

**RESETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS  
AND PLANNING IN İZMİR  
DURING THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD**

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## ABSTRACT

This study concentrates on the immigration into Anatolia from the Balkans, Caucasian and Crete to Izmir and the resettlement policies geared toward immigrants' establishment in the new land during the Hamidian Period. The aim of study is to investigate the efficiency of planning in term of the application of resettlement decisions that had been structured by the population policies. The other aim is determining the importance of the planning for immigrant's settlements in the late Ottoman planning practice.

The planning concept is evaluated in the urban, regional and countrywide scale rather than referring to the physical organisation of the urban space. This study intends, by way of analysing the construction process of the immigrant districts, to reveal the characteristics of the construction and resettlement activities and how the central and local dynamics to realise them, rather than the physical arrangement of the districts. The role of the local administration, the special commissions for charity, local press and local residents has been investigated along with the resettlement process in the city of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın. The significance of philanthropic activities is revealed in the construction and resettlement process.

The official documents, the maps of İzmir and Western Anatolia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be investigated along with the news reporting in the İzmir region geared towards the settlement of immigrants.

## ÖZET

1878 yılından itibaren Rumeli, Kafkaslar ve Girit'den Osmanlı topraklarına yaşanan göçlerle birlikte, göçmen iskânı II. Abdülhamid Döneminin temel meselelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Göçmenlerin kentte iskânına izin verilmesiyle birlikte pek çok Osmanlı kentinde olduğu gibi İzmir'de de yeni göçmen mahalleleri kurulmuştur. Bu tezin amacı dönemin nüfus politikalarıyla şekillenen iskân sürecinde planlamanın etkinliğini sorgulamaktır. Göçmen iskânı meselesinin Osmanlı planlama pratiği içindeki yeri irdelenirken, *planlama* kavramı kentsel mekâna 'düzen verme' eylemlerinden öte, ekonomik ve toplumsal boyutta kentsel, bölgesel ve hatta ülkesel ölçekte geliştirilen stratejileri içerecek kapsamda ele alınmaktadır.

Kentsel alana iskân kararında, göçmenlerin talepleri kadar, dönemin kentsel gelişmeye yönelik politikasının da payı vardır. Ancak iskân süreci göçmenlerin barınma sorununun çözümlenmesinin yanısıra eğitim, sağlık, sosyal, teknik altyapı hizmetlerinin, istihdam sorununun çözümü, yoksul ve kimsesizlerin güvenli yaşam koşullarının oluşturulmasını da gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle göçmen mahallelerinin kuruluş süreci, fiziki oluşumdan öte idari ve toplumsal organizasyon ve finansman boyutlarıyla ele alınmaktadır. İzmir kenti özelinde ve Aydın Vilayeti genelinde göçmen yerleşimlerinin kuruluş sürecinde II. Abdülhamid Dönemi imar ve iskân politikalarının nasıl hayata geçirildiği; merkezi yönetimin yanısıra, valilik, belediye, İskân-ı Muhacirin ve İâne Komisyonları, basın, kent sakinleri gibi aktörlerin sürece nasıl dahil oldukları araştırılmaktadır. Yardım faaliyetlerinin imar ve iskan sürecindeki yeri yeniden değerlendirilmektedir.

On dokuzuncu yüzyılın son çeyreğinde, göçmen yerleşimlerinin kuruluşunda geleneksel ve modern yöntemlerin bir arada uygulanmış olduğu altı çizilen konulardan birisidir. Resmi yazışmalar, yerel gazeteler, vakıf kayıtları, haritalar araştırmanın temel kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.MKT.MHM.</i>	<i>Sadâret Mektubî Kalemi - Mühimme Kalemi Belgeleri</i> , BOA Epistolary Secretary to the Prime Minister Documents of Important Events (Papers of the Sublime Port)
<i>AVS</i>	<i>Aydın Vilâyet Salnamesi</i> (Almanacs of the Province of Aydın)
<i>BEO</i>	<i>Bâb-ı Âlî Evrak Odası</i> , BOA (Papers of the Sublime Port)
<i>BOA</i>	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Istanbul) (Ottoman Archive at the Prime Ministry)
<i>DH. MKT.</i>	<i>Dahiliye Nezareti-Mektubî Kalemi Evrakı</i> , BOA. (Papers of Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Interior)
<i>FO</i>	Foreign Office of Archives (Public Record Office-London)
<i>İ.DH.</i>	<i>İrade, Dahiliye Nezareti Evrakı</i> , BOA. (Papers of the Ministry of Interior)
<i>Kâmil Paşa Ev.</i>	<i>Sadrâzam Kâmil Paşa Evrâkı -Yıldız Esas Evrakına Ek</i> , BOA (Kâmil Paşa Papers)
<i>MM</i>	<i>Meclis-i Mahsus</i> , BOA.
<i>MV.</i>	<i>Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları</i> , BOA (Acts and Protocols of the Cabinet of Ministers)
<i>ŞD</i>	<i>Şûrâ-yı Devlet</i> , BOA
<i>TTK</i>	Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society)
<i>VGMA</i>	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Ankara) (The General Directory of Foundations)
<i>Yıldız Tasnifi</i>	<i>Archive of Yıldız Palace</i> , BOA
<i>Y.A.RES.</i>	<i>Yıldız Sadâret Resmî Maruzat Evrâkı</i> , BOA (Secretariat at Yıldız Palace)
<i>Y.EE.</i>	<i>Yıldız Esas Evrâk</i> , BOA. (Yıldız Main Papers)
<i>Y.PRK.</i>	<i>Yıldız Perakende Evrâkı</i> , BOA (Miscellaneous Papers)
<i>Y.PRK.A.</i>	<i>Sadâret Marûzât</i> , BOA (Petitions of the Prime Ministry presented to the Palace)

- Y.PRK.ASK.* *Askerî Marûzât*, BOA
- Y.PRK.AZN.* *Adliye ve Mezâbih Nezâreti Marûzâtı*, BOA  
(Petitions of the Ministry of Justice presented to the Palace)
- Y.PRK.DH.* *Dâhiliyye Nezâreti Marûzâtı*, BOA  
(Petitions of the Ministry of Interior presented to the Palace)
- Y.PRK.KOM.* *Komisyonlar Marûzâtı*, BOA  
(Petitions of the Commissions presented to the Palace)
- Y.PRK.MYD.* *Yâveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkânı Harbiye Dairesi Evrâkı*, BOA  
(Papers of the Office of the Military General Staff Aides-de-Camp.)

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This study concentrates on the immigration into Anatolia from the Balkans, Caucasian and Crete in the Hamidian Period. The policies developed during the Hamidian Period about the resettlement of the immigrants have been structured with the demand of the government to integrate with the capitalist world order as well as the population policies developed in order to resist to the problems created by this system.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the study is to inquiry into the efficiency of planning in terms of the application of resettlement decisions that had been structured by the population policies of the period. The other aim is to determine the significance of the planning activities for the settlement of immigrants in the development of planning practice in the late Ottoman. In this study, the ‘planning’ concept has a context that covers decisions in the urban, regional and countrywide scale, not only referring to the physical organisation of the urban space but also in an economic and public dimension with a wide context.<sup>2</sup>

The period that is subject to the study began in 1877 when the massive immigration movements from Balkans, Crimea and Caucasian to the Ottoman land as a result of the Ottoman-Russian War and ended in 1908 when the Second Constitution (*II. Meşrutiyet*) was announced. The Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 and the Berlin Treaty have been turning points for the political approach of the Ottoman State. The formation of nation-states that are based on ethnical origins in the Balkans, the loss of the strategically important regions of Ottoman State like the Rumelia forced the State to attempts in order to structure resistance in economic and social areas. The concern about ‘the eternity of state’ was placed at the centre of cultural and political life of the period. The Hamidian Period is a period within the reorganisation movement the public, economical and administrative areas starting from the early nineteenth century had been dispersed throughout the country. The immigrants having come from the ‘lost lands’ to

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<sup>1</sup> This determination had been stated by Kemal Karpat as a result of the studies he completed on population, migration, resettlement, public transformation and public identity regarding the last periods of the Ottoman.

<sup>2</sup> Ottoman concept of ‘planning’ during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the comprehension of the operation area of planning have been explained in detail in the fourth chapter.

Anatolia would be the most important elements of the restructuring process explained above.

The Hamidian Period has a unique role in terms of resettlement and construction applications for the city of İzmir as well as the country wide. Numerous immigrant districts (*göçmen mahallesi*) were constructed in İzmir for Caucasian, Crimean, Rumelian and Cretan immigrants as a result of permitting them to settle within the city.

The concept of ‘resettlement’ has an important place among the state administration and public dynamics over time within the structure of the Ottoman state. A resettlement tradition had been structured until the nineteenth century with the resettlement of settled groups as well as nomadic communities in different geographies due to different reasons. However the immigration, which has started by the end of the eighteenth century and became an important problem by the second half of the nineteenth century, has different characteristics. These immigrations that are defined as ‘International forced migrations’ had been realised out of the control of the Ottoman State and reached dimensions that effected the state economy negatively. The cost of resettlement ratio decreased in budget of the state in the same period. Forced migration could either be within the same country or towards some other country. There were different reasons of the forced migrations in the world history. The migrations took place as the ‘personal’ or ‘mass’ status. The forced migrations were also known to differentiate by means of bureaucratic processes. Some of the migrations were executed by the permission taken from the Ottoman administration whereas some were in view escaping from attacks. All the people who migrated were considered to be immigrants whether they have escaped or migrated by legal means.

The ‘international’ characteristic of the ‘forced migration’ could be discussed in this Study. The communities, who saw themselves as Ottoman subject (*teba*), immigrated from ‘the missing land’, as a result of the border changes, towards the lands that were within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the communities who live in Russia, most of whom were Muslim and Jews preferred the Ottoman administration and immigrated by using their passports. In both immigration movements the ‘international’ characteristic is visible. However, there were some who had escaped from the oppression of the other communities when some of the land was still under the Ottoman domination. The characteristic of the migrations that took place from Rumelia during the Ottoman-Russian war and the ones that took place from Crete since 1897 is explained above. Considering their reasons, it would not be wrong to

include these migrations, which were created by international conflicts and wars, within the same group.

The action of resettlement is not only made up of the solution to the accommodation problem but also of providing food supply (*iâşe*) —especially during the first year—, making them to get jobs, providing social services like education and health. The resettlement problem was not evaluated independently apart, from the economic and public processes in the countrywide and regional scale.

Even though this study focuses on the city of İzmir, it was not evaluated independently from the region. The resettlement area of the immigrants, most of whom came to İzmir, was the *vilayet* of Aydın. The correspondences about the immigrations that had taken place between İstanbul and the Provincial administration (*Vilâyet*) contained writings about the urban and rural areas of the *vilayet* of Aydın. İzmir was the organisation spot of the immigrant transfers, resettlement areas and the issue of donations to the immigrants. Therefore it is necessary to evaluate the immigrant resettlement and the planning issue in relation to the regional scale, in order to comprehend the applications within their spatial context. However, the resettlement that took place within the *Vilayet* was evaluated in terms of its general aspect, and the location criteria for the immigrant villages were examined, as well. It was not possible to locate all the immigrant settlements that were constructed during that period at the regional level but only the geographical areas that they were densely settled could be located. Eventually the immigrant districts that had been constructed in İzmir during this period were examined in detail. The planning of the immigrant settlement was examined by physical means, regarding the structuring of the technical and social infrastructure and the process of becoming a public space within the district level.

Before any explanations about the general approach and the method of the thesis, it should be stated that the thesis concerns mainly two different areas like the migration and resettlement history and planning history.

Kemal Karpat, who worked on the immigrations to Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, the resettlement of those immigrants, their integration process and the public and economic effects of the migrations on Anatolia, evaluates the development of the process with the public movements and transitions within the



Middle East, the Caucasian and the Balkan geography.<sup>3</sup> He also shows the effects of population movements on the public transformations of and the economic structure. During this process, also the appearance of a middle class among the Muslim communities in Anatolia was tried to be explained.<sup>4</sup> Karpat's explanations of the process and his comprehensive point of view are significantly different from other studies about migrations and resettlement. His statements regarding the migrations and the process of resettlement include also the information and the technologies of the demography, history of economy, history of politics and social history areas.

The main issues to be investigated in studies about the forced migrations towards the Ottoman State are the reasons of migration, the size and the movement of migration, the resettlement of the immigrants, the governmental policies referring to resettlement and the organisation of the resettlement process.<sup>5</sup> It is observed that the frames of the studies are drawn in accordance with the beginning or the endpoint of the migration and with regard to the periods when the migrations are experienced more densely. The studies about the immigrant resettlement concentrated on examining the resettlement organisation at a country-scale. The contents of these works that could be considered as descriptive explanations are based on numerous official manuscripts, newspapers and periodicals.

The number of the studies elaborating on urban and regional-scale is less among the studies about resettlement of immigrants. The study of Mehmet Yılmaz about the immigrant resettlements within the *vilayet* of Konya is unique. Besides using the official manuscripts, invention of field survey is also evaluated in Yılmaz's work.<sup>6</sup> The

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<sup>3</sup> The studies of Kemal Karpat are as follows: *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusculuk*, trans. Recep Boztemur (İstanbul: İmge, 2004) and *Ortadoğu'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusculuk*, trans. Recep Boztemur (İstanbul: İmge, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Kemal Karpat, "Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman and Turk," *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 1-28.

<sup>5</sup> Some specific studies about this issue are as follows: A.Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966); Faruk Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler (1878-1890)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları 1* (1980): 137-90; Süleyman Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri (1878-1908)* (Trabzon: KTÜ Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Ülkeleri Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, 1996); Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri, 1877-1890* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999); H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makus Talihi: Göç* (İstanbul: Kum Saati Yayınları, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Mehmet Yılmaz, "Konya Vilayetinde Muhacir Yerleşimleri, 1854-1914." Ph.D. Diss., Selçuk U, 1996.

researches defining the spatial traces of migration were performed within the areas of geography and historical geography. The resettlement process within the country of Eskişehir is considered in Necdet Tunçdilek's work<sup>7</sup>, and the article of Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, where by he indicates the different structures and organisation methods within the rural settlements within Konya.<sup>8</sup> The location criteria and the geographic distribution of the immigrant villages after 1870 and the transformation of the rural settlement pattern within the regions are examined and indicated in both articles. The original contribution of Hütteroth's study to this area is the comprising the ownership pattern of the present villages with the immigrant villages. Another issue to be emphasised on is the effects of immigration. The most comprehensive study performed on this subject along with the study of Kemal Karpat belongs to Gülfettin Çelik<sup>9</sup> in the area of economics.

The issue of immigrations to the city of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın after the Ottoman-Russian War and the Balkan Wars and the resettlement of immigrants were firstly examined by Adnan Öztürk.<sup>10</sup> The local newspapers and the documents within the Kamil Paşa File in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry were the main sources of this study. Öztürk's descriptive study evaluates İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın as independent from the economic and the administrative structure of the country and the period, and it includes no reference to the time and space context.

Besides, Arzu Temizsoy's study comes from within the area of architectural history about the planning of immigrant districts during the nineteenth century in İzmir and their architectural heritage<sup>11</sup>, and it only evaluates the immigrant districts structured on Değirmendağı. The planning of the districts was considered as the production of

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<sup>7</sup> Necdet Tunçdilek, "Eskişehir Bölgesi'nde Yerleşme Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15: 1-4 (1954): 189-208.

<sup>8</sup> Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, *Landliche Siedlungen im Südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzten Vierhundert Jahren* (Göttingen: Göttingen Geographische Abhandlungen: 1968).

<sup>9</sup> Gülfettin Çelik, "Osmanlı Türkiye'sine XIX. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Yapılan Göçlerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Bakımdan Tahlili," *Tarih Boyunca Balkanlardan Kafkaslara Türk Dünyası Semineri* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1996), pp. 117-30.

<sup>10</sup> A. Adnan Öztürk, "1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşından Balkan Savaşına Kadar İzmir'de Göçmen Sorunu." B.A. Diss., Dokuz Eylül U, 1990.

<sup>11</sup> Arzu Temizsoy, "Resettlement of Balkan Refugees in İzmir during the Late Ottoman Period: A Survey on the Urban and Architectural Properties of the Planned District of Değirmendağı." B.A. Diss., Middle East Technical U, 2002.

organised physical space, like the other works on the history of Ottoman architecture and planning.

This thesis will provide a contribution in the urban scale about the Ottoman resettlement history in the nineteenth century. Questioning the location of planning within the resettlement process, necessitate an inquiry into the issue at the urban and region wide scale. However the relationships of the countrywide and international levels to the local level were tried to be structured. In this manner, it will be possible to comprehend the results created in the regional, city and even district level by the transformations and conflicts in the world as well as the state policies.

In order to be able to evaluate the location of planning during the resettlement process, it was a necessity to explicate the planning approach of the period. In a number of studies about the planning activities of the Ottoman State during the nineteenth century, the 'planning' approach of the period was evaluated within the framework of 'organizing the city by modern means'. The organisation approach of the period was defined by the knowledge of geometry. There are also studies, which connect the development of planning to the envy of the Ottoman elite to the European cities, like the study of Zeynep Çelik elaborating on the spatial change of İstanbul during the nineteenth century. According to Çelik, "In their drive to modernize İstanbul, the Ottoman rulers sought to emulate the European scene. Capital city with a contemporary façade would have symbolized the rejuvenation of the empire." This quotation leads to a thought, which claims that the basic aim is to create a modern image. She states that the effort in achieving this was not successful and the applications could only be provided 'partially'. In other words, the Ottoman State was not successful in terms of applying the information and the technologies obtained by imitating Europe.<sup>12</sup>

However, İlhan Tekeli approaches especially to the second half of the nineteenth century as the first stage of the 'modernity project' in Turkey and names this period as 'timid modernity period.'<sup>13</sup> Tekeli evaluates the planning activities of the Ottoman State within the framework of economical, public and institutional changes and transformation in the country that has an effort to be integrated to the global world. Eventually, he tries to define the 'success' level of the applications by the way of

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<sup>12</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), p. xvi.

<sup>13</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması," *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p. 1.

comparing it to the European Countries and to evaluate the result as a “timid” initiation. He discusses İzmir and İstanbul in his studies; the compatibility of these cities with a city model lasting through the ‘modernity processes’. However, the author emphasizes the importance of the local dimension in terms of writing the history of Anatolian cities, in the following years. The transformations in their functions within history would eventually bring differences to the land usage and the social levelling in the city. However, the unique characteristics of the city should not be neglected within the transformation process. He proposes the following observations:

It is necessary to emphasize on the happening of these transformations during the period of restructuring city. This happening is structured in accordance with the organisation method of the public administrative functions, the capacity of the public associations and peoples in the community, within the opportunities provided by the natural environment. Approaching to these transformations with their reasonable and positive characteristics will also make it possible to observe the local effects.<sup>14</sup>

Sevgi Aktüre, having contributed to the Ottoman urban and planning history with her researches about the suburban cities in Anatolia between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, tries to indicate the transformations within the urban area as a result of the transformation in the economical structure.<sup>15</sup> Aktüre’s most important contribution in terms of interpreting urban and planning history is that she indicates the unit of *mahalle* (district) within urban researches. She states that the *mahalle* was the main unit in the structuring of Anatolian cities, by emphasizing that each one of them had an original structure, as well as indicates that ‘researching the whole of the city as if it is a monotonous area and state the findings based on this approach would be insufficient in terms of interpreting urban history.’<sup>16</sup> Within this context, the first planner to draw attention to the immigrant districts that started to be structured by the end of the nineteenth century is once again Sevgi Aktüre.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> İlhan Tekeli, “Bursa’nın Tarihinde Üç Ayrı Dönüşüm Dönemi,” *Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşunun 700. Yıldönümünde Bursa ve Yöresi* (Bursa: Bursa Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1999), p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Sevgi Aktüre, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişimler,” *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Mustafa Şahin (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), pp. 891-904.

<sup>16</sup> Sevgi Aktüre, “Tarih İçinde Anadolu Kenti Mekânsal Yapı Çözümlemelerine İlişkin Bazı Gözlem ve Öneriler,” *Kent Tarihciliği*, ed. Ferzan Bayramoğlu Yıldırım (İstanbul: Toplu Konut İdaresi ve Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1994), pp. 46-51.

<sup>17</sup> Aktüre, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişimler,” pp. 898-9.

The study of Kemal Karpat referring to the Mecidiye city that had been structured as an immigrant settlement in the centre of the region of Dobruja, has a unique place within the Ottoman planning history.<sup>18</sup> The study quotes the period starting from the decision of foundation in 1856 with the imperial edict until the resettlement of the immigrants and it was becoming a living city. It examines the location criteria of Mecidiye<sup>19</sup>, its planning, formation of infrastructure, assigning of land and the process of resettlement, the adaptation problem of the coming people and the formation of the social structure during the construction of the city in detail. Along with the foundation of Mecidiye, the reorganisation of transportation and settlement network in the region of Dobruja as well as decisions like populating the region, it also indicates the ability of the Ottoman State to develop strategies at the regional scale. This example states that the Ottomans did not only have concerns about planning in the urban areas but also paid attention to organisations at the regional scale. The evaluation of the structuring of the city as a process with details in such a way of taking all the actors within the organisation into consideration, leaving space for the dialogue that took place between the local and central administration, developing new strategies in relation with the success of the applications are the unique characteristics of the study.

