empire: 1800-1914, in: Ellis Jay Goldberg (ed.): *The Social History of Labor in the Middle East* (Colorado, 1996), p. 22.

Ottoman labor historian, reminds that the history of the left and the history of workers should be handled separately. The history of workers is not identical with the history of the left. Although delinking the history of the left from labor history⁵⁴ still proves problematic, the supposition of an organic relationship between the two is questionable. Historians should consider the nuances. They should also target to survey the workers and labor movements that do not have relations with the left and are not inspired by it.⁵⁵ However, historians should look into also the influence of international organizations, including socialist organizations and workers, on Ottoman labor history.

In short, global labor history is an attempt that tries to chip away the edge of national labor history. It offers a macro-historical perspective that avoids grand narratives. It is not assertive for the moment because of conceptual and methodological reasons, yet it flourishes as global perspectives influence modern historiography.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the developments in history writing and pointed to the possibilities of filling gaps in Ottoman labor history by introducing new developments, above all global history writing. Historians need to study the relevance of global labor history in Ottoman studies. Ottoman labor history can be a part of these studies.

All contributions to historiography open new perceptions in the minds of historians just as making them more cautious about historical objectivity, its veracity, and the role of history. This caution is connected to postmodernist and post structuralist skepticism. History writing now encourages the search for alternatives to grand narratives inspired by the modernization theory and nationalist views of the past.

Ottoman labor history studies fit the global perspective thanks to the variable characteristics of Ottoman history in terms of its geographic scope and longevity. However, even if this perspective is called “global”, it does not aim at total history. Rather, it regards regional dynamics and local histories as fundamental pieces of the

⁵⁴ Kabadayı and Creasey, p. 191.

⁵⁵ Donald Quataert, “Introduction”, in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sine İşçiler: 1839-1950*, eds. Donald Quataert and Erik Jan Zürcher, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), p. 23.

larger mosaic. It even seems more “national” than the previous studies, but the crucial point is that it prevents nationalist motives and efforts and renders minds more borderless.

Transcontinental studies enable one not only to see the mutual connections during transcontinental developments, but also to view regions and different regions with a new sight.⁵⁶ It helps break nationalist and parochial determinism, which blinds minds to mutual interactions among various parts of the world. Objectivity in history, as in other social sciences, may an elusive goal, but transnational studies enable historians to think more analytically and to see the world in a more integral manner. Global labor history is still under construction now. It has analytical, conceptual, and methodological shortcomings. If more historians incline towards it, their collaboration and common projects will strengthen the theoretical base of this field.

Ottoman labor history should be a part of transnational or global history, as described above. Works on railway workers would not only be a good place to start, because railways connected distant places and facilitated transportation of goods and people, but also because their construction and operation involved similar technologies and challenges around the world.

There are a few studies on railway workers in the Ottoman Empire but many of them are about the political economy, finances or international relations aspect of the railroads. This situation leaves a lacuna in our understanding of late Ottoman history in general and Ottoman labor history in particular. As already indicated above, establishing the scope of this gap and making modest attempt towards filling it are the aims of this thesis.

Before moving in that direction, one needs to glance at studies on Ottoman railways and investors in them. Arguably, the most comprehensive work on this topic is Murat Özyüksel’s *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*. I have benefited mostly from this work in this thesis. (He also worked on the Hijaz railway.) Ufuk Gülsoy is another person who worked on the Hijaz and Anatolian-Baghdad railways. Vahdettin Ergin, Bülent Can Bilmez, Ali Satan, Metin Hülügü, and Yaqup Nasif Karkar are other significant names in this field. Lothar Rathmann and Orhan Kurmuş analyze investments with a critical view of imperialism.

⁵⁶ Linden, “Labor History: The Old, The New and The Global”, p. 178.

Studies about labor relations and working life in the Ottoman railways are scarce. Quataert provided one of the most significant, and the earliest, studies about the railway workers in his pivotal work “*Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*”. Hüseyin Avni Şanda, Oya Sencer, Mete Tunçay, and Kadir Yıldırım provided important data about the railway men in the Ottoman Empire.

The number of these studies indicate that there is not only a dearth of Ottoman railway labor studies, but also of Ottoman transportation history particularly railways. One of the aims of this thesis is to attract researchers’ attention to this paucity in both related study fields. The perspective of this thesis is based on both political economy and the working life in the Ottoman railways regarding its transnational character.

Overall, this chapter addressed, the current condition of Ottoman labor history, studies produced in this field, the new trends and approaches in Ottoman labor history such as transnational labor history, and finally studies about the Ottoman railways and the railway workers were examined. Although there are plenty of studies about late Ottoman history, studies on Ottoman labor history remain highly inadequate on Ottoman railway studies, and above all on work life and conditions.

CHAPTER 3

ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS: THE COMPANY, LINES, AND THE OUTCOMES OF THE INVESTMENTS

This chapter begins with a concise introduction to the history of railways in the world to show how the railway sector developed in the early industrializing states. Then the history of the first Ottoman railways is discussed until 1888, when the construction of the Anatolian railways began.

The second part of the chapter relies on secondary sources, which include various primary sources, including documents from the Ottoman Archives, and on the Times newspaper as a primary source. The Times newspaper is significant because it shows the international economic and political atmosphere in the last period of the nineteenth century from the viewpoint of British journalists. Although Britain was not the sole and the most significant state investing in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, competition among the major European states but especially the German-British competition became an important force. Therefore, researchers working on this period consider the comments of foreign writers, journalists, or analysts in order to see the political atmosphere in its complexity and versatility. In this thesis, the Times was chosen due to the significance of Britain although the British did not directly participate in the construction of the Anatolian railways. The variety of secondary sources, which the chapter relies on, include the basic sources related to the construction of railways in Anatolia. The main attempt in this chapter is to explain and evaluate the construction process of the Anatolian railways by including the diplomatic, economic, and political clashes or developments, because work life cannot be regarded without due attention to the policies of the states. All of the ups and downs of these policies and clashes affected working life in the empire and the reactions of the employees. Researchers who study a working place should provide some basic information about the history of that place or region in order to show the conditions or circumstances affecting that area. In short, all of the factors related to working conditions should be explained in order to see the whole framework of the issue.

3.1. The Development of Railways in the World

Technology, international political power and balanced economic growth all play a role in the operation of a railway company. A railway is a combination of technical devices and specialized and qualified personnel, it provides overland transportation of freight and passengers. It observes established schedules and specified standard rates.⁵⁷ Therefore, the railway is something more than an individual commercial enterprise, for it is authorized for public use by a government agency and operated by a company interactively. These conditions applied to the railway projects in the Ottoman Empire as well. This chapter will focus on one of them, namely the Ottoman Anatolian Railway Company.

The railways represent a relatively recent development in world history.

It is firstly used for conveying coal from the pit mouth to the waterside in the sixteenth century; that is, it stayed for a while in the use of the people who provided its capital and construction. The use of this track can be dated to 1597 in England. The use of railway in the purpose of providing public traffic expanded by the increasing in railway branches were connected resulted with their connection with other public transportation ways.⁵⁸

This can be accepted as a harbinger of railways. The first railway, which was used for transportation of both passengers and freight, ran in 1825 in England.⁵⁹ Another source states the first railway route as the Liverpool-Manchester line, which was opened in 1830.⁶⁰

Compared to such fields as education, technology, or science, the Ottoman Empire does not appear to have been as inferior to the Western European countries in railway transportation in the nineteenth century. The development of railways in the Ottoman Empire paralleled and coincided with other examples in the world.

⁵⁷ John Geise, "What is a railway", *Technology and Culture*, (Vol 1, No.1, Winter, 1959), p. 76.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Murat Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, (İstanbul; Arba Yayınları, 1988), p. 8.

⁶⁰ Ali Satan, "Osmanlı'nın Demiryolu Çağına Girişi", in *Osmanlı'da Ulaşım: Kara-Deniz-Demiryolu*, ed. Vahdettin Engin et al. (İstanbul: Çamlıca yay., 2012), p. 211.

3.2. The Development of Railways Built in the Ottoman Empire

Although the length of railways in the Ottoman Empire was not as high, railways entered the empire more or less at the same time as they began to develop in Western European countries. However, the reasons why the Ottoman Empire became the focal point of interest of the powerful European countries, including England, France, Germany, and Russia are very complex to explain. I will explain some of these complexities partially. Internal and external dynamics played a role in turning Ottoman Empire into a center of attraction for rail-road construction.

3.2.1. Why the Ottoman Empire?

The importance of the Ottoman Empire in late nineteenth-century international politics is emphasized not only due to its geopolitical significance, but also because of its internal dynamics. Military strategy, the wealth of raw materials, its value for capitalist markets are some reasons why the Ottoman Empire attracted the attention of the developing capitalist powers. However, this concern was not only related to the empire alone but also the dynamics of the intervening powers.

During the early periods, Germany played a minor role in international relations involving the Ottoman Empire compared to Britain or France. The reasons for this situation is linked to the late development of capitalism in Germany and the bad transportation conditions, because Germany relied mostly on land transportation by carts, which was expensive and cumbersome.⁶¹ Although the capitalist development of Germany continued after the second half of the nineteenth century, the German bourgeoisie did not see the Ottoman Empire as important as England or France, because the German bourgeoisie did not see an urgent need to benefit from the markets and resources of the Near East. However, the policies changed after some noticeable progress. The first sign of this change was the committee of German military officers were sent to train the Ottoman army. The second one is the affiliation

⁶¹ Lothar Rathmann, *Berlin-Bağdat: Alman Emperyalizminin Türkiye 'ye Girişi*, (İstanbul, Belge Yayınları, 2001), p. 24.

of German *Rüstungsindustrie* with the Ottoman Empire, and finally obtaining a concession to construct the Ottoman railways with funds raised through the Deutsche Bank.⁶² All these developments started a new period in the relations of the two states. Especially after 1885, German military general staff and government made an effort to make Anatolia one of the areas where German finance capital became influential.⁶³

3.2.2. Railway Investments in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman officers saw the railway as a crucial tool of development and modernization. They believed it would help govern the peripheral zones more effectively. Furthermore, it would assist in collecting taxes, providing security, controlling distant places, dispatching soldiers, warding off brigands, and transmitting crops to Istanbul and the garrisons. However, railroads also served as a tool of imperialism. They helped transport raw materials to Western markets and Western products, which were produced cheaply in Western factories, to distant lands.⁶⁴ The non-industrialized regions thus became new markets for British products. The railway helped to British to reach Asia in order to find new markets.⁶⁵ These were the benefits that industrialized Britain sought by providing support for the construction of railways in the Ottoman Empire. One needs to consider the outcomes of railways for the countries interested in them and helping to build them along with their pragmatic uses for the countries in which they are constructed.

Topics such as the rise of regional specialization, the emergence of new towns, industrial development, and the increase in agricultural production⁶⁶ are very significant issues in railway studies, however they are broad topics that we need to keep out of this study. I will only mention the financial outcomes of the railways for the central government and the investors.

⁶² Rathmann, pp. 24-25.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Satan, p. 209.

⁶⁵ Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, (İstanbul: Eren yayıncılık, 1994), p. 17.

⁶⁶ Yaqub Nasif Karkar, *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1914, An Economic Interpretation*, (unpubslihed Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Michigan, 1964), p. 8.

The British officer and investor Francis Chesney made many unsuccessful attempts to obtain concessions to construct railways in the Ottoman Empire. The first project was propounded by him.⁶⁷ It is not a coincidence that the British undertook the first breakthrough in railway construction in the Ottoman State. The first appropriate route for the railway was thought by the British as starting in the Mediterranean (Euphrates Valley) and ending in the Persian Gulf to reach India.⁶⁸

There were also other projects by British investors, but none of them were successfully carried out until 1854 when the first railway route was opened connecting Alexandria to Cairo.⁶⁹ British experts came to Egypt in 1850 and they observed the region as to whether it was convenient for railway construction or not. They also attained permission from the Governor of Egypt Abbas Pasha. He accorded the British investors railway concession in order to maintain his good relationship with Britain.⁷⁰ The Alexandria-Cairo railway route was opened in 1856 as the first railway route in the Ottoman Empire.

It is important to point out that the Treaty of *Baltalimanı* (1838) and the promulgation of the *Islahat* Edict (Reform Edict of 1856) contributed to the spread of railways in Ottoman territories with the help of foreign investors. The treaty of *Baltalimanı* encouraged foreign investors to trade and invest in the Ottoman Empire. The *Islahat* Edict precipitated a safe and stable atmosphere, which led to new political, judicial, and economic reforms in the state.⁷¹ Not only the external forces, but also the internal concerns encouraged the construction of railways in the Ottoman Empire. For example, Sadık Rıfat Pasha (1807-1857) who was the Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna informed of significance of the railways in Europe, and he argued the railways must be constructed in the empire as well in order to develop agriculture and to transport the produce to markets easily. He offered this project to the Sublime Porte in 1847. Sultan Abdulmecid I mentioned the importance of railways in terms of public works

⁶⁷ Özyüksel, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), p. 34.

⁶⁹ Özyüksel, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Gülsoy, p. 19.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

and the development of financial conditions in a talk addressing the ministers (*vükela*) in 1855.⁷²

The number of railways increased after these attempts and the Köstence-Çernovada and İzmir-Aydın railway routes were opened in 1856. It has to be mentioned that although the concession was granted to Britain in 1854, İzmir-Aydın railway line was opened in 1863 due to financial reasons.⁷³ The intentions of both sides were the development of the region and the development of trade between Britain and the Ottoman Empire. Then, the Ruscuk-Varna and İzmir-Kasaba lines were opened in 1861 and 1863, respectively. Edward Price obtained the concession to build the İzmir-Kasaba line, which was planned to be ninety-three kilometers.⁷⁴ These railway lines indicate that the British investors gave special importance to routes that crossed densely populated areas with rich soil and easy connection to Europe. However, the Ottoman government's intention to construct railways was based on various military, economic, and political reasons. Military goals and fears were prominent in the case of the Rumelian railways. Economic and safety concerns were significant for the state due to brigandage and domestic unrest on the construction of the İzmir-Aydın line.⁷⁵ Economic and political factors alone cannot explain the significance of the railways.

As Gülsoy points out Rumelian railways was internationally significant due to its military and political importance. Austrian banker Baron Hirsch obtained the permission to construct the Rumelian railway on 17 April 1869. However, the Ottoman Empire met a loss during the construction of this railway because Baron Hirsch sold a very great amount of the shares to potential German investors mischievously. Because of these problems, the state determined to construct railways by its own effort. The first attempt in this direction was the construction of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit and Mudanya-Bursa railway lines. The first line was ninety-two kilometers long and was finished in 1873. However, this project brought a huge financial burden for the state because the cost of the construction was very high while it was of poor quality.

⁷² Gülsoy, p. 21.

⁷³ Karkar, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.111.

⁷⁵ Gülsoy, p. 22.

After the moratorium caused by delayed public debt payment in 1875, the demand to invest in railways halted until the establishment of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1881. The Debt Administration opened a new phase in the domination of the Ottoman Empire by the major European powers. Although the European investors were driven mainly by their own profit and motives, the Ottomans generally tried to maintain a balance among them economically, politically, and militarily. There was relatively little direct involvement of these countries. The Ottoman government retained power to defend some of its interests. For example, it could determine whichever company would gain the right to construct and make some plans for the future.

Germany improved its economic condition by the end of the nineteenth century. The aboveground and belowground wealth of the Ottoman Empire attracted Germany. For example, the rich soil of the Ottoman territories began to attract the attention of Germans. The German government even sent some experts to Anatolia in 1885 and 1888 in order to survey its agricultural potential. There were as well other reasons such as rich harvest cotton, stone coal, and oil that attracted German interests.⁷⁶

The shifting balance of powers in international political relations made the Ottomans turn to Germany because it was the least threatening to Ottoman territorial integrity. Neither Britain and France, nor Russia and Italy gave assurances to the Ottomans. In 1878, Britain took Cyprus to balance the Russian gains to some extent. Simultaneously, the British began to think that the Ottoman Empire could no longer serve as a buffer zone protecting their interests against Russian expansion.⁷⁷ Britain invaded the large part of Egypt and the Suez Canal in 1882.⁷⁸ These British interventions changed the mind of the Ottoman government against Britain. The Russo-Turkish war 1877-78 had a significant impact on the policies of the Ottoman government, as well as cultivating the hopes for establishing a new Armenian state and the attempts to keep the straits in check. Finally, to the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881 likewise affected the decisions of the Ottoman government. Austria occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. These examples show why the Ottomans moved close

⁷⁶ Gülsoy, pp. 23-25.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 25.

⁷⁸ Klaus Kreiser and Christoph K. Neuman, *Küçük Türkiye Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2003), p. 267.

to Germany. Other powers said nothing against these invasions suggesting that there was emerging a mutual agreement among them about the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁹ The Germans' Ottoman policy became threatening to the Russians, as they feared that the Germans might increase their political dominance in Eastern Anatolia. The Russians also considered that the Germans constructed railways and this would cause prejudice against the Russians' own interests because they wished to be the sole intermediary in the trade between much of Asia and Europe.⁸⁰ Ottoman territories became an area where the interests of these powerful states clashed. These states struggled for the highest share of commerce in the Ottoman Empire.⁸¹ On the other hand, Germany had no Muslim colonies so the Ottoman state continued to develop its political and economic relations with Germany because this was an important criteria for the Ottomans.⁸² However, this does not mean Germany did not have any interest in Asia Minor, which was a major part of the Ottoman Empire. Some observers claimed that it was the Germans who first opened the Asia Minor to global commercial traffic.⁸³

3.3. The New Period in the Railway Age

Wilhelm II, who was the last German Emperor, visited the Ottoman Empire twice in 1889 and again in 1898. The measures taken to protect the emperor and the empress during their visit in 1898, were perfect. The Ottoman police were very active and ready against any attack.⁸⁴

These visits improved the relations between the two countries and accelerated their economic relations and German investments. The influence of German finance

⁷⁹ Gülsoy, pp. 25-26.

⁸⁰ Times' own Correspondent, "Russia-German Rivalry", *The Times*, May 20, 1898, p. 8.

⁸¹ Times' own Correspondent, "Russia-German Rivalry", *The Times*, May 20, 1898, p. 8.

⁸² Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), p. 19.

⁸³ Times' own Correspondent, "Russia-German Rivalry", *The Times*, May 20, 1898, p. 8.

⁸⁴ Times' own Correspondent via Reuter's Agency, "The German Emperor in Constantinople", *The Times*, October 21, 1898, p. 3.

and commerce in the east strengthened along with German investments.⁸⁵ Therefore, these visits can be accepted as a turning point in German-Ottoman relations.

Germany's expansionist policy, which is called "*Weltpolitik*", aimed at overcoming the problems of finding raw materials and new markets, as this policy basically proposed a "peaceful expansion".⁸⁶ The Ottoman Empire tended towards collaboration with Germany in this period. The intellectual movements in the Ottoman Empire helped flourish the political and military relations between the two states. The Germans' peaceful attitudes and the Ottomans' positive response cannot be examined in isolation. The international political atmosphere, rival interests, and the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire contributed to the German-Ottoman rapprochement. These factors explain why Sultan Abdülhamid II moved close to the German government instead of Britain, Russia or France. However, the initiatives of Sultan Abdülhamid II alone cannot explain these relations.

3.3.1. The Anatolian Railway Company and the Construction Process

The relations of Germany and the Ottoman Empire did not start with the concession for the Anatolian railway. The arms trade was a significant factor in the development of the relations between these two countries. It eased the way for Germans to obtain concessions to construct the Anatolian railway.⁸⁷ The reliance of the Ottoman Empire on Germany contributed to the development of the relations between them. The personal attitudes of Abdulhamid II against German officials shaped as well the political and economic decisions in this period.

Wilhelm von Pressel, who was the general director of the Ottoman Railways, was searching for financial assurance for the Anatolian railways. He appealed to the General Director of Vereinsbank, Alfred Kaulla. Ottoman administrators cooperated with von Kaulla because he maintained good relations with the Ottoman government.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Times' own Correspondent, "German Enterprise in the East", *The Times*, October 28, 1898, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, p. 19.

⁸⁷ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 61.

⁸⁸ Rathmann, p. 38.