In this study, the issue of immigrant resettlement and planning are examined within a historical process. The construction processes of the immigrant districts are investigated within the context of its organisational and financial aspects, without excluding the physical dimension of the districts. It is of vital importance to comprehend the process with its different dimensions. At this point, it is possible to describe the process as a pattern of relations. The main actors are considered with regard to define these relations. The role of the public elements as well as the role of the central and local authority is also investigated while explaining the specifying elements in terms of spatial organisation. The coming together of the effective elements and the providing of the ‘negotiation’ bases are some of the issues being searched for.<sup>20</sup> The

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<sup>18</sup> Kemal Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856-1878,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 3: 1 (1985): 1-26.

<sup>19</sup> Mecidiye was left within the Romania frontier as a result of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 and it is still known as Medgidia. See Kemal Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca,” p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> The issue of ‘negotiation’ within the urban organisation have been pronounced among some studies on the planning history of some cities. However, there is not a claim saying this search for negotiation on the grounds could be the reflection of Ottoman administrative tradition. On the contrary this negotiation was said to be in relation with the insufficiency of financial sources.

role of the local groups in urban management is emphasised by İlber Ortaylı.<sup>21</sup> It is observed that the role of the local elements as well as placations on the immigrant resettlement is really important in the construction activities for the whole city, especially within the study on İzmir.

In order to comprehend and explain what is unique to the period, the definition of the concepts that have been located in the centre of the issue, the events and the conditions that they have been structured around and their context have been examined. The concepts of *planning* and *population* are considered as principal ones in this study.

Such a study has necessitated the evaluation of different sources together. The official manuscripts, which contain the correspondences between the *vilayet* of Aydın and İstanbul, local newspapers, the registries of the foundations, the Almanacs of the *vilayet* of Aydın (*Aydın Vilâyet Salnameleri*) and the maps are the main sources of the study.

Within the context of the topic, searched out the different classifications of the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry were analysed. The primarily examined sources were the documents of *Bâb-ı Âlî* and *Dahiliye Nezareti* (the Ministry of Internal Affairs). As a result of the direct and detailed interest of Abdülhamid II in administrating, an important archive was gathered in the Yıldız Palace.<sup>22</sup> For this study, the documents gathered from the Archives of the Yıldız Palace were including the correspondences between the Palace and the Grand Vizierate as well as the correspondences of the Sultan directly with the *vilayets*, leaving the government out. The manuscripts of Kâmil Paşa the Grand Vizier are also a classification to be mentioned specifically.<sup>23</sup> The manuscripts of Kâmil Paşa, who had been *Vali* (the governor of the Province) during the time of Cretan immigrations, consist of the correspondences and the drafts between İstanbul and İzmir, about the immigrations and the matter of resettlement. Along the documents belonging to the Ottoman Archives of

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<sup>21</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri: 1840-1880* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 18-9.

<sup>22</sup> It is seen that Abdulhamid had increased the number of the staff working for the Secretary Office of the Palace (*Mabeyn Kitabeti*), had changed the management and improved it. For detailed information see Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), pp. 165-89.

<sup>23</sup> The special archive of Kâmil Paşa, which is included documents belonging to the period when he had been the *Vali* of Aydın, was handed to the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry in 1985. See *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, ed. Yusuf İhsan Genç ve diğerleri (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Arşivi Genel Müdürlüğü – Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000), p. 364.

the Prime Ministry, there are regulations deciding on the general process and reports including the superior decisions as well as documents including personal and local demands and issues.

The official documents express the incidents from the point of view of central authority, whereas the local newspapers quote the incidents in the local and public level. However the domination of the press by the central authority is not neglected at this point. During the evaluation of the period, there were two local Turkish newspapers published in İzmir. *Hizmet* started to publication in 1886, and *Ahenk* in 1895. Even though *Hizmet* and *Ahenk* had been published during the same period, the issues of *Hizmet* later than 1894 could not be reached in this study. The news were evaluated around three main issues: i) the construction activities of the period; ii) news about the immigrations; and iii) the immigrants and news referring to the urban life in İzmir. Regarding the migration and the problem of immigrants, the issues, which were seen worth publishing, were the current immigrations, the donation activities, the assignment of land for the resettlement of immigrants within the region and the city, the construction of the immigrant districts, the nutrition, health and accommodation problems of the immigrants, their activities and lives. Issues like the problems related to the infrastructure, construction of highways, the drying up of swamps, the construction of public buildings such as schools, hospitals, mosques and etc., the land that were opened for construction and uncontrolled structuring were evaluated within the frame of building activities in the İzmir city and the *vilayet* of Aydın. Also the news about the social groups living in the city, the life areas of the poverty groups and the districts of the city were taken into consideration. The newspapers were facilitating the appreciation of İzmir as a whole from the 1880s to 1890s, reflecting the frequency of the issues, and by doing so, indicating the importance of the issues within the urban life.

The immigrant districts and the immigrants did not find place in the main agenda of the city when there had not been dense migration issues. Especially news about the life of the immigrants, their resettlement and the data about the location of the immigrant districts were seen in between the lines of the news that were published most of the time on the back pages of the newspaper. This situation necessitated the careful and detailed scanning of the newspapers.

The records of the wakfs are especially important to make information regarding the place. In the foundation records of the mosques found in the immigrant districts, immovable is described with the roads, buildings and the proprietorship around.

Apparently it is possible to reach information about the ancient usage of that region and the peculiarities of the proprietorship. The wakfs records are of significant importance within this thesis in order to indicate the traditional functioning in the newly structured districts.

The most insufficient ones among the sources were the maps. The maps reproduced during this period were generally consisting of the city centre, Kordon, the Frenk district, Kemeraltı, partially Karataş and Basmane. The immigrant districts that had been structured during the Hamidian period on the Halil Rıfat Paşa Street, regions known as the Eşrefpaşa Region and partially on the outskirts of Kadifekale were not displayed on the maps produced, since they had been located on the city surrounds. The İzmir map<sup>3</sup>, which was known to include the immigrant district and was drawn by İsmet Kaptan in 1906, have not been found until now. The only map with the apparent qualities, which was used in order to be the sub-terrain for the water-supply project, is the one that was guessed to be drawn between the years 1905 and 1906 by the British company.<sup>24</sup> Some of the information used in this research were gathered interviews by conducted with people who are members of the second and third generations of the immigrant families. The most important one of these is the information about the foundation of *dulhane* (widow-houses) during the Hamidian Period.

A research about urban areas that is not located in the central and prestigious regions of İzmir like the immigrant districts necessitates tracing in between the lines of the sources. The results were obtained by the overall evaluation of the data of different sources and their continuous questioning.

The thesis was structured on three main issues. The first issue is the resettlement policy of the Ottoman State starting from the fifteenth century to, and including, the Hamidian Period. The second main issue includes the contents, institutionalisation and the applications of planning in the Ottoman State during the nineteenth century. The third issue, which was fed by the first two ones, is the resettlement of the immigrants in İzmir and the Province of Aydın and the planning of the immigrant settlements.

In the first chapter following the introduction, the resettlement policy of the Ottoman State during the time starting from the fifteenth century until the Hamidian Period was evaluated. The objective is an investigation of the approach to the 'resettlement' issue by the Ottoman State, the transformation of the resettlement

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<sup>24</sup> Çınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* (İzmir: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, 1998), pp. 193-9. The author claims that this map is in the Archives of the İzmir Greater City Municipality.



policies over time and the tradition carried out until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The resettlement policies that are developed by the Ottoman State were evaluated upon the relationship between the state and the community and the consideration of the 'population' phenomenon by the state was put forward by the examining of the location and the status of 'population' within the administrative system. The registration system was evaluated in order to indicate the appreciation of the 'population' concept by the government, differentiating through time. The *tahrir defteri* (survey registry) are the first entries, which possibly include data about the population even though not directly, in the Ottoman State. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the census started to take their place on the agenda and it is seen that during the century the frequency, quality and the categorisation style of the population had changed. Under the first topic of the chapter, the resettlement process of Anatolia and Rumelia are evaluated in terms of widening the borders of the empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It follows that the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries when the resettlement of the immigrant groups were especially important; and the period starting in the end of the eighteenth century until the Hamidian Period with the resettlement problem of the immigrants from outside the country land and the lost lands towards the inside keeping the agenda of the state, are evaluated under separate topics. Here, the resettlement politics of the Ottoman state are discussed from the perspective of how the resettlement policies formulated along with the changes in the economical, public and political structure, and it is also examined how the resettlement tradition were structured until the Hamidian Period.

The resettlement policy of the Hamidian Period is evaluated in a separate chapter. Especially the dimensions of the forced migration movement directed to Anatolia from Rumelia, Caucasian, Crimea and the Aegean islands during this period are evaluated. The resettlement process of the immigrants within the political and economical conditions countrywide was examined. Also the structuring of the resettlement policy is discussed along with the general policies of the Hamidian Period that were formed with the effort to integrate in the world economical system. At this point, the issues to be highlighted are listed as follows: the formations such as forming a conscience of Ottoman community (*teba*) under the 'Muslim' identity along with the *Pan-Islamist* of the Hamidian Period; distributing the investments in the areas of transportation, education and health from the centre to the countrywide; providing the bureaucratic institutionalisation all through the country and strengthening the central

control mechanism; bringing forward the serving ‘protective’ State identity instead of a demanding State with this formation.

In the fourth chapter the place of ‘planning’ association during the Hamidian Period and the planning activities of the period are evaluated. In the first stage, planning is explained to be further than producing physical plan schemes that bring order in the urban areas. However, it is elaborated on at the city, regional and even countrywide scale, including administrative, economic, and social, and connected to these, the whole of the physical organisation. The explanations are based on official document about the planning (*imâr*) activities dated 1880s and how ‘planning’ have conceptualised within the period.

Administrative structure were reorganised within the *Tanzimat* reforms. It was aimed at increasing the central control along with the reorganisation of space in the countrywide scale. The Hamidian Period was a time when the effectiveness of such a structuring had been enlarged countrywide. The more important issue are the actors taking role in the planning activities within this structuring. It is seen that the *Vali* had important roles in the construction of the city and the region. Also the integration of the local elements within the administration and especially the construction (*imâr*) activities in a period when the transition on the way to centrality was not so easy, are another issues to emphasize on. Within the same chapter, the comprehension of *nizam*, which had become one of the main concepts for the state administration in nineteenth century, is examined at the urban scale. Structuring and application of the construction regulation are evaluated in the effort for ‘order’. The basic characteristics of the planning activities that had taken place during the second half of the nineteenth century and especially the Hamidian Period are investigated in this frame. In the end of the fourth chapter, the former studies about the structuring and the planning of the immigrant settlements are evaluated.

The fifth chapter evaluates the immigrant resettlement and the planning issue within the city of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın, which has İzmir as the centre. The forced migration movement from Caucasian, Crimea, Rumelia and Crete to İzmir since 1877 are examined in two sections; the migrations after the Ottoman–Russian War of 1877-1878 and the Cretan migration after 1897. The city of İzmir is in the situation of being a transfer point of some of the coming immigrants to the *vilayet* of Aydın and some of them to other Provinces. Especially during the years of mass migrations, the

temporary settlement of the immigrants and their food supplies had become main problems for the city.

The role of the charity activities was determined in the resettlement process. The charities provide the public integration between the local communities and the immigrants as well as finance of the resettlement of immigrants. In order to evaluate the resettlement process in detail the main factors were emphasized. The providing of the public order, the land capacity, the demands of the immigrants, the labour requirement in the region, the occupation and the social status of the immigrants are appeared as main factors in the resettlement process. The condition, under which the realization of the resettlement in the urban and rural areas is examined, and the distribution of the immigrant settlements within the *vilayet* of Aydın were tried to be determined.

Regarding the construction of immigrant districts in İzmir, which is the main focus point of the research, the establishments have been explained in the end of the chapter. First off all, the temporary and the permanent solutions for the resettlement problem of the immigrants within the city whole were evaluated. The decision of the land to be resettled during the formation of the immigrant districts, getting over the financial problems of the building and providing the social and technical infrastructure were tried to be determined so far as the opportunities rendered by the sources of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESETTLEMENT POLICIES OF THE OTTOMAN STATE BEFORE THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD

In the context of an investigation of resettlement politics, the phenomenon of ‘resettlement’ ought to be considered along with its inseparable counterpart, the concept of ‘population’. Thus this chapter will take up the changes in the practise and politically defined category of ‘resettlement’ and ‘population’ over time within the structure of the Ottoman State. It will argue that concentrating on the differences among periods of the resettlement politics will contribute considerably to an understanding of such practices in the history of the Empire.

The formation of the relationship between the state and the community is directly linked with how the state structures itself in the course of time and how it constitutes the grounds for the legitimacy of that structure. Naturally, the dynamics of this relationship is constituted not only in time but also within a specific geography and upon an extant social structure. The present chapter thus takes up the fundamental parameters of the relationship between the state and the community in terms of its periodic. The geographical frame of reference is integrated in the temporal frame and both are taken up in the sphere of resettlement practices. The other notable aspect of the relationship is the fact that the latter is never the result of a one-way formation: state power is certainly evident in the formation of the administrative structure. Yet the role played by social structure is undeniable. One reason of the dynamism of the relationship is the social dimension. The environment in which this relationship is constructed—especially where settlement is the issue— is not limited to the Ottoman lands. The roles of other states and communities cannot be disregarded.

The relationship—or rather, the mode of its formation— between the state and the community may be discussed through the vantage point of different concepts and phenomena. Here, the resettlement politics of the Ottoman State will be discussed from the perspective of how the state viewed the ‘population’: how, in other words, the ‘population’ was regarded by the state system, where the population stood in that

regard, and how the parties fared during the different periods that make up the segments of the present chapter. When establishing relations with the peoples of the empire, we may assume, the state moved from two premises: one of these consisted of the expectations of the state from the people; the other involved the responsibilities of the state toward the people. The perspective of the state on the population may be analysed starting out from either premise. While the phenomenon of ‘resettlement’ is investigated below with reference to periodic divisions, the expectations of the state from the people have been given priority. Although, in this context, the history of the phenomenon from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth will be surveyed in the phases of 1) the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 2) the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and 3) the nineteenth century. Administrative, economic, and military practises and the course of social and political events will be part of this survey.

Naturally, it is not possible to exhaust the aspects of resettlement politics of the Ottoman State in all periods and geographies of its history in a way that will take stock of all communities that came under the rule of the Empire. The present study focuses on the final decades of the nineteenth century. Discussion of transformations in the said politics, however, as well as of the continuities through the nineteenth centuries, will necessarily involve investigation of practises starting with the fifteenth century. Among reasons for this determination are the facts that the Ottoman administration entered the process of becoming empire in the fifteenth century. Accordingly the interventions of the state in settlement gained momentum at the said time. Most importantly, practices and values attached to state intervention in settlement are well documented starting with the fifteenth century.

## **2.1. Resettlement Policies of the Ottoman State in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries**

A study of the resettlement politics of the Ottoman State in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are obliged to take into consideration Ömer Lütü Barkan’s work of the 1940s and 1950s. Despite its age, Barkan’s work on the history of Ottoman resettlement continues to carry considerable importance in modern historiography. As is known, his series of articles of the 1940s and 1950s, uniformly entitled, “Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler” (‘Exile as Method of Resettlement and

Colonisation'), were based on numerous official manuscripts and chronicles and investigated Ottoman practices of resettlement, the conception of 'population', and processes of institutional formation.<sup>1</sup> The author concentrated on resettlement practices especially in Rumelia (the Balkans) between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Resettlement practices in Trabzon and Cyprus too entered his field of attention.<sup>2</sup> Barkan's fundamental aim in these studies was to illustrate the development of resettlement politics as the Ottoman State constituted economic, military, and administrative organisation within the order of the burgeoning centralised state. Barkan also investigated the condition of people who were forced to migrate and trenchantly discussed their unwilling submission and diverse reactions to forced migration. Thus he demonstrated the possibility and benefits of investigating the process of settlement from the perspective of both the governor and the community. Despite the fact that Barkan did not analyze the perspective of the administration on the population in a conceptual manner, the particular, anecdotal examples he presented offer the material for a discussion of the concept.

Barkan represented the relationship between governor and governed somewhat ironically in the following manner: 'The throngs of people termed *reâyâ* in the Ottoman Empire, made up an important subject and in truth were bred utmost with care, like a flock whose milk and wool was cultivated for maximum profit.'<sup>3</sup>

This designation of 'the throngs of people' as a 'flock' was not Barkan's expression. The expression concerned the administrative conception of the Ottoman State. The emperor was the shepherd who tended to the *reâyâ*.<sup>4</sup> The intention of this metaphor, we may speculate, was to reveal the empire in the role of defender and

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<sup>1</sup> Ö. Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 9: 1-4 (1949): 524-69. Also see his, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13: 1-4 (1951): 56-78 and "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15: 1-4 (1954): 209-37.

<sup>2</sup> For the resettlement process in Trabzon and Cyprus, see Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13: 1-4 (1949): pp. 553-61.

<sup>3</sup> Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13: 1-4 (1951): 56.

<sup>4</sup> Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. I: 1300-1600*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quatert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 17.

protector, guide to fruitful pastures and keeper of the flock. While the emperor played this role, were the people indeed as defenceless and meek as a 'flock'?

As indicated above, the state had two expectations from the people in order for the system to achieve stability: to be productive and to be submissive. Productive people were going to participate in the system by means of their labour or taxes paid. This framework demands close analysis of the scale of social status which were recognised by the Ottoman State system. The Ottoman peoples had been separated into two main groups since the foundation of the Ottoman State: the Military Class and the *reâyâ*. The Military Class comprised those in military service (soldiers) and the civil officials (bureaucrats). Neither paid taxes. The *reâyâ* were the producer class comprised of the city-dwellers, the peasants, the nomads, as well as the *Muaf ve Müsellem Reâyâ*. From the *reâyâ* were expected either to pay taxes or to be enlisted in the service of the state in lieu of tax payment.<sup>5</sup> The obligations of the *reâyâ* will be detailed in the pages below in their proper context.

Administrative, economic, and military formations were thus based on agricultural production within the *tımar* system in the Ottoman State. Peasant *reâyâ* were therefore fundamental, if not the most vital, part of the system. The *tımar* system, in turn, had been inherited partially from Seljuks and in other part from Byzantine society, in order to be developed by the Ottomans. Despite erosions in the system starting with the seventeenth century, this formation survived well into the eighteenth century.

What did, then, 'population' signify to political power in this kind of formation? A considerable portion of the population was engaged in agricultural production and constituted the main part of the income of the state by means of taxation of agricultural production. The other, equally important, contribution of the productive peasant *reâyâ* consisted of supplying food to the cities and the army. One must stress that such contribution was as essential as were the taxes. A segment of the rural population made up the labour force employed by the state in construction activities, security and transportation services in lieu of tax payment. The same groups provided logistical support to the armed forces at times of war. These were organised in orders of *köprücü* (bridge-builders), *lağımçı* (sappers and miners), *su yolcu* (sewerage builders), *kayıkçı*

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<sup>5</sup> Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilatı ve Sosyal Yapı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1996), pp. 101-18.

(oarsmen), *derbendci* (pass-guard).<sup>6</sup> Securing workers and master builders for the construction of an important public building posed problems which required a separate organisation in itself. Gülsün Tanyeli has illustrated the nature of the massive organisation undertaken by central administration for recruitment and payment of the workers and masters, employed in the construction of the Navarin Castle in 1573-1574 as well as for procuring food supplies for them.<sup>7</sup> The studies relevant this topic has repeatedly demonstrated that the Ottoman State operated like a large corporation, classifying the people within different occupational channels.

In a period of history whose technology depended on organic energy supplies, members of the work force who commanded keep physical stamina and professional ability needed by the state, were essential. Organised labour was even more important in an empire spread in a very extensive geography. The rural population, that either paid tax or rendered services in lieu of tax payment, owed their livelihood in large part to agricultural activity. A person was thus going to participate in the system as a unit along with the land he wielded in agricultural activity. In other words, the rural ‘population’ were worthy of registry as one with the field which it cultivated. In fact, information concerning the Ottoman population prior to the nineteenth century can be obtained exclusively through tax records and registries of services rendered to the state. The *tahrir defteri* (survey registry) played essential role within the records system of the Ottoman State in the same period. In Halil İnalçık’s words, the *tahrir defteri* was “[...] a status book for the land and population.”<sup>8</sup> The size of field and the marital status of the person were essential to these records: “The family labour farm” was considered the basic unit of entry. Therefore the unit liable for taxation—and by implication, for conducting agricultural activity—was the household (*hane*). The latter was termed *çift-hane* in the registries. This practice *and* conception continued until the Tanzimat. “In principle, surveys consisted of the registration of all taxable adult male peasants who represented a *çift-hane* unit or its fractions. The regular unit was a married peasant

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<sup>6</sup> Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım Üzerine Araştırmalar*, ed. Salih Özbaran (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984), pp. 1-82. Also see Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilatı*, pp.113-14.

<sup>7</sup> Gülsün Tanyeli, “Bir Osmanlı Kale-Kentinin Yapımı: Anavarin Örneği,” *Prof. Doğan Kuban’a Armağan*, ed. Zeynep Ahunbay and Kutgün Eyüpgiller (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1996), pp. 85-93.