Pressel also appealed to Georg von Siemens, the General Director of Deutsche Bank⁸⁹ and also a *Reichstag* Deputy.⁹⁰ The German Ambassador Radowitz was very active during this period. He conveyed Kaulla's requests to the Ottoman ministers and succeeded to be effective due to his connections to influential people in the Ottoman government. It is claimed that German bureaucrats resorted to other method as well as bribes, intrigue, threat, and theft of certain diplomatic documents to persuade the Sublime Port.⁹¹

Although the pressure that France and Britain put on the Ottomans jeopardized the process, the Ottoman government was still eager to continue its relations with Germany. Siemens did not have a positive outlook about the issue of financing the Anatolian railways at first, but he changed his mind and agreed to apply for the concession on 9 August, 1888 in his letter to Kaulla. After the approval of the Foreign Minister of Germany, the concession contract was signed between the Ottoman government and Deutsche Bank on 4 October 1888. According to the terms of the contract, Deutsche Bank charged five percent in return for a credit of 30 million Marks to the Ottoman Empire. This commission facilitated the signing of the treaty. The contract included the conditions for the construction and management of the 486-km long İzmit-Ankara Line. According to this concession contract, the Haydar Pasha-Izmit line was handed over to Deutsche Bank in return for six million Franks. The span of the concession was ninety-nine years and the construction should be completed in three years.⁹² Ninety kilometers long Haydar Pasha-Izmit line had been constructed in 1871 and leased to a British company for twenty years in 1880. However, the Ottomans broke the contract, with confidence of the support of Germany, and permitted the Germans to take over. After this change, the Ottoman state accepted to guarantee 15 000 Franks of revenue per kilometer annually⁹³ and Deutsche Bank endorsed the guarantee for the stated amount of profit from the beginning. If the profits of the company did not reach the agreed-upon levels, the Ottoman government pay the

⁸⁹ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 62.

⁹⁰ Times' own Correspondent, "German Enterprise in the East", *The Times*, October 28, 1898, p. 5.

⁹¹ Rathmann, pp. 45-47.

⁹² Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, pp. 63-66.

⁹³ Karkar, pp. 120-121.

difference. The revenue from the tithes of Izmir, Ertuğrul, Kütahya, and Ankara *sanjaks* were shown as the guarantee and the parties recognized the Public Debt Administration as the conveyor. The right to search and exploit minerals and to cut wood in the 20-km zone on both sides of the railway line was given to the railway company.⁹⁴ The consortium included the Deutsche Vereinsbank and Württembergische Vereinsbank besides Deutsche Bank. In 1889, the consortium also acquired the concession from the Sublime Porte to build and operate the Selanik-Manastır line.⁹⁵

After addressing all these challenges regarding the financial difficulties, the Anatolian Railway Company (*Anatolische Eisenbahngesellschaft*) was established on 23 March 1889 as a joint stock company. One of its illustrations is presented below:



3.1. Figure: Advertisement of the Anatolian Railway Company (1896)

(Source: Historical Association of Deutsche Bank .*A Century of Deutsche Bank in Turkey: An Illustrated History*. (Frankfurt: Aksoy Printing, 2009), p. 25.)

⁹⁴ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 66.

⁹⁵ Rathmann, p. 42.

Otto von Kühlmann became the General Director of the Company. He worked on the Rumelian railways and won the Sublime Porte's confidence.⁹⁶ Alfred Kaulla recommended Otto Kapp, who was the chief engineer of the Graf Vitali Company as the director of construction works. It is asserted that Deutsche Bank gave the construction concession of the Izmit-Ankara Line to a French company, namely the Grafen Vitali Company, because the bank directors were afraid of the reactions of the Foreign Ministry of France in 1889.⁹⁷ Siemens responded positively to Kaulla's recommendation. Siemens also wanted to give the construction responsibility to a German company. For this reason, the German Philipp Holzmann Company and Vitali collaborated during the construction of the Anatolian railways.⁹⁸

3.3.2. The New Period with Deutsche Bank

Twenty one large German Banks and business companies with an investment of fifteen million marks established Deutsche Bank. It became one of the most important instruments of German imperialism. It continued its relations not only with the big sailing companies, but also the German industry and it contributed to capital outflow by means of "colonial banks".⁹⁹

The Wiener Bankverein was included in the consortium, which was headed by Deutsche Bank in 1889. The consortium supported the Wiener Bankverein to take the control of the railways on the European territories of the empire. On 12 August 1888, the Paris-Vienna line reached İstanbul and thus it connected certain European centers to İstanbul. It also enabled the Deutsche Bank to expand the railway line in Anatolia more ardently.

German companies did not have any railway line concessions in the Ottoman Empire until 1888 but they had acquired concessions for a total of 2000-km railway

⁹⁶ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 67.

⁹⁷ Rathmann, p. 42.

⁹⁸ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, pp. 68-69.

⁹⁹ Rathmann, p. 38.

lines by the end of 1890.¹⁰⁰ Evidently, the international political conjuncture eased the pace of such investments in the Ottoman Empire. Although railway construction in Anatolia was not profitable for Germany or other states in the early periods, Regional, political, and partially economic expectations had improved significantly by 1890.

3.3.3. Izmit-Adapazarı Line

The works for the Anatolian Railway started in May 1889 by the headman Otto Kapp. The 50-km long Izmit-Adapazarı line was opened on 2 July 1890 by an official ceremony. The Minister of Public Works Raif Pasha wished this line would expand to Baghdad. Georg von Siemens from Berlin and Her Kaulla from Stuttgart attended the official ceremony with a significant number of Ottoman officials.¹⁰¹

3.3.4. The Extension of Anatolian Railways

There were many applications in order to gain the concession of extending the railway line beyond Ankara. For instance, a Belgian-French group applied to obtain concession for the Samsun-İskenderun line in 1891. Also, the English contractor Stainforth recommended the railway line, which would start in Ereğli and expand to Baghdad via Ankara. Another French group, which was headed by Belgian Nagelmakers, aimed to obtain the right to build Eskişehir-Konya line via Kütahya.¹⁰² Although the construction of the railway in Anatolia seemed unprofitable and futile at the beginning, various companies and English or French officials clearly recognized the importance of this route eventually. Even if they were aware of the strategic significance of railway building in Anatolia, they did not attempt to obtain a concession in the beginning. The Anatolian railway did not have huge significance within itself without considering its projected connections to the Mesopotamian

¹⁰⁰ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 70.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 76.

region. When German officials came up with the idea of expanding the railway route to Baghdad, this possibility threatened British and French interests due to the line's strategic location and its closeness to their actual or targeted colonial areas.

Although there were subsequent British and French attempts to obtain concessions, Sultan Abdülhamid II was not eager to issue them any rights to construct any line in Anatolia since he thought German officials did not threaten the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and that German interests in the empire were largely economic.

On 27 November 1892, the first train of the Anatolian railway reached Ankara bearing Ottoman flags. This date was compatible with the date of completion set in the contract.¹⁰³ Every line and contract process came with their own problems, yet the political atmosphere generally lined up with Germany.

Deutsche Bank was still willing to expand the line to Konya and Kayseri.¹⁰⁴ This idea discomforted the English and French officials because they were aware Germany would expand its influence in the Ottoman Empire and control significant routes, which threatened English and French colonial zones. The French group tried to get the concession of expanding İzmir-Kasaba railway line to Konya by the support of P. Chambon, the French ambassador to İstanbul, and they also tried to be included in the Anatolian Railway Company by using the Ottoman Bank in Berlin. Furthermore, they used some contrivances in the Yıldız Palace in order to prevent of the Ottoman government from giving the Konya concession to Deutsche Bank. However, they succeeded in neither. P Chambon considered this outcome as disrespect for the French Government. The British ambassador Sir Clare Ford conveyed the idea that giving the Konya concession to Germany would harm British interests to Bab-ı Ali on 5 January 1893. British officials reacted rigorously. Sir Clare Ford threatened the Ottoman government with a show of force of the British fleet in the İzmir port. Both the Russian and the French ambassadors encouraged him. British officials claimed Konya line route would go through the hinterland of the İzmir-Aydın railway, consequently it should be constructed by the İzmir-Aydın Railway Company. All of these challenges and objections show that the importance of the railway line and the privileges increased tension among the mentioned states. They may also show that the sudden

¹⁰³ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 80.

reactions of British and French officials reveal the powerful impact of the strategic policies of Germany. Nevertheless, Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman administration wanted to work with German companies although the Sultan tried to delay the signing of the concession contract by coming up with various excuses or pretenses throughout January and until mid-February 1893.¹⁰⁵ The British and the French put pressure on the Ottoman government to check German interests while expanding their own. Other issues such as international relations further complicated the rivalry between the major European powers. Sultan Abdülhamid II tried to balance the conflicting interests and requests of these powers while obtaining as advantageous a deal as possible for the Ottomans. He finally issued on the imperial decree giving the concession for the Eskişehir-Konya line and for the extension of the line from Ankara to Kayseri toward Baghdad to Herr Alfred Kaulla on 6 February 1893.¹⁰⁶ The officials of the Anatolian Railway Company and the Deutsche Bank signed the contract of the Eskişehir-Konya line on 15 February 1893.¹⁰⁷ However, Sultan Abdülhamid II was obliged to issue the concession of the Beirut-Damascus- Aleppo line to a French group within a very short time after the signing of the agreements of the Konya line with Germans.

This process of complex negotiations shows that obtaining a concession for the construction of railways gradually became difficult for the interested parties. As well, it shows that this issue can be explained by not only economic but also political concerns of the Ottoman and other governments.¹⁰⁸ Economic and political fulcrums determined this complex concession process.

3.3.5. Eskişehir-Konya Line

An annual per km km guarantee of 13,800 Franks was determined for the Eskişehir- Konya railway. Tithe revenues of Trabzon and Gümüşhane *sanjaks* would

¹⁰⁵ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ Times' own Correspondent, "Turkish Railway Concessions", *The Times*, February 7, 1893, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 85.

be the basis of the guarantee. However, there was the problem of the construction company because Kühlmann declared to Siemens that he could not work with G. Vitali any longer. The Eskişehir-Konya Construction Company was established in March 1894. Philipp Holzmann was deployed as the technical manager of this new company. The works continued successively and ended on 29 July 1896. The time to travel between Istanbul and Konya was cut down to only two days thanks to the railway line.¹⁰⁹ The length of railways in the Ottoman Empire at the end of 1896 indicated in Table 3.1 and 3.2. The route of the Anatolian railways in 1902 is indicated in the map below.¹¹⁰

Table 3.1: Railways in the Ottoman Empire, 1896

I. In Europe	Length (km)
a) Edirne-Philippopol-Bellova, Edirne-Dedeağaç, Salonica-Scoplia-Sibeçke,Scoplia-Mitrovitza	1265
b) Salonica-Manastır	218
c) Salonica-Dedeağaç (The construction was not finished.)	500
Total	1983

¹⁰⁹ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, pp. 87-90.

¹¹⁰ See Figure 3.2.

Table 3.2: Railways in the Ottoman Empire, 1896

II. In Asia	Length (km)
a) Haydar Pasha-Izmit- Eskişehir-Angora	578
b) Eskişehir- Konya	440
c) Mudanya-Bursa	40
d) Izmir-Manisa-Alaşehir- and Manisa-Soma	259
e) Izmir-Aydın-Dinar	515
f) Mersin-Tarsus-Adana	45
g) Yafa-Jerusalem	70
Total	1947

(Source: Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, pp. 90-91.)



Figure 3.2. Anatolian Railway in 1902

(Source: Anatolian Railway Map, Retrieved August 10, 2014, from <http://harvey.binghamton.edu/~ottmiddl/>)

3.4. The Outcome of Investments

Although the railway investments are evaluated by considering the benefits of the railways to the state and the profits of foreign investors, the consequences and acquisitions need to be evaluated as well.

Arguably, Germany was the most significant winner of the concession wars because the Anatolian railways, together with other related lines, led to partially good results for Germany in terms of economic and political gains. We cannot tell whether the British, French, or Russians anticipated or failed to anticipate the profitability of railway investments in Anatolia. Yet the eagerness of both Deutsche Bank and other German investors instigated a rivalry to obtain investment rights in the Ottoman territories. There were some contemporary foresights regarding this issue at that time. For example, a unanimous financial authority said that the Anatolian railway would not only be of utmost importance to agriculture, commerce, and industry, but also have a very significant value in augmenting the resources of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹¹ In 1896, the Times correspondent said that the Anatolian railway was the longest and most important railway line in Asiatic Turkey but he was wary of its the financial prospects. However, he could see and voice the danger of the divergence the trade traffic from the İzmir -Aydın line to the new line.¹¹² The struggles and clashes among prospective investors and the reverberation of the issue in diplomatic correspondence may show the importance of this line. For example, when Germans requested the inclusion of a line to Dinar in the concession, the British official Sir Philip Currie strongly opposed it because this addition would bring the Anatolian railway into the country served by the Aydın railway.¹¹³

Indeed German investments in Anatolian railways appear to have boosted Germany's share in the region's economy commerce and contributed to German economic growth. Before the construction of the Anatolian Railway, fifty percent of cloth trade was in the hands of the British and the other half was in the hands of the

¹¹¹ Times' own Correspondent, "The Anatolian Railway", *The Times*, January 21, 1890, n.p. (Page number is greyed).

¹¹² Times' own Correspondent, "The German Army Bill: Railways in Asiatic Turkey", *The Times*, May 25, 1896, p. 5.

¹¹³ Times' own Correspondent, "Turkey", *The Times*, January 14, 1898, p. 4.

French and Belgians. But after the German investments in Anatolia, at least twenty percent of the trade with Levant was taken over by the Germans. In addition, forty-five percent of the pins, which were imported to Istanbul in 1897 came from Germany. Although Britain was still dominant in coal trade and machinery exports to the Ottoman Empire, German firms began to challenge the British firms in these spheres as well. In short, Germany broke the supremacy of Britain in Asia Minor and the German activity gradually increased in the region along with the railways. The ascendance of German interests undermined the dominance of the French trade in the Levant. German investments became quiet variegated in time. For instance, the Berlin firm of Siemens and Halske carried out the electrification of the Yıldız Palace.¹¹⁴

Moreover, the funds invested in rails, construction materials, and the salaries of the engineers and technical staff returned to Germany, boosting its economy. For example, the money spent on the construction of the 1,033-km Haydar Pasha-Ankara-Eskişehir-Konya Line with sixty-seven stations returned to German industries.¹¹⁵ Although the Germans were aware of the risks and uncertainties involved in their investments in Anatolia, they took the risks hoping for good returns at the end. Some German writers thought the Anatolian Railway and the future railway lines in Asia Minor would give Germans the control of the production and transportation of goods there.¹¹⁶ With good diplomacy and some good fortune, German statesman believed Anatolia and even Mesopotamia would come under the shadow of the German eagle's wings in due time.¹¹⁷

Britain dominated investments in the Ottoman Empire until 1888. However, the concession of the Anatolian railway opened a new period in German-Ottoman political and economic relations, as well as international power struggles among the major European powers to establish hegemony over Ottoman territories. This development influenced German policies in Asia Minor as well. The Anatolian

¹¹⁴ Times' own Correspondent, "German Enterprise in the East", *The Times*, October 28, 1898, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ A.D. Novıçev, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yarı Sömürgeleşmesi*, (Ankara; Onur Yayınları, 1979), p. 49.

¹¹⁶ Times' own Correspondent, "German Enterprise in the East", *The Times*, October 28, 1898, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ Times' own Correspondent, "Germany and Asia Minor", *The Times*, May 13, 1899, p. 9.

railways became a significant anchor for the German bourgeoisie, politically and economically.¹¹⁸

German investments contributed to the Ottoman economy positively and negatively. Karkar underlines the significance of the construction of the railways because of the dearth of natural waterways and good roads in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁹ Agricultural production increased by sixty-three percent in 1889-1911 in the empire in general and 114 percent in districts around the railway route.¹²⁰ It accelerated the commodification of the economy, trade relations and income in the regions crossed by the railways. Tithe revenues also increased in certain sanjaks. The tithe revenue of the sanjaks whose revenue were presented as an assurance for certain lines increased from 11,268,000 kurushes in 1903 to 114,716,000 kurushes in 1909. Clearly, the development of railways reduced transportation costs, enabled producers to reach distant markets and in general improved the conditions of wheat producers. Grain production increased fifty percent between 1892 and 1895 and eight to ten million bushels from 1890 to 1894.¹²¹

The direct producers and the Ottoman peasants did not benefit equally from the improvements that the railways generated. They continued to bear a heavy tax burden and the price of the tools and other materials they needed kept increasing. Furthermore, they were exploited by brokers, tax-farmers, and other groups.¹²² This uneven distribution of the benefits accruing from railway investments is the other side of the coin. The Ottoman producers were not an exception. In a letter Karl Marx wrote to P.F. Danielson on 10 April 1879, that all the developments regarding the investment on the railway investments were very profitable for the big landowners, brokers, merchants, bankers, and the railway owners, but detrimental for “real producers”.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Rathmann, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ Karkar, p. 130.

¹²⁰ Özyüksel, *Osmanlı-Alman İlişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde Anadolu-Bağdat Demiryolları*, p. 11.

¹²¹ Donald Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı Reformu ve Tarım: 1876-1908*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), pp. 162-163.

¹²² Novıçev, p. 50.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 51.

In short, railway investments cannot be evaluated only by considering the concession contracts, diplomatic struggles, or the increasing trade volume.

Some investments had a positive impact on the development of transportation. Caravan transportation was slow covering a distance of about three miles an hour, ineffective in transporting bulky commodities, inflexible, and expensive. But with the advent of railways, significant changes and advances occurred regarding the established routes and the existing centers.¹²⁴ Passenger transportation improved along with the transportation of goods.

The changes on the established routes show the great effects of the railway investments in the Ottoman Empire. Karkar cites Eskişehir as a very noticeable example for this advancement:

A mere village in pre-railway days, German enterprise has changed it into a flourishing town. Being selected as the principal depot of the railway, it quickly sprang into prominence, and it is one of the busiest places in Anatolia. The railway alone represents a population of 600 families, the adults of whom are drivers of guards for the trains, engineers for the workshops, or the porters to deal with the heavy traffic. The total rolling stock of the system, said to number fifty locomotives and 2,000 carriages and trucks, is housed and repaired at Eski-Shehr. The workshops are largely finely equipped, all the plant, said to be worth several hundred thousand sterling, coming from Germany.¹²⁵

The advancement in railways gave an impetus to population movements in the areas crossed by the railways. Konya became a significant target of population movements as Karkar cites:

The Konia plain is peculiarly adapted for the production of cereals, and where very little grew before the arrival of the railway, there is a largest harvest which finds a market at the coast. The railway has done so much for Konia undoubtedly, but not unaided. Konia and the neighborhood has been the scene of a considerable immigration experiment which has cost the Government a lot of money, and conferred no great gain on the immigrants, for the bulk of them would give their ears to return to the country whence they came... There has further been a considerable gravitation of Anatolian peasantry to the railway country, a process that merely enriches one district at the expense of others.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Karkar, p.145.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.148.

¹²⁶ Ibid, pp. 149-150.

Railway concession contributed to some economic growth in Anatolia. The ultimate beneficiaries of these concessions, however, appear to have been the company's that acquired them, as indicated in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3: Revenues of Concessionary Companies

Years	Net revenue in Franks	Gross per km in Franks
1890	616,350	9,654
1895	1,724,174	5,540
1900	2,817,036	7,220
1911	8,522,062	14,638
1912	11,154,815	18,256

Source: Karkar, p. 49.

The expansion of the railways benefited the Ottoman efforts to improve internal security and law and order in the empire as well:

From a military point of view, over and above the advantages of railway communication..., the opening up of the country has enabled the Ottoman Government to quell more than one insurrection in distant parts of the empire. In recent years this facility has been particularly valuable in the case of the Hidjaz where there have been several rebellions. Moreover, the existence of railways renders possible a rapid mobilization of at least parts of the army.¹²⁷

3.5. Conclusion

The concessions continued after the Anatolian line. The concession of the Baghdad railway was granted again to the Anatolian Railway Company. Although historians examine the Anatolian-Baghdad railway as a single line, in this study, I focus on only one segment, namely the route from Haydar Pasha to Konya or the Anatolian railway proper.

¹²⁷ Karkar, p. 164.

Until the demise of the empire, the Sublime Porte continued to support railway investments because the motives of the center were to protect the integrity of the Empire and expand its agricultural wealth by continuing to invest state resources into the development of a better economic infrastructure.¹²⁸

Railways were a new investment field and both the government and the investors were sensitive in the process of concessions because of their financial and geopolitical importance. Construction of the railways also influenced the peasants because of its impact on grain production. The railways eased the transportation of agricultural produce and reduced transportation costs compared to land transportation. However, the benefits of railway construction remained unevenly distributed. This chapter considered the situation of the investors and the government along with those of the ordinary people, yet it should be clear that much more work needs to be done on the effects of railway construction and of its economic and internal political consequences on producers in Anatolia.

¹²⁸ Karkar, p. 211.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANATOLIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

Working life cannot be assessed without referring to buildings, miscellaneous structures, factories, and small work places, along with people who work in them. In the case of the railway sector, we should try to understand the work environment. This effort should enable us to make better sense of workers, attacks by bandits, workers who fled from work places, weather conditions and increasing ailment numbers, and in general of the reactions of the workers.

Gabriel Arangelos' memoir is a crucial source to understand the railway employees' work conditions and reactions. I benefitted from it greatly in this thesis. This chapter begins with Arangelos' memoir and discussion of the terms used in the book. Secondly, the chapter describes the employees of the Anatolian Railway Company in terms of their characteristics and groups in the work place. Then, the chapter offers information on the cases of contagious diseases and the difficult working conditions of the workers. Finally, the chapter discusses the organization of the employees and the road towards their strike in 1908.

4.1. Terminological Complexity

Before conveying the information Arangelos provides about workers in his memoir, one needs to look at the content and language of the book in general. This memoir consists of two volumes. Arangelos depicts the construction process of the Anatolian railways, his observations about the company and Ottoman policies. He also provides information regarding working life and problems the workers faced. I will mostly use the sections about the workers in the chapter on "the Propriety between the Officials and the Administration" in the first volume of the book, which is the main section about this issue.

First, I need to point out that there are still problems with the terms used in labor history, mainly because of the tendency to divide the employees into two groups as white or blue collar workers. These are modern terms and it would be problematic

if they were used for earlier periods. This is relatively easy regarding the Anatolian Railway Company because there were job definitions. Arangelos uses the term *memurin* or officials and divides them into two groups. I will use “official” for this term, but what he means by this term includes both the workers and the officials. To avoid any confusion in the use of various terms, I use “employee” in the title of this thesis. “Employee” as I use it means both the workers and the officials working for the company. The distinction between the officials and the workers should be taken into account. An official is the one in active duty (*muvazzaf memur*) and he receives a regular salary. The temporary official (*muvakkat memur*) works for daily payments.¹²⁹

In general “worker” means a person who works for a wage in a company, railway, oven, mill, docks and so forth. It needs to be underlined that the main criterion to be classified as a worker is to be paid whether by a person, a foundation or a store. Both the officials and workers are workers in this general sense but there is a distinction in the forms of their payment. Officials are paid salaries whereas workers are paid wages. Therefore, I use these terms separately from one another. This problem is still valid today. Today, employee is used for teachers, academicians, physicians, or bank employees to distinguish them from wage workers. Nevertheless, they all can be accepted as members of the working class in the sense that they are employed by others and work for their employees in return for a set pay whatever the form of payment may be.

4.2. Some Examples from Arangelos regarding the Working Life

Gavriel Arangelos, who worked for the Anatolian Railway Company as a physician for seventeen years, left a pivotal memoir about the Anatolian Railway Company. He was the leader of the Union of the Anatolian Railway Employees (*Anadolu Osmanlı Demir Yolu Memurin ve Müstahdemin Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesi*). He was dismissed by the Company due to his good attitude towards the workers. He was accused of acting against Turks and in favor of Greeks thus resulting in his arrest

¹²⁹ Cevdet Kırpık, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde İşçiler ve İşçi Hareketleri (1876-1914)”, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Süleyman Demirel University, (Isparta, 2004), pp.30-31; Arangelos, p. 234.

in 1916 in Konya.¹³⁰ However, the Council of Ministers forgave him later on.¹³¹ This thesis uses the significant information he provides and his comments in order to shed the working conditions, especially of the workers. No other memoir comparable to Arangelos' has surfaced until this day. Therefore, it is important to examine its content in order to understand the political milieu and labor relations along with the working conditions. Gavriel Arangelos' memoir is a literary account, but his messages about the company are very rigorous and precise. He sternly criticizes the company due to its labor policies.

After explaining and depicting the Anatolian railway routes in detail, Arangelos provides some examples about the poor working conditions in order to inform his readers. He also explains the conditions of the workers in the previous chapters. He assures the reader that there are many reasons for his interest in labor life.¹³² A desire to shed light on workers' miserable conditions appears to have been his primary motive.

He provides five examples to explain the poor conditions of the employees. His first example highlights the intolerant policies of the company. One of the officials working in the company informed his supervisors orally that he needed to see his father who was on his deathbed but the administration pointed out that he ought to have informed them in writing and therefore fined him and punished him thirty kurushes. In the second example, the company punished one of the employees working on the trains with temporary suspension for fifteen days because he was carrying food for his sick wife. Arangelos complains about the insensitiveness of the company administration in such cases. He mentions the negligence of the company in the issue of informing the employees about any subject. He provides information about an employee, who worked for the company for twenty years and only received 950 kurushes per month. The worker requested information from the company about his employment history over the last twenty years. The company did not respond to him. Arangelos says the company had to inform an employee who requested information because this was a basic right and stated in the company's regulations as well.¹³³ The

¹³⁰ BEO. DH.EUM.3.Şb. 12/34. 04 CA 1334. 9 March 1916.

¹³¹ BEO. DH.EUM.3.Şb. 12/50. 11 CA 1334. 16 March 1916.

¹³² Arangelos, p. 233.

¹³³ Ibid, pp. 233-234.

company did not have any regulation covering accidents. For example, a worker had accidentally wounded his feet under a wagon's wheels, consequently losing his feet. He had to stay in hospital for about three months. Yet, the company cut his salary during his stay at the hospital. This worker struggled after being discharged from hospital. However, the company compensated only his hospital expenditures. Another example is more striking. A worker who worked for about thirty-one years was crushed by a train passing over him when he was working. He was injured severely and he had to stay in hospital for a substantial amount of time. The company did not pay his daily wages during his stay in the hospital and did not even pay the hospital expenses. Interestingly, he was hired again by the company.¹³⁴ Arangelos heavily criticizes the company's attitude in the case of accidents and associates the strikes with these problems. These examples show the company's lack of understanding and sensitivity towards the workers.

4.3. The Composition of the Labor Force in the Company

The workers, who worked for daily wages, formed the majority of the labor force in the company. They were rail brakemen, guards, cutters, firemen, and the guards of the lines. They did not have the entitlement to retirement unlike the officials.¹³⁵ The company probably was not required to give retirement benefits to the temporary (*muvakkat*) workers because the administration did not see them as permanent staff. However, many temporary (*muvakkat*) workers worked in the company for more than twenty years and the company did not accept him as a regular (*muvazzaf*) worker.¹³⁶ Evidently, the time that a worker worked for the company was not the criterion for the company to increase the seniority of a worker. The salaries were determined according to the work line classifications. For example, blacksmiths,

¹³⁴ Arangelos, p. 235.

¹³⁵ Kırpık, p. 31; Arangelos, p. 228.

¹³⁶ Arangelos, p. 234.

carpenters, fitters, and masons were paid on an hourly basis¹³⁷ and hence considered to be a part of the “temporary” work force.

The workforce of railway constructions was heterogeneous. A big portion of the workers were composed of people from rural areas.¹³⁸ The workers’ ethnic or national composition varied. There were Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and other Ottoman subjects along with foreign employees. The foreign workers working in Anatolia were mostly from Italy. These skilled workers were generally masons or brakemen. Most of the administrative staff were Germans, because the company was German. The management staff, the accounting supervisors, technical maintenance supervisors, and the directors were, in general, German. In 1908, forty-three percent of the employees were German and twenty-one percent were German-speaking Austrians or Swiss. The Ottoman workers generally formed fourteen percent of the total at high level positions in 1908. It is natural to have such a heterogeneous work force in an international company. The German government heeded the spread of German culture and economic influence,¹³⁹ and encouraged German companies to employ German or German speaking persons. Nevertheless, the company was not worried about the ethnic makeup of the employees in the middle and lower levels of its workforce. Its management did not even record the ethnicities of the workers, probably because it did not give much importance to this kind of distinction.¹⁴⁰

A report stated that the origins of its middle layer employees by the company was prepared for the German government and the German Cultural Association. The German-speaking permanent employees in the company formed forty seven percent of the total. The others were Swiss (not German speaking) (five percent), French (ten percent), Belgian (three percent), and the others (seven percent). Most of these permanent or regular middle layer employees worked in the stations or officials. The Ottoman subjects formed the greatest part of this layer at the very lowest level of the regular staff. They were generally Turks. More than eighty percent of the 420

¹³⁷ Kırpık, p. 31.

¹³⁸ Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: New York University Press, 1983), p. 74.

¹³⁹ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 75-78.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Mentzel, “The Ethnic Division of Labor on Ottoman Railroads: A Reevaluation.”, *Turcica*, 37 (2005, pp. 221-241), pp. 238-239.

employees working in the Eskişehir workshops were Turks. 140 Greek and Armenian employees worked as guards or station staff.¹⁴¹

The issue of the ethnic division of labor needs to be examined in a foreign enterprise. It is a situation where a particular ethnic group dominates certain professions or positions. Despite some exceptions, the existence of an ethnic division of labor in the company was evident. Non-Ottoman subjects had the most lucrative, high level, and strongest positions.¹⁴² Evidently, foreign corporations recruited a disproportionately high number of Europeans and Ottoman Christians to work in high positions at the stations and offices. On the other hand, Ottoman Muslims were deployed to work in trains, repair shops, and engines.¹⁴³ However, this was not always the case. As mentioned above, the labor composition in the company was heterogeneous in general. For example, there were foreign and non-Muslim workers who worked for daily wages. Some of them were from Montenegro. Iranians worked on the Ankara line.¹⁴⁴ Sixty Austrian and Italian workers were brought to be employed in the construction of the Anatolian railways.¹⁴⁵ There were also Belgian, Bulgarian, English, Romanian, Polish, Russian, and Serbian employees.¹⁴⁶

Mentzel argues that this division of labor was determined according to nationality but not ethnicity. This is a plausible argument in the case of the Anatolian Railway Company, because the most distinct division in its case was between Ottoman and non-Ottoman employees rather than various groups from different religious and ethnic backgrounds living in the empire.¹⁴⁷ There were many job categories on the railways, Mentzel states five of them. They were mechanics, locomotive engineers,

¹⁴¹ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 77-79.

¹⁴² Mentzel, pp. 221-223.

¹⁴³ Donald Quataert. "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700-1922", *International Labor and Working –Class History*, No. 60 (Fall, 2001): 93-109, p. 104.

¹⁴⁴ Kadir Yıldırım, "*Osmanlı'da İşçiler: Çalışma Hayatı, Örgütler, Grevler. (1870-1922)*", (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013),p.41.; BOA, DH. MKT. 1844/36. 17 ZA 1308. 24 June 1891.

¹⁴⁵ BOA. Y..PRK. 4/112. 13 Z 1306. 10 August 1889.

¹⁴⁶ Mentzel, p. 228.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 224. The numbers Mentzel gives us are different from Quataert's data. It should be noted that the information given by Mentzel is based on a report prepared by the Company in 1908. Therefore, his numbers differ.

firemen, physicians, and accountants.¹⁴⁸ The following table indicates the total number of the salaried employees in the company in 1908:¹⁴⁹

Table 4.1: Total Number of Regular Employees by Citizenship in the Anatolian Railway Company in 1908

Nationality	Total	% of Total
Ottoman	450	67.26
German	45	6.73
Austrian	37	5.53
Italian	31	4.63
Greek	25	3.74
French	23	3.44
Swiss	22	3.29
Unknown	8	1.20
Belgian	7	1.05
Hungarian	6	0.90
English	5	0.75
Romanian	3	0.45
Polish	2	0.30
Russian	2	0.30 %
Serbian	1	0.15 %
Bulgarian	1	0.15 %
Austro-Hungarian	1	0.15 %

(Source: Mentzel, p. 224.)

Although the number of Ottoman employees was higher than foreigners, foreign employees held better jobs than Ottomans and were paid better. The highest paid jobs

¹⁴⁸ Mentzel, p. 232.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 229.

were in the department of the Director General's Office. The Secretary and Chief Accountant were paid a monthly salary of 5,000 kurushes. As an example for the lowest paid employees, the painters were paid less than 500 kurushes for each month. The average wage of a non-Ottoman employee was about 1,400 kurushes per month, while the average wage of an Ottoman employee was nearly half of that.¹⁵⁰

The number of foreign employees in the Anatolian Railway Company was disproportionately high and Arhangelos complains about this imbalance as nearly ninety percent of the workers were foreigners in the company according to him.¹⁵¹ However, it should be remembered that this observation applied to high-level positions or jobs. Foreign workers were generally deployed to work at high level professional positions with good salaries. Non-Muslim Ottomans or foreigners filled almost all the positions that required skills¹⁵² compared to the Muslim Ottomans. In addition, positions of authority were generally held by Germans.¹⁵³ This condition led to some clashes among the employees. The Turk, Greek, and Armenian workers complained about their European directors. They complained about unequal salaries, and working conditions as well as favoritism. Foreign employees, who were in the offices and the engineering workplaces, earned more than fifty percent of the Ottoman workers' wages.¹⁵⁴ The discriminatory policies of the company were evident in issues regarding retirement, employment and dismissal.

Although, there were national and ethnic divisions in the company, it is difficult to make firm conclusions regarding the issue of the existence of ethnic division of labor in the Ottoman railroads.¹⁵⁵ For example, Muslim employees were present in almost every job category, including well-paid and high-positioned jobs. Some Muslims were employed as drivers or firemen.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Mentzel, p. 230. For details, see the mentioned source.

¹⁵¹ Kırpık, p. 194.

¹⁵² Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 76.

¹⁵³ Mentzel, p. 233.

¹⁵⁴ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁵ Mentzel, p. 237.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 234-235.

The heterogeneous structure sometimes led to problems among the workers, and ordinary people. The employees experienced some adaptation problems. Foreign workers, especially those who were paid daily, were attacked by ordinary people, co-workers, or brigands. For example, a dispute between an Italian and Montenegrin occurred due to alcohol related issues. The government first assumed it occurred because of the brigand attacks but then they investigated the real reason for this fight. It is stated that generally the Italian workers provoked incidences because they consumed too much alcohol. The guilty ones were arrested and the Italian Embassy was informed about the precautions.¹⁵⁷ In another example, thugs who were of Albanian origin abducted and demanded ransom from Mr. Gearson working on the Izmid line. However, they were arrested in Istanbul and 780 liras along with jewels costing 180 liras were found on them. It is stated that the amount that was paid to the brigands would be repaid to the company.¹⁵⁸ The European workers had disputes with the Ottoman population. The Italian workers roamed in the streets with guns on Christmas in 1895 to protect themselves from the attacks of Kurds.¹⁵⁹ In another case, Austrian Ivan Baršic was murdered by brigands and his money and belongings were extorted.¹⁶⁰ Evidently, foreign workers encountered difficulties in Ottoman society and this led to some clashes in daily life.

Nevertheless, the government took into consideration the heterogeneous structure of the work force in the company. For example, it addressed the problem of the need for grave yards for non-Muslim foreign employees in Eskişehir. It was stated that the number of foreign and non-Muslim employees were increasing and the need for proper burial sites emerged in the case of deadly accidents. Therefore, a cemetery was established near Greek and Armenian cemeteries in Eskişehir.¹⁶¹ The government also gave permission to establish a school at the Osman Ağa district for the children of the foreign employees staying at Haydar Pasha or Kadiköy.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ BOA. DH. MKT. 1844/36. 3 ZA 1308. 9 June 1891; BOA. DH. MKT. 1844/36. 17 ZA 1308. 24 June 1891.

¹⁵⁸ BOA. HR.TO. 144/45. 25 E 1326. 7 October 1890.

¹⁵⁹ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁰ BOA. DH. MKT. 1705/72. 13 B 1307. 5 March 1890.

¹⁶¹ BOA. BEO. 692/51848. 23 R 1313. 13 October 1895.

¹⁶² BOA. BEO. 2334/174981. 4 Ra 1322. 19 May 1904.

4.4. Working with an Epidemic of Cholera

The railway workers were generally working in open air except for the *muvazzaf* (salaried) workers because they had to work either at the railway construction sites or at train control centers. Therefore, it is difficult to compare the working conditions of the railway workers with other workers'. The disadvantages of an uncertain and unstable workplace for some departments influenced the employees. They became easily sick or were affected by poor and open weather conditions.

The epidemic of cholera was one of the most significant health problems of the workers as of the ordinary people in 1893. It badly influenced the lives of the ordinary people. This was the most dangerous risk among the working conditions of the workers. Nevertheless, the Ottoman government was sensitive about epidemic illnesses and took the necessary measures. Yet, these measures proved insufficient.

There had existed other contagious diseases among the railway men on the Izmid-Ankara railway line before the great epidemic.¹⁶³ Cholera spread on the Eskişehir line and the state enforced certain measures in order to stop the disease spreading further. Fifteen workers out of twenty-nine employees died in 4-6 October. The state tried to prevent the spread of the illnesses by closing villages along the way of the railway lines. The quarantine in Eskişehir, set and administered by the officials who were responsible for public health under the control of the district governor. The communication of the workers with the villagers was cut off because of the speed with which the disease spread.¹⁶⁴ However, financial issues emerged as a fundamental problem in the implementation of the quarantine

It was thought that the disease spread due to the employees working in Kütahya. A committee of physicians from the Ministry of Health and local physicians negotiated the terms of the quarantine on the Kütahya line. They decided that expenditures of the quarantine would be paid by using taxes collected in Eskişehir.¹⁶⁵ The Governor of Hüdavendigâr informed the government that necessary precautions

¹⁶³ BOA. DH. MKT. 1665/102. 15 S 1307. 11 October 1889.

¹⁶⁴ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 7 T 1311. 19 October 1893.

¹⁶⁵ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 8 T 1311. 20 October 1893.

were needed to be implemented if any case was detected outside of Eskişehir. The government decided to deploy soldiers and gendarmes to ensure security during the ten days of quarantine on lines crossing the Kütahya and Karahisar districts. The passengers who came from other districts were thoroughly checked and transferred to safe lines.¹⁶⁶ However, this was altered soon after. The Ministry of Interior decided to quarantine the passengers arriving from the capital via either the railways or the sea. The ministry ordered that a temporary halt to work with immediate affect which was conveyed to the Ministry of Health.¹⁶⁷ If the workers continued to work, the consequences of this contagious disease would have been tragically dreadful. Therefore, the work of the physicians and the workers were halted due to the verdict of the General Commission of the Health Ministry.¹⁶⁸ The Governor of Hüdavendigâr informed the Ministry of Interior about the sending of the physicians to Eskişehir.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, it was determined that the passengers leaving Istanbul and travelling to the two dangerous districts of Eskişehir and Kütahya via land or sea, would be quarantined for three days in the Tuzla, Kalikratya, and Çekmece districts instead of a ten-day-quarantine.¹⁷⁰ The Minister of Health, Vitalis, was sent to Izmid and then took this decision after long negotiations.¹⁷¹ The spread of the contagious disease was prevented after the precautions of the Health and Interior Ministries in 1893. Although a host of measures were taken, the disease reoccurred on the same lines again.

The disease challenged the ministries and the directors were challenged. The conditions of the quarantine or the scope of the physicians were very poor. The construction chief of the railway line between Eskişehir and Kütahya, Mr. Boniga (or Bonife?), pointed out that a hospital for sick workers was established in the Beğlik village, on the twenty-third kilometer of the line. However, the hospital was only one floor and very small and narrow including two rooms. Only ten workers could be treated at one time. Therefore, the workers had to stay in small huts or outside and the

¹⁶⁶ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 9 T 1311. 21 October 1893.

¹⁶⁷ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 10 T 1311. 22 October 1893.

¹⁶⁸ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 11 T 1311. 23 October 1893.

¹⁶⁹ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 10 T 1311. 22 October 1893.

¹⁷⁰ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 10 T 1311. 22 October 1893, no: 81.