<sup>8</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 135.



(*hane*) holding a certain unit of land, a *çiftlik*, a farm workable by a pair of oxen.”<sup>9</sup> Thus the human individual did not comprise a unit for registration. Three requirements were essential for *çift-hane* status: the ‘household’ qualifying as source of labour, ‘a pair of oxen’ as harness force, and the ‘*çiftlik*’ —essentially grain farm— large enough to require a pair ox for cultivation.<sup>10</sup> The designation *çift-hane* expressed the dual characteristic of the unit: *çift* signified land while *hane* signified labour.<sup>11</sup> The marital status of the adult males constituted data to determine the labour capacity. The married male represented a household for, it was assumed that he was in company of and thus controlled further persons. A peasant, therefore, who had a family, was compelled to pay higher tax. The labour capacities of non-married males and widows were assumed as low.<sup>12</sup>

The population density of a region, the productivity of the agricultural area and the size of the farmland determined the profitability of the farm. The rural population thus ‘[...] were transferred to live and work to even more productive regions which, were usually yet uncultivated but fertile. Nor did the state neglect to take measure that they were firmly established and found favourable circumstances to multiply in their new settlement.’<sup>13</sup> Thus too, was regional agglomeration prevented, with the administration intending to create population distribution and targeting rational production planning? The reason for the particularity of the state where population distribution was concerned owed to the anxiety that uneven agglomeration in the rural areas would cause decrease in per household income, erode the effectiveness of system, and eventually make for social discontentment. Simultaneously, these measures would assimilate fertile yet uncultivated areas to productivity, agriculturally as well as demographically. Thus too would expand the sphere of dominance of the developing centralised state.

Barkan described the justification of the acts of resettlement and exile within this administrative and economic structure in the following terms:

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<sup>9</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 146.

<sup>11</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 149.

<sup>13</sup> Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler” (1951) 56.

'The first reason that compelled the state to pursue comprehensive resettlement and colonisation strategies were doubtlessly the calculations directed towards increase of revenue. For a state administration that regarded the land as its property and farm, there were considerable advantages to be derived from transferring the surplus population inhabiting agricultural land already overpopulated or peasants residing in infertile parts to more fruitful regions and to settle these people in those regions though decrees periodically issued.'<sup>14</sup>

The essential reason of the population transfer from Anatolia to Rumelia was the stark fact that Rumelia had more fruitful farmlands. Likewise that in the early period of the reign of Kanunî Süleyman (the Magnificent), the revenue gained from the *eyalet* of Rumelia alone by far exceeded that from the *eyalets* of Anatolia.<sup>15</sup>

This administrative system legitimised, the state is conception of the population as an entity whose location was determinable by that state, which could be re/settled with attendant legislated obligations and restrictions, and sometimes with incentives. The state transferred the population to the place, at a time expedient to the state's purposes. Both the peasant and the townsman *reâyâ* 'were assigned' to other geographies much like the assignment of an officer or soldier to another station within the state administration. 'In fact, the Ottoman Empire was organised like a mobilised army, and everyone had a job to do which had been assigned by the state, and had to do that job at a place that had been determined by the state, if it were duty'.<sup>16</sup> Yet, we must assume, the degree of compulsion was not the same at all times and circumstances. Stefanos Yerasimos illustrates the resettlement process of İstanbul after 1453 on the basis of Ottoman and Byzantine chronicles.<sup>17</sup> The fact that a segment of the population of the city left in the immediate after main of the conquest, and that others were taken away as a captives of the commanders who had participated in the siege, had left the

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<sup>14</sup> Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler" (1951) 56.

<sup>15</sup> Süreyya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kent ve Kentliler*, trans. Neyyir Kalaycıoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), p. 356. Also see İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>16</sup> Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler" (1951) 58.

<sup>17</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unun Kuruluşu," *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras*, ed. Nur Akın, Afife Batur and Selçuk Batur (İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1999), pp. 195-212. The chronicles which studied by Yerasimos are: Tacizâde Ca'fer Çelebi, *Mahruse-î İstanbul Fetihnâmesi*, Tursun Bey, *Tarih-î Ebu'l Feth*; Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarih-î âl-î Osman*; Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma*; Doukos XLII; Kritovoulos, A73.

city significantly under populated. One of the vident problems Mehmet II had to solve prior to declaring the city the capital of the empire thus was this population deficiency. First the deganted natives the city were called upon to return, and in a second step, of the rest of the empire invited to settle in İstanbul. Nevertheless, these measures did not prove sufficient for the city to attain adequate population levels. Green those living on the outskirts and environs of İstanbul could not be persuaded to settle in the city, where upon forced migration emerged as the compelling option. The documents report that—as in the case of Karaman (Caramania)—Muslim people proved particularly resistant to both call and compulsion. After the conquest of the Morea, North Anatolia and the Aegean Islands, *Rum*, Jews and Armenians were transferred from these regions to İstanbul.<sup>18</sup>

Given the *örf*—tradition of state practices, a kind of ‘common law’ of state behaviour—of the Ottoman administration, it is seen that the people had small chance for selecting habitat as well as occupation. The restrictiveness is particularly evident for the peasantry. The peasants, who were agricultural labours, were in fact the renters of the state. As indicated above, they were registered in the *tahrir* records along with their obligation. While the *sipahi* (*timar* - on fief - holders), who were yet another class of officials of the state, assumed responsibility over the peasants. The peasant who deserted had to be found and returned to his assigned place by the *sipahi* or wakf owner within ten to fifteen years.<sup>19</sup>

The perspective of the state on the different ethnic and religious communities is another important topic. We may surmise that the ethnic groups such as the *Türkmen* (Turcoman) or *Yörük*, and religions ones including the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim were taken into consideration for their work capability and production capacity more than the harmony their faith presented with that of the state. Thus the prime criterion in the transfer of these communities to re-locate them so as to increase their productivity in the field that was their forté rather than elimination of political risks they may have represented. It may be said that the professional skills of the population were certainly taken into consideration when settling the cities. The process of resettlement of İstanbul after the conquest makes for remarkable analysis in this respect. Particularly the notables of the *Rum*, Armenian, Jewish, and Turkish communities were among those

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<sup>18</sup> Yerasimos, “Osmanlı İstanbul’unun Kuruluşu,” pp. 197-203.

<sup>19</sup> Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyillarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilatı ve Sosyal Yapı*, p. 105.

forced into migration to İstanbul from the newly conquered regions. Naturally the aim was to settle those population groups that had the capacity to bring economic and cultural wealth to the city which was a Capital of the Empire. Yerasimos explains the Empiror's insistence on population transfer from Karaman by the fact that these people were skilled workmen in the building sector.<sup>20</sup> In her work, on the construction of the Navarin Citadel-City, Tanyeli has found that government instructed especially Jewish people to be settled in this city because were asserted to be skilful in the urban economic activity.<sup>21</sup> The *Yörük* groups who were settled in the rural parts of Rumelia had been selected because their life style was deemed suitable for military discipline and they could thus be assigned to provide logistical support to the army and be employed in building improvement activities. The *Yörük* groups in Rumelia were registered with their service obligations and tax exemptions.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, when examining resettlement activity in the Ottoman Empire in this period, one must necessarily take into consideration not only their ethnic origin but also their professional profile.

The state took communities into consideration not only with respect to areas of their productivity. The governed, were also expected to be submissive military as well as *reâyâ*. But the people, who Barkan claimed, were perceived as 'flock', were not always submissive. They were seen at times to desert and resist political power and at others to oppose or rebel. While the *reâyâ* was indeed seen as a labour force for 'the state enterprise', they could be seen as containing a risk factor by the administration at the same time. The state was attentive to the potential threat the 'population' bore. Determination by the state that a given social group remain in its place or be resettled was equally tied up with the potential risk the group bore for public order. In other words, if the degree of the potential risk was high, the people would be transferred to another place to reduce their risk capacity or to eradicate risk.

The Ottoman State, particularly at the period when central authority was fully attained, was considering the nomadic groups as a threat factor. Therefore, '[...]' through of nomadic groups were rarely allowed to remain in place and were subject to

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<sup>20</sup> Yerasimos, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unun Kuruluşu," pp. 201-203.

<sup>21</sup> Tanyeli, "Bir Osmanlı Kale-Kentinin Yapımı: Anavarin Örneği," 90.

<sup>22</sup> Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilatı ve Sosyal Yapı*, pp. 110-18. Also see Tanyeli, "Bir Osmanlı Kale-Kentinin Yapımı: Anavarin Örneği," pp. 88, 89. In her work based on *Mühimme Defters*, Tanyeli determined that the *Yörüks* from Saloniki several times were assigned the construction of the citadel.

political preventive measure and migration at every opportunity and time deemed suitable. They were forced to leave their home pastures and thus to disintegrate as a community.’<sup>23</sup> One noteworthy point here is that the state acted not with the appearance of the risk, but moved in the face of *potential* risk. In other words, the authority penalised potential disobedience rather than exclusively actual ones.

In this context, the social groups that were subjected to exile —again, account of their military capability— were the nomadic communities who living in Anatolia. According to Barkan, the first nomadic resettlement acts, registered in Ottoman records occurred in the fourteenth century, during the reign of Murat I and Bayezit I (Yıldırım). The *Yörüks* were transferred from *Saruhan* (present-day Manisa) to Rumelia, especially to Varna and Filibe (Plovdiv).<sup>24</sup> Another state method for disintegrating a potentially threatening community was separating the leader from his community. ‘Lords (*bey*), who wielded significant political and social power in Anatolia either as land owners or as tribal leaders [were exiled] with different excuse’ by the administration that was in need of strengthening its central authority in the early period of the Empire. As a result, the leaders were reduced to poverty, on the one hand, and, on the other, losing its leader, the community disintegrated. Assigning the tribal leaders or *bey*, who were members of aristocratic families, to prominent administrative offices in Rumelia —and thus rewarding them with important duty and responsibility— central authority could employ their now released people for the benefit of the state while, at the same time, eliminating the potential resistance and counter political formations in Anatolia. Thus the increasingly centralised state assimilated decentralised feudal seats of power into the state structure.<sup>25</sup> The exiles were not one-directional, however. Resettlement from Rumelia to Anatolia counter-balanced those from Anatolia to Rumelia. According to Barkan’s work, after the conquest of Trabzon by Ottomans in 1461, state-decreed population movement, occurred into either direction.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler” (1951), 67.

<sup>24</sup> Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler” (1951), pp. 67-71.

<sup>25</sup> There are extant records demonstrating the *sürgün* of Anatolian lords (of Saruhan, Canik, Ankara, Kastamonu) to Albania in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the reign of Murad II, while the process of the establishment of Ottoman authority in Albania was under way. They were assigned a officer as fief-holders. See Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler,” (1954), pp. 213-15.

We shall see in the third section below that in the process of the resettlement of peoples to Anatolia from the Balkans during the nineteenth century, the Ottoman administration treated community and local political leaders, who had local administrative power and large retinues, in similar fashion.

## **2.2. Resettlement Policies of the Ottoman State in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries**

The main aim of the resettlement policy during the action of widening the government territories until the second half of the sixteenth century; is to integrate the “conquest” regions within the empire system. The economic inconveniences, rebellions, public uneasiness and the population movements in the continuation which have become significant since the second half of the sixteenth century have come to a level to threaten the empire organisation. During the seventeenth century, the administration which is in the effort to maintain the current structure and to eliminate the defects that threaten the existence of the government, had started to run its forced migration and resettlement activities based on this information and the direction of the resettlement activities had turned inwards.

### **2.2.1. The Population Movements in Ottoman State during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their Results**

One of the main reasons of the population movement, which had reached the level that is adequate to change the rural settlement pattern especially in Anatolia since the last years of the sixteenth century; is the constraint in terms of pressure in Anatolia ever since the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>27</sup> the financial bottle-neck that has occurred within the Ottoman geography as a result of the changes in the world economic and

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<sup>26</sup> Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler” (1954), pp. 217-19.

<sup>27</sup> According to Akdağ and Braudel, the narrowing of the wheat export since the second half of the fifteenth century, increase in prices, famine and hunger had been the indicators of the population increase within the Ottoman geography. Michael Cook had evaluated the decrease in terms of facility size (*çift*) as the evidence of population pressure from 1475 till. See Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, p. 66.

political balances and the change in the army organization after 1550 as a result of the improvement in the war technology. This is meant to be a complete change in the *timar* regimes. Along with the assigning of the *Kapıkulu* soldiers who are on salary and whose organisation is limited in İstanbul, the *timarlı* soldiers lost their current functions and political positions, this had caused discontentment among the *sipahis*; as a result of this they had assume an opposing attitude towards the salaried soldiers of the state and gather around the rebellion groups named *Celali*. The rebellion movements, which had been influenced the economic and political crisis that had took place since the second half of the sixteenth century, had affected lots of regions just as they had influenced Rumelia and especially Anatolia during the seventeenth century. Starting with the *Celali* rebellions, *Suhte* movement (the action among the madrasa students), followed by the *Saruca-sekban* and *levend* rebellions caused an increase in poverty and discontent in the country, within an environment as explained some of the citizens had joined the rebels whereas some migrated to safer places. On the other side the assignment of heavy taxes as a result of the financial crisis quickened the actions.<sup>28</sup> The population movements that included different public groups such as citizens, villager and nomads—even though the real dimensions had not been able to put forward even since— had gone beyond Anatolia and reached to the Rumelia and the opposite coasts of the Black Sea.<sup>29</sup>

It is known that the impact of migrations that had been faced over the century affected especially the rural areas. In the explanation of the legal entries of the period and the works of authors and historians such as Katip Çelebi, Evliya Çelebi, Naima, Koçibey, Cengiz Orhonlu states that; until the end of the seventeenth century Adana-Hatay; Aleppo, Hama, Humus regions in the Mid Fırat domain; in the *eyalet* of Rakka that includes also the *sancak* of Urfa; Sivas, Tokat, Yozgat regions and in the region that included Isparta, Burdur and Karahisar-ı Sahip, lots of villages had been emptied

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<sup>28</sup> The mentioned rebellions and the public conflicts is a multi dimensional topic and it has been impossible to evaluate it in detail within the contents of this study. For detailed information about the issue see Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celâli İsyamları* (Ankara: Barış Yayınları, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> The Muslim and the non-Muslim community who took of from Trabzon, Rize and Batman had came to the Varna and Ahyolu ports via seaways and migrated towards Ploudiv and Edirne as well as Crimea. See Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, pp. 339-40.

and had been in a desolate situation.<sup>30</sup> Similar ruins have also been seen among the rural settlements of the regions that are close to the capital city. Some of the citizens from the Bursa region took shelter around Üsküdar.<sup>31</sup> Along with the examination of the records of *Mufassal-avarız*, which has been an important source about the seventeenth century, more accurate results of the internal migration have been put forward.<sup>32</sup> There has been an important decrease in the rural and urban population of the *kaza* of Amasya from the end of sixteenth century until the middle of seventeenth century; a dramatic drop in the number of villages and the total of taxpayer rural population. However, the ratio of immigrants in the present villages being a significant amount (7%) is a strong evidence of migrations from insecure and famine faced villages, to more secure villages.<sup>33</sup> Similar results have been obtained from the information that has been gathered from the records of *Mufassal avarız* of the *sancaks* of Canik and Bozok and the *kaza* of Harput.<sup>34</sup> Financial records of some specific wakfs in the seventeenth century have been indicating that some of the villages that were obliged to pay taxes to those wakfs had completely disappeared and there had been an important decrease in the amount tax incomes of the present villages.<sup>35</sup> Also according to researches about the rural resettlement process of Eskişehir and Konya, while most of the villages that were recorded in the sixteenth century *tahrirs* did not continue their existence, the villages that were settled in the mountains and preserved valleys had preserved their existence.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1987), p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, p. 45

<sup>32</sup> Oktay Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: 'Mufassal' Avâriz Defterleri," *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. III* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1999), pp. 735-741.

<sup>33</sup> Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi," pp. 741-2.

<sup>34</sup> Mehmet Öz, *XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Canik Sancağı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1999); Mehmet Ali Ünal "1056/1646 Tarihli Avarız Defterine Göre 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Harput," *Belleten* 51: 199 (1987), pp. 119-129 quoted by Özel, in "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi," p. 737 and Yunus Koç, "The Structure of the Population of the Ottoman Empire (1300-1900)," *The Great Ottoman-Türkish Civilisation: II*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), pp. 542-44.

<sup>35</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crises and Change" *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. II: 1600-1914*, ed. Halil İncalcık and Donald Quatert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 442. The wakfs under consideration are *Celaleddin-i Rumi Vakfı*, *Seyyid Gazi Vakfı* and *Mehmet Paşa Vakfı*.

<sup>36</sup> For research about Eskişehir see. Necdet Tunçdilek, "Eskişehir Bölgesi'nde Yerleşme Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış" *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15: 1-4 (1954): 189-208; For studies about the Konya region see. Wolf D. Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen im Südlichen Inneranatolien in den Letzten Vierhundert Jahren* (Göttingen: Des Geographischen Instituts des Universität, 1968).



There have not been many sufficient researches about the effect of the population movements upon the Ottoman cities during the seventeenth century apart from a few exceptions. In Bursa the number of taxpayers that was 12.832 in 1573, decreased dramatically to 5.441 in 1696. Similar population decrease was also seen in Amasya and Kayseri. Samsun had lost its urban quality and the populations of Aleppo and Damascus decreased too. Not being able to supply security in the commercial axis affected the cities whose wealth was dependent within these commercial activities. The *Celalis* getting hold of Urfa and the ruining of the Tosya and Konya *Bedestens* as a result of the attacks are two significant events about the issue.<sup>37</sup>

Generally, the population which has been torn from the rural and some urban areas had structured a great flow towards big cities. It is evident that there have been migrations to İstanbul apart from the demand of the state since the second half of the sixteenth century and the administration had taken precautions in order to limit the migration to the city.<sup>38</sup> Üsküdar was a separate settlement from İstanbul at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it was integrated with İstanbul by the end of the seventeenth century as a result of the settlement of the immigrants. There has not been adequate information about the effect of these immigrations on the Anatolian cities. However it is known that there were migration flows towards big cities such as Ankara, Kayseri and Bursa. While there was an important decrease in the number of taxpayers in cities like Bursa and Kayseri, their population increased along with the incoming migrations. This condition means for poverty in the upper level and lack of labour.<sup>39</sup> The *çiftbozans*,<sup>40</sup> who were referred to as *levends* and left their responsibilities in the village as well as their families behind and came to the city with the aim of finding a labour, were working as peddlers when necessary and were being involved in illegal business when that was not available. Along with ascending the throne of Kanunî Sultan

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<sup>37</sup> Faroqhi, "Crises and Change," pp. 438-440.

<sup>38</sup> Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, p. 328.

<sup>39</sup> Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, p. 327-52.

<sup>40</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Büyük Celâlî Karışıklıklarının Başlaması* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1963), p. 16-7. The *Levends*, during some periods, had been accepted within the private armies structured by the masters who had opposed to the Sultan. Şehzade Bayezid who wanted to be crowned after Kanuni had structured such an army and made them rebel with the soldiers of the government. This is seen as the beginning and the motivator of the internal disorders in the future. See the same work, pp. 62-79.

Süleyman, precautions were tried to be taken for the insecure environment, that created by the *levends* in the city, and numerous imperial edicts approved that it is forced to find a guarantor (*kefil*) in their location.<sup>41</sup> It is possible to indicate that the administration had tried to keep this group that makes up the marginal section of the city who were also away from their families, under control by providing them shelter in single rooms and passenger khans (*yol geçen hanı*) that are located in the commercial regions and in places abstracted from the neighbourhoods.<sup>42</sup> The problems in the food supplying of the cities was another problem faced as a result of these migrations.

Some of the authors have claimed that during the seventeenth century also as a result of the rural disintegration, there was the appearance of many commercial cities whose population was between 20.000 and 30.000.<sup>43</sup> However, as it can be seen from the example above, most of the ancient cities in Anatolia could at most carry on with their former situations as a result of the hard circumstances. A city like İzmir proved one's worth in the Western Anatolia and it is seem to be an exceptional situation. This condition of İzmir was appeared as a result of the change in the commercial relations within the Mediterranean and regional advantages. The relatively revival in economy by the end of the seventeenth century until 1770,<sup>44</sup> is also under the effect of providing the stabilization in rural areas.

Another group among the mass population movement in Anatolia was the nomadic societies. They were either sliding to other regions in crowds or settling in villages, counties and even cities in small groups as a result of their life environment not being sufficient for the growing population or escaping from the high taxes assigned for

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<sup>41</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi 2: 1453-1559* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1995), pp. 316-28.

<sup>42</sup> Uğur Tanyeli "Housing and Settlement Pattern in the Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods in Anatolia" tran. Joyce Matthews, in *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A Historical Perspective*, ed. Yıldız Sey, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), p. 451. Evliya Çelebi had claimed that there had been lots of rooms and lodging facilities in İstanbul each one had sheltered 'one hundred to two hundred man'. See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, c. 1, ed. A. Cevdet, (İstanbul, 1314), pp. 326-7 quoted by Uğur Tanyeli, in "Anadolu'da Bizans, Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Dönemlerinde Yerleşme," p. 450.

<sup>43</sup> Sevgi Aktüre, "17. Yüzyıl Başından 19. Yüzyıl Ortasına Kadarki Dönemde Anadolu Osmanlı Şehrinde Şehirsel Yapının Değişme Süreci," *M.E.T.U. Journal of the Architecture* 1: 1 (1975): 119. A similar comment based on the same source had been done by Uğur Tanyeli also, the author even described this situation as a contribution to the urban development within the country, see his work "Anadolu'da Bizans, Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Dönemlerinde Yerleşme ve Barınma Düzeni," pp. 441-2.

<sup>44</sup> Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, p. 372.

them.<sup>45</sup> It is evident from the records of the period that until the seventeenth century some of the nomads become to live in the settled order with their own decisions in some regions, found villages.<sup>46</sup> However, it has also been stated that some of the semi-nomadic tribes had left their homes and went back to the nomadic life-style as a result of the negative conditions of the seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup> Some nomadic tribes whose life environments had been Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia started to move to Central and Western Anatolia since the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of difficult life conditions in the region. The Boz-Ulus Turcoman who was calm and confident in the Diyarbekir and Mardin regions started to come to the Karaman and Ankara regions since the beginning of seventeenth century and reached to the Kütahya and Aydın regions by the middle of the century.<sup>48</sup>

### **2.2.2. The Policies in the Resettlement Process of Nomadic Societies in Anatolia**

In a period when the economic structure had been based on agriculture, the abandoning of land by the villager population meant that the maintenance of the system is endangered. On the other hand, the capacities of the cities were not enough to settle the people who had been drawn to the cities as a result of motive factors. The administration had been in an effort to keep the population in the rural areas. As a result of this hesitation along with the silencing of the *Celali* rebellions, there were the

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<sup>45</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 35-6. There have been records about the settlement of semi-nomadic communities in Damascus and Adana since the end of the seventeenth century. Also it has been claimed that there had been similar situations in cities like Adıyaman, Malatya, Maraş, Payas, see same source, p. 38-9.

<sup>46</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 35-9.

<sup>47</sup> Xavier de Planhol, *De la Plaine Pomphylienne aux lacs Pisidiens, Nomadisme et Vie Paysanne*, c. 3 (Paris, 1958) p. 186-239) quoted by Suraiya Faroqhi, in "Anadolu İskânı ile terk edilmiş Köyler Sorunu" *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Bilim Araştırmalarında Yaklaşımlar ve Yöntemler*, ed. Seyfi Karabaş and Yaşar Yeşilçay (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu Yayınları, 1977) p. 298. Oktay Özel has established that the immigrants in the *kaza* of Amasya who had been settled during the middle of the sixteenth century, had abandoned their villages in 1642 and returned back to their nomadic lives. See Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi", p. 742.

<sup>48</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, p. 17. It has been stated that a community of Boz-ulus Turkomans had been settled in Kuşadası whereas some groups had even been settled within the Aegean islands like Rodos and İstanköy. Xavier de Planhol, *Les Fondements géographiques de l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Paris, 1968), p. 238. quoted by Yusuf Halaçoğlu, in *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1988), p. 26.

imperial edicts in 1610 and 1635 for the *reâyâ* to return back to the villages at which they had abandoned in ten years,<sup>49</sup> as well as searching for methods to re-cultivate the abandoned agricultural lands. The first method tried was assigning the right to cultivate these lands to the ones who demand. However, the change of authority in terms of managing these lands was effecting the production in a negative manner. Afterwards selling these lands, private farms were appeared. Also another problem to be handled was the abandonment of the *derbent* villages that had been controlling the commercial axes.<sup>50</sup>

The administration started a settlement activity of wide content since 1691. During the eighteenth century, the resettlement activities in mostly Anatolia, in Syria along the river banks and in the abandoned areas in Rumelia carried on with their importance in the agenda. Apart from the transfer of the citizens who have left their villages and counties to their old locations, the groups that faced resettlement had especially been nomadic tribes. Kütahya, Aydın, Konya, Karaman, Ankara, Nevşehir, Sivas, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Malatya, İç-il, Teke and Çukurova regions has been the main resettlement regions in Anatolia.<sup>51</sup> The *eyalet* of Rakka and Aleppo were the most problematic resettlement regions because of the difficult life conditions as a result of climate conditions and watering problems.<sup>52</sup> In Rumelia the citizens who had escaped from wars and high taxes of the *ayans* were tried to be sent to their settlements. During this period there was not any mentioning of the resettlement of semi-nomadic society in Rumelia or construction of new settlements.<sup>53</sup>

One of the main reasons for the state to force the nomadic tribes into immigration was their life style that was opposing with the administrative order. They were harming the settled society during the transhumance between the summer and the winter pasturelands (*yaylak ve kışlak*), escaping to other regions in order not to pay their taxes, some times performing banditry as well as joining large rebellion groups. Their resistance to the difficult life conditions and their warrior characteristics were making it

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<sup>49</sup> Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, pp. 347-8.

<sup>50</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 32-1.

<sup>51</sup> Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti*, pp. 125-36.

<sup>52</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 55-70.

<sup>53</sup> Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti*, pp. 141-3.

harder for the state to keep them under control. Widening the life environment of the nomadic societies as a result of their increasing populations was mostly against the benefits of the settled societies. Along with their settlement the agricultural production would be restarted as well as taking them under control as a result of the change in their life styles.

The aim and the method of resettlement varied in accordance with the characteristics of the regions. The resettlement of abandoned and ruined land and the starting of agricultural production had been of prior importance. Another method of resettlement was to make it obligated to settle in one place of the summer or winter pasturelands as permanent rather than these nomadic tribes transhumance.<sup>54</sup>

Among the political tradition of the Ottoman State, the characteristics of some groups were modified to serve the benefit of the state and led to keeping those groups under control. Sometimes the semi-nomadic societies were settled in locations of strategic importance due to their warrior characteristics and it was required to strengthen the security network of the country. By doing so the uncontrolled groups were being gathered at specific locations by assigning them responsibility along with incitement, their will to be in opposition with the state was weakened, as well as strengthening the security lines for the case of a rebellion or an attack from the other side of the boundary. In order to structure this aim, the abandoned *derbent* villages that were mostly in Central Anatolia had been resettled, the ancient khans along the commercial route had been reconstructed and sometimes by building mosques, *imaret* (food houses) and even defence walls around this khan an even structuring completely new *derbent* villages where necessary.<sup>55</sup> During the same period, the nomadic tribes were tried to be settled in the Syria region in order to structure a defence line for the attacks of the Arabic tribes. If the settlement had the aim of security or defence, the tribes were let to live in the tribal order for them to protect their warrior characteristics. The authority of the state upon these groups was provided by the organisation of the internal relations within the group. A trustful person was being assigned to be the

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<sup>54</sup> Halaçoğlu, XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti, p. 109.

<sup>55</sup> For detailed information about the *derbent* villages and the tribes that had been settled in these villages see. Halaçoğlu, XVIII: Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti, pp. 71-7.

*başbuğ* (leader) to the tribes, and the people of the society were standing surety for each other in the presence of the state.<sup>56</sup>

The rules and regulations of the Ottoman State about the issue of resettlement have only been clear when the imperial edicts and the regulatory sent to the *vilayets* are examined. Usually the method that was followed was to assign the tribal groups land to build their houses and cultivate. As a result of this the nomadic society was supposed to build own houses and do agricultural production. In the following step the administration would control the cultivation in these lands. In the regulatory; it was clearly stated to leave the nomadic life style behind. The farmers were bound to pay taxes in accordance with their crop revenue. However the groups that were responsible from the security of the region had been free of tax.<sup>57</sup>

Within the organisation of the resettlement process, the administrative responsible was the *vali* and the *sancak beyi* whereas the juridical responsible was the *kadı*. Any issue about the groups to be resettled had been to be solved by the *iskân katibi* (the secretary of resettlement). The *iskân başı* (the head of resettlement) was among the most important actors during this process, he belongs to one of the clans or tribes as well as knowing the characteristics of these groups very well and communicating with them. Also the leaders as *iskân beyi* and *kethuda* that had been chosen within the group were responsible from the transportation of the society to the place to be resettled and report as an expert to the resettlement commission in the case of a problem. In some regions an architect from the centre would be assigned in order to select the fertile land and the water sources as well as building the watering establishments. The resettlement activities were being managed by a resettlement commission to be formed by officers in the *vilayet*.<sup>58</sup>

The important issue at this point is the contacting of the authority with the members of the society whom are possible the strong people of the society and search for negotiation bases via these people. However, it was a rather difficult process for the authority to take a society under control by directly interfering to their life style. The nomadic societies that are in Anatolia transformed their way of life into settled life in accordance with their life dynamics and as a result of their own decision and in long

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<sup>56</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>57</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 48-9.

<sup>58</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 52-4.

time. Unfortunately the adaptation of these groups to settled life in a short time and with the interference of the state was against their nature. As a result of this, it was not possible for the state to achieve its goal at the proper and efficiency.

In conclusion, during this resettlement process that has influenced the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the state was in the effort to keep the order it had structured before. The political and the economic order was tried to be protected in spite of public fluctuations, population movements and economic crisis. The positive reflections of the transformation in the commercial affairs world wide, is tracked in specific regions like İzmir and the Western Anatolia. The authority thought that, keeping the population in the rural areas is the basic way of preserving the organisation and they were demanded to support agricultural production in fertile land and stop the potential movement to the cities. They also tried to provide the security of the commercial axis in order for trade to reach its dimensions again.

### **2.3. Resettlement Policies of the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Centuries**

As the policy of resettling the immigrants that came to the Ottoman land as a result of the forced migrations in the period that is since the eighteenth century and until the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 is tried to be comprehended, it should have been investigated with the general perception of the government in population issues and the general population characteristics of the period in order to terms of comprehending the issue by all means.

#### **2.3.1. The Conception of Population**

After 1770 the Ottoman State stepped into a period, when there were serious problems by means of demographic terms as well as the ongoing crisis in the areas of economy and policy. Even though there has not been accurate statistics, it is estimated that there had been a decrease in especially the total population of Anatolia (The North of Syria should be included in) as a result of epidemic sicknesses, poverty, famine, regional conflicts and the ongoing wars from 1790's till 1830's. Karpat states that there was a rapid increase in the Christian population in Anatolia and the Balkans after

1820's and especially 1840's whereas there was a decrease in the Muslim population in the same period.<sup>59</sup> As a result of the wars that went on for years, the Muslim male population either did their military services for almost 20 years,<sup>60</sup> or most of them had lost their lives in the fronts. The negative conditions that were created by the war increased the death rate in the regions close or related to the fronts as well as causing for a decrease within the birth rates. It has even been known that many women whose husbands had been in the army, tried to perform miscarriage as a result of the worry that they would not be able to take care of the baby, as a result of the precautions the government had to take.<sup>61</sup>

Another problem to affect the population increase in a negative way was the epidemic illnesses such as the plague, cholera and fever. The plague and the cholera that influenced worldwide and especially in a region from India to Britain, could only be taken under control by the structuring of an international quarantine system in 1850.<sup>62</sup>

The Ottoman State felt the requirement to re-evaluate the population issue as a result of the developments in Rumelia since 1770, starting of the nationalism movements among the Christian subject of the Empire, the protector-ship of Britain, France and especially Russia upon the Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian communities, their feeling the right to demand even land for the name of those elements. The explanation below of David Urquart who is one of the statisticians of the period qualifies for a summary of the situation:

Previous to the last Russian war [1828] the Porte entertained the most extravagant notions as to the population of the country. It trusted to its

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<sup>59</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kurumsal Değişim ve Nüfus*, tran. Akile Z. Durukan ve Kaan Durukan (İstanbul, İmge Kitabevi, 2002), p. 122.

<sup>60</sup> Along with the demolition of the Yeniçeri ocağı in 1826 by II. Mahmud, military service had no longer been a money paid service but it had been within the responsibility of the youngsters in Anatolia and Rumelia.

<sup>61</sup> BOA, Cevdet Tasnifi, Dahiliye, 5 Zilkâde 1254 [1839] quoted by Quatert, in "The Age of Reforms" *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire.II: 1600 -1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quatert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 789. In 1870, as a result of the increasing rate of miscarriages by the Muslim and Christian women, the government took precautions in order to decrease the rate. See Quatert's work, p. 790.

<sup>62</sup> The plague and cholera had lead to serious losses until 1865 in the Ottoman State. The plague epidemic between the years of 1812-1818 had been distributed all through the Empire and more than a hundred thousand people had lost their lives. There had been a plague epidemic for 26 times between the years 1801-1850 within the Aegean shores and İzmir had lost 1/5th of its population. The Cholera had been effective in Hicaz, Bagdad, Egypt and Eastern Anatolia during 1830. See Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," pp. 787-9.



old registers or admitted unscrupulously the swollen estimates... But the passage of the Balkans has quickened their sight, and awakened energy with apprehension, statistical details have been demanded throughout the whole country, and these can easily be collected from the municipalities.<sup>63</sup>

The first population census in the country that had reached organised and trustworthy results had been in 1844.<sup>64</sup> The Ottoman subject was classified in accordance with their religious and ethnical origin apart from the traditional categorisation within the census that had been done with the aim of finding out the military potential.<sup>65</sup> In fact the first census was performed between the years 1828-1831 by the demand of Mahmut II; however, they could not obtain trustworthy results. ‘The ethnical and religious composition of the Ottoman population in the Balkans became an important issue after the Imperial Edict of Reform in 1856 (*Islahat Fermanı*).’ The amount of population was the main cause of negotiation between the ethnical groups and in terms of the demands that these groups had directed to the government. The numerical status of the religious and ethnical structure and the correct establishment of this number were stated as an important issue. However until 1870s, a qualified census that is countrywide could not have been performed apart from a number of *vilayets*.<sup>66</sup>

The census in the *vilayet* of Danube during the Governorship of Mithat Paşa is rather important in terms of indicating the Ottomanism and reformist mentality of the *Tanzimat* period. The women still was not counted whereas the number of people per household and the number of households was established. Also detailed statistics about the economic structure of the settlement such as occupation and the economic situations of the people, total income of the population, and the number of population that has

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<sup>63</sup> David Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources, Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade* (Londra, 1833), pp. 271-72 quoted by Kemal Karpat, in *Ottoman Population (1830-1914): Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> There has not been any record about this population census within the archives yet. Ubucini and Eugene Boré reached information about this census. The population data published by Ubucini had been used in many studies by many European and British consulates. See Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 62.

<sup>65</sup> The Ottoman subject had been grouped as Muslim, Christian (*reâyâ*), Armenian, Jewish based on the traditional ‘nation’ bases. The group referred to as *reâyâ* had included the Orthodox, Rum, Bulgarian and Serbian people in the nineteenth century. For detailed information see İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Millet,” *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), pp. 996-1006.

<sup>66</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 56-65.

been taxpayers, total value of the real estates and the total tax amount were recorded. Ethnical different had not been taken into consideration and the population had been registered as Muslim and non-Muslim.<sup>67</sup> Thus, Mithat Paşa had been sent to the *vilayet* of Danube in order to prevent Bulgarian nationalism. He aimed to quench the uneasiness in the region by economic reforms to increase the level of prosperity and income of the community.<sup>68</sup> An indicator of this has been the economic data being more prominent during the population census.

Another practice that indicated the demographic worries of the period was the demand of immigrants by publishing a Code of law (*Muhacirin Kanunnamesi*) on March 10th of 1857.<sup>69</sup> According to the regulation, everybody that agreed to join the Ottoman subject, who had a capital of 60 *Mecidiyes* (1350 French Franks) per family along with a clean judicial record could have migrated to the Ottoman Empire. The coming immigrants would be free to choose their religion and they would be free to build their religious buildings if necessary. The fertile lands belonging to the treasury would be donated to the immigrants without any charge and these lands would not be open for sale for twenty years; if they decide to return back they would return the lands to treasury. The ones who had been settled in Anatolia would be exempted from military services for 12 years and the ones settled in Rumelia would be exempted for 6 years.<sup>70</sup>

The increase in terms of industrial production in Europe in the period from 1848 till the great depression in 1873 raised the demand for food and raw material within the world economy.<sup>71</sup> As increasing of the demand for raw material from the Ottoman Empire, there also was the problem of not being able to cultivate the fertile land. The administration wanted to revive agriculture in order to be a solution for the economic

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<sup>67</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 63.

<sup>68</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2000), pp. 56-61.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dış Göçler: 1783-1922," *Toplum ve Bilim* 80 (1999), p. 149.

<sup>70</sup> Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanlığı, *İdare*, 5 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1272 [10 Mart 1857] quoted by Karpat, in *Ottoman Population*, p. 62.

<sup>71</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism: 1820-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 12.

stability in the country.<sup>72</sup> The main reason for the demand of immigrants was to cover the necessary labour in terms of increasing especially the agricultural production for export.<sup>73</sup> The demand for immigrants was published in the European newspapers.<sup>74</sup> During this period it has been seen that the Ottoman State accepted the immigrants that seemed to have economic aims, however, refused the demands for migrating especially to Palestine and Tripoli in case it could result with public conflicts.<sup>75</sup> It has been understood that the Regulation of Immigrants was accepted for especially in order to cultivate the unused land in Rumelia.<sup>76</sup>

All these have been indicating that within the perception of the Ottoman administration, a person is accepted as a subject whatever his religion and language had been as long as he was loyal to the state. It was thought that the ethnical movements in the country frontiers would disappear as the inequalities that were thought to exist between the ethnical groups disappeared, the prosperity level of the regions had improved, and the defects in governing the rural areas had been removed. The Ottoman administration observed the population balances of the regions in terms of ethnical and religious means ever since the fifteenth century as a result of political and economic worries. It has been observed that the fragile situation about the balances had been preserved. However the dominant opinion of the Ottoman administration during the Tanzimat Period was the Ottomanism that aimed to keep all the elements together within the empire constitution.

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<sup>72</sup> There were applications such as crediting, seed contribution, and opening agricultural school since 1840 within the policy of reviving the agricultures. The most successful application was in the *vilayet* of Danube dated 1863 and applied by Mithat Paşa. For detailed information see Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," p. 872.

<sup>73</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> It has been interesting to see such a decision during this time with the efforts of Britain, France and Germany to colonise. At this time the Land Law that permits private property ownership (1858) and the law to make it possible to sell real estate to the foreigners, had not been accepted yet.

<sup>75</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>76</sup> Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856-1878," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 3: 1(1984/85), pp. 1-3.

### 2.3.2. Immigrations to the Ottoman Empire

Since the end of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman administration had been confronted with a new concept: the migrations to the country against the own decision of the state. These migrations, as a result of the actions that took place in the international platform, had been from places out of the Ottoman frontiers such as Caucasian, from land that was on the other side of the frontiers as a result of the frontier exchange or from the regions where there had been armed conflicts to safer regions. Tension had been structured within the international political arena and the public platform in the period that started with the Russian expansion in 1770, with the new economic and political seeking of countries such as Russia, Britain and France, with the bringing forward of ethnical and religious issues around the Balkans and the Black Sea. Millions of people had to immigrate to the Ottoman Empire as a result of rebellions, conflicts, wars and banishments.

After the Serbia Rebellions in 1804, the Turkish, Muslim community that had lived in Semendire immigrated to Bosnia–Herzegovina and east. In addition to this, there were migrations to south, from Eflak-Boğdan (Walachia and Moldavia) and many points of Dobruca during the Ottoman–Russian war of 1806-1812. After the recognition of the Serbian autonomy as a result of the Akkerman Treaty between the Ottoman and Russia in 1826, there were issues that made it difficult for the Muslim community to survive and it was demanded to keep the Muslim community away from some regions of Eflak-Boğdan.<sup>77</sup> Starting with the Mora Rebellion in 1821, the Muslim community started to immigrate from the Aegean islands and the Mora peninsula to Western Anatolia. In 1829, the Greek Government was structured with the encouragement of Russia and Britain<sup>78</sup> and in 1830; it was decided to dislodge the Muslim community from Mora as a result of the discussions that had taken place in İstanbul between Russia, Britain and France ambassadors and *Babîali* in spite of the oppositions of Sultan Mahmut II.<sup>79</sup> The action of migration from the region continued after 1830 as a result of the wars that went on between Greece and the Ottoman State.

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<sup>77</sup> Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966), p. 33-5.

<sup>78</sup> Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasî Tarihi (1789-1914)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1997), pp. 169-87.

<sup>79</sup> Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, p. 37.

Along with the treaties about the evacuation of the Muslim community from Serbia, Eflak and Boğdan as well as Mora, the regional population became an issue of negotiation within the international political arena. Thus, population wars that were meant to continue within the next century in terms of diplomacy would be started.

The first migration of the Crimea and the Caucasian society to the Ottoman land took place after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. Russian Charity, with the aim of dominating the fertile land and reaching the Mediterranean; limited the rights and freedom of Muslim society or forced them to migrate. The aim was to settle the Russian villagers and the Christian people from the Balkans within the land that was abandoned by the Muslim people.<sup>80</sup> In 1783, 300 to 500 thousands of people had to migrate to the Ottoman land from Crimea, Chazzan, Caucasian, the Ozi Region and the other Turkish countries as a result of the annexation of the Crimea and the Ottoman–Russian–Austrian war of 1788-1792.<sup>81</sup>

The migrations from Crimea increased as a result of the continuous wars between the Ottoman State and Russia during the first half of the nineteenth century, and only between the years 1861 till 1864 almost 230.000 people had to abandon their land.<sup>82</sup> The amount of the Crimean immigrants had reached the number of 700.000 between the years 1790 and 1865.<sup>83</sup> The migrations from Caucasian had increased after the break of the rebellion that began with the leadership of Şeyh Şamil to the Russians in 1859,<sup>84</sup> and the number of the immigrant society that had been formed of Chechen, Kirghiz, Dagestan people, reached its peak in 1864.<sup>85</sup> In 1867, this time the Abkhazians

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<sup>80</sup> Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856-1876)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1997), p. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>82</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 66.