¹⁷¹ BOA. DH. MKT. 2064/12. 11 T 1311. 23 October 1893.

physicians could not treat and check the sick workers regularly. Although it was informed that there were no new patients with cholera, two patients were claimed to be found in this region.¹⁷² Later, the physician of the Health Ministry, Gazale Efendi, proved this piece of news to be false.¹⁷³ Mr. Boniga stated that there was only one physician in the protected area and this was naturally insufficient for the treatment of the workers. There was also the problem of the workers of the railway construction escaping to the mountains due to the coming of winter and disease, and spreading the disease wherever they went. This situation threatened the closer regions as well. The distribution of the workers to protected areas was difficult because of the lack of transportation facilities and the danger of disease. About two hundred workers were sent to these protected areas.¹⁷⁴ Nine hundred workers waited because the administration of the railway company appeared unable to transport them. It was determined that the workers would stay for the railway construction and hospitals would be established as well as a stock of the necessary medication.¹⁷⁵

In addition to these problems, there were disputes among physicians about the decisions regarding the workers' circumstances. The physician sent by the government and the physician of the company disagreed. Therefore, it was decided that one physician from the government, one from the Health Ministry, and one from the company would come together.¹⁷⁶

The workers on the mentioned lines were either quarantined in certain villages or sent to further villages where the contagious disease did not exist. For example, the District Governor of Eskişehir struggled to send healthy workers to the Anatolian Railway Company to work at the İnönü and Becir stations on the Haydar Pasha-Ankara line, because these stations were safe regions for the workers. Confusion occurred due to these transports because the transport of the workers hampered the expeditions.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 29 TE 1309. 10 November 1893, no: 2067.

¹⁷³ BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 24 TS 1309. 3 December 1893, no: 348.

¹⁷⁴ "...ve amele gerek kışın hulûlünden ve gerek hastalıktan dolayı dağlara savuşmakda olup ahvâl-i muharrereye mebnî hastalığın amele beyninde istikrâr ve intişâr ile âtiyen dahî etrâfi tehdîd edeceğini..." BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 30 TE 1309. 11 November 1893, no: 333.

¹⁷⁵ BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 21 TS 1309. 3 December 1893, no: 348.

¹⁷⁶ BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 2 TS 1309. 14 November 1893, no: 275.

¹⁷⁷ BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 30 TE 1309. 11 November 1893.

At the end of the protracted negotiations among the district Governor of Eskişehir, the Ministry of Public works, the Health Ministry, and the administration of the Anatolian Railway Company, they decided not to send the workers to the abovementioned protected areas because there were a greater number of workers and there still was the danger of the disease spreading again. The number of the protected areas where the workers would be sent was not enough.¹⁷⁸

Probably, the company tried to make the workers stay in the construction region because their number was very high and it would be very difficult to bring them back to the work area later on. However, the working conditions of the workers due to the epidemic of cholera became much more difficult than in previous times. Although the company said it would take the necessary measures, the future complaints of the workers about their working conditions indicate that the company did not make the promised improvements.

4.5.The Organization of the Employees and the Great Strike of the Employees

The employees of the Anatolian railway are significant examples of the development of labor movements in the Ottoman Empire especially after 1908. The challenges that the workers faced in building an active union are important to examine because they shed light on the many obstacles that the company administration put before them.

¹⁷⁸ BOA. DH. MKT. MHM. 562/28. 2 TS 1309. 14 November 1893, no: 344.

4.6. The Fraternity Union of the Ottoman Anatolian Railway Employees

(*Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolları Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkarisi*)¹⁷⁹

1908 is one of the turning points in Ottoman history in general as well as in terms of social and labor movements. The Anatolian Railway employees formed a very significant aspect of these movements in terms of their strike, their union and their struggles to maintain the union's existence.

The economic circumstances of the Ottoman state were becoming worse; especially the price of bread and cereals were increasing dramatically.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, the stagnation of wages influenced the conditions of the ordinary people negatively. The strikes in the railway sector generally concerned both the administration of the company and the government because of the importance of the continuity of railway transportation and the danger of the spreading of the labor protests. Indeed, strikes began on the Plovdiv-Istanbul line and spread to other lines.

The railway men of the Anatolian line complained to the administration of the company about the high cost of living and demanded an increase in their wages in July 1908. A general meeting was held regarding these demands on 31 December 1907 and it was determined that a retirement fund would be established with 1.5 Million Franks. However, the wage workers were excluded from this system.¹⁸¹ The unrest among the workers generally occurred due to these kinds of double standards towards the employees.

The Fraternity Union of the railway men was established on 13 August 1908 with the participation of employees from all positions. People who were neither

¹⁷⁹ There are some ambiguities about the name of this fraternity union. In a recent essay on this issue, Mehmet Ö. Alkan points out the various forms of the name of the Union: *Osmanlı Demiryolları Memurini Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkarisi, Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i İttihadiyesi, Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesi, Anadolu Memur ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti, Anadolu Osmanlı Şimendiferleri Şirketi Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i İttihadiyesi...* Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Kısa Bir Tashihin Uzun Hikayesi: Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolları Şirketi Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i İttihadiyesi...", *Toplumsal Tarih* 245 (2014), 36-39. Arhangelos also wrote the name of the union of the railway men in different forms. I use *Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesi* in this thesis.

¹⁸⁰ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 75.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 75.

Turkish nor even Ottoman directed the Union. Thirty-seven administrators were chosen in the first meeting; only five of them were Turks. The others were of Balkan, Greek, or Armenian origins. Their political stances influenced the position of the union between the company and workers. For example, the first meeting ended with suggestions about tranquility, work, and discipline. The committee demanded a raise in wages four days later. During the second meeting of the union, the speaker of the Union underlined that they were neither strikers nor revolutionaries¹⁸²

Following the wave of strikes in 1908, the struggles of the railway employees continued under the Fraternity Union –especially to meet the reactions against their organization. Mr. Huguenin tried to close the Union and the company generally did not want to reach a compromise with the employees that would compromise its profits and other interests. Although the political discourse was generally left aside in the rules of the Union or its meetings, the representatives of the Union referred to ongoing political developments occasionally. They related the negative behavior and policies of foreign investors with the oppressive policies of the previous regime, until the CUP movement intervened in 1908.¹⁸³

The board of administration of the union pointed out that the company's administration did not even meet its liabilities towards the employees and that they fined the employees unfairly. Because of the company's negative attitude, the Union sent its clerk, Corciyadisi Efendi (?), to the administration of the company, particularly to Mr. Hazin Françe (?) to convey these demands. The administration responded to their demands by threatening them with dismissing their leaders from the company if the workers did not keep quiet. The Union's board of administration underlined the heterogeneous structure of the company and pointed out that the employers had to

¹⁸² Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 76.

¹⁸³ ...devr-i istibdadda ecanibe bol bol imtiyazlar verilir ve hukuk-ı teb'a gözedilmeyerek ve hiçbir dürlü himaye ve mu'avenete mazhar add edilmeyerek şirket müdirlerinin ve eshab-ı sermayenin mu'amele-i keyfiyyesine terk edilmiş bulunurdu. Meşrutîyyet-i idare, menafî'-i umumiyye ve ferdiyye-yi himaye ve te'lif etmek vazifesinde bulunduğundan, bi't-tabi' Teb'a-i Osmanîyye'de hukuk-ı meşru'a ve medenîyelerinin vikâyesine teşmir-i sak-ı gayret ve te'avünü tekabül esasları üzerine mü'esses cem'iyyetler teşkiliyle andan iktisab-ı kuvvet etmek üzere dirler. Bu kabilden olmak üzere teşkil ve ilmühaber-i lazımlı istihsal ile ceride-i resmîyyeye derc ü i'lan ettirdiğimiz ve "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolları Şirketi Me'murin ve Müstahdemini Cem'iyyet-i Müte'avinesi" şirket-i mezkûrece hüsn-i nazara na'il olamayarak her gün bir türlü tehdid ile dağıtılmak ve anasır-ı mahalliyeden mürekkebe olan bir kuvvet-i te'avün ortadan kaldırılıp yine devr-i kadimde olduğu gibi me'murin ve müstahdemini ba'z-ı müdiran-ı şirketin mu'amelat-ı keyfiyyesine tabi' bulundurulmak isteniliyor... BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 9/1-9/2. 18 KS 1325. 31 January 1910.

regard employees from various ethnicities. They needed to be responsible about the issues related to the employees. Due to the state's right to control and inspect foreign companies, the state needed to protect and support the employees, and the employees had the right to go on strike. Indeed, the stance of the Union's representatives towards the company and the state was not aggressive and they generally had a moderate discourse. They emphasized the mutual responsibilities of the company and the employees, as based on laws.¹⁸⁴

The Fraternity Union prepared a list of demands and submitted it to the Minister of Public Works, Sami Paşa. However, the list excluded the social and economic rights of the unqualified workers. The list included twenty points:¹⁸⁵

- The preparation of a plan that defined the procedure for the promotion of the employees precisely
- The authorized director of the company took the decisions about the employees but this was unfair; the company should form a special committee to hear these issues and the other members should be informed.
- The company should not dismiss the *muvazzaf* (salaried) employees (“agents commissionnés”) unless they were involved in misconduct, such as being sluggish or stealing, and proven guilty of it.
- The employees who did not work on Sundays should have fifteen rest days and the employees working on Sundays should have thirty rest days in one year. In addition, an employee who did not use his vacation in a given year should be able to use it in the following three years.
- Fines should be determined according to the crimes that the employees committed and not according to the discretion of the directors of the company.
- Abolishment of the forty-first rule of the regulations, which prohibited the employees and their relatives from working outside of the company
- The physicians working for the company administration allow the employees to rest. Special committee should be established for this purpose.
- The company should take the necessary health measures in the stations, which had polluted air, and change the employees' workplaces once in four months.
- Coverage of employees' hospital expenses.

¹⁸⁴ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 9/1-9/2. 18 KS 1325. 31 January 1910.

¹⁸⁵ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 8/1-8/2. 18 Ş 1325. 3 March 1910.

- The sick employees should have the right to receive their salaries even if they could not work.
- Prohibition of the current practice of deducting the hospital or treatment expenses from the salary of an employee
- Payment of half of the wages of temporary (*muvakkat*) workers if they became sick for more than five days
- The company should be responsible for the treatment of the temporary (*muvakkat*) workers who became sick or injured in accidents at work and pay these workers' full-salary for three months.
- Availability of the necessary medical equipment
- Determination of the lodging and wages given per km according to the regulations of the *Şark* (the Oriental) Railways
- Revision of retirement regulations according to the benefits of the employees
- The company should pay the employees who have manufacturing skills wages commensurate to their positions.
- During a strike, the company should not be able to appoint the employees included in the strike committee to other regions without their consent and should allow them to stay at Haydar Pasha.

The list prepared by the employees indicates that the employees were much better organized than they were three years before. They were clearer and more precise in conveying their demands.

The Union appointed Dr. Gabriel, Paska Polo (?), and İsmail Ahmed Efendi as representatives and conveyed this appointment to the Ministry of Public Works.¹⁸⁶ The members of the union's board of committee were composed of foreign employees in general. The dominance of foreign employees attracted the attention of the government as well because it contemplated whether foreign influence was problematic or not. It decided that there was no need to object to the inclusion of foreign employees, if the foreigners did not pursue a political goal or involve in political action. Otherwise, everyone in a union should be able to benefit equally from the basic human right of association. The Strike Law of 1909 determined the relationship between the company

¹⁸⁶ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 8/2. 18 Ş 1325. 3 March 1910.

and the employees.¹⁸⁷ The governorship of Istanbul informed the Ministry of Public Works as well as the Ministry of Commerce about this issue.¹⁸⁸

As mentioned above, the company tried to hinder the Fraternity Union frequently by resorting to the government. Huguenin often tried to prove the illegality of the Union. He asserted that the members of the Union had met illegally by misusing the declaration of the Constitution. He added that the members of the Union acted in favor of their personal interests, including requests for pay increase, against the company. They also used the press to spread their ideas. According to the general director, one of the main goals of the members of the Union was to force the General Director Huguenin to resign. He claimed the employees acted as if they took courage from the Constitution and all of their actions turned against the company. He added that the company struggled in stopping the strike and paid one million Franks to stop it. The director emphasized that the influence of the strike on the minds of the general populace even forced the government to prepare a new law. The general director of the company confirmed that the Strike Law of 1909 was prepared due to the strike of the Anatolian railway employees.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ ...*Memalik-i Şahane'de mukim ve meşgul ecanibin de hukuk-ı tabi'iyeden olan hakk-ı ictima'dan intifa'larına bir şey denilememek lazım geleceğine nazaran, makasad-ı siyasiyye teşkil etmemiş bulunan her nev' cem'iyetlere ecanibin duhul u iştirakinde esasen bir mahzur olmadığı gibi, şirketler ile amele ve müstahdemin arasındaki münasebatın tabi' olması lazımgelen esaslar ta'til-i eşgal nizamnamesinde münderic bulunduğundan, mevzu'-ı bahs olan cem'iyet a'zası miyanında teb'a-i ecnebiyyeden ba'zı kimseler bulunsa bile, bundan Osmanlı demiryollarının nüfuz-ı ecanib tahtında kalması mahzur ve neticesi tevellüd edemeyeceği cihetle...* BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. n. 29. 20 Mart 1326. 2 April 1910.

¹⁸⁸ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. n. 35. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910.

¹⁸⁹ ...*Her ne kadar şirket, bu fedakarlık sayesinde ta'til-i eşgale nihayet vermekte birçok netayic-i mü'essifenin önünü almış ise de, hükümet dahi işbu ta'til-i eşgalin ezhan-ı umumiyyede iras ettiği sü'-i te'siri nazar-ı dikkate almağa mecbur oldu. Buna bina'endir ki, hükümet ahval ü şera'it-i memleketi bir suret-i vakıfenede tedkik ettikten sonra şimendüferle buna mümasil hidemat-ı umumiyyeyi ifa eden mü'essesatın ümür-ı cariyesini te'min için bir kanun yapmak lüzumunu hissetti. İşte bu lüzum üzerinedir ki, elyevm mer'iyü'l icra olan ta'til-i eşgal kanunu tanzim ve kuvve-yi teşri'yye tarafından da kabul olunarak fi Ağustos sene 325 ta'rihinde tasdik-i Aliye iktiran etmişti...* BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. n. 5/1.27 M 1326. 9 April 1910.



Figure 4.1. Edouard Huguenin (The General Director of the Anatolian Railway Company between 1908-1917)

(Source: *A Century of Deutsche Bank in Turkey: An Illustrated History*, (Historical Association of Deutsche Bank, Aksoy Printing), p. 17.)

Quataert states that this union was neither a trade union nor a fraternity union but quite like the “Knights of Labor” in the United States, which aimed to include all the employees as a whole. Nevertheless, the concerns of the employees differed and they were divided into groups.¹⁹⁰ The differences between the low-level and high-level employees became evident in the course of the strike. Although the District Governor of Üsküdar accepted the Union as legal, it was not a trade union in the eyes of the government or the employees. There is no official government approval of the association as a trade union and the representatives of the union were aware of the limits of their union’s authority. I accept it as a proto-trade union because it had regulations and a hierarchical organization.

The implementation of the 1909 law aimed at securing the orderly conduct of the work of institutions that served the public. It pleased the merchants and the general director of the company who pointed out that both his company and other companies serving the public would struggle with persons who wanted to violate the public order. He asserted that since the Strike Law of 1909 prohibited the establishment of trade unions, the fraternity union had to be disbanded. However, the members of the union did not disband it. They even tried to strengthen it in order to win official recognition

¹⁹⁰ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 83.

as a legal organization. The trade union appeared to be a fraternity union but one can see it as a trade union as well. The members of the union acted as if they had established a fraternity union, but the regulations of the union verified that it was an example of a trade union, which was illegal. The director said that the real purpose of the Union was evident from its requests from the company.¹⁹¹ He referred to the fifth clause of the first article of the Union's regulation, which reads,

The protection of the benefits of the members of the union is provided by resorting to legislation with every means. If the existing dispute is not resolved, the union will cater to the execution of the first and the eighth provisions of the Strike Law of 1908 while trying not to provoke controversy over the differences between the Anatolian Railway Company and the employees.¹⁹²

Huguenin stated that the workers had to notify the company when they aimed to establish a fraternity union. If they had done so, the company would have even helped the formation of this fraternity union. However, the present union was only the continuity of the established syndicate. He pointed to the first, second, third, and the fourth articles of the Union's Regulations to illustrate his point, and he claimed that the Union was not active to financially help its members or to maintain a sense of friendship among them. According to him, these features indicated that it was not a fraternity but in fact a syndicate, given its goals, activities, and measures.¹⁹³ For example, demands included in the letter of complaint from the Union's Board of Committee presented to the Company as well to the Ministry of Public Works indicated how the board saw the union as a syndicate. For, only a syndicate was qualified to undertake a strike.¹⁹⁴ The actions of the Union were against the eighth article of the Strike Law.¹⁹⁵ Thus the acceptance of the complaint letter by the ministry was contradictory to the first and the eighth articles of the Strike Law and this needed

¹⁹¹ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20.n.2. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910.

¹⁹² BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 4/4. 1 CA 1328. 11 May 1910.

¹⁹³ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20.n.2. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910. For the mentioned articles see Appendix 1: BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 4/2-4/3-4/4. 1 CA 1328. 11 May 1910.

¹⁹⁴ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20.n.2. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910.

¹⁹⁵ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20.n.2. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910; **Article 8-** *Persons who encourage the establishment of a trade union, use the force and violence, encourage to go on a strike or prevent the others' working will be punished with a prison sentence from a week to six months and with a fined from a lira to a 25 liras.* For the whole law see: Gündüz Ökçün, *Tatil-i Eşgal Kanunu, 1909: Belgeler-Yorumlar.* (Ankara: Ankara Üni. S.B.F. Yay., 1982), p. 14.

to be investigated by the ministry, because these articles were very clear in that they forbid the employees of public utilities from going on strike. They had to choose three representatives and these representatives had to petition the Trade and Public Works Ministry. The company had to designate three people to negotiate for the company as mentioned in article three. The meeting would be held and the sides would reach a compromise, if both sides attended the meeting (articles 4-5). Mediators would bring them together.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, Huguenin presented the Union's actions as being illegal and demanded from the government its abolishment.¹⁹⁷

Although the Governor of Üsküdar (*Üsküdar mutasarrıfı*) recognized the Fraternity Union of the employees as legal, Huguenin tried to prove its illegality. His efforts show the stance of the investors and their representatives towards the employees and their anxiety about the organization of the workers.

Arangelos uses a poetic language to explain the establishment of the organization of the railway employees. He pointed out that the Union was one of the flowers that the promulgation of the Constitution yielded.¹⁹⁸ He generally stresses the absence of the means or mechanisms for workers to express their concerns and that the administration of the company answered none of their complaints or requests. Therefore, the so-called temporary (*muvakkat*) workers went on strike.¹⁹⁹

Arangelos mentions the establishment of the Fraternity Union of the company employees and its recognition by the state after the new regulations in the strike law. He cites the official correspondence of the Governor of Üsküdar (*Üsküdar mutasarrıfı*) about the recognition of the Union.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ **Article 1-** *If the managers and the workers conflict in the railway, tramway, port and the other sectors that provide public utilities, the workers will choose three representatives and the representatives will explain the condition to the Trade and Public Works Ministry with a petition. Article 4-* *The ministry will conduct a meeting with both sides within three days. If the representatives would not plead the reason of nonparticipating, they would not be part of the process. Article 5-* *If the parties agree on terms, the representatives of both sides and of the minister will undersign the agreement.* See Gündüz Ökçün, *Tatil-i Eşgal Kanunu, 1909: Belgeler-Yorumlar.* (Ankara: Ankara Üni. S.B.F. Yay., 1982.), pp. 13-14.

¹⁹⁷ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20.n.3. 27 M 1326. 9 April 1910.

¹⁹⁸ *...İşte bu mukaddes meşrutiyetin gülistan vatanda yetiştirdiği çiçeklerden biri de memurun ve müstahdemini cemiyet-i uhuvvetkarisi oldu...* Arangelos, p. 236.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 236-237.

²⁰⁰ *“Anadolu Osmanlı demir yolu şirketi memurun ve müstahdemini cemiyet-i uhuvvetkaranesi ünvanıyla merkez-i idaresi Haydarpaşa'da rıhtım üzerinde (1) numrolu daire-i mahsusede teşekkül eden cemiyetin heyet-i idaresi tarafından cemiyetler nizamnamesinin irae ettiği şerait dahilinde ita kılınan beyanname ve merbutu nizamnameler tedkik olunmuş cemiyet-i mezkurenin maksad-ı teessüsü*

The sole objective of the Union was to protect the employees' rights and make the director of the company fulfill his contractual obligations toward the employees for the sake of the wellbeing of the workers.²⁰¹ He adds that the unions were established for not only ensuring the prosperity of the workers, but also to protect the families of the workers in case of accidents or illnesses. One of the main concerns of the union was to guarantee the future of the workers and their families. The establishment of ovens to provide cheap bread to the workers was part of the Union's mission.²⁰² The physicians generally tried to show the miserable conditions of the workers, attempted to improve their working conditions, and to protect them against unjustifiable policies of the company.