<sup>83</sup> Nuri Akbayar, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Osmanlı Devleti Nüfusu,” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 5, ed. Mustafa Şahin (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), p. 1242. Karpat estimates that the number of Tatar immigrants who migrated towards the Ottoman land between the years of 1783-1922 had reached the number of 1.800.000. See Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 66.

<sup>84</sup> The Russia had wanted to penetrate Caucasian during the eighteenth century; however the Iran State prevented it. Russia faced the rebellion of the Caucasian community and could not dominate the region until 1860. See Justin Mc Carthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün: Osmanlı Müslümanlarına Karşı Yürütülen Ulus Olarak Temizleme İşlemi, 1821-1922*, trans. Bilge Umar, (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 1998), pp. 29-36.

<sup>85</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 32-5 and Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 67-8. In 1859; Russian administration asked the Ottoman administration to accept 50.000 Circassian people within the state and the Ottoman state accepted the offer only in case they came tribe by tribe and within the long time. However, the number of immigrants who came until the end of 1864 reached ten times the number which determined. See Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67.

were forced to migrate. In May 1867, Palgrave who is the Trabzon consulate of Britain informed that the convoy of immigrants consisted of old men, women and children and Russia kept the young and strong men who were seen as labour and were forced to work.<sup>86</sup>

It has not been possible to give accurate numbers about the amount of immigrants. Lots of immigrants that were registered in the Russian records had lost their lives in sea accidents or as a result of the epidemic diseases they faced when they reached the Ottoman ports.<sup>87</sup> As a result of this, it is not possible to use records of different sources together. It is doubtful to predict that all the immigrants had been recorded. According to Abdullah Saydam who performed comprehensive researches upon the Ottoman records about the issue, the number of the Crimean and Caucasian immigrants that had entered the country and resettled between the years 1855 and 1865, was almost 700.000 people. When the deaths as a result of sicknesses and the ones who came between 1865 till 1876 are considered, the number of the immigrants was estimated to be around 1.000.000 and 1.200.000 people.<sup>88</sup> McCarthy had been cautious and estimated that 1.200.000 people started their way from Caucasian from 1856 till the Russo-Ottoman War; however, 800.000 of them had been settled in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>89</sup> The numbers that Karpat stated had been higher. He records that almost two million people had left the Caucasian land –most of whom had been Circassians between the years 1859-1879, however only 1.500.000 of them had survived and were settled in the Ottoman land.<sup>90</sup>

The Crimean Turks, the Nogays, the *Kumuks*, the Dagestan's, the Circassians, the Chechens and the Abkhazian along with the Azerbaijani and the Kazan People that were of smaller groups, had been the Muslim groups that migrated during this period.

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<sup>86</sup> FO 97/424, no. 13 and 18 quoted by McCarthy, in *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, p. 37. For methods applied by Russia during the forced migration of Crimean and Caucasian community, see Abdullah Saydam, "Rusya'nın Kırım ve Kafkasya'yı İstilasında Uyguladığı Demografik Yöntemler," *Tarih Boyunca Balkanlardan Kafkaslara Türk Dünyası Semineri* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1996), pp. 93-115.

<sup>87</sup> It has been stated within the reports of the British consulate that many immigrants caught variola and typhus diseases during their trip by ship and that many immigrants had lost their lives as a result of these diseases. For detailed information see McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 38-43.

<sup>88</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 90-1.

<sup>89</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, p. 38.

<sup>90</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 69.

The approaching of the immigrants had pleased the government during the years 1856 and 1860. However, the continuation of the migration of large crowds after 1862 left the government in a difficult situation. Hence almost all of the applications were accepted. The rejection of the Muslim people who had been in a difficult situation by the ‘Caliph’ was not seen possible. It was demanded not to live any exploitation about this issue in the inside and the outside.<sup>91</sup>

Even though most of the people that migrated in the Ottoman land were Muslim people, there had also been the immigration of Christian and Jewish people with similar reasons. In the end of the eighteenth century, hundreds of Russian citizens, that had been against the reforms of Russian Tsar Peter the Great, took refuge behind the Ottoman Empire and they were settled in Dobruca. Also lots of Polish and Hungarian that performed within the rebellions and the revolutions in their country migrated to the Ottoman Empire and had performed important military, political and cultural services.<sup>92</sup> After the wars of 1853-1856, some of the Christian Kazaks that were in charge within the Russian army had not returned back, were accepted within the Ottoman subject and were settled in Salonika, Trikala, Janina and Bursa.<sup>93</sup> An important that took place during the same period had been the demand of the 12.000 Bulgarian people from the Sultan, that went to Crimea to be settled in the land that had been abandoned by the Tatars by the encouragement of the Russians; to turn back to their land since they were not satisfied by the new life areas. This demand was accepted by the Sultan and he had sent five ships for them to return.<sup>94</sup>

### **2.3.3. The Resettlement Process of the Immigrants**

Until 1855, the resettlement of the immigrants had been organised by the regulatory sent to the local administrators by the current administrative organisations

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<sup>91</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 93-8.

<sup>92</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 244 -7. Mahmut Celalettin Paşa (Constantine Boznecky) who was the grandfather of Poet Nazım Hikmet was among the Polish people who came during this period. In the first time, he threw the nationalist thought out for consideration in Ottoman State with his book *Les Turcs anciens et modérns* (1860). See Ortaylı, same work, p. 72 and 247.

<sup>93</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 64.

<sup>94</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 64-5.

under the observation of especially the Ministry of Internal Affairs and after the Crimean migration, the issue was tried to be organised within the constitution of the Ministry of Commerce, which had also been responsible of the constructional affairs. The temporary resettlement of the immigrants who came to İstanbul and their transfer to the places to be resettled was directly related with the *Şehremaneti*. The Ministry of Commerce and Gendarmerie was taking charge only on necessary occasions.<sup>95</sup> As a result of the increasing migration issues, the *Şehremaneti* had been insufficient and an independent commission was established in January 5th of 1860 as a result of the demand of Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa who was the Grand Vizier of the time and also who had been sensitive to the issue of immigrants.<sup>96</sup>

The commission had duties such as the temporary settlement of the immigrants, handing out their allowances, transferring them to the place they are to go, encouraging the society for donations and also make the necessary expenditures with the collected donations.<sup>97</sup> The commission was founded under the Ministry of Commerce and became an independent unit in 1861. In order to keep the resettlement activities under control, resettlement officers were being sent to the *vilayets*. They were Immigrant Commissions (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*) in the centre of the *vilayets* that had crowds of immigrants and the Office of Resettlement of Immigrants (*İskân-ı Muhacirin Dairesi*) in each administrative centre. The Immigrant Commission was connected to the Council of State in 1867 and to the Ministry of Gendarmerie (*Zaptiye Nezareti*) in 1875 and was transformed back to an independent unit after 1878.<sup>98</sup> It was expected from the resettlement officers to settle the immigrants to areas “with less inhabitants and more land” rapidly; providing them with cattle, seed and equipment; make them start cultivating within the quickest time, stop paying wages to the ones who had started cultivating and obstruct the treasury from unnecessary expenses.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 102-4.

<sup>96</sup> Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, p. 55.

<sup>97</sup> BOA. *İrade, Meclis-i Mahsus*, no. 696, 7 Cumazi-el ahir 1276 quoted by Eren, in *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, pp. 55, 57. For the original document and its transcription see same work, pp. 55-7.

<sup>98</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 106-18

<sup>99</sup> BOA. *İrade, Meclis-i Vâlâ*, no. 22848, lef 1, p. 4, quoted by Saydam, in *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 113.



The successful result of the resettlement activities was in direct relation with the serious consideration of the responsibilities by the officers,<sup>100</sup> the amount of the coming immigrants, the attitude of the immigrant society and especially the issue of the local community in terms of the land issue. The insufficient control during the resettlement process, unethical behaviours of some officers, the inhabiting of the vacant houses and land by the local community members who had learned that there would be an immigrant flow and sometimes assigning infertile lands to the immigrants had left the immigrants in a hard condition and after a while they were abandoning the region they had been settled in.<sup>101</sup>

It could be said that the resettlement process of the immigrants had been shaped in accordance with the agricultural and land policies of the government since 1856. There had been the privilege of private land ownership with Land Regulation in 1858. Even though it has been perceived as if it is a decision to respecting the personal right that became common along with the Tanzimat, the main aim of the government had been to control the tax payers by giving them title-deeds. On the other hand the local power that had been in charge of controlling large areas would be kept out of charge by handing the landownership right to the villagers who had cultivated the land. It could be stated that this aim that had been aimed to reach during giving the private landownership right had been materialised during the resettlement process of the immigrants. As a result of the distribution of land, that is appropriate for cultivation without any price in return for a title-deed and the deed of real estate to the society, the number of small peasant ownership increased all over the country. There is also the issue of exemption from taxes for ten years; however, increase in terms of agricultural production being more than tax income and the stability in terms of production was a more important issue for the administration.<sup>102</sup> It was tried to assign one *çift* in other words 70-80 *dönüm* land from fertile (*alâ*) land, 100 *dönüms* from semi- fertile (*evâsıt*) land, 130 *dönüm* lands from infertile (*ednâ*) land<sup>103</sup> to the immigrants as it was defined in the Land Regulatory

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<sup>100</sup> One of the governors who had been successful about resettlement and had been assigned to the different regions of the country was Nusret Paşa. He worked in the Rumelia, Erzurum and Kars regions. See Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 108-113.

<sup>101</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 132-42.

<sup>102</sup> For changes in the land regime and its results during the Tanzimat Period see Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," pp. 843-83 and Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, pp. 82-107.

<sup>103</sup> One *dönüm* is 933 square meter.

of the Immigrants.<sup>104</sup> One of the main criteria in terms of deciding on the resettlement location was the existence of vacant land.

It is stated that the immigrants that came from Crimea and Caucasian until 1866 had been settled along the Danube River from Silistre till Vidin; in the region between Niş-Sofia-Niğbolu and Vidin; in the Dobruca Region that included Varna-Prevadi-Tulça-Köstence (Constanza) and Şumnu (Shumla).<sup>105</sup> As the area is perceived as a whole, there is the impression that there had been the desire to structure a buffer zone in the frontier region in the northern Rumelia. However, the region had lost population since the end of the eighteenth century as a result of the losses during the wars and the abandoning of land by means of security. The fertile land had been left abandoned. The presence of unused land and the idea of the people settled here reaching prosperity in the soonest time and start serving the government, were reasons that led to the preference of this region.<sup>106</sup> The demand of immigrants to be settled in this region for the resettlement of the region, from Europe by the Ottoman administration, lessens the possibility of a balance policy in the favour of the Muslim community. The convenience of the transportation facilities in the region should have been an important issue. The immigrants that arrived in the Varna, Köstence and Balçık ports were transferred on time to their settlement either via highway or via the Danube River. Abdullah Saydam has been defending that the calculations of the population balance were not made during the resettlement of the immigrants to this region during the 1860s, whereas Nedim İpek draws attention to the proposal of resettling the Circassians who were found dispersed in Rumelia before the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878, in the frontier that ran from Vidin till the Sava river, in terms of a military zone.<sup>107</sup> This and similar examples claim that there had been an increase in the idea of structuring concentration in the frontier regions during the 1870s.

Apart from the regions above, the Caucasian immigrants were settled around Salonika, Serez and Yenişehir (Larissa)<sup>108</sup>, whereas most of the ones who had come

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<sup>104</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 170.

<sup>105</sup> During this period 12.000 households of Caucasian immigrants had been resettled within Niş and Sofia region. See Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 69.

<sup>106</sup> *Silistre Talimatnamesi* quoted by Eren, in *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, pp. 42-4.

<sup>107</sup> BOA, *YEE*, no. 18-533/ 140-93-34 quoted by Nedim İpek, in *Rumeli’den Anadolu’ya Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1999), p. 156.

<sup>108</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 69.

after 1864 were settled in the *vilayets* of Anatolia; Kastamonu, Ankara, Konya, Hüdavendigâr, Adana, Aydın, Erzurum, Sivas and Diyarbakır, also a few immigrants were sent to Syria, Tripoli and Cyprus.<sup>109</sup>

There is said to be foreign interference in the location of the settlement. Russia had demanded the Chechens who had entered Anatolia from Kars in 1865 to be settled not in the regions close to the frontiers but in regions around Erzincan and Diyarbakır<sup>110</sup> and was also demanding for the Circassian people to be settled in the South of the Erzincan-Tokat-Amasya-Samsun line in 1874, even insisted on settling them in Syria and the inner parts of Anatolia. In the same period, Britain opposed to the plan of settling 8000 Circassian families in the Thessaly Region.<sup>111</sup> Russia and Britain had not wanted especially the Circassian people of warrior characteristics in the regions of strategically importance. The resettlement activities that had been held in Dobruca after the Crimean War is an important example in terms of displaying the resettlement policy during the middle of the nineteenth century. The resettlement process has the feature of a regional organisation by means of, repopulating, location criteria and the graduating of the settlements, transportation decisions and the economic aims.

According to the regulatory sent to the Silistre Governorship about the resettlement of the Crimean immigrants in May 3rd of 1856; it had been stated that the immigrants will be exempted from military services for twenty five years and from the taxes for ten years without regarding their nationality and religion.<sup>112</sup> The immigrants would not be distributed, would stay together and be resettled in the villages that will be constructed for them; the villages would be located close to each other, in areas close to sea shores and river beds, on land with water present and with vacant, cultivated land. The rich ones of the immigrants would build their own houses and the houses of the poor ones would be built by the state. Labour contribution should have been obtained from the immigrants and the local community of the region in order to reduce the expenses. The necessary animal and seed in ratio with the distributed land would have

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<sup>109</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 119-53.

<sup>110</sup> BOA, *İrade, Meclis-i Mahsus*, no. 1264, lef. 1, quoted by Saydam, in *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 101.

<sup>111</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 69.

<sup>112</sup> Hence there were Jews, Germans and Romanians along with the Muslim people among the approaching immigrants. See Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration," pp. 8-9.

been provided by the state. Each village would be assigned a head man (*muhtar*) and an imam (prayer leader); these villages would be connected to the *kazas* and an administrator for *kaza* along with a population clerk would be assigned.<sup>113</sup>

It was proposed to revive the *kasaba* of Karasu for the resettlement, which had been an important commercial centre but its community had been disseminated during the expeditions in eighteenth century. It was decided to reconstruct this *kasaba* with the name Mecidiye in order to provide a centre for the immigrant villages and decision was approved by Sultan Abdülmecit on September 2nd 1856. The region had a connection with İstanbul upon Köstence and to Europe upon the Danube. Also the first railway axis of the Ottoman Empire would be structured here between the years 1857-1860 and the Mecidiye would become a railway station on the Boğazköy-Köstence (Cernavoda-Constanza) Railway line. The Ottoman administration approved the demands of the ones who wanted to settle in the city and construct buildings unless they are suitable with the city plan; also the sultan ordered to build a school and a mosque as a result of the increase in the number of houses in one month. It was decided to organise a fair twice a year in Mecidiye, just as it had been in the old Karasu, and the state provided the building of necessary stores and depots by providing the necessary incitements. The immigrations continued after 1858. The late-comers were mostly wealthy people and they accelerated the economic and the cultural development of Mecidiye.<sup>114</sup>

It was decided to build 3100 houses with two rooms for the Crimean immigrants in 1856. Within a period of five months, 1800 houses —also included Mecidiye and the villages— that were planned to build in the *eyalet* of Silistre, were completed. The treasury donated 500 *kuruş* per house. Most of the expenses were covered by becoming indebted to the local community. However, the community gave up their credits about the construction after a while. Free house, allowance for food, land for each household, two bullocks and seed were given to the immigrants who had come in Dobruca between the years of 1856-1859 and the state supported to improve stock-breeding. Even though the immigration continued after 1860, the settlement in Dobruca was more problematic.<sup>115</sup> However, during the Danube governorship of Mithat Paşa, it was

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<sup>113</sup> Eren, *Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, pp. 42-9.

<sup>114</sup> Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration,” pp. 9-19.

<sup>115</sup> Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration,” pp. 11-14.

continued to resettle the immigrants in the region, the credit mechanism that had been structured in the *vilayet* were used for the improvement of immigrant villages.<sup>116</sup>

The immigrants were generally settled in the rural areas, only the officers, leaders and the students were settled in the cities. In the case of not having a *kasaba* for the newly structured villages to be attached, there was the structuring of a new *kasaba* in Rumelia. Mecidiye, in the *sancak* of Tulça with the fifty five villages attached to it, and the *kasaba* of Mahmudiye with the fifteen villages attached to it are examples. Especially in Rumelia, it was estimated that the villages constructed on the important axes would grow up to be a *kasaba*. It was permitted to build stores and houses (*hane*) in the Aziziye village consisted of 500 households in Lofça as a result of the idea of there becoming a *kasaba* in the future.<sup>117</sup>

The immigrants who had come after 1860 were dispersed to settle in present villages and especially in the *vilayets* of Anatolia, instead of constructing new villages.<sup>118</sup> This was a preferable method especially for the Caucasian community to give up their tribal life style and adapt to the region they had been settled in more quickly.<sup>119</sup> The lack of agricultural land has also been one of the main reasons to unable to construct a new village. In this way of the settling of five or ten households of immigrants in the present villages and meeting of their expenses by the local rural community, the state would reduce expenses.<sup>120</sup> However, the immigrant societies, especially the Circassian, mostly opposed to this way of resettlement.

While most of the expenses during the resettlement of Dobruca were met by the state, the dimensions of the immigration that would be faced in the future years could not be estimated. Thus in the following process, it has been tried to reduce the expenses as much as possible and only the most desolate would take wages and donations without

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<sup>116</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, p. 59.

<sup>117</sup> BOA, *İD*, no. 31797, lef.1 quoted by Saydam, in *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 129.

<sup>118</sup> The resettlement regulation given to Vehbi Paşa who had been assigned as the resettlement officer to the *Vilayet* of Konya in 1861 had stated that the immigrants to come after that date were to be resettled within the present villages and counties in one or two households. BOA, *İrade*, MM, 962, lef 2 quoted by Saydam, in *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 133.

<sup>119</sup> Within the Resettlement regulation dated November 17th of 1864, it was requested to resettle the tribe leaders in different locations with the rest of their tribes in order to prevent the slave of the tribe leaders. There have also been explanations about the rights and freedoms of the slaves. See Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 144 and 146.

<sup>120</sup> Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 101.

return. As the regulatory belonging to the period from 1856 till 1870 are examined, it has been seen that the administration had reduced its donations to the immigrants day by day and the expectation of the local community to donate had increased in parallel. In order to reduce the burden upon the treasury, the officers were warned to stop paying wages to the immigrants after their first harvest.<sup>121</sup>

Consequently, it has been seen that in terms of determining the resettlement policy of the Ottoman State since the fifteenth century until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the aims of the administration to agricultural production has an important role. The increase or decrease of population growth versus the existence of agricultural facilities could be a cause of the economic and social crisis. Apparently, the structuring and the preservation of population or land balances had been among the main concerns of the state. While the balance was tried to be structured within the broadened frontiers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were banishments to locations with large and fertile lands from locations with great populations. In order to preserve the existence of the system, immigrants were started to be resettled within the abandoned locations in the seventeenth century when the structured system started to disintegrate. The state was in the effort to prevent the migrations to the cities because of security and poverty and tried to keep the population in the rural areas. As the times approached 1840, the agricultural production, which continued to be the economic base of the country, was tried to be organized to the integration to the restructured world economic system. The immigrants from Crimea and Caucasian after 1850, had been resettled in terms of these aims, however there were problems along with the increase in the number of immigrants.

Until the nineteenth century, the meaning of population for the government was labour source for agricultural facilities and different areas of service. At this point, it has been seen that during the classical period, the public capabilities of the people belonging to the *reâyâ* class had been more important than their ethnical and religious belongings. However, it was tried to prevent the growth of a public group in order not to let them become a power in opposition to the state, and the potential risks were tried to be cleared by the distribution of the communities in different regions. At this point the communities' being Christian or Muslim, Turkish or *Rum* did not make any difference.

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<sup>121</sup> There were the precautions to be taken in order to prevent the misusing of the officers along with the other changing within the new Resettlement regulation dated November 17th of 1864. See Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, pp. 143-6.

The state tried to continue with its balance policy between the communities —despite the improvements inside and outside— until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The position of a person or a group to the state was specified by their loyalty and services to the state.

Separating the communities from their leaders in order to structure power balances, was an applied method at all times. Negotiating or awarding the people of groups that make up the risks to integrate them to the system in order to eliminate the risk factors was among the main applications of the Ottoman policy. The state had varied its application methods on the nomadic communities to be resettled in frontier regions and the ones to be resettled in the internal regions, in order to serve its own benefits. Briefly, the resettlement process was determining by the security strategies as well as the production rationality.