Arangelos generally accuses the director of the Anatolian railway company, Mr. Huguenin²⁰³, because of the director's insensitivity towards the workers and his attempts to prevent the workers from having decent lives. The physician says Huguenin was unable to understand human nature so he tried to damage the union of the workers by using various methods such as his efforts to have it closed. Huguenin arbitrarily accepted the union as illegal and applied to the government for its abolishment. Huguenin's application to the Ministry of Justice prompted it to initiate an investigation. The Criminal Court of Üsküdar heard the case.²⁰⁴

anlaşılmış olmağla yine kanun-ı mezkur ahkâmına tevfikân bu 'ilmuhaber ita kılındı. Fi 23 Eylül Sene 325, (8 October 1909) Üsküdar mutasarrıfı: Faik." Arangelos, p. 241.

²⁰¹ *"İşbu cemiyet-i uhuvvetkarinin yegane maksadı tek mil mesaisini Anadolu Osmanlı Demir yolları müdür-i umumisi cenablarının ba sened biçare memurin ve müstahdemine karşı taahhüd eylediği mevaid ve şeraiti tatbik ettirerek bu zavallıların refah ve saadetten kendi hallerine göre hissemend olabilmeleri için sarf-ı mesai eylemekden ibaretti."* Arangelos, p. 241.

²⁰² Ibid, pp. 241-242.

²⁰³ The name of him was used in different forms such as Huguenen or Huguenin, but we use Huguenin.

²⁰⁴ *"Memurun refah ve saadetine göz dikmiş, bu biçarelerin mesud bir hayat imrar etmelerine mümanaat etmeğe ahd u peyman eylemiş zan olunan müdür-i umumi mösyö Hugenin cenabları ise cemiyet-i mezkureyi esas maksadında meknuz olan hissiyat-ı aliyeye-yi insaniyetperveraneyi idrakdan aciz olmasına mebni mahv u izale eylemek için elinden gelen tezviratı icradan geri kalmamış tek mil hissiyat-ı beşeriyeden tecrid-i nefis ederek böyle bir maksad-ı mukaddes için tesis etmiş olan cemiyet hakkında bu gibi hususatta hakikaten yekta olan aklına gelen her güne müftereyatı isnaddan ictinab eylememiş. Güya kendi fikrinde işbu cemiyet-i mugayir-ı kanun bulmuş, ve hatta bunu Şura-yı Devlet'e ihbar ederek sedd ü ilgasını talebden gayrı durmamış idi."* Arangelos, p. 242.

4.7.The Great Strike of the Railway Employees

Initially, the strike wave in 1908 seemed harmless to the Union and Progress Party. They perceived these strikes and other protests as a reaction to the policies of the sultanate of Abdülhamid II. However, these movements began to damage the economic conditions of the state and especially the strikes on the railways became a burden for the Sublime Porte due to the state's guarantee per kilometer.²⁰⁵ The new government changed its mind about these consecutive labor movements in the belief that they would harm not only the company but the Ottoman economy as well.²⁰⁶

The strike of the Anatolian Railway workers is one of the most remarkable labor movements in late Ottoman history in view of its results and effects on social policy and labor law. We can accept the railway workers as the locomotive of the modern labor movement that emerged in the Ottoman Empire in its final years.²⁰⁷ Many labor movements and protests emerged in Ottoman territories in 1908, but some of them had a greater impact on economic and social life and state policies than others did.

Although the strike occurred in September, the complaints of the employees began in August. For example, the fireman and mechanics of the Anatolian Railway Company gave a petition of complaints to the Ministry of Public Works. However, the Union and Progress Party disregarded their petition and discontentment.²⁰⁸

The Fraternity Union of the Anatolian Ottoman Railway Employees led the strike. The Anatolian Railway Company had many foreign employees and they led the strike. The Ministry of Police warned them to end the strike because they could be fired due to their status as guests in the Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁹ The demands of the

²⁰⁵ Zafer Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti Uhuvvetkârânesi" *Tarih ve Toplum* ,s.57, c. 10, 1988,(pp-45-50), p. 45.

²⁰⁶ Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti Uhuvvetkârânesi", p. 46.

²⁰⁷ Zafer Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, C. 1, İstanbul, TC Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1993, p. 254.

²⁰⁸ Tanin, no: 13. 13 Temmuz 1324. 12 August 1908, p. 4.

²⁰⁹ Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti Uhuvvetkârânesi", p. 46.

workers were generally about salary raises and the improvement of working conditions. There was also the problem of the company's unequal treatment of its Ottoman workers. Although foreign workers led the great strike of the railway men, the Ottoman workers and especially the *muvakkat* workers, complained about the unequal policies of the company. When they demanded equal pay for equal work, others said that they were not used to eating steak or drinking wine as their foreign colleagues did and they could survive on cheese and bread or that the temporary (*muvakkat*) workers did not merit high wages.²¹⁰

The workers tried every legitimate way to reach reconciliation with the company and the government. The first rumors of strike spread by the end of August 1908. On 26 August, the garrison under the governor of Üsküdar and the military general staff of the Ottoman Empire closed the Haydar Pasha station. However, the soldiers returned to their barracks because there was no protest or strike. The government's action was only one of the signs that it perceived labor protest and strikes as a public security problem. The same day, the workers gathered at the Kışlık Tiyatro in Moda (Kadıköy) and prepared a proposal about their demands, especially those related to increase in wages. They delivered their demands to Deutsche Bank, the Minister of Public Works, the German Embassy, and the Sublime Porte. The Minister of Interior, Deutsche Bank, and the Minister of *Zaptıye* examined the workers' requests regarding wages on 29 August.²¹¹ The German Embassy was displeased with the attempts of the workers and applied to the government for the prevention of any strike or protest while complaining about the union of the employees.²¹² Negotiations did not result in favor of the workers.²¹³

²¹⁰ Tanin, no: 46, 2 Eylül 1324. 15 September 1908, p. 3. The publisher of the French Chamber of Commerce generally tried to prove the inferior position of the Ottoman workers compared to Europeans. They asserted that the French mine workers drew coal much more efficiently than the Ottoman workers did. In another example, they argued that Ottoman workers were clumsier than the Italian or Greek workers in the construction sector. Thus, their employees could not pay those wages equal to European workers. This chamber of commerce also threatened the Ottoman government that foreign investors would leave if the number of strikes increased. The Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul supported the ideas of the French Chamber of Commerce. See, Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memur ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti Uhuvvetkârânesi," for details.

²¹¹ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 254.

²¹² Yıldırım, pp. 367-368.

²¹³ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 254.

The Union's proposal involved significant points. It pointed out that all responsibilities due to the consequences of the strike would belong to the government and the company. The proposal is important because historians in general consider it as one of the first examples of a labor contract draft in the Ottoman Empire. The proposal included thirty-three articles listing the demands (*metalibat*) of the workers. The list shows the strength of the workers.²¹⁴ The basic demands of the workers were as follows²¹⁵:

- The recognition of the Union by the employer
- The limitation of the daily working hours, double payment for night work shift, and acceptance of Sunday as a rest day
- Four months of paid holiday each year
- Payment of hospital expenses by the company
- Extra payment for extra work
- Forty percent raise for employees who have worked ten years and thirty percent raise for those who have worked five years
- No discrimination between local and foreign workers
- No favoritism and protectionism in appointments
- The preparation and the application of a list including the positions of regular (*muvaazzaf*) employees, their appointment positions, and their salaries
- Not sending an employee who worked for five years in Haydar Pasha to other lines
- No prohibition for working in other companies

The workers decided to go on strike upon the rejection of the demands.²¹⁶ The workers committee posted a declaration above the entrance of the station to inform the populace that there would be a strike after the arrival of the last train to the Haydar Pasha Station on the night of 13 September 1908.²¹⁷ The workers informed the government that their goals were not to harm the state or the company and it was only

²¹⁴ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", pp. 254-255.

²¹⁵ Toprak, "İlan-ı Hürriyet ve Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Memurin ve Müstahdemini Cemiyeti Uhuvvetkârânesi", pp.48-49; Yıldırım, pp. 369-370.

²¹⁶ BOA, BEO, 3394/254550. 17 Ş 1326. 14 September 1908.

²¹⁷ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 255.

an issue related to wages. Workers from other lines such as the Ankara, Ertuğrul, Kütahya and Konya regions as well went on strike, as did the workers in Istanbul.²¹⁸ Thirty-four workers in Ankara went on strike with the same demands of the Haydar Pasha Union and they stopped a train scheduled to go to Eskişehir.²¹⁹ They even attempted to obtain the revenues of the trains they used, but gave up because of the rigorous reaction of the government.²²⁰ The state announced an increase in salaries on 14 September, after negotiations with Mr. Huguenin. The workers rejected this raise.²²¹ The strikers' use of the telegraph system of the company only for their own purposes during the strike forced the government to seize the telegraph centers. Adil Bey, who was the representative of the workers and their legal consultant, said they were not happy due to the strike and their main goal was the acceptance of their demands.²²² Even the workers on strike wanted to stop, return the withheld trains to the company, and allow the public use of the trains again.²²³ The strike did not end as easily as the government and the company had estimated. Meanwhile the strike hurt the merchants and craftsmen financially, because their goods remained at the stations.²²⁴ On the third day of the strike, Adil Bey accepted the government as a mediator. The administration of the company did not react to the strike visibly but it agreed to negotiate the demands of the workers with the union within the frameworks of the law on the fifth day of the strike. Article 12 of the concession contract stated that the state can take charge of the railways in urgent cases so the company had to accept the workers' demands.²²⁵ There emerged differences among the union members. Some workers wanted to continue the strike, while others chose to stop it on the night of 16 September, when Huguenin accepted the employees' wage demands.

²¹⁸ Yıldırım, p. 370.

²¹⁹ BOA, ZB. 622/5. 1 Eylül 1324. 14 September 1908; Tanin, no: 46, 2 Eylül 1324. 15 September 1908, p. 3.

²²⁰ Yıldırım, p. 370.

²²¹ BOA, ZB. 622/4. 1 Eylül 1324. 14 September 1908; BOA, ZB. 622/9. 1 Eylül 1324. 14 September 1908.

²²² Yıldırım, p. 371.

²²³ BOA, ZB. 622/27. 3 Eylül 1324. 16 September 1908.

²²⁴ Tanin, no: 47, 3 Eylül 1324. 16 September 1908, p. 7.

²²⁵ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 255.

The strike ended and the trains started to work on the Pendik line first.²²⁶ The agreed-upon amount of raises of both monthly salary and wages were as follows:

- 100 kurushes for employees who have served for one to five years
- 200 kurushes for employees who have served for five to ten years
- 250 kurushes for employees who have served for fifteen to twenty years
- 300 kurushes for employees who have served for more than ten years

Increases for switchman:

- 3 kurushes for switchmen who have served for one to five years
- 4 kurushes for switchmen who have served for five to ten years
- 5 kurushes for employees who have served for more than ten years²²⁷

The company sent an official writing to the Union on 19 September 1908 and this meant the acceptance of the Union by the company.²²⁸

However, the incident of 31st of March 1909 and the promulgation of the Strike Law of October 1909 changed the situation again. Huguenin changed his mind and the company reneged its promises, revoking the rights that the workers had gained.²²⁹ The workers collected 900 signatures for a petition of complaint submitted to the government. The two sides met twice in meetings presided by the Minister of Public Works Hallaçyan Efendi. He admitted the workers were right. Indeed, the state opposed the stopping of railway transportation and the attempts to establish a trade union but the representatives of the government generally favored the demands of the employees regarding their poor economic conditions.²³⁰ The director of the company's

²²⁶ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 81-82.

²²⁷ Tanin, no: 49, 5 Eylül 1324. 18 September 1908, p. 2.

²²⁸ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 255; ... *müdür-i umumi cenablarının memurin ve müstahdemin mutalebatını tamamiyle ve harfiyen kabul eylediğine dair imzası tahtında yani namusu kefaletiyle vermiş olduğu tahriratın fotoğrafla alınmış olan suretini tercümesiyle beraber gelecek sahifeye derc ediyoruz: Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Şirketi 19 Eylül 1908 Anadolu Demiryolları Memurini Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesine (Haydar Paşa) Memurin ve Müstahdemin Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesine 16 Mayıs 1908 tarihinde teklif olunan metalibini kanun dairesinde kabul edeceğime dair taahhüdât-ı resmîyemi tebliğ ve te'kid eylerim. Müdüriyetin arzu ve iktidarında kalacak ve bilahare bazı maddelerin müzakeresi üzerine yavaş yavaş mevki-i tatbîke vaz' edilecek olan mükafat-i nakdiyye meselesiyle hükümet-i seniyyenin karar-ı resmîyesine vabeste olan mevadd müstesnadır. Müdür-i Umumi Hugenin" Arhangelos, p. 238.*

²²⁹ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 255.

²³⁰ Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 84.

delay interrupted the negotiations after two rounds of meetings under the observation of the authorized officials.²³¹

İttihad ve Terakki, a publication of CUP's central council, pointed out that the employees' demands did not rest on sound legal grounds and they had to give up their demands because the general populace would not consent to the stoppage of train transportation. Therefore, the government had to prepare railroad battalions to work on the lines where the employees on strike had stopped work. Then, the Ministry of Military Affairs formed a railroad battalion for the required workforce on the railways. The government conveyed to the workers that it would arrest and prosecute the employees going on strike according to the Strike Law.²³²

The Strike Law of October 1909 was a new beginning for the railway men because it restricted the rights of strike in certain sectors in the Ottoman Empire, including transportation, electricity, and ports, which provided public service.

The increase in the number of labor protests had obliged the Ottoman government to make new arrangements. Reconciling the demands of the workers for higher payments and better working conditions, on the one hand, and the investors' desire to maintain high levels of profit, on the other, proved unfeasible for the government. Thus, the government and the members of CUP considered preparing a corporate arrangement.²³³ It was impossible for them to delay this problem any longer because of the rising labor movements. The state's first response to the strike was to send soldiers, gendarmes and police officials in order "to maintain the public order" and "to protect the right to work". The government and CUP thought some agitators provoked the workers to strike.²³⁴ The workers came face to face with the government forces that were determined to crack down the strikers, although the strikes were quite peaceful.²³⁵

The Strike Law of 1909 was the first law pertaining to strikes and trade unions in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The *Dilaverpaşa* Regulations (*Nizamnamesi*) of

²³¹ Toprak, "Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Grevi", p. 255.

²³² Ibid, p. 255.

²³³ M. Şehmus Güzel, *Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketi: 1908-1984*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996), p. 60.

²³⁴ BOA, ZB. 327/69. 15 Temmuz 1324. 28 October 1908.

²³⁵ Yavuz Selim Karakışla. "The 1908 Strike Wave in the Ottoman Empire", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, no. 2 (1992), p. 170.

1865 were only about the working conditions of mineworkers and not signed by the Sultan. The French Count Leon Ostrorog prepared for the government the requisite text of the “Temporary law about the Strike Associations” (*Tatil-i Eşgal Cemiyetleri Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat*), which was promulgated on 8 September 1908 and published in the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the Ottoman official gazette.²³⁶ This temporary law was composed of thirteen articles²³⁷ and represented a corporate arrangement. It served as the basis of the Strike Law (*Tatil-i Eşgal Kanunu*) of 1909. The Ottoman Parliament revised the temporary law, making a few changes. The *Takvim-i Vekayi* published the new law on 8 August 1909²³⁸ and the sultan officially signed and promulgated it on 9 August 1909.²³⁹ The new law as well included thirteen articles and was based on the French law of 27 December 1892.²⁴⁰ It remained in force in the Ottoman Empire and then in Turkey until the Labor Law of 1936.²⁴¹

The Strike Law included provisions about strikes and trade unions. In general, it set limitations to the rights of workers. It aimed at limiting the organization or action of the workers’ movements who worked for public utilities in particular. There was no prohibition on strikes or on the establishment of workers’ associations,²⁴² except for the workers of public utility organizations. Thus, the prohibition applied not to all firms in the public sector but to public utilities, which included railways, tramways, ports, gas, and electricity.²⁴³ Likewise, the law did not prohibit strikes completely. Even the workers who worked for public utilities could go on strike if the negotiation process failed for no fault of their own. There were mediators to prevent this. They brought the sides together to reconcile differences.

²³⁶ Güzel, p. 60.

²³⁷ Ökçün, pp. 3-4.

²³⁸ Güzel, p. 60.

²³⁹ Ökçün, p. 133.

²⁴⁰ Yıldırım Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi: Osmanlı’dan 2010’a*, (Ankara: Epos Yayınları, 2010), p. 83.

²⁴¹ Ökçün, p. 1.

²⁴² Koç, p. 85.

²⁴³ Güzel, p. 60.

The number of strikes appears to have decreased after the implementation of the law, probably because the law was an anti-labor act in general and imposed certain sanctions. It did not prohibit trade unions but set restriction on their establishment. There was no ban on strikes but the workers would have to follow the process of negotiation mentioned in the law.

Although it was a law about strikes and trade unions, it contained neither a principle nor article on the working conditions of the workers, although the demands of the workers were generally about their working conditions and salaries.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter examined the basic characteristics, working conditions and composition of the Anatolian railway employees, their Fraternity Union, and the great strike based on primary and secondary sources.

I argued that an ethnically mixed and diverse structure of the employees led to some problems or clashes among them as well as between them and the ordinary people. Whether the diversity was neutral or not, it did not change the reason for conflict. The heterogeneous structure of the work force was a significant reason for clashes among the employees, because this distinction reverberated in payments and workplace conditions. However, ethnicity was not a tight separator in the company. Ottoman or non-Ottoman workers existed among skilled as well as unskilled workers, especially in certain departments.

The chapter explained the poor working conditions of the workers as well, especially during the cholera outbreak. Although the state took measures to prevent the spreading of the disease, these measures remained inadequate for the workers. I claim that the directorate of the company did not want to send the workers to the protected areas in order to avoid the disruption of the company's work. The Ottoman government accepted the company's requests although they put workers' health at risk, probably because of its fear of the costs of the guarantees per kilometer.

Finally, the chapter addressed the organization of the workers, including the issue of the Fraternity Union. One can argue that the workers showed great determination to actively maintain their union, resisting the many obstacles they faced, especially those caused by the general director of the company. The employees'

determination in this regard reflects their confidence in their Union and its vitality for them. I claim that the Fraternity Union of the Railway Employees was one of the early examples of trade unions judging by its regulations and hierarchical structure.

The chapter indicates that a closer examination of the construction and operation of the railways and the impact of their economic implications and political complications on the Ottoman government's labor policies is in order. Further research in that direction should enable us to have a better understanding of the changing lives of Ottoman workers, their adaption to new circumstances as the Ottoman lands and its peoples became integrated into the new world order in unequal yet interactive ways. This effort should enable us to benefit from the experience of Ottoman workers to have a better grasp of the changing world order and its dynamics as well in a comparative vein.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the history of the Anatolian Railway Company's employees working in the Ottoman Empire between 1888 and 1914. Initially, this study examined the historical background of labor history concisely within the Ottoman Anatolian context to show the developments in the field of labor history in the world generally, and regarding Ottoman studies specifically. The chapter included a discussion of transnational labor history because it is a particularly relevant new approach. It enables historians to inspect aspects of past human experiences that long dominant Western-centered and nation state-centered conceptions of history have concealed from the eye. It shifts the emphasis to similarities, interactions and movements across superimposed, often artificial and rigidly guarded borders (whether political, cultural, or ideological). The transnational perspective is particularly apt to adopt on studies on railway workers because the railways spread in a short time in all countries and across continents relying on relatively standard technology and forms of work organization as well as similar challenges of large-scale deployment of investment funds. Technicians and experienced workers as well as investment capital moved across borders from one project to another. Furthermore, the railways facilitated the movement and interactive connection of goods and people across distant places.

The Anatolian Railway Company, the focal point of this work, amply illustrates the cross-national dimensions of railway operations and workers. It was a foreign (German) company that employed many non-Ottoman personnel and workers and cooperated with such international financial institutions as the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. I provided some examples to present the conditions of the foreign employees in the Ottoman Empire and their relations with the Ottoman workforce. The heterogeneous character of the labor force of the company in itself is an invitation to examine the employees of the company from a transnational perspective. The modest step this thesis has taken in that direction is only the beginning. I intend to pursue this line of research in my future studies, for the cross-

national approach, as outlined above, will be the new trend in writing Ottoman labor history.

In the second chapter, I explained the lines and the construction process of the Anatolian Railway Company, as a background to understand the working and living conditions of its employees. The lines were determined by political clashes due to the geopolitical importance attributed to them. The constructed lines not only brought profits to the company and the investors, but they also led to some significant financial and economic results such as an increase in tax revenue along with an increase in grain production. Given the rise in the production levels, the producers could afford the taxes so long as tax rates and transportation costs remained affordable.

The last chapter of this thesis examined the characteristics of the division of labor in the company, working conditions of the workers, organization of the railway employees, and finally the great strike. I claim that the main motive of the government in preparing the Strike Law of 1909 was the great strike of the railway employees. The organizational power of the employees and its effects on other workers working in other sectors, needs to be considered in relation to this perspective. The Fraternity Union of the Anatolian Railway Employees is one of the most significant and oldest labor organizations in late Ottoman history. The regulations of the union provide some ideas about whether it was a trade union or not. The union thought that neither the company nor the government paid attention to working conditions. These conditions were poor, especially for the low level workers who were furthermore exposed to harsh weather, contagious diseases, and even attacks by brigands and ransom seekers. Consequently, the employees were willing to face the challenges of organization for better pay and working conditions by undertaking a strike. I examined these challenges and the employees' response to them with due attention to their own situation and the political conjuncture.

One of the conditions that affected the employees' efforts to act collectively was the heterogeneous structure of the work force. It caused clashes as this distinction reverberated in payments and the workplace conditions. These clashes became visible during the great strike. The recruitment policies of the company were not based on ethnicity as the majority of the skilled and salaried employees were non-Muslims or foreigners.

Railway construction was a new working field and it would be problematic to compare its working conditions with other sectors such as the docks or mills. This thesis claims that the working conditions of the railway employees cannot be considered without examining the economic and geopolitical conditions, and the construction process as well.

One of the major factors that influenced the reaction of the Ottoman government was the financial guarantees per kilometre to which it had committed itself and the requests and needs of the employees. The government shaped its labour policy according to the perceived importance of the institution or work place. In this case, the importance of the Anatolian Railway Company led the government to be more involved in disputes or any issue among employees and the government.

This study has aimed at examining the daily life and working conditions of workers. It has paved the way towards that end but more work needs to be done. My goal is to build on this study to fill the remaining gaps toward a fuller history of the Anatolian railway employees.

This thesis indicates where additional research is needed. Clearly, breaking the monopoly of purely political history on historical writing proves a formidable challenge. One needs to diversify one's sources, look into new places for information, and use available sources creatively to be able to offer a rich account of workers' lives.

An agenda for future research should include the following. First of all, I need to expand on the comparative perspective advocated in the current thesis for a better grasp of the railway investment issues as well as labor movements and organization of workers. As stated above, railway investments in the Ottoman Empire coincided with the investment attempts in India, China, and some European countries. I need to show more clearly the interactions of the Ottoman and foreign workers in the Ottoman Empire with other workers and labor movements in various parts of the world. These relations and interactions should shed light on the development of socialism and socialist movements both in the world and in the Ottoman Empire as well. Although the socialist idea was introduced before 1908, the promulgation of the constitution eased its spread among workers and some intellectuals. The leaders of the workers wanted to develop this interaction but the oppressive policies of CUP prevented the spread of labor and socialist movements. For instance, they prohibited the publication of news that related to socialist movements. This study excluded the international labour movement because such a study needs to involve a close look at the other strikes

that occurred in the Ottoman Empire, their interconnections as well as their relations with workers or labor organizations in various parts of the world. This approach would exceed the domains of this study. Furthermore, Ottoman labor movements need to be assessed from the transnational perspective because the introduction of socialism to the empire was mostly via the non-Muslim workers, intellectuals or foreign workers. The mobilization of workers and also ideologies changed the path of development of the Ottoman labor movement. Therefore, Ottoman labor history can be a part of transnational labor history because of these mobilizations.

Another important point is the communication of the workers during strikes or protests. The network that the employees establish is very significant for their organization and its maintenance. In the case of the railway employees, there was irregular mobilization because of the nature of their work except for the personnel who received a regular salary. The Anatolian Railway Employees decided that their headquarters would be at the Haydar Pasha station and expressed this point in the first article of the union's regulation. Although I could not reach the documents or telegraphs that involved workers communications with each other during the organization of the strike and the strike, we can presume that Haydar Pasha had the means that facilitated communication of employees working at stations and distant lines. This matter is relatively evident in the information we have on strike days and the insistence of union leaders to stay in Haydar Pasha. Clearly, we need to investigate how the workers communicated with each other and others, because this information could shed light on the structure of the organization of the Ottoman workers and their interconnections.

In the beginning of my research, I aimed to reach detailed information about Gavriel Arhangelos along with his memoir. Indeed, I considered to form this study as a biography of Arhangelos but I could not reach sufficient information about him. Nevertheless, all related documents need to be examined because his life and contribution to the Ottoman labour movement are worth elaboration. He was of Greek Orthodox origin and a physician employed by company. Despite his relatively elite position, he always tried to advocate the rights of low-wage workers although there were sometimes disputes between the salaried personnel and wage workers. His political comments and concepts hint at a socialist perspective about working life even though he was not so outspoken in these issues in his memoir. His interactions with other labour movements in the world, his effects on the other strikes in the Ottoman

Empire, and his communications with other labor leaders need to be examined because the various organized labor groups in the Ottoman Empire were not isolated from each other and other labour movements in the world. Elaboration on the like story of such a significant contemporary observer of workers' lives, as Arangelos was, would provide us opinions about the nature and development of labor movement in the Ottoman Empire.

Another important point that we need to elaborate on is the daily life of railway workers and their families. Although this thesis aimed at shedding light on the lives of the workers, I could not obtain adequate information to offer a good picture on this matter at this point. The employees become visible in the documents only when they run into a problem with the state or the company. One wishes some of the workers who worked for the company had jotted down their experienced. Arangelos is the exception but even he did not include information about the daily lives of the employees. Still, I did not yet give up on my goal to write a history of the Ottoman employees from below. The daily life of the workers is a significant part of the history of working life. We need to find answers to questions related to this matter. Where did they live? What did they do in their leisure times? How did their families live? These and many similar questions await answers.

There are sources that remain untapped and can provide answers to some of our questions. Various Ottoman and foreign newspapers, stories, or folk poems and songs readily come to mind. I used newspapers but could have done a more through in job. A similarly through examination of primary and secondary sources, including literary works and collections of contemporary stories, anecdotes and poems, would likely yield information about railway workers can be alternative sources. They might cast light on the lives of workers from an ordinary person's vantage point. It may even be possible to imagine realistically one typical day in a worker's life. Findings need to be broadened by new researches.

The present thesis is an initial step toward a more comprehensive study of the Ottoman railway workers and of the labor movements of which they became a leading part. Similarly, the current thesis is an initial effort to place the Ottoman railway workers and labor organizations in a broader, comprehensive context. I will keep building on the ground I lay here, for research on the experience of Ottoman railway and other workers promises to make significant contributions to our understanding of

the dynamics of late Ottoman history and of the changing world order and conditions early twentieth century.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Official Text of the Union Regulations (in Ottoman Turkish and French with modern Turkish transliteration)²⁴⁴

Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu Umum-i Memurin ve Müstahdemin Cemiyet-i Uhuvvetkaranesi 1324/1908 Senesinde tesis olunmuştur.

Nizamname-i Dahili

Birinci Fasl

Cemiyetin Tesisi ve Maksudı

Madde 1: Anadolu Osmanlı Demir Yolu Memurin ve müstahdemin cemiyet-i uhuvvetkaranesi namı altında, münhasıran maddi ve manevi terfi-i hal ve maişet-i memurin maksadıyla bir cemiyet teşkil edilmiştir ki, merkezi İstanbul'da Haydarpaşa'dadır.

Madde 2: Cemiyet maksadını suver-i atıye ile meydan-ı fiile getirmeğe

Evvelen: Müşareket-i mütekabiliye esasına müstenid her türlü vesait müracatla cemiyet azasının hal-i iktisadi ve maliyesinin terfihi.

Saniyen: Taksiratı olmaksızın duçar-ı zaruret olan azaya nakden muavenet.

Salisen: Cemiyet azasının malumat-ı müktesebe-i meslekiye ve terbiye-i ahlakiye ve akliyelerinin tevsii.

Rabian: Aza-yı cemiyet beyninde arkadaşlık ve yekdiğere hüsn-ü amiziş hissiyatının ve muhafaza ve takviyesi.

Hamsen: Her güne vesait-ı kanuniyeye müracatla aza-yı cemiyetin menafini müdafa ve siyanet etmek. Binaen aleyh Anadolu Osmanlı Demir yolu şirketi ile memurin beyninde şerait-i amel yüzünden her güne ihtilafın zuhur etmemesine cemiyetce gayret edileceği gibi şayed mütehaddis ihtilafın hall-i kabul olmazsa 1324 /1908 senesi teşrin-i evvel tarihli Tatil-i Eşgal nizamnamesinin birinci ve sekizinci maddeleri ahkamınca hall ü faslı için tevessül edilecek vesait-i meşruanın icrasını cemiyet temin edecektir.

²⁴⁴ BOA, ŞD. MLK. 1230/20. 4/2-4/3-4/4. 1 CA 1328. 11 May 1910.

Sadisen: Nizamname ahkamı dairesi dahilinde cemiyetin terakki ve tealisine çalışmak

Sebaen: Cemiyetin mürevvic-i efkarı olacak bir risale neşr etmek.

Madde 3: Şehri maaşlarından şimdilik takdir olunan yüzde “bir” aidat tediye ile bila tefrik-i memuriyet Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu memurin ve müstahdemin-i daimiyesinin kaffesi cemiyete dahil olabilirler.

Yüzde bir aidatının taklil miktarı ancak ictima-ı umuminin kararıyla kabul olabilir.

Madde 4: İctima-ı umuminin takdir ve tasvibine vabeste olmak üzere heyet-i idare – komite—Haricden fahri aza kabul ile cemiyetde hiçbir mükellefiyet ve vazifeyi haiz olmayarak cemiyete karşı gösterecekleri ulv-i cenab ve atifet-i insaniyetkaranelerine göre aza-yı fahriyeye cemileten ve takdiren münasib unvanlar tevcih edebilir.

Müessesat-ı cemiyetden münhasıran aza-yı fiilliye istifade eder.

Madde 5: Her aza 5 guruş dahi duhuliyeye vererek cemiyete kabul olunur. Ve kabulünü mulin kendisine resmi varaka—ilmühaber-- verilir.

Madde 6: Cemiyete kabul veya cemiyetten istifa ve ihraç, heyet-i umumiyenin nazarıttılağına vaz’ edilmek şartıyla süver-i atiyede heyet-i idarenin daire-i selahiyetindedir.

Evvelen, istifa: Dahil-i cemiyet olan her aza cemiyetten istifa hakkını haizdir. Bundan başka Anadolu Osmanlı demiryolu şirketi idaresindeki memuriyet ve vazifesini arzu-yı zatiyesiyle terk eden her azaya cemiyetten müsta’fi nazarıyla bakılır.

Saniyen, ihrac: Anadolu Osmanlı demiryolu şirketi tarafından esbab-ı mücerrebe tahtında memuriyetinden ihrac edilen, cemiyetin nizamnamesi ahkamına muhalif harekette bulunan, üç ay mütemadiyen yüzde muayyen olan aidatı vermekden istinkaf eden her aza cemiyetten ihrac edilir.

Madde 7: Cemiyetten, ihrac edilen aza heyet-i idarenin kararına karşı, ilk ictimada heyet-i umumiyeye tahriren müracatla kendilerini müdafa etmek hakkını haizdirler. Heyet-i umumiye tekrar kabul edilmelerine karar verebilir.

Madde 8: Cemiyetten muhrec aza: Cemiyete intisablarını mulin yedlerinde bulunan resmi varakalarını – ilmuhaber—iadeye mecburdurlar.

Madde 9: Cemiyetten çıkan ve cemiyetle alakası kalmayan her aza cemiyete karşı hukukunu ve cemiyet sandığına verdiği aidatını kaybeder.

İkinci Fasıl

İdare ve Memuriyet

Madde 10: Cemiyetin idaresi; teşrin-i evvelde ictima eden heyet-i umumiye tarafından münteheb bir idare heyetine – komite – tevdi olunmuşdur ki yalnız mezkur heyet-i idare, cemiyet nizamnamesi dahilinde salahiyet-i tammeye malikdir.

Heyet-i idare : Bir reis, bir reis-, sani, bir katib, bir veznedar, ve on iki azadan ibarettir.

Hususi bir talimatname ile hatt-ı güzergahında lüzum görülen diğer idare heyetlerinin suret-i teşkili ile intihabatın tanzimi tayin edilecektir.

Madde 11: Reisin vazife ve salahiyeti atide beyan olunan dereceden ibarettir.

Evvelen: Cemiiyetin nizamname ve talimatnamelerinin fiilen icra-yı ahkamına ve mevadd-ı mündericesine riayet edilmesine nezaret etmek.

Saniyen: İctimaat için azayı davet ile bunlara riyaset ve hin-i ictimaada intizamın muhafazası için iktiza eden tedabire tevessül etmek. Müzakeratın intizam ceryanına delalet ve nezaret eylemek, aza-yı idareden biri ve katib ile müştereken gerek ictimaat-ı umumiyeden ve gerek heyet-i idareden sudur edecek mukarrarata imza etmek.

Salisen: Gerek hükümet-i osmaniyeye ve gerek Anadolu osmanlı demir yolu şirketine veya üçüncü derecede bulunabilecek bir şahsa karşı cemiyetin vekili sıfatına haiz olmak.

Madde 12: Reis-i sani: Hin-i hacette reis-i evvele vekalet eder. Bu surette riyaşetin bahş ettiği salahiyeti kısmen veya tamamen haiz olabilir.

Madde 13: Katib: Muhaberat-ı cemiyet ile mükellef olup cemiyetin mührü resmisi kendisine mevdudur. İctimaatta hazır bulunmakla beraber müzakerata iştirak edemez.

Madde 14: Veznedar: Cemiyet sandığının emin-i mesuldur. Reis ve azadan ikisinin rey ve muvafakatını istihsal etmeden hiçbir vechle sarfiyata mezun değildir.

Veznedar; sandık hasılatının cibayeti ve te'diyat ile mükellefdir. İctimaatda hazır bulunmakla beraber müzakerata iştirak edemez.

Madde 15: Heyet-i idarenin bütün azasının memuriyetleri bila ücrettir.

Madde 16: Heyet-i idare ayda iki defa, hin-i iktizadave müstesna hallerde reisin daveti üzerine ictima eder.

Mevki-yi müzakereye vaz' edilecek mesail evvelce tahriren hazırlanıp celseye takdim edilecek ve ancak mevadd-ı mündericesi mevzu bahs-i müzakere olabilecektir.

Azanın dörtte üç kısmı hazır bil meclis olmadığı takdirde müzakerata netice ve karar verilemez.

Hazır bil meclis azanın ekseriyet-i ara-yı katiyesiyle mukarrarat kabul edilir. Tesavi-yi vukuunda reisin reyini kabul olunur.

Her celsede mevki-i tezekküre konulan mesail; ayn-i celseye takib eden heyet-i idare ictimainda bir mazbata suretinde okunup aza tarafından kabul olunur. Ve mezkur mazbata hususi bir deftere kayd ile müzakerede hazır bulunan aza tarafından imza edilir.

Mazbata defterinin mevad-ı mündericesi mamul-u bihdir.

Mezkur mazbataların sureti veya hulasası lüzumu takdirinde bütün cemiyet azasına tevzi olunur.

Madde 17: Heyet-i idare; her hususta cemiyetin umur-ı idaresini deruhde eder. Cemiyet nizamnamesi ahkamına tevfiikan umur-ı idarenin hüsnü temşitinden, cemiyetin hususat-ı muhtelifesinin intizam-ı ceryanından heyet-i idare mesuldur.

Madde 18: Reis, Reis-i sani ve heyet-i umumiye tarafından münteheb diğer heyet-i idare azası ancak bir sebep-i meşrua mebni memuriyetlerinden istinkaf edebilirler. Bu halde heyet-i idare azası içlerinden birini ictima-ı umumiye kadar müstafinin yerine intihab edebilirler.

Heyet-i idare azasından diğer herhangi biri istifa edecek olursa mensub olduğu şube memurunu müstafî azanın yerine diğerini intihaba davet olunacaklar.

İstifaname tahriren ve on beş gün evvel verilmek lazımdır. Sebeb-i meşru göstermeden yekdiğerini takib eden altı celsede isbat-ı vücud etmeyen azaya fiilen istifa etmiş nazarıyla bakılır.

Madde 19: Heyet-i idare azası münferiden veya müctemian altıncı madde müfadinâ nazaran heyet-i umumiye tarafından kabl-i azildir.

Madde 20: Teftiř komisyonu.

Her sene ictima eden heyet-i umumiye beř azadan mrekkeb bir teftiř heyeti tayin edecek ve bu heyet azasından birisi her halde iki defa intihab edilmiř olacaktır.

Heyet-i teftiřiyye; rey-i hafi ve ekseriyet-i ara ile tayin edilecek ve azası heyet-i idare dahilinden olmayacaktır.

Madde 21: Heyet-i teftiřiyenin vazifesi cemiyeten bir senelik muamelatını tedkik ile sene nihayetinde ictima edecek heyet-i umumiyeye meřhudat ve icraatına dair beyan-ı malumat etmektir.

nc Fasil

ctimaat-ı umumiye

Madde 22: Heyet-i umumiye her sene teřrin-i evvel nihayetine doęru ictima-ı umumiye davet olunur. Ve luzumu takdirinde fevkalade olarakda ictima eder.

Heyet-i idare ile heyet-i teftiřiyeye zabıtname suretinde cemiyetin mevki ve derece-i maliyesini ve btn kendi iřtighalatını mbeyyin muhtasar bir layihayı her ictima-yı umumiye tevdiye mecburdur.

Madde 23: Heyet-i umumiye;cemiyete aid idare talimatnamelerini mevki-yi mnakařaya vaz' ve reye mracatla tayin eder. Heyet-i idarenin mukarreratiyle bdceye kabul ve tasdik eyler. Kararların mamul bihi olması, hazır bilcmle azanın ekseriyet-i arasına mutavakkıfdır.

Madde 24: Cemiyet heyet-i umumiyesinin ictimaında mevki-i mnakařa ve mzakereye vaz' edilecek mesailin řayan-ı kabul olması iin mevcut azanın adedi her halde Haydar Pařada mukim azanın drtte  kısımina muadil olmalıdır.

Haydar Pařada mukim 200 aza, mstesna hallerde bazı mesailin tezekkr iin on gn evvel ilan etmek řartıyla ictima-ı umumi-i fevkalade akd edebilirler.

Heyet-i idare, mazbatasını teřrin-i evvelde ictima eden heyet-i umumiyeye tevdi ile yeni bir heyet-i idarenin intihabını teklif eder.

Heyet-i umumiye zabıtnamesi cemiyet azasının hepsine tevzii edilecektir.

Dördüncü Fası

Cemiyetin Sermayesi

Madde 25: Cemiyetin sermayesi; atideki suverle teşkil eder.

Evvelen: Cemiyete mensub her azanın hissesine musib ve cemiyet sandığına tevdi ile mükellef olduğu aidat.

Saniyen : Hayr hah ve fahri azanın verecekleri mebalığ.

Salisen: Sermayenin getireceği faiz. Müşareket-i mütekabileyeye müsteniden meydana 1 husule gelecek bilcümle teşebbüsattan elde edilecek hasılat ve tertib edebilecek muhtelif eğlencelerin bırakacakları mebalığden ibarettir.

Madde 26: Cemiyetin serveti emin ve hüsn-ü suretle istimal edilmek şarttır.

Heyet-i idarenin emrine muhavvel meblağ-ı muayyen; Senevi bütçede tayin ve tahdid edilmiştir. Bu mesele aid teferruat hususi bir talimatname ile bildirilecektir.

Madde 27: Yüz Osmanlı lirasından akel olmamak üzere varidat-ı seneviden ve sandık aidatından ayrılmak şartıyla her sene ihtiyat akçesi namıyla bir meblağ tahsis edilecektir.

Beşinci Fası

İane, idane, ve teavün-ü mütekabile esası vesaire

Madde 28: Kuvve-i maliyesinin müsaid olduğu derecede cemiyet kendi taksiratı olmayarak ihtiyacı tebeyyün eden azasına muavenet-i nakdiyede bulunur ve müracatları vukuu takdirde idane de eder. Gerek iane ve gerek edayı şeraiti hususi bir talimatname ile takarrur edecektir.