It will be seen that during the Hamidian period, there had been transformations in population and resettlement policies in parallel to the economic and political transformations in the world and the events in Caucasian and the Balkans along with the external policy of the Ottoman administration. At the same time, some methods from the Ottoman tradition were also used in the resettlement process.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **IMMIGRATION TO ANATOLIA AND RESETTLEMENT POLICIES OF THE OTTOMAN STATE DURING THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD (1876-1909)**

The resettlement policies of the Hamidian period have been evaluated within a separate chapter. As it has been so in the previous chapter, the resettlement policy of the state has been investigated by questioning its structuring along the ‘population’ concept. The topic has been evaluated and detailed upon the structured by evaluating the problems of the items of ‘population’ that had been brought forward, within the frame of changing political and economic relations, as the changing conditions when compared with the previous periods had been emphasized and also the traces of the resettlement tradition that had been structured within centuries has been indicated.

#### **3.1. Immigration to Anatolia during the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century**

Along with the starting of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-78, the migration to the Ottoman land had been reaccelerated. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, migrations were realised especially from Rumelia but also from Crimea, Caucasian as well as Crete pioneering the Aegean islands.

##### **3.1.1. Migration from Rumelia**

The migrations from Rumelia during the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-78 have been the most tragic ones because of the famine during the war conditions, illnesses, dread and the attacks that the immigrants had to face. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the most migrations were occurred during the period between May of 1877 and March of 1878. The war and the migrations happened together in the region



that extends from the Danube Riverside in the North to the Sofia-Edirne line and to Black Sea in the east. Forcing the society to migration was a tactic of Russia in order to limit the movement capacity of the Ottoman army. The first migration movement started in May 1877 with the order of Sadık Paşa who was the governor of Danube, ordering that the Muslim and the Christian community in Dobruca to draw back until the Köstence (Costanza) line. Along with the approach of the Russians to the Danube River and advancing to the South; Niğbolu, Ruse, Zıstovi, Tırnova, Eskicuma, Osmanpazarı community tried to reach Şumnu (Shumla) and Varna over the highway and railway line. The communities of the settlements such as Plevne, Lofça and Osmaniye to the west of the *vilayet* of Danube were directed to the Sofia-Filibe (Plovdiv) line and especially to Tatar-Pazarcığı that has been the first train station. The communities of Eskizağra, Yenizağra and Kızanlık , that were in the South, immigrated to Edirne.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 3.1. Migration from Bulgaria during the Ottoman-Russian War.  
(Source: *Illustrazione Italiana*, quoted by Şimşir 1989a, p. 758)

Since September of 1877, migrations started from the settlements in the west of the Danube *vilayet* to Sofia and right after that Sofia was besieged by the Russians. The Muslim community who had been forced to leave Sofia this time, moved to Skopje, Filibe and Tatar-Pazarcığı in two branches. In the period that started with the occupation of Sofia in September 3rd 1877 to the occupation of Filibe in January 15th 1878; before the Russian approach upon the Sofia-Edirne line, hundred thousands of Muslim people had escaped to Edirne and İstanbul as well as to south to Dedeağaç,

<sup>1</sup> Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877-1890)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1999), pp. 22-4.

Kavala and Salonica. During this time there were crowds in the stations and many people died from cold weather, famine and epidemic disease.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 3.2. Train accident on the railway of İstanbul-Edirne during immigration. (Source: *The Illustrated London News*, February 9<sup>th</sup> 1878, quoted by Şimşir 1989a, p. 760)

An armistice was signed in Edirne in January 31st 1878 as a result of the demand of the Ottoman State to Russia after the inappropriateness the Muslim community had gone through. On March 1878 the San Stefano (Ayestafanos) Treaty was signed and Bulgarian Emirates was structured in the sixteen *sancaks* of the *vilayets* of Danube, Salonica and Edirne. Obviously the migrations had continued from the region after these treaties. By the end of the Ottoman-Russian War, the Muslim population could only survive in the two regions of the Danube and Edirne *Vilayets*; the first region is the Şumnu, Ruse, Silistre and Varna that Russia could not have been penetrated with the war and the second region had been the Rodops. The Turks and the

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<sup>2</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 25-8 and Faruk Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler (1878-1890)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 1 (1980), pp. 148-9. Also for a detailed evaluation of the migrations during this period see. Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995). [Turkish: *Ölüm ve Sürgün: Osmanlı Müslümanlarına Karşı Yürütülen Ulus Olarak Temizleme İşlemi, 1821-1922*, trans. Bilge Umar, (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 1998)]

Circassians had started resistance in order to oppose to the Russian – Bulgarian distribution in these two regions.<sup>3</sup>

According to the report that was sent to the Grand Vizierate by the Commission of the Immigrants (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*); until 1879 130.000 people of whom had been gathered within the Varna and Ahyolu landed in Samsun, Ünye, Bartın, Ereğli within the Black Sea; 45.000 people that had gathered in Dedeağaç, Gelibolu, İskeçe, Drama, Marmara Ereğlisi reached to the port of İzmir whereas the 400.000 people reached to İstanbul via railway, seaway and highway. A total of 650.000 people immigrated to Rodops, Şumnu, Western Thrace and Macedonia.<sup>4</sup> In accordance with this data almost 1.230.000 people had to abandon their homeland. Along with this it should not be forgotten that there have been immigrants that were not registered. 500.000 of the Muslim people that settled in the Danube and the Edirne *Vilayets* were either massacred or lost their life because of famine or disease.<sup>5</sup> Karpat stated that only between the years 1877-1878, 800.000 people migrated from Rumelia,<sup>6</sup> whereas McCarthy stated that almost 1.000.000 Muslim people from Bulgaria had to abandon their houses between the years 1877-1879; some of them returned back and almost 500.000 people immigrated to the *vilayets* of Edirne, Salonica, Kosova, Manastır and the other *vilayets* of Anatolia and İstanbul.<sup>7</sup>

The migration of the Muslim people that had been within the boundaries of Bulgarian Prince-ship territories that had been structured as a result of the Berlin Treaty in 1878, continued between the years 1879-1890. The community that had moved from the settlements by the Danube Riverside starting from Vidin was dispatched to the Black Sea via the Danube River whereas some of them gathered in the Varna port and transported to İstanbul via ships. The communities of Zağra, Yanbolu and İslimye were directed to Edirne. The Ottoman State tried to protect the Muslim population balance in

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<sup>3</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 30-2.

<sup>4</sup> BOA, *YA.Hus.*, no. 162/43 lef. 2 quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 40-1. For the reports of the British consulate about the Russian advancing and the life of the Muslim community under Bulgarian control during this period see Bilal Şimşir, *Turkish Emigration from Balkans: Documents, Vol.1: A Turkish Exodus: 1877-1878* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1989), also for the study of Justin McCarthy about the British consulate reports see. *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 68-92.

<sup>6</sup> Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi*, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Mordtmann, Gabuzzi, Sécoule, *Les Réfugiés de la Roumélie en 1878: Rapport présenté au Conseil International de Santé* (İstanbul, 1879) quoted by McCarthy, in *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, p. 109.

Eastern Rumelia until 1885, had taken precautions in order to prevent the constraints towards the Muslim community. However, there was not any decrease in terms of the Bulgarian constraints especially after the abandonment of Eastern Rumelia to Bulgaria in 1885 when the demands of the Muslim community to migrate from *Babiâli* had increased. Under these circumstances, *Babiâli* had to accept the migration and make the necessary preparations.<sup>8</sup>

According to the examined Ottoman records, almost 40.000 people from Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, Romania, Bosnia and Tırhala (Trikala) between the years 1886-1898<sup>9</sup> and in accordance to the Bulgarian statistics almost 70.000 Muslim people between the years 1893-1902 immigrated to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>10</sup>

The communities that had gathered in Köstence, Burgaz, Ahyolu and especially Varna ports in the Black Sea were transferred to İstanbul, and in the following years of the war, the community that had gathered in the Western Thrace shores in Dedeğaç, Karağaç, Kavala and Salonika ports were transferred to Çanakkale, Biga and İzmir. The Tatar Pazarcığı-Filibi-Edirne Railway-line was used intensely during the war, and the community who were transferred to Edirne and then to İstanbul. The state afforded the cost of journey via train and ship of the immigrants during the years 1877-1878 when there were many migrations, and afforded half of the cost during the following years. Ships from Britain, France, Egypt, Tunisia and even Russia since the ships of the Ottoman State were not been enough. The ships of *Şirket-i Hayriye*, *Tersane-i Âmiriye* and *İdare-i Mahsusa* transported the immigrants from İstanbul to the other *vilayets* of Anatolia.<sup>11</sup> The transportation cost of the immigrants forced the governmental budget by most means during this period.<sup>12</sup>

As a result of the intimidating activities towards the Muslim people living in Crete in 1896, the Muslim community of Crete Island had moved to Western Anatolia,

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<sup>8</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>9</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 152-3.

<sup>10</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler," pp. 144-50.

<sup>12</sup> It had to be paid 11.703.229 *kuruş* from the 1877-78 financial year budgets to the railway company. Half of this debt had been provided from the *Mesarif-i Fevkalade* [extraordinary expenses] account in 1880 and the other half could not be paid. The Grand Vizierate accepted the demand of the company to have privilege upon the Ergani copper mines in return of the debt. See İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 36.

Antalya and Mersin since 1897. It was seen that the immigrations from Yanya (Janina), Tırhala and Yenişehir (Larissa) during and after Greek-Ottoman war of 1897<sup>13</sup> and after the abandonment of the Thessaly Region to Greece in 1881.<sup>14</sup>

### **3.1.2. The Crimean and Caucasian Migrations (1878-1908)**

As it has been explained in the previous chapter, the migrations from Crimea and Caucasian had started after 1774 and increased after 1855. Between the years 1855-1876, almost 1.500.000 people had migrated from the north of Black Sea. After 1878, the mass migration movement from Crimea, Caucasian and the North-east Anatolia had restarted. There was a migration flow from Sohum to Trabzon, Samsun ports during the first months of the war on August 14th 1877.<sup>15</sup> During the war almost 20.000 Circassian people had joined the Ottoman army. At the same time the Circassians and the Abkhazians that lived in the Caucasian region had prepared for a rebellion towards Russia. After these events, Russia forced the Circassians and the Abkhazians to emigrate.<sup>16</sup>

The migrations, that were sometimes personal or sometimes as a group, generally occurred after the acceptance of these demands by the Ottoman State. When the immigrants accepted to be settled in the places they had been assigned to, they set of track by selling their movable and real estate and immigrated to their resettlement locations from the point they had reached Anatolia. There were also illegal immigrants occasionally.<sup>17</sup>

When the directions and the dimensions of migrations from Crimea, Caucasian and North-eastern Anatolia, between the years 1878-1908 have been examined, it has been seen that the mass migrations were faced during 1878. Mass migrations continued during the years 1879 and 1880, and occasionally decreased after these years. Even

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<sup>13</sup> For broad information about the abandonment of Teselya, problem of Crete and the Ottoman-Greek war see. Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1997), pp. 542-63.

<sup>14</sup> The migrations from Crete, Yenişehir and Tırhala are evaluated in detail in the fifth chapter.

<sup>15</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 55

<sup>16</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 56.

though there had been a quantitative increase between the years 1889-1895 and 1901-1905, it had not reached an amount to create a crisis.<sup>18</sup>

It has not been possible to give accurate numbers about the dimensions of migrations from Caucasian, Crimea, Batum and Kars during the years 1878-1880. On March 3<sup>rd</sup> of 1878, along with the abandonment of Batum and Ardahan to Russia in accordance with the San Stefanos Treaty; the local community had decided to migrate and the number of people that moved from Kars to the west of the new frontiers reached the amount of 82.000 between the years 1877-1882.<sup>19</sup> Even though there has not been accurate numbers, convoys of Circassian immigrants came to İstanbul via seaways between the years 1882-1884 and were transferred to Samsun, İzmit, Yalova, Biga and Beirut from there. The mass migration movement after this were between the years 1890-1895 from the Kuban Region of Caucasian and almost 24.000 Circassians immigrated to Anatolia. During the year 1894, almost 6.000 Tatars came to İstanbul from different regions of Russia in small convoys and 6000 households of immigrants from Nahçıvan came during the same year. These immigrants who had come between the years 1890-1895, were sent to Samsun, Sinop, Kastamonu, Ankara, Kırşehir, Yozgat, Sivas, Eskişehir, Konya Adana, Antalya, Bandırma, Bursa, İzmit in order to be resettled. Almost 20.000 people migrated from Crimea, Caucasia, Kars and Bakü between the years 1901-1907, and the Circassian, Tatar, Dagestanean and Turkish immigrants were resettled in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Ankara, Hüdavendigâr, Konya. There were also illegal migrations to Erzurum, Van, Samsun and Trabzon during the same years. As a result of this, it has been estimated that almost 500.000 immigrants came to the Ottoman State between the years 1878-1908 as a result of the Russian persistence.<sup>20</sup>

The demand of migration of the Jewish people in Russia was approved if they had accepted to be resettled in the assigned location. However, the demands of the ones to be settled in and around Jerusalem were not accepted under any circumstance.<sup>21</sup>

The migrations from Kars, Ardahan and Artvin were via highway to Erzurum. Although the journey was going on a long time, they could bring their animals along with. These immigrants were transferred to *vilayets* such as Sivas, Elazığ, Diyarbakır,

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<sup>18</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 75.

<sup>19</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, pp. 58-9.

<sup>20</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, pp. 57-75.

<sup>21</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 76.

Bitlis, Van and Hakkari. The immigrants who came by seaways, started from the settlements around Caucasian and Crimea, reached the Russian ports by the Black Sea (Batumi, Sohumkale, Novoroski, Sivastopol); from there they were brought to Trabzon, Sinop, Samsun ports and were resettled in places such as Kastamonu, Sinop, Samsun, Trabzon, Çorum, Sivas. The ones to go to Western and Southern Anatolia had been brought to İstanbul first, from there they were transferred to İzmir, Mersin, Antalya, İskenderun and Beirut; and after their temporary settlement in generally the port cities, they reached their settlement locations either via railway or highway. The ones to be settled in places such as Bursa, Çanakkale, Balıkesir, Afyon, Eskişehir had first landed in Mudanya, Bandırma and Çanakkale Ports; whereas the ones to be settled in the *vilayets* of Ankara and Konya had been transferred to their settlement locations via highway or railway after coming to İstanbul.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3.3. The Immigrants came to İstanbul from Rumelia by the train.  
(Source: *Le Monde Illustré* , February 23<sup>rd</sup> 1878, p.1090,  
quoted by Şimşir 1989a, p. 761)

It has not been possible to specify the number of people who had lost their lives on the road or at the temporary settlement area or the number of people who had been

<sup>22</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 78.

resettled among the immigrants who had been on the road in order to migrate from Rumelia, Caucasia and the Aegean islands to the Ottoman Government in the period from 1877 up to 1908. As the researches of Erkan and İpek and the Cretian migration are taken into consideration, it could be estimated that almost 1.500.000 people immigrated during this period.

### 3.2. Charities for the Immigrants and the Founded Commissions

It is appropriate to take a look at the İstanbul of this period in order to understand the critical conditions created by the mass migration movement from 1877 until the beginning of 1880 from Rumelia and Caucasia and the conditions of the immigrant community. A large ratio of the immigrants who had come via highway, seaways or railway was gathered in İstanbul. There had been 200.000 immigrants in İstanbul on June 18<sup>th</sup> of 1878 and 388.000 immigrants on September 10<sup>th</sup> of 1879.<sup>23</sup> The numbers of immigrants are considerably high for a city with almost 700.000 of an actual population.<sup>24</sup> As a matter of fact the immigrants were temporarily settled until they would be sent to the cities to be resettled; in almost all the mosques of the city and even some of the dervish lodges (tekke and zaviyeler), madrasas, schools, khans and even the courtyards of Beylerbeyi Palace and the Topkapı Palace.<sup>25</sup>

Along with the migrations from Rumelia the *İâne-i Muhacirin Komisyonu* (Commission of Charity for the Immigrants) was founded in İstanbul on August 13<sup>th</sup> of 1877. As a result of the mass migration flow to İstanbul starting at the beginning of 1878, it was rather difficult to cover the shelter and for supply expenses of the immigrants. The society had already been going through a financial crisis because of the war. There was also the soldier transfer in İstanbul during the same days. The city of İstanbul was going through hard times in terms of crowdedness and the rush. In the days when the Council was not yet closed, a group of council members found the *Muhâcirîne Mu'âvenet Cemmiyyeti*. After the closing of the council on February 13<sup>th</sup> of 1878, the commission continued its activities under the auspices of Abdülhamid II. The

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<sup>23</sup> Nedim İpek has been indicating the numbers based on documents of BOA. See İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>24</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 103.

<sup>25</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 58-64.



consulates were not also quiet opposing the difficult conditions, the merchants, bankers, company owners, tradesmen, official representatives and five foreign journalists who were living in İstanbul formed the “International Committee of Charity to the Immigrants” on January 22<sup>nd</sup> of 1878 and continued with their activities until April 9<sup>th</sup> of 1879. As a result of the progress of the war and the news about the Muslim community, lots of donation funds were structured in London along with the Turkish Compassionate Fund (*Sermâye-i Şefkat-i Osmaniyye*). Bakeries were opened; food and money were given to the immigrants with these donations.<sup>26</sup>

Along with the spreading of contagious diseases like typhus and typhoid fevers as the immigrants in İstanbul were crowding in the city, the *Gureba Hastahanesi* and the *Haseki Hastahanesi* became insufficient and the *Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* (the Red Crescent Society) opened all hospitals for the immigrants in various locations of İstanbul.<sup>27</sup> The wounded soldiers returning back from the war fronts during the same period had been increasing the necessity of hospitals. The Committee of International Charity to the Immigrants (*Milletlerarası Muhacirlere Yardım Komitesi*) had opened nine hospitals, and the donations sent from the commissions in England had contributed to the expenses of the sick people and desolate children under the control of *Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*.<sup>28</sup>

When the migration movement had reached the amounts to affect the whole country, *İdare-i Umûmiye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu* (a Commission of the General Administration of the Immigrants) was founded in order to be organized in each *vilayet*.<sup>29</sup> On June 18<sup>th</sup> of 1878 a law was made about the foundation, organization and the duties of the commission.<sup>30</sup> Also another Regulation of Resettlement of the Immigrants (*İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*) about administrating the resettlement affairs on June 14<sup>th</sup> of 1878. The law defines the organization of Immigrant Commissions in the centres of *vilayet* and related *kazas*, the organisation of distributing

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<sup>26</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 74-8.

<sup>27</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 95-106.

<sup>28</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>29</sup> Kocacık, “Balkanlar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler,” p. 159.

<sup>30</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 2786. For the original script and the transcription of the Regulation see Eren, “Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri,” pp. 96-113. Also see. Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 98-107.

food and allowances, their temporary settlement, the organization of resettlement in the present villages, donation of land, cattle and seed and what needs to be done for the construction of the houses of immigrants. The last article of the law is about the possibility of resettling the immigrants in the cities.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.3. Resettlement Policies for Immigrants

The Berlin Pact (July 13th 1878), which was signed after the Ottoman-Russian War, had created new countries with ‘ethnic’ bases and this was followed with new conflicts. The conflicts were not only between the Ottoman State and the Balkan countries but also within the Balkan countries themselves. This is a period at which, the population census are supported by the science of ‘statistics’<sup>32</sup>, the Christian Orthodox congregation is distributed into sides based on ethnic origin and new national governments as well as new areas of interference were formed as a result of the forcing of nineteenth century capitalism.<sup>33</sup> (See Figure 3.4 and 3.5)

The progressions that happened especially after the Berlin treaty; had forced the Ottoman governors to change their perception of the issues such as Ottomanism, minorities and population and more that that had forced the governors to take precautions.

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<sup>31</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, lef. 2. For the transcription of *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi* see. Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 217-29.

<sup>32</sup> For a study that indicates the birth of the statistics science and how it had been equipped by te governmentr see. Ian Hacking, “How Should We Do the History of Statistics?” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 181-95.

<sup>33</sup> Diana Mishkova while evaluating the new foundations within the Balkans during the nineteenth century, had a new definition such as ‘public engineering’ for the political operations. See “The Nation as Zadruha: Remapping Nation-Building in Nineteenth Century Southeast Europe,” *Disrupting and Reshaping: East Stages of Nation-Building in the Balkans*, ed. Marco Dogo, Guido Francinetti (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2002), pp. 103-15.



Figure 3.4. Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, 1672-1913  
(Source: İnalçık and Quataert 1997)



Figure 3.5. The *Vilayets* of the Ottoman State, 1900.  
(Source: İnalçık and Quataert 1997)

### 3.2.1. New Public Formation and the Population Balances

In 1880 it had been seen the necessity of a new public structuring in order to provide the continuation of the country among the left land of the Ottomans. Even though there had been ideas about the “Turkish Nationalism” among the intelligentsia,<sup>34</sup> the concept of *millî* pronounced by Abdülhamid II refers to a religious integrity for the Muslim people rather than a national one. Until that day, not the breakthrough aiming an economic development in the Tuna *vilayet* during the governorship of Mithat Paşa, as well as the Ottomanism trend that was trying to create an ‘Ottoman Consciousness’

<sup>34</sup> It has been stated that the Turkish people living in Russia has an important role within the distribution of nationality flow based on the mentality of “Turkish community”. The ideas and the efforts of İsmail Gaspralı in Crimea, and the intellectuals who came from Russia like Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali had encouraged the movements toward the Turkish nationalism. The wind of this movement will continue with their effects during the period of *İttihat ve Terakki*. However, the approach of creating a new nation upon the wind of “Turkish union” is different from the approach that follows the Ottoman patriotism as “Turkish community”. See A. Gün Soysal, “Tatarlar Arasında Türkçülük,” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), pp. 196-7. Also see Masami Arai, “Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği,” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce 1*, pp. 180-95.

not discriminating upon ethnical and religious differences, or the parliamentary regime that caused the non-Muslims to be represented could cope with the newly nationality trend among the non-Muslims.