Madde 29: Cemiyet bütün azasının menafiine hadim ve teavün-ü mütekabile esasına müstenid müessesat vücuda getirecek ve hususi bir talimatname ile esasları tayin edebilecektir.

Madde 30: Azasının malumat-ı meslekiyelerinin terakki ve tenvirine hadim resmi bir risalenin ve mevadd-ı sairenin tab' ve temsil ve neşri için cemiyet bezl-i gayret edecektir.

Madde 31: Heyet-i umumiyenin nazar-ı tasvip ve tasdikinden geçmiş hususi bir talimatname cemiyet nizamatinın suver-i muhtelifede vazıhan tatbik-i ahkâmını gösterir.

Altıncı Fasl

Tedabir-i intihaiyye

Madde 32: Cemiyetin lisan-ı resmisi Türkçe ve Fransızca'dır.

Madde 33: Cemiyet; İctimaında her türlü münakaşat mezhebiyye ve siyasiyeyi men eder.

Madde 34: Heyet-i idare memuriyetinden hiçbirisi tahriren hususi bir mezuniyeti haiz olmadıkça cemiyet haricinde salahiyet-i memuriyetini istimal edemez.

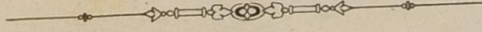
Madde 35: Cemiyetin feshi için aza-yı fiiliyeden dörtte üç kısmının arasının vücudu elzemdir. Mefsub cemiyet; servet-i mecmuasının cihet-i tahsisini ve suret-i istimalini kendisi tayin eder.

Madde 36: Devlet-i aliye-yi Osmaniyenin tadilat-ı kanuniyesine mutabakat etmek üzere ileride, mevcut cemiyet nizamatinında tadilat-ı sariha icrası hakkını cemiyet muhafaza eder.

Madde 37: İşbu nizamname teşrin-i evvel sene 1324/1908 tarihinde ictima eden cemiyet-i umumiye tarafından kabul ve tasdiki hininden itibaren meri olacaktır.



ASSOCIATION FRATERNELLE
DU
PERSONNEL
DU
CHEMIN DE FER OTTOMAN D'ANATOLIE
FONDÉE EN 1908



STATUTS



CONSTANTINOPLE

1908

ASSOCIATION FRATERNELLE
DU PERSONNEL
DU
CHEMIN DE FER OTTOMAN D'ANATOLIE
FONDÉE EN 1908

STATUTS

CHAPITRE I.

FONDATION ET BUT DE L'ASSOCIATION

ARTICLE 1.

Sous le nom de "**Association fraternelle du Personnel du C. F. O. A.**" est formée une Société qui a exclusivement pour but l'amélioration de la position sociale de ses membres, au point de vue moral, intellectuel et matériel, et dont le siège se trouve à **Haïdar-Pacha** (Constantinople).

ARTICLE 2.

L'Association s'efforcera d'atteindre son but :
1° En contribuant par tous les moyens de mutualité à l'amélioration de la situation économique des membres.



2° En secourant financièrement ses membres tombés dans le besoin, sans qu'il y ait de leur faute.

3° En contribuant au développement moral et intellectuel, ainsi qu'à l'instruction professionnelle de ses membres.

4° En entretenant la bonne camaraderie et la concorde parmi ses membres.

5° En défendant par tous les moyens légaux, les droits et les intérêts de ses membres. A cet effet, elle travaillera à éviter tout différend au sujet des conditions du travail entre la Société du C. F. O. A. et le Personnel, et, dans le cas où le différend apparaîtrait comme irréductible, à assurer le cours régulier de la procédure de solution établie par les articles 1 à 8 du Règlement sur les Grèves du mois d'Octobre 1324/1908.

6° En travaillant dans les limites des présents statuts pour la prospérité de l'Association.

7° En éditant un organe officiel de l'Association.

ARTICLE 3.

Peuvent faire partie de l'Association tous les agents fixes du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie, sans distinction aucune, moyennant une cotisation fixée actuellement à 1 % (un pour cent) du traitement mensuel.

Ce taux peut être réduit par décision d'une Assemblée Générale.

ARTICLE 4.

Peuvent être conférés par le Comité, sous réserve de l'approbation de l'Assemblée Générale, des titres de membres honoraires, donateurs ou bienfaiteurs, à toute personne étrangère, sans que ces membres puissent recevoir une charge ou fonction quelconque dans le Comité.

Les membres actifs seuls bénéficient des institutions de l'Association.

ARTICLE 5.

Une carte de légitimation est délivrée à chaque membre de l'Association, contre paiement d'un *droit d'entrée* de 5 Piastres argent.

ARTICLE 6.

Les admissions, démissions et radiations, sont du ressort du Comité, mais elles doivent être portées à la connaissance de l'Assemblée Générale qui les suit.

1° **Démission.**—Le droit de démission de l'Association est acquit à tous les membres. En outre, sera considéré comme démissionnaire de l'Association, tout agent qui quitte volontairement le service de la Société du C. F. O. A.

2° **Radiation.**—Sera radié tout agent révoqué par la Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie, par suite d'actes répressifs, tout membre qui déroge aux Statuts et Règlements de l'Association, ainsi que tout membre qui reste en retard de plus de trois mois de ses cotisations.

ARTICLE 7.

Les membres radiés ont le droit de recourir, contre la décision du Comité, à l'Assemblée Générale qui suit, en lui présentant par écrit leur défense. L'Assemblée Générale statue sur leur réadmission.

ARTICLE 8.

Les membres sortis de l'Association doivent restituer leur carte de légitimation.

ARTICLE 9.

Par leur sortie de l'Association, les membres perdent tout droit à un remboursement quelconque.



CHAPITRE II.

ADMINISTRATION ET FONCTIONNEMENT

ARTICLE 10.

L'administration de l'Association est confiée à un Comité de Direction, élu pour un an par l'Assemblée Générale d'Octobre, qui a seul pleins pouvoirs dans la limite des présents statuts.

Ce Comité est composé de :

- 1 Président
- 1 Vice - Président
- 1 Secrétaire
- 1 Trésorier
- 12 Conseillers

Un Règlement spécial fixe l'organisation du bureau du Comité, les Sous-Comités à établir sur la ligne, et règle les élections.

ARTICLE 11.

Les attributions du Président consistent :

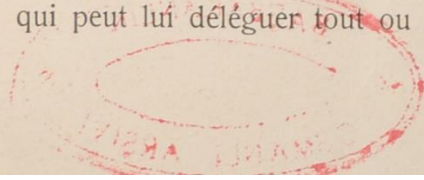
1° A veiller à la stricte observation et exécution des Statuts et Règlements de l'Association :

2° A faire convoquer et présider les Assemblées, à prendre toutes les mesures pour y maintenir l'ordre, à conduire les délibérations et à signer, conjointement avec un Conseiller et le Secrétaire, tous les actes émanant des décisions du Comité et des Assemblées.

3° A représenter l'Association en justice, auprès des Autorités et auprès de la Société du C. F. O. A. ou de tiers, en qualité de mandataire.

ARTICLE 12.

Le Vice - Président remplace au besoin le Président, qui peut lui déléguer tout ou partie de ses pouvoirs.



ARTICLE 13.

Le Secrétaire est chargé de la correspondance et a la garde du sceau.

Il assiste aux séances, mais ne peut pas prendre part aux délibérations.

ARTICLE 14.

Le Trésorier est dépositaire responsable de la Caisse, et ne peut disposer des fonds sans une autorisation visée par le Président et deux conseillers quelconques.

Le Trésorier est chargé des recettes et des paiements.

Il assiste aux séances, mais ne peut pas prendre part aux délibérations.

ARTICLE 15.

Les fonctions de tous les Membres du Comité sont gratuites.

ARTICLE 16.

Le Comité se réunit deux fois par mois, et toutes les fois qu'il est convoqué par le Président pour des cas exceptionnels qui s'imposent.

Son ordre du jour est arrêté avant la séance, et il ne peut délibérer que sur des questions portées à l'ordre du jour.

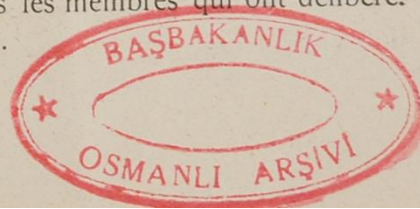
Il ne peut délibérer valablement que si les 3/4 des membres sont présents.

Les décisions sont prises à la majorité absolue des membres présents.

En cas de partage des voix, le Président décide.

Chaque délibération est constatée par un procès-verbal lu et adopté à la séance suivante. Elle est inscrite sur un registre spécial et signée par tous les membres qui ont délibéré.

Ce registre fait seul foi.



Des copies ou extraits de ces procès-verbaux, sont communiqués, s'il y a lieu, à tous les membres de l'Association.

ARTICLE 17.

Le Comité est chargé de tout ce qui concerne l'administration de l'Association. Il est responsable de la gestion correcte, ainsi que de la bonne marche des affaires de l'Association, en conformité des présents Statuts.

ARTICLE 18.

Le Président, le Vice-Président ou tout autre membre du Comité, élus en Assemblée Générale, ne peuvent se démettre de leurs fonctions que pour des motifs justifiés. Dans ce cas, le Comité peut élire parmi ses membres le nouveau titulaire, jusqu'à la prochaine Assemblée Générale.

En cas de démission d'un conseiller, les électeurs de son service seront appelés à élire son remplaçant.

Cette démission doit être donnée par écrit 15 jours à l'avance. — Tout conseiller qui sans justification plausible, aura manqué d'assister à six séances consécutives du Comité sera démissionnaire de fait.

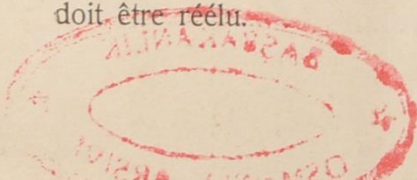
ARTICLE 19.

Les membres du Comité sont toujours révocables, individuellement ou collectivement par une Assemblée Générale, dans la limite des cas prévus par l'Art. 6.

ARTICLE 20.

Commission de Contrôle.

L'Assemblée Générale annuelle nomme une commission de contrôle composée de 5 membres, dont un au moins doit être réélu.



— 9 —

La commission doit être élue au vote secret, et à la simple majorité. Les membres de cette commission seront choisis en dehors des membres du Comité.

ARTICLE 21.

Cette commission a pour mission de vérifier en entier la gestion annuelle de l'Association et de rendre compte de son mandat à l'Assemblée Générale qui suivra.

CHAPITRE III.

DES ASSEMBLÉES GÉNÉRALES

ARTICLE 22.

L'Assemblée Générale est convoquée régulièrement une fois par an, dans la dernière quinzaine du mois d'Octobre, et extraordinairement chaque fois qu'il y aura nécessité.

Un compte rendu de la situation, comprenant un exposé succinct de l'état financier de l'Association, des travaux du Comité et de la Commission de contrôle, devra être déposé par ceux-ci, à chaque Assemblée Générale.

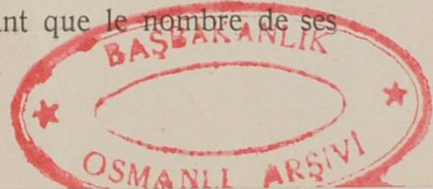
ARTICLE 23.

L'Assemblée Générale discute et vote les Règlements administratifs de l'Association; elle approuve le budget et les comptes-rendus de gestion du Comité.

Ces décisions sont prises à la majorité des membres présents.

ARTICLE 24.

L'Association réunie en Assemblée Générale, ne peut délibérer valablement que pour autant que le nombre de ses



membres présents, est au moins égal à celui des $\frac{3}{4}$ des membres habitant Haïdar-Pacha.

Deux cents membres résidant à Haïdar-Pacha, peuvent provoquer une Assemblée Générale extraordinaire pour discuter sur un cas exceptionnel, moyennant préavis de dix jours.

Le Comité dépose son mandat dans l'Assemblée Générale d'Octobre, et proclame l'élection du nouveau Comité.

Le compte-rendu de l'Assemblée Générale sera distribué à tous les membres de l'Association.

CHAPITRE IV.

FONDS SOCIAL

ARTICLE 25.

Le fonds social se compose :

- 1° des cotisations des membres ;
- 2° des cotisations des membres honoraires, et de donations ;
- 3° des intérêts des fonds et de toutes recettes provenant de fondations de mutualités, de fêtes diverses, etc. etc.

ARTICLE 26.

La fortune de la Société doit être placée d'une façon sûre .

Le montant des sommes mises à la disposition du Comité est fixé par le budget annuel. Les questions de détails font l'objet d'un Règlement spécial.

ARTICLE 27.

Un fonds de réserve est constitué par des apports annuels, prélevés sur les cotisations. Ces apports ne doivent pas être inférieurs à 100 Livres Turques par an.

CHAPITRE V.

SECOURS, AVANCES, FONDATIONS DE MUTUALITÉ ET DIVERS

ARTICLE 28.

Dans la mesure de ses moyens financiers, l'Association accordera des secours à tous ses membres tombés dans le besoin, sans qu'il y ait de leur faute. Elle consentira également des avances à ses membres, sur demande motivée. Ces secours et avances se feront aux conditions fixées par un Règlement spécial.

ARTICLE 29.

L'Association fondera des institutions de mutualité, au profit de tous ses membres. Un Règlement spécial en fixera les bases.

ARTICLE 30.

L'Association fera le nécessaire pour l'édition d'un organe officiel et de diverses publications utiles pouvant contribuer à l'instruction professionnelle de ses membres.

ARTICLE 31.

Un Règlement spécial, approuvé par l'Assemblée Générale, arrête les conditions de détail propres à assurer l'exécution des présents statuts.

CHAPITRE VI.

DISPOSITIONS FINALES

ARTICLE 32.

Les langues officielles de l'Association sont les langues Française et Turque.



ARTICLE 33.

L'Association s'interdit dans ses Assemblées, toute discussion politique ou religieuse.

ARTICLE 34.

Aucun fonctionnaire du Comité ne devra se servir de son titre en dehors de l'Association, et sans qu'il ait à cet effet un mandat spécial écrit.

ARTICLE 35.

Pour pouvoir prendre une décision concernant la dissolution de l'Association, une majorité des $\frac{3}{4}$ des membres actifs est nécessaire.— L'Association en dissolution dispose de la fortune existante.

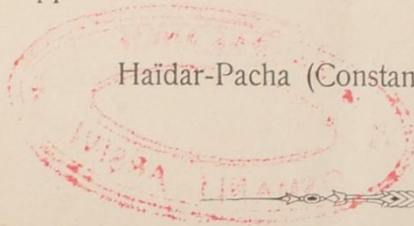
ARTICLE 36.

L'Association se réserve d'apporter dans l'avenir aux présents Statuts toutes les modifications propres à les mettre en accord avec les modifications à intervenir éventuellement dans la législation Ottomane.

ARTICLE 37.

Les présents Statuts ont été adoptés par l'Assemblée Générale de Novembre 1908 et mis en vigueur dès leur approbation.

Haïdar-Pacha (Constantinople), le 15 Novembre 1908.



آلتنجی فصل

تداییر انتہائیہ

- مادہ ۳۲. — جمعیٹک لسان رسمیمی ترکیجہ و فرانسیزجہدر .
- مادہ ۳۳. — جمعیٹ ؛ اجتماعانده هر درلو مناقشات مذہبیہ و سیاسیہ بی منع ایدر .
- مادہ ۳۴. — ہیئت اداره مأمورینندن هیچ بریسی تحریراً خصوصی بر مآذونیتی حائر اولمادرتجہ جمعیٹ خارجنده صلاحیت مأموریتی استعمال ایدهمز .
- مادہ ۳۵. — جمعیٹک فسخی ایچون اعضای فعلیهدن درتده اوچ قسمنک آراسنک وجودی الزمدر . مفسوخ جمعیٹ ؛ ثروت جموعهسنک جهت تخصیصنی و صورت استعمالنی کنیدیسی تعیین ایدر .
- مادہ ۳۶. — دولت علیہ عثمانیہنک تعدیلات قانونیہسنه مطابقت اتمک اوزره ایلریده، موجود جمعیٹ نظاماتنده تعدیلات صریحه اجرایی حقنی جمعیٹ محافظه ایدر .
- مادہ ۳۷. — اشبو نظامنامه تشرین اول سنه ۱۳۲۴/۱۹۰۸ تاریخنده اجتماع ایدن هیئت عمومیہ طرفندن قبول و تصدیقی حیثندن اعتباراً مرعی الاحکامدر .



بشجی فصل

اعانه، ادانه و تعاون متقابلہ اساس و سارہ

مادہ ۲۸. — قوہ مالہ سنک مساعدا اولدیغی درجہده جمعیت کندی تقصیراتی اولمایه رق احتیاجی تبین ایدن اعضاسنه معاونت نقدیہده بولونور و مراجعتلری وقوعی تقدیرده ادانه ده ایدر. کرک اعانه و کرک ادای شرائطی خصوصی بر تعلیماتنامہ ایله تقرر ایدہ جکدر.

مادہ ۲۹. — جمعیت بوتون اعضاسنک منافعه خادم و تعاون متقابلہ اساسنه مستند مؤسسات وجوده کتیره جک و خصوصی بر تعلیماتنامہ ایله اساسلری تعیین ایدیلہ جکدر.

مادہ ۳۰. — اعضاسنک معلومات سلیکیرلرینک ترقی و تنورینه خادم رسمی بر رساله نک و مواد سارہ نک طبع و تمثیل و نشری ایچون جمعیت بدل غیرت ایدہ جکدر.

مادہ ۳۱. — هیئت عمومیه نک نظر تصویب و تصدیقندن کچمش خصوصی بر تعلیماتنامہ جمعیت نظاماتنک صور مختلفهده واضحاً تطبیق احکامنی کویستر.



در دنجی فصل

جمعیتک سرمایہ سی

مادہ ۲۵. — جمعیتک سرمایہ سی؛ آئیدہ کی صورلہ تشکل ایدر .
اولاً: جمعیتہ منسوب ہر اعضانک حصہ سنہ مصیب و جمعیت صندیغہ
تودیع ایلہ مکلف اولدیغی عائدات .

ثانیاً: خیر خواہ و فخری اعضانک ویرہ جکلری مبالغ .

ثالثاً: سرمایہ نك کتیرہ جکی فائض . مشارکت متقابلہ یہ مستنداً
میدان حصولہ کلہ جک بالجملہ تشبثاتدن الہ ایدیلہ جک حاصلات و ترتیب
ایدیلہ جک مختلف اکنجہ لرك براقہ جکلری مبالغ دن عبارتدر .

مادہ ۲۶. — جمعیتک ثروتی امین و حسن صورتلہ استعمال
ایدلمک شرطدر .

هیئت اداره نك امرینہ محول مبلغ معین؛ سنوی بودجده تعیین
و تحدید ایدلمشدر . بو مسألہ عائد تفرعات خصوصی بر تعلیماتنامہ ایلہ
بیلدیریلہ جکلدر .

مادہ ۲۷. — یوز عثمانلی لیراسندن اقل اولماق اوزره واردات
سنویدن و صندوق عائداتندن آییرلمق شرطیلہ هر سنہ احتیاط آچمسی نامیلہ
بر مبلغ تخصیص ایدیلہ جکلدر .



اجتماع عمومی به دعوت اولونور . و لزومی تقدیرنده فوق العاده اوله رقدده
اجتماع ایدر .

هیئت اداره ایله هیئت تفتیشیه ضبطنامه صورتنده جمعیتک موقع
و درجه مالیه سنی و بوتون کندی اشتغالاتی مبین مختصر بر لایحه بی هر
اجتماع عمومی به تودیهه مجبوردر .

ماره ۲۳ . — هیئت عمومیه ؛ جمعیهه عائد اداره تعلیماتنامه لری
موقع مناقشه به وضع و رایه مراجعتله تعیین ایدر . هیئت اداره نک مقررانیله
بودجه بی قبول و تصدیق ایلر . قرارلرک معمول به اوله سی ، حاضر بالمجلس
اعضانک اکثریت آراسنه متوقفدر .

ماره ۲۴ . — جمعیت هیئت عمومیه سنک اجتماعنده موقع مناقشه
و مذاکره به وضع ایدیله جک مسائلک شایان قبول اولماسی ایچون موجود
اعضانک عددی هر حالده حیدر پاشاده مقیم اعضانک درنده اوچ قسمنه
معادل اولمالیدر .

حیدر پاشاده مقیم ایکی یوز اعضا ، مستثنی حالدرده بعض مسائلک
تذکری ایچون اون کون اول اعلان ایتمک شرطیله اجتماع عمومی
فوق العاده عقد ایده بیلیرلر .