The idea of Sultan Abdülhamid in terms of structuring the Ottoman *millet* to be based on Muslim union has traces from Tanzimat Governors and intellectuals such as Cevdet Paşa and Namık Kemal. Cevdet Paşa had seen the Muslim community as the true nation of the Ottoman Empire, but not defended the Islamic Law (sharia) unconditionally. He had a pragmatist manner to provide the eternity of the state. “He opposed to the abolishing of the Islamic law since he thought the Muslim union had kept the Ottoman Empire alive.”<sup>35</sup> Cevdet Paşa was a governor who tried to make a contemporary interpretation of the tradition. Namık Kemal also defends a public complementation based on patriotism and religious union. His search started with the philosophical bases and within Islamic rules, by searching the criteria specified by the West, a renewal based on Islamic core more than a search for restoration. Cemil Koçak defines this effort of Namık Kemal as “serving the traditional in a modern bowl”.<sup>36</sup> Orhan Koloğlu has stated that Abdülhamid had benefited a lot from Namık Kemal’s ideas.<sup>37</sup> However, the effort of the Sultan to structure a Muslim union was not based on a theoretical field.<sup>38</sup> The approach of Sultan with practical concerns has many similarities with the approach of Cevdet Paşa who had also been an Ottoman Governor.

During the period of Abdülhamid II, the ‘Ottoman-Muslim’ identity started to be seen as a ‘nation’ because of the policy of the state as well as the wide-spreading of the political consciousness towards this idea.<sup>39</sup> The wars, land losses and the Muslim people who had been forced to migrate have an important affect in the policy of structuring a Muslim union being transformed into a public consciousness. The increasing ratio of the

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<sup>35</sup> Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet’in Siyasi Anlamı* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 232-35, also for another study of the author see. “Tanzimat Bağlamında Ahmet Cevdet Paşa’nın Siyasi Düşünceleri,” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce 1*, ed. T. Bora and M. Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları) pp. 83-7.

<sup>36</sup> Cemil Koçak, “Namık Kemal,” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce 1*, pp. 244-9.

<sup>37</sup> Orhan Koloğlu, “II. Abdülhamid’in Siyasi Düşüncesi,” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce 1*, pp. 273-6.

<sup>38</sup> Kemal Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman and Turk” *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 1-28 and Koloğlu, “II. Abdülhamid’in Siyasi Düşüncesi,” p. 276.

<sup>39</sup> Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change” pp. 1-28.

Muslim people as a result of the immigrations to the Ottoman land and especially to Anatolia supported the idea of ‘a nation based on Muslim identity’. However, it has been important to note that, it has not even been mentioned to abandon the Ottomanism that had covered the Empire community.<sup>40</sup> There were even trustworthy Jewish and *Rum* people around the Sultan himself.<sup>41</sup> The Islamic policy of the Sultan, has not formed unreachable distances between the Muslim people and the non-Muslim people. Loyalty to the state is the first condition. But, control and cautioning are important. The sharp distinction between the Muslim and the non-Muslim people in the governmental policies is seen during the period of *İttihat ve Terakki*.

The main reason of the Abdülhamid administration to insist on the ‘Muslim union’ is to keep together the ethnic elements like Turkis, Arab, Kurdis, Circassian, Tatar, Georgian, Albanian, Bosnian in order to protect the integrity of the remaining country land. The position of the ‘caliph’ has especially been seen as the most important support in order to keep the Arabic lands in hand. The forced migrations to the Ottoman Empire had raised the Muslim population by numeric means; however, it was necessary to integrate this people coming from different geographies, different ethnical structures, different life style and economic structure, even talking different languages and dialects.<sup>42</sup> At this point, Kemal Karpat insists that the term ‘restructuring’ should be used instead of the term ‘integration’.<sup>43</sup>

The title of “Caliph” of the Sultan had been brought forward in terms of internal and foreign policies’ meaning that he was the protector of all the Muslim people in order to keep all the Muslim people together within the country. Apart from this, the responsibility of the government in terms of providing the prosperity and the felicity of the community were provided under the image of “Protector Sultan”.<sup>44</sup> Within the frame

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<sup>40</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, “ ‘Çıban Başı Koparmamak’: II. Abdülhamid Rejimine Yeniden Bakış,” *Türkiye Günlüğü* 73 (2003): 155-71.

<sup>41</sup> The hesitation towards the non-Muslim community is not seen in the personal relations of the Sultan. His doctor Mavroyani and banker Zarifi are *Rum*, a done of his close friend Arminius Vambery is a Hungarian Jew. Also there were lots of Christian officers during the period. See Karpat, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması: Osmanlı Devleti’nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet, İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması*, tran. Şiar Yalçın (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004), p. 282.

<sup>42</sup> Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman and Turk,” pp. 17-18.

<sup>43</sup> Karpat, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 635.

of this policy, especially the poor and destitute women and children were taken under governmental protection within the personality of the Sultan in order to reinforce the trust of the community towards the government as well as encouraging the community to help the desperate immigrants.

Integration was a difficult process and would take a long time. There were two specific methods during this period. The first one was the resettlement of the immigrants by distributing them to settlements, whereas the second one was the education of the immigrant children. The donation activities that took place during the process of migration and resettlement had played an important role in terms of accelerating the local community to accept the immigrants.<sup>45</sup>

When the 1878 Resettlement Regulation (*İskân Talimatnamesi*) is evaluated, it is seen that unlike before, instead of founding new villages for the immigrants, the distribution of the immigrants to different settlements in balance with their population had been preferred. In fact this practice started after 1860 when there had been mass Caucasian migration to Anatolia; however, in 1878 the administration had a very dedicated perception about this issue. In the second article of the Resettlements Regulation dated 1878, which was sent to the *Vilayet* of Aydın, it was stated that:

‘[...] in order for the immigrants to be distributed to the villages and *kazas* in the *vilayet* in relation with the present *hanes* and the power of population, The central commission of the *vilayet* will decide on the number of the immigrants to be settled in each district, [...] the immigrants assigned for that village or *kaza* will be settled in *kaza* centres or villages [...],’<sup>46</sup>

This distribution of the immigrant groups have a specific aim of being adapted with the place they have been settled in as well as being integrated with the local community and not being an ethnical power anymore. In order to facilitate this integration, the state also appealed to the traditional Ottoman settlement method of separating the tribal leaders from their groups. These leaders were asked to settle in the cities and the most powerful ones were asked to stay in İstanbul. They were taken under

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<sup>44</sup> Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 31-48.

<sup>45</sup> The issue of donations in the *vilayet* of Aydın and the city of İzmir will be evaluated in detail within the sixth chapter.

<sup>46</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM., File: 2859, document 5, Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878]: *Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerinin İskan ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa*.

control by either stipulated on salary or were honoured by giving them an Ottoman order.<sup>47</sup>

Behind the idea of settling the immigrant groups by distributing them to villages, there was also the idea of easing the cost of these resettlement activities to the government. When Abdülhamid II ascended the throne, the state budget had important gaps and the resettling of the immigrants was widening this gap.<sup>48</sup> As a result of this, the administration preferred to have the support of the community in every possible occasion. As it can easily be understood from the regulations sent, it was especially expected the needs of the immigrants who were settled in the rural areas to be met by local villagers. However, since loading up the villagers with more than they can carry would lead to new problems, it was necessary to lighten the responsibilities by dividing them among different settlements.<sup>49</sup> In case of the immigrants being insistent of a new village structured, their demands would be accepted but their wages would be cut.<sup>50</sup> Despite the persistent attitude of the state in the beginning, numerous of new villages had been structured in Anatolia.<sup>51</sup> Two basic reasons for this result were the existence of land and persistence of some immigrant groups in order to be settled together.

Another important point to be taken into consideration was to provide the population balances between the Muslim and non-Muslim people. At some parts of the country, the population ratio of the non-Muslims was close to the population ratio of the Muslim people and even higher in some settlements. Especially after the Berlin Treaty, the population balances of the regions with strategic importance like areas close to the borders and the Aegean coast have come to be rather important.

The society that had started to migrate from the Rumelia in 1877, were kept in the Western Thrace and military zone was tried to be structured upon them.<sup>52</sup> It was also forbidden to migrate from Rumelia to Antolia until 1885. It had been demanded to

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<sup>47</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, tran. Bahar Tırnakçı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p. 19.

<sup>48</sup> Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler," 137-90.

<sup>49</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, File: 2859, document 5 and 6.

<sup>50</sup> BOA, *AD*, no. 1365/ 38-1 [June 6th 1880] and BOA, *AD*, no. 1553, document 9 [September 24th 1880] quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 161.

<sup>51</sup> Hüdavendigâr, Adana, Konya and Aydın were the *vilayets* that welcomed the most immigrant villages.

<sup>52</sup> BOA, *İD*, no. 61575/1, [August 15<sup>th</sup> 1877] quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya*, p. 156.



increase the Muslim population in the *Vilâyet* of Edirne by the immigrant resettlement in a telegraph written by the Sultan to Rauf Paşa in 1879.<sup>53</sup> In 1892, as a result of the Muslim villages that are on both sides of the Çanakkale Strait, it had been presided to increase the Muslim population in the region in terms of the defence of the strait. It had been insisted on the resettlement of the immigrants despite the lack of land in the *sancak* of Biga.<sup>54</sup> In 1882, as a result of the Christian population being more than the Muslim population in İstanbul, the lands of *mîrî* and wakf around the city were assigned to the immigrants.<sup>55</sup> The immigrants were also settled in the *kaza* of Gemlik of Bursa as a result of same concerns.<sup>56</sup> Upon the Ministry of Finance's putting the state-owned farms (*çiftlik*) on sale, Abdülhamid interfered with the case in order to prevent the sale of the farms to foreigners and ordered the immigrants to be resettled in those farms.<sup>57</sup>

The population ratio of the regions was not only a problem of the Ottoman administration. During this period, the population distribution among the Ottoman land continued to be the main issue of the international policy agenda. During the resettlement process, within initiatives in order to provide the population balance between the ethnical groups especially when the issue had been Cyprus, Beirut or the eastern *vilayets* of Anatolia. There were strong oppressions from the Christian groups and the interference of European governments. The Christian Arab people in Lebanon especially opposed to the sending of Circassian immigrants and the French and Italian Consulates tried to prevent the transportation within the diplomatic level. However during the same period, the European governments spent a great effort for the Jewish people to be resettled in the Palestine region.<sup>58</sup> *Babiâli* firstly resettled the Muslim

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<sup>53</sup> BOA, YA. Hus., File: 161, Folder: 25, lef 3 quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya*, p. 156.

<sup>54</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 156, 197-9.

<sup>55</sup> BOA, İD, no. 67594 [December 4<sup>th</sup> 1881] quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 158.

<sup>56</sup> BOA, İD, no. 69927, lef. 1 [February 7<sup>th</sup> 1883] quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 158

<sup>57</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 158.

<sup>58</sup> The colonisation effort of Germany as well as Britain, France and the United States within the Palestine region has been significant. Since 1860, the German consulates have spent outrageous effort to settle the Eastern and Middle European Jews within the region, and there had been four German colonies around Yafa, Hayfa and Jerusalem until 1891. For detailed information about the issue see. İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), pp. 182-95.

immigrants in order to balance the regional population, and tried to prevent the Jewish migration with the idea of it being the cause of serious conflicts.<sup>59</sup>

Russia —as before— had warned the Ottoman State in 1878 in order not to settle especially the Circassians in the regions close to the frontiers, also Russia and Britain opposed to the Circassian people to be settled in Van, Erzurum and Hakkari with the reason that they will end up in conflict with the Armenian population. The Ottoman State evaluated all the security conditions and could only settle the non-Circassian immigrants of massive groups in Muş of the Eastern Anatolia.<sup>60</sup> Apart from this the immigrants had only been resettled by being distributed to different settlements.<sup>61</sup>

Britain, France and Russia, who had seen themselves as the protector of the Ottoman Christians, directed their activities to Eastern Anatolia, Syria, Palestine and Macedonia after the dissolving of the Ottoman in the Balkans. Until the reign of the Abdülhamid, the Christian community in the mentioned regions had been encouraged for nationalist movements as a result of the missionary activities and the in region conflicts. The most important example of this was in Syria in 1860. The Britain had encouraged the Muslim Druse (*Dürzi*) whereas the French had encouraged the Catholic Maurine's for skirmish and then France, Britain and Russia sent their army troops in order to provide security after bloody skirmish.<sup>62</sup> It has been apparent for the protector state to oppose a structuring against the benefit of the Christian population in these regions of increased tension. Especially the settlement of Circassian that were known with their warrior characters as an issue of balance within the region by the Ottoman Government would be a manner to be afraid of and be opposed to.

The specification of new life environment for the immigrants of the Ottoman community —apart from the ones who came from Caucasian— could become an international issue. The reason of the Ottoman Empire to take the external interferences into consideration should have been based on not being the cause of new skirmish in the eastern *vilayets* of Anatolia. Also it was aimed to prevent possible rebellions in Syria by occupying some of the Circassian immigrants within the local militia forces.<sup>63</sup> In

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<sup>59</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 213.

<sup>60</sup> Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, pp. 92-4.

<sup>61</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 207.

<sup>62</sup> Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, pp. 265-70.

<sup>63</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 212-4.

addition to this, the administration was more careful about the acceptance of Christian and Jewish people after 1878. The Christian people were accepted with the condition of a limited number, whereas the Jewish people were accepted within the condition of not being settled in Palestine.<sup>64</sup> During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *population war* had been going on within the front line as well as the diplomacy corridors. Eventually, even though the resettlements of the immigrants seem like an internal issue, it had been structured upon external bases.

### 3.2.2. The Expectation for Rural and Urban Economy

The Ottoman State lost both fertile and strategically important land in 1880s such as Bulgaria, Romania, Karadağ, Cyprus, Egypt and Tunisia. Between the years 1854-1875, the state had got foreign loans and as a reflection of the world economic crisis in 1873, announced the world that the government would not pay their external debt in 1875. In 1881, *Duyun-u Umumiye İdaresi* (the Debt Administration) was founded in order to pay the debts and the important income sources of the country were given to the concession of Europe. Even though the Ottoman administration had chosen to provide income from the *aşar* taxes, the expected income could not be provided because of the famine and not getting rid of the method of tax farming (*iltizam*).<sup>65</sup>

Within an environment of continuous economic and political crisis, the state had the effort to strengthen in global economic connections in order to protect its existence. The Ottoman administration followed a policy that does not lead to a conflict or war, and was within initiatives in terms of economic and administrative means in order to be able to pay foreign debts and increase the level of prosperity.

Sultan Abdülhamid II also expected to increase the economic power of the state along with the immigrants. First of all, the new-comers would meet the necessity of labour. It has been thought that the immigrant labour could be employed in the urban areas as well as the area of agriculture since 1878.

The initiatives that started since 1850 in the regional level in order to increase the agricultural production continued after 1880 —with the concern of loosing fertile

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<sup>64</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi: 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), pp. 230-2.

land— so that it had covered the whole country and especially the regions with important foreign trade connections. Apart from the investments in increasing of the transport facilities, draining of the swamps, irrigation the lands and improving the agricultural methods, it was also necessary to close the need for labour in terms of agricultural production. It should have been thought that the labour need in regions that makes production for the foreign market would be met by the immigrants, while 46% of the 475.000 immigrants that had been transferred from İstanbul to Anatolia between November 1877 and December 1891 had been settled in the *Vilâyets* of Hüdavendigâr and Aydın despite the lack of land.<sup>66</sup> Eventually, it was foreseen to labour the immigrants as *ortakçı*<sup>67</sup> and *yevmiyeci* (daily worker) in the present farms previously.<sup>68</sup>

The application to the assignment of the vacant *mîrî* land to the immigrants had continued during this period; however, as it was being assigned between 70 to 130 *dönüms* in accordance with the fertility of land per household as specified in the Land Regulation. The amount decreased down to 20-60 *dönüms* in accordance with the resettlement regulation dated 1878,<sup>69</sup> and down to an amount of half *dönüms* in 1890s.<sup>70</sup> The administration tried to overcome the problem of land by opening the unused military land, meadows and grove areas for agriculture and by drying the damp areas as a more general application.<sup>71</sup> Projects had been developed about the drying up of swamps in the *vilâyets* of Adana, Bursa, Aydın and the *sancak* of Canik.<sup>72</sup>

*Vilâyets* like Diyarbakır, Van, Musul, Baghdad were not found appropriate for settlement because of foreign pressure, security, distance of the *vilayets* and climate conditions despite the existence of large land, and the immigrant were tried to be settled

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<sup>66</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 174.

<sup>67</sup> The meaning of *Ortakçı* is one who cultivates someone else's land and shares the product afterwards, share cropper.

<sup>68</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, File: 2859, document 5.

<sup>69</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, lef 2, İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi, article: 32. 13 Cemâziyel-âhir 1295 [June 14<sup>th</sup> 1878].

<sup>70</sup> Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler," pp. 166-7.

<sup>71</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 215.

<sup>72</sup> BOA, MM, 3325, 7. M. 1300 [1882], Hasan Fehmi Paşa, "Anadoluca İ'mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır," *quoted by* Celâl Dincer, in "Osmanlı Vezirlerinden Hasan Fehmi Paşa'nın Anadolu'nun Bayındırlık İşlerine Dair Hazırladığı Lâyiha," *Belgeler* 5-8: 9-12 (1968-71), p. 190.

in Central, Southern and Western Anatolia.<sup>73</sup> The port and railway facilities also played an important role within the decision of these *vilayets*.

Many immigrant villages had been established in Central Anatolia between the years 1878-1908, especially in the Konya Champlain, upon flat areas and *mîrî* and wakf lands on Sakarya Valley in Eskişehir.<sup>74</sup> It is also significant to see that the immigrant villages in the *Vilâyet* of Konya to be crowded upon the Akşehir-Ilgın-Konya-Karaman-Ereğli line. The region that has been located on the old commercial root that starts from Bursa and reaches to Aleppo had been integrated within the global commerce of the nineteenth century with the opening of İstanbul-Konya Railway in 1896. Eskişehir-Ankara Railway line was opened for service in 1892.<sup>75</sup> The railway connection facilitated the dispatch of the immigrants who had been gathered in İstanbul to Eskişehir, Ankara and Konya. In fact most of the immigrants were settled along the line before 1896, in other words before the railway had been constructed. İstanbul-Baghdad Railway line project takes place in the *Layiha*, which qualifies as a physical plan at a countrywide scale that had been presented to the *Sadâret* (Prime Ministry) by Hasan Fehmi Paşa in 1882 with all of its details. Eventually economic aims about the Central Anatolia had been specified —along with the other regions— since 1880.<sup>76</sup> In this case, it could be said that the immigrants had been settled in the region in accordance with the plan especially after 1880. As a matter of fact, along with the structuring of the railway connection, the Central Anatolia became producing some part of the cereal consumed by İstanbul and was opened to foreign market at the same time. The structure of the

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<sup>73</sup> When the migration flow to İstanbul had started after the Ottoman-Russian war, *Sadâret* asked from the *vilayets* to decide on the land, which is appropriate for the resettlement of the immigrants. In the direction of the information collected, it has been seen that there is a total of 10.425.881 *dönims* of vacant land in Thrace, Anatolian *vilayets*, Aleppo, Musul and Bagdad. Even though most of these lands were found within the (8.807.035 *dönüm*) Diyarbekir, Van, Musul, Aleppo, Bagdat and Basra *Vilayets*, they were not found appropriate for settlement since they were far from the Rumelia. See İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadoluya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 162-5.

<sup>74</sup> For the resettlement process and there settlement areas of the immigrants within the Konya *vilayet* see. Hütteroth, *Landliche Siedlungen im Südlichen Inneranatolien*, pp. 72-9; Yılmaz, “Konya Vilâyetinde Muhacir Yerleşmeleri, 1854-1914.” For the study about the resettlement within todays Eskişehir see Tunçdilek, “Eskişehir Bölgesi’nde Yerleşme Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış,” pp. 189-208.

<sup>75</sup> Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), p. 21.