هیئت اداره ، مضبطه سنی تشرین اولده اجتماع ایدن هیئت عمومیه به
تودیهه ایله یکی بر هیئت اداره نک انتخابی تکلیف ایدر .
هیئت عمومیه ضبطنامه سی جمعیت اعضاسنک هپسنه توزیع ایدیله جکدر .



هیئت اداره اعضاسندن دیگر هر هانکیسی استعفا ایده جک اولورسه
منسوب اولدینی شعبه مأمورینی مستعفی اعضانک یرینه دیگرینی انتخابه
دعوت اولونه جقدر .

استعفانامه تحریراً و اون بش کون اول ویرلمک لازمدر . سبب
مشروع کوسترمه دن یکدیگرینی تعقیب ایدن آلتی جلسه ده اثبات وجود
ایتمه ن اعضایه فعلاً استعفا ایتمش نظریله باقیلیر .

ماده ۱۹ . — هیئت اداره اعضاسی منفرداً و یا مجتمعاً آلتنجی
ماده مفادینه نظراً هیئت عمومی طرفندن قابل عزلدر .

ماده ۲۰ . — تفتیش قومیسونی .

هر سنه اجتماع ایدن هیئت عمومی بش اعضادن مرکب بر تفتیش
هیئتی تعیین ایده جک و بو هیئت اعضاسندن بریسی هر حالده ایکی دفعه
انتخاب ایدلمش اوله جقدر .

هیئت تفتیشیه؛ رأی خفی و اکثریت آرا ایله تعیین ایدیله جک
و اعضاسی هیئت اداره داخلندن اولمایه جقدر .

ماده ۲۱ . — هیئت تفتیشیه نك وظیفه سی جمعیتك بر سنه لك
معاملاتی تدقیق ایله سنه نهایتنده اجتماع ایده جک هیئت عمومی به مشهودات
واجرا آتیه دائر بیان معلومات ایتمکدر .

اوضیحی فصل

اجتماعات عمومی

ماده ۲۲ . — هیئت عمومی هر سنه تشرین اول نهایتنه طوغری

موقع مذاکره و وضع ایدیه جک مسائل اولجه تحریراً حاضر لایوب
جلسه یه تقدیم ایدیه جک و انجق مواد مندرجه سی موضوع بحث مذاکره
اوله بیله جکدر .

اعضانک درتده اوچ قسمی حاضر بالمجلس اولمادینی تقدیرده
مذاکرته نتیجه و قرار ویریله من .

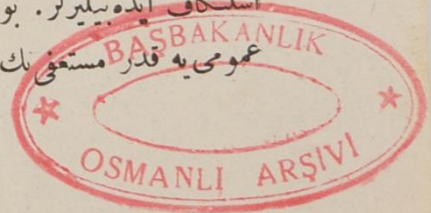
حاضر بالمجلس اعضانک اکثریت آرای قطعیه سیله مقررات قبول
ایدیلیر . تساوی آرا وقوعنده رئیسک رأی قبول اولونور .

هر جلسه ده موقع تذکره قونولان مسائل ؛ عین جلسه یی تعقیب
ایدن هیئت اداره اجتماعنده بر مضبطه صورتنده او قونوب اعضا طرفندن
قبول اولونور . و مذکور مضبطه خصوصی بر دفتره قید ایله مذاکره ده
حاضر بولونان اعضا طرفندن امضا ایدیلیر .

مضبطه دفترینک مواد مندرجه سی معمول بهدر .
مذکور مضبطه لک صورتی ویا خلاصه سی لزومی تقدیرنده بوتون
جمعیت اعضاسنه توزیع اولونور .

ماده ۱۷ . — هیئت اداره ؛ هر خصوصه جمعیتک امور اداره سنی
درعهده ایدر . جمعیت نظامنامه سی احکامنه توفیقاً امور اداره نک حسن
تمشیتندن ، جمعیتک خصوصات مختلفه سنک انتظام جریانندن هیئت اداره
مسئولدر .

ماده ۱۸ . — رئیس ، رئیس ثانی و هیئت عمومی طرفندن منتخب
دیگر هیئت اداره اعضاسی انجق بر سبب مشروعه مبنی مأموریتلرندن
استنکاف ایده بیلیرلر . بو حوالده هیئت اداره اعضاسی ایچلرندن برینی اجتماع
عمومی یه قدر مستعفی نک یرینه انتخاب ایده بیلیرلر .



ثانياً : اجتماعات ایچون اعضایی دعوت ایله بونلره ریاست و حین اجتماعده انتظامک محافظهسی ایچون اقتضا ایدن تدایره توصل ایتمک . مذاکراتک انتظام جریاننه دلالت و نظارت ایلمک ، اعضای اداره دن بری و کاتب ایله مشترکاً کرک اجتماعات عمومیه دن و کرک هیئت اداره دن صدور ایده جک مقررانه وضع امضا ایتمک .

ثالثاً : کرک حکومت عثمانیه و کرک آناطولی عثمانلی دمیر یولی شرکته ویا اوچنچی درجه ده بولونه بیله جک بر شخصه قارشی جمعیتک وکیلی صفتنی حائز اولمق .

ماده ۱۲ . — رئیس ثانی ؛ حین حاجتده رئیس اوله وکالت ایدر . بو صورتده ریاستک بخش ایندیکی صلاحیتی قسماً ویا تماماً حائز اوله بیلیر .
ماده ۱۳ . — کاتب ؛ مخبرات جمعیت ایله مکلف اولوب جمعیتک مهر رسمیه کندیسنه مودوعدر . اجتماعاتده حاضر بولونمقله برابر مذاکراته اشتراک ایده مز .

ماده ۱۴ . — وزنده دار ؛ جمعیت صندیغنک امین مسئولیدر . رئیس و اعضادن ایکیسنک رأی و موافقتنی استحصال ایتمه دن هیچ بر وجهله صرفیاته مأذون دکدر .

وزنده دار ؛ صندوق حاصلاتنک جیبائی و تأدیات ایله مکلفدر . اجتماعاتده حاضر بولونمقله برابر مذاکراته اشتراک ایده مز .

ماده ۱۵ . — هیئت اداره نك بوتون اعضاسنک مأموریتلری بلا اجر تدر .

ماده ۱۶ . — هیئت اداره آیده ایکی دفعه ، حین اقتضاده ومستثنی حالدرده رئیسک دعوتی اوزرینه اجتماع ایدر .



ماده ۸. — جمعیتدن مخرج اعضا؛ جمعیته انتسابلرینی معین یدلرنده بولونان رسمی ورقه لیرینی — علم و خبر — اعاده به مجبوردرلر .

ماده ۹. — جمعیتدن چیقان و جمعیتله علاقه سی قالمایان هر اعضا؛ جمعیته قارشی حقوقنی و جمعیت صندیغه ویردیکی عائداتی غائب ایدر .

ایکنجی فصل

اداره و مأموریت

ماده ۱۰. — جمعیتک اداره سی؛ تشرین اولده اجتماع ایدن هیئت عمومی طرفندن منتخب بر اداره هیئته — قومیته — تودیع اولونمشدرکه، یالکیز مذکور هیئت اداره، جمعیت نظامنامه سی داخلنده صلاحیت تامه به مالکدر .

هیئت اداره؛ بر رئیس، بر رئیس ثانی، بر کاتب، بر وزنده دار و اون ایکی اعضادن عبارتدر .

خصوصی بر تعلیماتنامه ایله خط کدرکاهنده لزوم کوریلن دیگر اداره هیئتلرینک صورت تشکیلی ایله انتخاباتک تنظیمی تعیین ایدیله جکدر .

ماده ۱۱. — رئیسک وظیفه و صلاحیتی آتیده بیان اولونان درجه دن عبارتدر .

اولا: جمعیتک نظامنامه و تعلیماتنامه لرینک فعلاً اجرای احکامنه و مواد مندرجه سنه رعایت ایدلمه سنه نظارت ایتمک .



ماده ۴. — اجتماع عمومینک تقدیر و تصویب و ابسته اولمق اوزره هیئت اداره — قومیه — خارجدن فخری اعضا قبول ایله جمعیتده هیچ بر مکلفیت و وظیفه بی حائز اولمیهرق جمعیه قارشى کوستره جکلری علوجناب وعاطفت انسانیتکارانه لرینه کوره اعضای فخریه به حیلۀ و تقدیرآ مناسب عنوانر توجیه ایده بیلیر .

مؤسسات جمعیتدن منحصرآ اعضای فعلیه استفاده ایدر .

ماده ۵. — هر اعضا بش غروش دخولیه ویره رک جمعیه قبول اولونور . وقبولنی معلن کندیسنه رسمی ورقه — علم وخبر — ویریلیر .

ماده ۶. — جمعیه قبول ویا جمعیتدن استعفا و اخراج ، هیئت عمومیه نك نظر اطلاعنه وضع ایدلمك شرطیه صور آتیهدده هیئت اداره نك دائرۀ صلاحیتنده در .

اولا استعفا : داخل جمعیت اولان هر اعضا جمعیتدن استعفا حقنی حائزدر . بوندن باشقه آناتولی عثمانلی دمیر یولی شرکتی اداره سنده کی مأموریت و وظیفه سنی ارزوی ذاتیسيله ترك ایدن هر اعضایه جمعیتدن مستعفی نظریله باقیلیر .

ثانیاً اخراج : آناتولی عثمانلی دمیر یولی شرکتی طرفندن اسباب مجبره تحتنده مأموریتندن اخراج ایدیلن ، جمعیتک نظامنامه سی احکامنه مخالف حرکتده بولونان ، اوچ آی متبادیاً یوزده معین اولان عائداتی ویرمکدن استنکاف ایدن هر اعضا جمعیتدن اخراج ایدیلیر .

ماده ۷. — جمعیتدن اخراج ایدیلن اعضا هیئت اداره نك قرارینه قارشى ، ایلك اجتماعنده هیئت عمومیه به تحریرآ مراجعتله کندیلیرینی مدافعه ایتمک حقنی حائزدر لر . هیئت عمومیه تکرار قبول ایدلمه لرینه قرار ویره بیلیر .



اولاً : مشاركت متقابلہ اساسہ مستند ہر درلو وسائطہ مراجعتہ
جمعیت اعضاسنك حال اقتصادى وماليسنك ترفيہى .
ثانياً : تقصيراتى اولقسزين دوچار ضرورت اولان اعضايہ نقداً
معاونت .

ثالثاً : جمعيت اعضاسنك معلومات مكتسبہ مسلكيہ و تربيه اخلاقيه
وعقليہ لرينك توسيعى .

رابعاً : اعضاى جمعيت بيندہ آرقداشلق ويكديكرہ حسن آميزش
حسيات وروابطنك محافظہ وتقويه سى .

خامساً : ہر کونا وسائط قانونيہ مراجعتہ اعضاى جمعيتك
منافعي مدافعه وصيانت ايتمك . بناء عليه آناطولى عثمانلى دمير يولى شرکتى
ايہ مأمورين بيندہ شرائط عمل يوزندن ہر کونا اختلافك ظہور ايتمہ سنہ
جمعيتجہ غيرت ايديلہ چكى كى شايد متحدث اختلافك حلى قابل اولمازسہ
۱۳۲۴/۱۹۰۸ سنہ سى تشرين اولى تاريخلى تعطيل اشغال نظامنامہ سنك
برنجى بسكزنجى مادہ لرى احكام^{سہ} حله و فصلى ايجون توسل ايديلہ چك
وسائط مشروعه نك اجراسنى جمعيت تأمين ايدہ چكدر .

سادساً : نظامنامہ احكامى دائرہ سى داخلندہ جمعيتك ترقى وتعاليسنہ
چالشمق .

سابعاً : جمعيتك مروج افكارى اولہ جق بر رسالہ نشر ايتمك .

مادہ ۳ . — شہرى معاشرندن شمديك تقدير اولونان يوزدہ
« بر » عائدات تادیہ ايہہ بلا تفریق مأموريت ، آناطولى عثمانلى دمير يولى
مأمورين ومستخدمين دائميسنك كافہ سى جمعيتہ داخل اولہ بيلير لر .
يوزدہ « بر » عائداتك تقليل مقدارى انجق اجتماع عمومينك قراريلہ
قابل اولہ بيلير .



آناطولی عثمانلی دمیر یولی

عموم مأمورین و مستخدمین جمعیت اخوتکارانهسی

سنه سنده تأسیس اولونمشدر ۱۹۰۸/۱۳۲۴

نظامنامه داخلی

برنجی فصل

جمعیتک تأسیس و مقصدی

ماده ۱. — آناطولی عثمانلی دمیر یولی مأمورین

و مستخدمین جمعیت اخوتکارانهسی نامی آلتنده ، منحصرآ مادی
و معنوی ترفیه حال و معیشت مأمورین مقصدیله بر جمعیت تشکیل ایدلمشدرکه
مرکزی استانبولده حیدر پاشاده در .

ماده ۲. — جمعیت مقصدینی صور آتیله ایله میدان فعله کتیرمه

بذل غیرت ایده جکدر .

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آناطولی عثمانی دمیرولی



عموم مأمورین و مستخدمین جمعیت اخوتکارانهسی

سنه سنده تأسیس اولونمشدن ۱۹۰۸/۱۳۲۴

نظامنامه داخلی

۱۳۲۴

در سعادت

۱۹۰۸

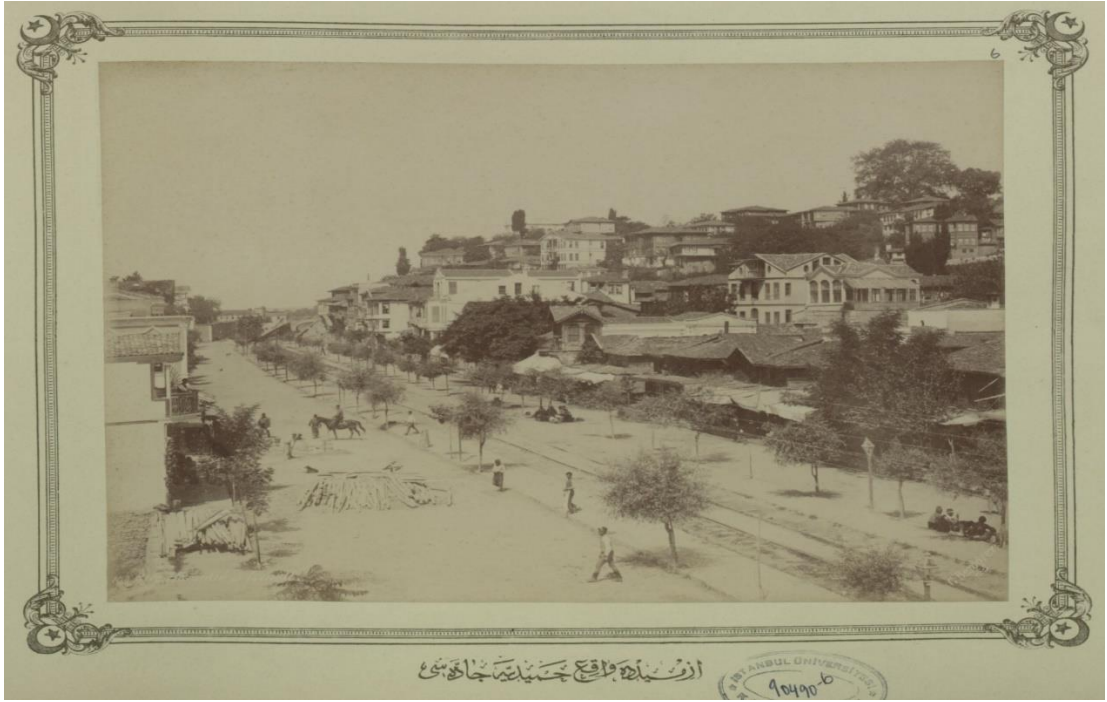
مطبعه م. قاروانا و س. ریق و غلطه

Appendix B: Photographs of the Anatolian railways and workers



Hereke Stations

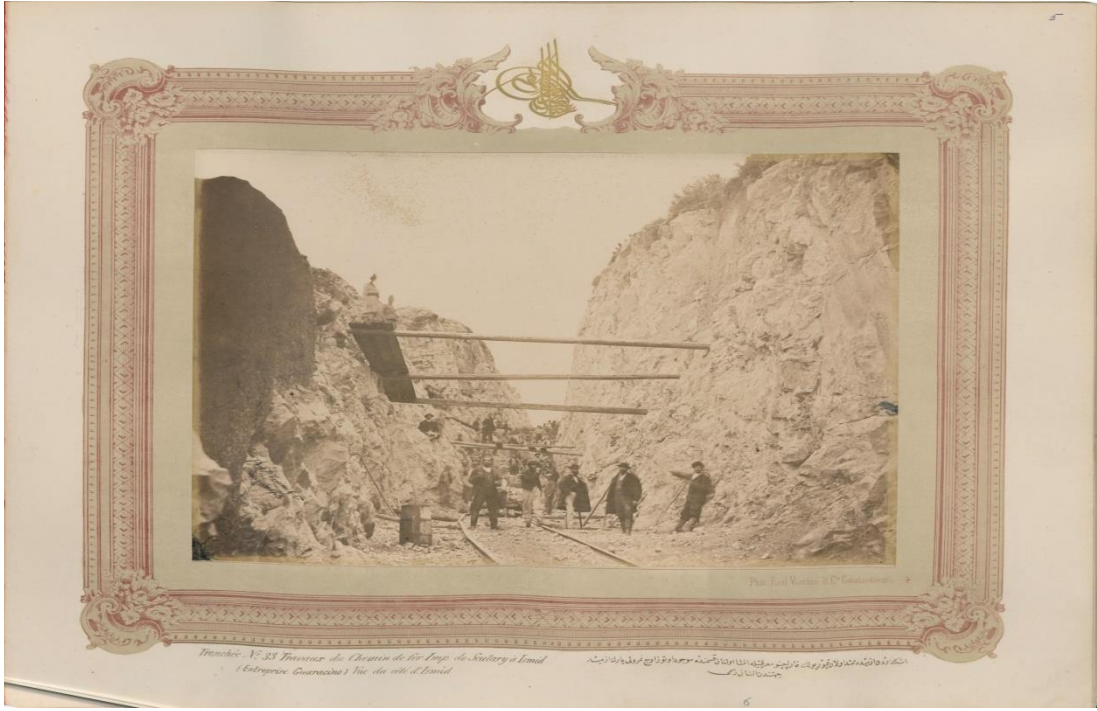
Source: Istanbul University (Rare Books Section, no: 90453)



Bilecik Railway
Source: Istanbul University (Rare Books Section, no: 90490)



A Locomotive Engine between Izmit and Ankara
Source: Istanbul University (Rare Books Section, no: 91541)



The Railway Workers at the Üsküdar-İzmid line
 Source: Istanbul University (Rare Books Section, no: 91541)

در سال اول ۱۳۰۰ تا ۱۳۰۱

شرائط اشترا

ولایاتہ سنہ ۱۳۰۰ء آٹھ
ایلی ۷۵ غروش اولوب اوج
ایلی بوقدر - قیرلہ دن مقودا
بورر طہ آلی ایچون سنوی
یکری غروش قشلمدر .

سرفون

مدیر و مدیر : احمد احسان

شرائط اشترا

در سال اول ۱۳۰۰ تا ۱۳۰۱
سرطریه سنہ ۱۳۰۰ء آٹھ
ایلی ۷۵ اوج ایلی ۷۵ غروشدر
محلہ مکتوبدرلورسہ ولایات
بدلی اخذ وانور .

پنجشنبه کونلری چیقار ، ادبی ، فنی ، صناعی و تجاری مصور عمالی غزته سی

No : 209

Rédacteur en chef
Ahmed IHSAN

SERVET-I-FUNOUN

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پنجشنبه - ۲ مارٹ سنہ ۱۳۱۱

مدد : ۲۰۹



کوتاهیہ وقرہ حصار دمیر یول خطلندہ رابارک صورت وضحی

La pose des rails sur la ligne de Kütahya-Karahissar

The construction of the railroad tracks on the Kütahya-Karahisar line.

Source: Servet-i Fünun, 14 March 1895, no: 209, p.1.

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DH.MKT (Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi)

DH.MKT. MHM. (Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi Mühimme Defteri)

HR.TO (Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası)

ŞD. MLK. (Şura-yı Devlet Mülkiye)

Y.PRK. (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı)

ZB (Zabtiye Nezareti Evrakı)

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