<sup>76</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, 7. M. 1300 [1882], Hasan Fehmi Paşa, “Anadoluca İ’malât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır,” *quoted by* Celâl Dincer, pp. 176-84.

region based on small and middle scaled property ownership has been strengthened along with the distribution of *mîrî* lands to the immigrant families.<sup>77</sup>

The resettlement process of Adana is significant in terms of its indicating the construction and resettlement of a coastal region upon the economic relations of nineteenth century. The region was first tried to be populated with the resettlement of semi-nomadic groups,<sup>78</sup> and the seasonal require of labour was tried to be met with seasonal workers brought from Lebanon and Egypt, along with the generalisation of cotton production in Çukurova.<sup>79</sup> The Crimean and the Caucasian immigrants were resettled in the region since 1855, as the Rumelian and the Caucasian immigrants had been resettled after 1878. The substructure of the region had been strengthened along with the dried up swamps and the necessary population was provided by the migrations. ‘There had been forty-eight immigrant villages just around Ceyhan River’ in the *vilayet*.<sup>80</sup> Çukurova, which had been reorganised in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the region that was mostly integrated with the capitalist production relations of agriculture before 1914.<sup>81</sup> Even though it was not in the same scale, the agricultural production also increased in Thessaly after 1881 and Antalya Champlain after 1897,<sup>82</sup> along with the resettlement of Cretan immigrants.<sup>83</sup>

During the Hamidian period, the urban areas have been opened to resettlement for the first time. This permission is not only related with the demands of the urban immigrants but also related with the policies of the Hamidian administration about the improvement of the urban economy. Abdülhamid II, as it could clearly be seen in his

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<sup>77</sup> Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>78</sup> Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, pp. 115-7 and Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “Fırka-i İslâhiye ve Yapmış Olduğu İskân,” *Tarih Dergisi* 27 (1973): 8-20. Also as main source see. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, vol. 3, ed. M. Cavid Baysun (Ankara: 1963), pp. 142-208.

<sup>79</sup> Within the Çukurova Region large land ownership had been dominant, which had been a different trait from Northern and Central Anatolia. See. Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, p. 104.

<sup>80</sup> Kocacık, “Balkanlar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler,” p. 164. Also see Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 154.

<sup>81</sup> Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>82</sup> Among the sixteen immigrant villages that had been structured upon the Antalya-Alanya road, there are today’s Side (Selimiye), Belek (Tevfikiyeye), Serik (Şevketiye) settlements also. See. Yılmaz, “Konya Vilâyetinde Muhacir Yerleşmeleri,” pp. 241-58.

<sup>83</sup> Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, p. 103.

*Layihâ* regarding the *Vilâyet* of Tripoli, was supporting the economy based on private investments in the urban areas.<sup>84</sup> The initiative middle class ad started to stand out in the crowd starting from the eighteenth century in the Ottoman State especially İzmir. However the members of that middle class were mostly non-Muslims.<sup>85</sup> Abdülhamid II was expecting those people to be able to integrate in to the world economy, master of trade and industry to be able to follow new technologies at the same time to be patriots and loyal to the Sultan and the state. The state could only provide the control of the urban economy by a class of initiative, loyal, Muslim people.

The contribution to be provided by the immigrants coming from Rumelia, Crimea and Crete to the formation of an urban, middle class of Muslim should have been taken into consideration by the governors of the period. One of the most important items in the Resettlement Regulation (1878) was the decision of settling the tradesmen and the craftsmen in the cities and towns.<sup>86</sup> According to Kemal Karpat, especially after 1880 ‘It is one of the least known facts that the first Muslim capitalist group of İzmir and İstanbul has been from among some of the wealthy landowners and the prominent people of towns who had migrated from Bulgaria.’<sup>87</sup> In his work about the effects of the population movements upon the Ottoman modernization Karpat also states that:

‘An important part of the immigrants belonged to the administrative class in the country they have come from. These and especially the ones with normal passports and the ones who had been let to sell their properties, were not only let to bring along the supreme culture of their class, wisdom and being outstanding but also an important amount of income, which has transferred into investment in land and small amounts of initiations. The approximate amount of money, which had entered in the Ottoman Empire along with the immigrants, was guessed to be 5 million liras.’<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, File: 1, Folder: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, “Trablusgarp Vilâyetinin Husûl-ı Tamamî-i Mamûriyyet ve Terakkisi ve Takviyesi Emrinde Lâyih-ı İlhâm-ı Mezâhir-i Hazreti Hilâfet Penâhi Olan Mütalâat-ı Seniyyeyi Hâvi Tâlimât Suretidir,” in *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, ed. and tran. Alâaddin Çetin ve Ramazan Yıldız (İstanbul: Çığır Yayınları, 1976), pp. 226-34. Detailed evaluation and explanations about his issue takes place within the fourth chapter of this study.

<sup>85</sup> About the appearance of middle class in İzmir and their activities in the Western Anatolia see. Elena Frangakis-Syrett, “18. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyılın Başlarına Kadar İzmir Ekonomisine Bakış,” *21. Yüzyıl Eşiğinde İzmir*, tran. Ayşegül Sabuktay (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002), pp. 71-89. Also see Reşat Kasaba, “İzmir,” *Doğu Akdeniz’de Liman Kentleri (1800-1914)*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, vd. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), pp. 1-21.

<sup>86</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, lef 2, *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*, article: 35 and 36.

<sup>87</sup> Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu*, p. 9.

However Karpat did not explain the sources of his above mentioned. Still it is important to see his stressing on the contributions of the immigrants in the formation of a Muslim middle class in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He has also highlighted the ‘vital role’ of the policies developed by the Ottoman State.<sup>89</sup>

After the crisis that had been gone through during the 1850s, the increase in many industrial productions between the years 1870 and 1914 has been a proved fact by the historians of economy in the last years. Even though the local production had not capability of competition with the European industry in the exportation, the rivalry power of the European products in the domestic market had been broken. The importance of the hand production sectors, which has been adjusted to the changing production and consumption relations, have been neglected.<sup>90</sup> There has not been a research yet for the immigrant capital and labour share within the improving industry in cities like İstanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Adana and surroundings. However, some data about the issue are reachable. One of them is about a factory established at Karamürsel in 1900. An immigrant from Bosnia along with his Albanian partner, also with governmental incitement, started cloth manufacturing for the army on the 100 weaving looms. Large quantities of the 500 workers of the factory were Bosnian immigrants.<sup>91</sup>

Quataert states that, since 1878, the temporary settlement of the immigrants in İstanbul had caused an increase in terms of cheap labour demand and so the production branches based on cheap wages in accordingly.<sup>92</sup> It was suggested for the desolate women to saw soldier clothes in order to have an income within the regulation that was prepared by the *İstanbul Muhacirin İdaresi* in 1878.<sup>93</sup> Even though it is not possible to specify with statistics, it should not be forgotten that a large ratio of the immigrants,

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<sup>88</sup> Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi*, p. 136.

<sup>89</sup> Karpat, *İslâm'ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 176.

<sup>90</sup> Donald Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire II: 1600-1914*, ed. H. İnalcık and D. Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 888-928.

<sup>91</sup> Donald Quataert, *Sanayi Devrimi Çağında Osmanlı İmalat Sektörü* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 161.

<sup>92</sup> Quataert, *Sanayi Devrimi Çağında Osmanlı İmalat Sektörü*, p. 101.

<sup>93</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, 2786, *Dersaadet Muhacirin İdaresi Hakkında Talimatname*, article: 13. 5 Recep 1294 [June 1878].



which were settled in the cities, were in impoverishment. Most of them had to leave their wealth and properties behind especially when it has been remembered that the ones who came between 1877 and 1879 came for their life rescue. These people had provided their income by being worker, street vendor and carriage men and porter in port cities like İzmir.

Even though there has not been any trustworthy statistics, it has been stated that after 1870 in both urban and rural areas of Anatolia there had been an increase in textile production based on hand crafts for the local market. It has even been specified that in some regions a wide production relations network by the division of labour between settlements—even some nomadic groups has been included— had been structured. In rural areas, the textile activity had continued along with agricultural production.<sup>94</sup> Within such a production network, the immigrant community should play a role. Eventually, the subject of an article published in the *Hizmet* newspaper dated 1889 is about the production of *şayak* (a woollen fabric) by the immigrants who had come from Rumelia to Konya. The immigrants, who had been weaving *şayak* before, demanded the necessary equipments from the municipality in order to continue with their craft in Konya.<sup>95</sup>

It has been recorded that along with the cities opening for resettlement in other words after 1878; the immigrant districts had been structured not only in provincial centres such as Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, Konya, Damascus but also in centres of the *sancak* and *kaza* such as Kirmasti, Mihaliç, İnegöl, Eskişehir (Hüdavendigâr); Bergama, Alaşehir, Tire, Bodrum (Aydın); Yozgat, Çorum (Ankara); Ereğli, Akşehir, Antalya, Alanya (Konya);<sup>96</sup> Mersin (Adana).

The approach of protecting the balances in the heterogeneous structure of the Empire that had been tried to be continued by the Ottoman government for centuries, was changed in regard with the hesitation ‘to protect the existence of the state’ during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the existence of the state was related with the Muslim community. In applications about resettlement, the integration of the Muslim communities was taken into consideration as well as the Muslim and non-Muslim population balances of the settlements. However, it has been seen that the

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<sup>94</sup> Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” pp. 911-28.

<sup>95</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 238, March 12<sup>th</sup> 1889.

<sup>96</sup> İpek, *Rumeli’den Anadolu’ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 185-205.

international diplomacy has an important role within the structuring of the population balances of the regions.

The traditional methods of resettling the population by distributing and separating leaders were adopted during this period, towards the aim of integrating the Muslim population and decreasing the cost of resettlement. However, it was agreed to negotiate and structure new villages as a result of the opposition of some immigrant groups within the traditional political approach. The most important characteristics of the policy followed by Sultan Abdülhamid were the solutions of the problems immediately in order to obstruct a big crisis and the continuous observation of the delicate balances within the relations. Eventually there was not a radical manner within the application of the adopted policies. The administrative approach of this period differentiates significantly from the Government of *İttihat ve Terakki* by these characteristics.

The effort to be integrated into the world economic system, which began in 1850, had tried to be generalized during the Hamidian period by the construction activities that had been generalized countrywide. The importance of the cities within the spatial organization of the regions in the economic and administrative level became significant during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The contribution of the immigrants with their labour force, capital and knowledge within this structuring has taken into consideration; both the urban and rural areas have been structured in accordance.

The importance of the construction activities within the re-structuring of the country by means of economy and administration has been evaluated in the fourth chapter, in which the concept of construction and planning activities of the Hamidian period had thoroughly been evaluated. The specific applications of the resettlement policies upon the *vilayet* of Aydın and the city of İzmir of the period within the country level have been evaluated in detail within the fifth chapter.

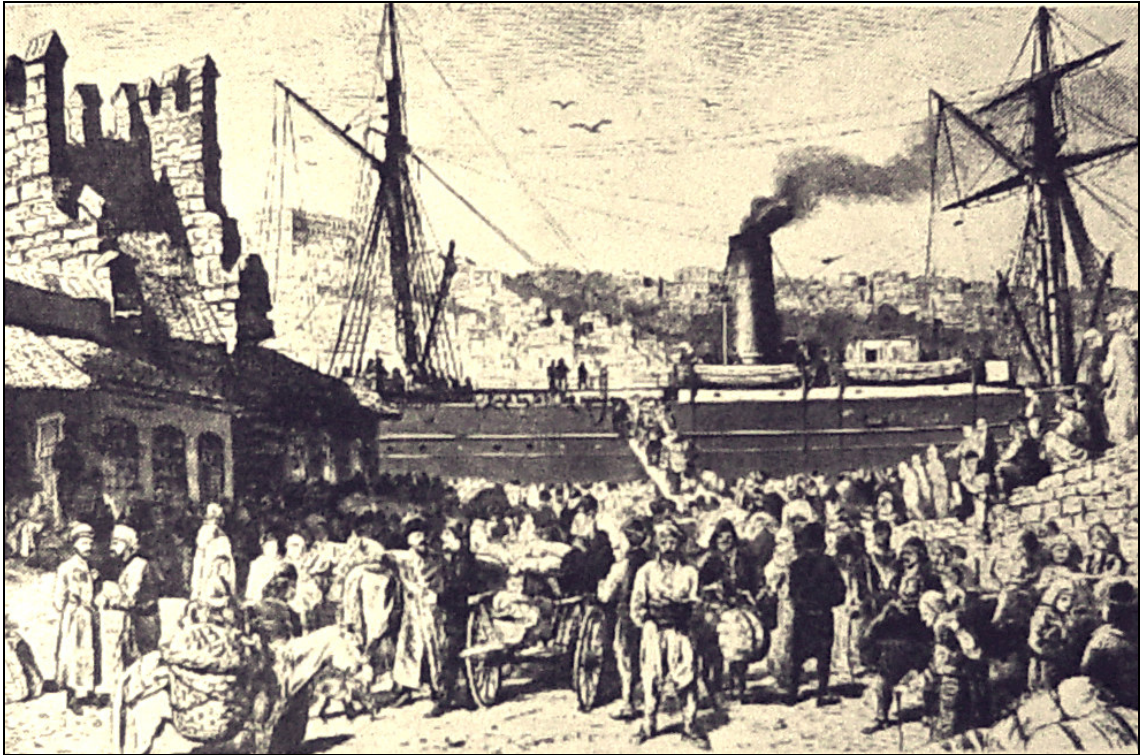


Figure 3.6. Rumelian immigrants waiting at the port of İstanbul to send to İzmir.  
(Source: *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig), March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1878, No. 1812,  
quoted by Şimşir 1989a, p. 765)

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DEVELOPMENT IN PLANNING INSTITUTIONS AND BUILDING ACTIVITIES DURING THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD**

In the previous sections the resettlement policies of the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth century until the twentieth century has been tried to be put forward in the light of questioning the meaning of population for the current administration. During this phase the formation of the resettlement policies in the frame of state-community relations was tried to put forward. In the final section the resettlement of the immigrants who have come from the lost territory after the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878 and the resettlement policies of the Hamidian period, is evaluated. While the influence of the resettlement tradition on directing the formation the resettlement policies, the change of the perception of the population problem by the state on the nineteenth century —mostly during the Hamidian Period— are examined.

In this section the planning perspective during the Hamidian Period will be examined. However, since the Hamidian Period can not be perceived apart from the Tanzimat era both in terms of institutional and legal association and general political appreciation.

In this study which the resettlement of the immigrants is evaluated, the need to investigate the planning policy of the period thoroughly could be explained as the following: As it is put forward in the two previous chapters; the resettlement policies is one which is perceived by the state in broad and complicated organisations. It is seen that especially during the Hamidian Period, the resettlement activities were carried around together with issues such as transportation, production facilities, security and population balances in a regional and countrywide scale. In this study, the ‘planning’ as it can easily be understood from the explanations above is not taken up with its narrow meaning which is qualified as the physical organisation of the city but as the total physical organisation which is connected to social, economic and administrative organisations in a scale of city region and even the country. When the topic is evaluated

in such a context it will be seen that the resettlement policies and the planning policies are inseparable counterparts. In this frame, the need for re-evaluating the planning policies and administrative structuring in the Ottoman Empire in nineteenth century is undeniable. Coherently, in order to be able to evaluate the topic, the conceptualisation of planning in the period is being investigated.

#### 4.1. The Conceptual Context of Planning in the Nineteenth Century

When the context of ‘planning’ fact during the nineteenth century in the Ottoman land is studied, it is seen that the dialogue within the planning activity area is structured with words such as *i’âmâr*, *ıslah*, *nizam*, *tanzim*. Apparently in order to understand how ‘planning’ is conceptualised in that period, advancing in the light of these words.

For the dictionary meanings of the mentioned words related with the period, the *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*<sup>1</sup>, which was published by Şemsettin Sami in 1901, is studied. The word *i’âmâr*, is derived from the Arabic word *umrân*. The first meaning of the word *umrân* is expressed as ‘prosperity, to be inhabited and performed of a place,’<sup>2</sup> whereas its second meaning is expressed as “civilisation, advancing, affluence and prosperity.” In addition to this the word *ma’mur* which is also derived from the word *umrân* and used as adjective is explained as the following: “(1) not desolated, (2) cultivated, (3) inhabited, with a society.”<sup>3</sup>

As it can easily be understood from these explanations the action of improving or constructing (*i’âmâr etme*) stresses on settling people on some land, making this land habitable for people and doing this ‘properly’. When the writings between the public institutions of the nineteenth century and the *Layiha*’s belonging to some of the governors are inspected, it is seen that the word *i’âmâr etme*—usually causing a place to be cultivated— has a preliminary meaning of bringing substructure to some land. Also it is understood that, basically it is aimed to form a civilised community and regarding a being of affluence and prosperity. However, the word *i’âmâr* has lost its wide meaning,

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<sup>1</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbası, 1901) ed. Faruk Akgün (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> “Ma’murluk, ma’muriyyet, bir yerin tamamıyla meskûn ve hakkıyla işlenmiş olması.” See Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, p. 950.

<sup>3</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, p. 1377.

which is explained above today. Today, it only points out to ‘urban construction’ in the modern Turkish language. Meanings like “civilisation and prosperity” are explained with the word development.<sup>4</sup>

In order for the better evaluation of the conceptual context of the word *i’âmâr*, it will be useful to check the activities of the period. Written texts of the period are important sources in serving this aim. Especially the ones between the superior administrative executives at the last quarter of the nineteenth century about the projects of *i’âmâr* in the regional and countrywide scale should be taken into consideration. When the texts are being evaluated, the basic statement of reason for the construction of some place should be stressed on. The statement of reason is pointing forward to which worries? Which are the precedent necessities that are needed and expected to be met?

It has been guessed that the *muhtıra* (formal writing as a reminder) Abdülhamid II wrote to the *Sadaret* (Office of the Grand Vezier) was written after 1882.<sup>5</sup> It has been requested to prepare a *layiha*<sup>6</sup>, in order to decide on the countrywide reform activities and the construction activities in accordance with them, in the *muhtıra*. In the text, the social and the political discomfort and the loss of the important land in the five years after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878 are explained. More important than that, it is made clear that there needs to be precautions taken in order to get over the discomfort and not live through anything like it. In order to be able to put the losses aside there is a need to open ‘a path to the reforms’ (*bir ıslahat yolunun açılması*). It has stressed that the reforms to be performed need to be standing on two administrative bases. The preliminary one of these bases is centrality whereas the second one is letting the local/private interference (*tevsi-i mezûniyyet esası*).<sup>7</sup>

Abdülhamid II has warned that, the same bases do not apply for the governing the whole of the country, the geographical location and the social, economic structure of each region or settlement should be taken into consideration separately. First off that

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<sup>4</sup> İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, “Mustafa Celaleddin Bey’in ‘Bir Eyaletin İslah ve İmarı Hakkında Mükaleme’ Adlı Risalesi ve 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmar Kavramının Gelişim Üzerine Düşünceler,” *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi. 4.* (Ankara: TKK Yayınları, 1994), p. 1470.

<sup>5</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 9, Evrak: 1122, Zarf: 72, Karton: 4, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, ed. and trans. Alâaddin Çetin ve Ramazan Yıldız (İstanbul: Çığır Yayınları, 1976), pp. 209-14.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of the *layiha* is project or memorandum expressing one’s viewpoint on a subject.

<sup>7</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 9, Evrak: 1122, Zarf: 72, Karton: 4, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 212.

entire region should be analysed thoroughly and in detail, after that the reforms which are needed to be done should be structured upon this analysis. The topics which are related with the details should to be organised accordingly. In this detailed research especially the stress on the social structure is worth attention. It has been explained that the ethnical structure and the religious beliefs of the region's people, their wisdom and level of education, their economic levels (capital accumulation), their abilities, habits and their relations with the neighbouring lands needs to be researched on.<sup>8</sup> The analysis of each region with its own specialties and the structuring of the policy in accordance with this is extremely important. In terms of the regional balances the *vilayet* needs to be governed not with the strict orders sent from the centre but with local and regional decisions in order for the result to be successful.

The preparing process of the project is decided on by the Sultan in detail. The ministers of the period will form a commission in their offices and each office will prepare a project report. In addition to this, there will also be another commission formed with the five or six former successful governors of the *vilayets* (*vali*) whom are chosen by the Sultan personally. The project reports which are prepared by the ministries will be reinspected by the commission of governors and after the discussions, a general project text will be presented to the Yıldız Palace.<sup>9</sup> At this point the trust of Abdülhamid II to the governors and casting them important roles in this project is really important. Since the Tanzimat, *valis* have been the most important branch of the central administration and Abdülhamid II has been obtaining the authority of the central administration in the *vilayets* with the reliable *valis*.

The second text to be inspected is the “Umûr-ı Nafiaya dâir Bâb-ı Âliye takdim olunan Layiha” (the *Layiha* about the Construction Works which is Sent to the Council of Ministers) written by Hasan Fehmi Paşa who was the *Nafia Nazırı* (Minister of Public Work) of the period and dated 1882 year.<sup>10</sup> The *Layiha* is a project text which

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<sup>8</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 9, Evrak: 1122, Zarf: 72, Karton: 4, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 9, Evrak: 1122, Zarf: 72, Karton: 4, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 214.

<sup>10</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, 7 Muharrem 1300 [1882], “Anadoluca İ' mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır”, quoted by Celâl Dinçer, in “Osmanlı Vezirlerinden Hasan Fehmi Paşa'nın Anadolu'nun Bayındırlık İşlerine Dair Hazırladığı Lâyiha,” *Belgeler* 5-8: 9-12 (1968-71): 153-233. Also for the evaluation of the same *Layiha* please see İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, “Mustafa Celaleddin Bey'in 'Bir Eyaletin Islah ve İmarı Hakkında Mükaleme' Adlı Risalesi ve 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmar Kavramının Gelişim Üzerine Düşünceler,” *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi*. 4. (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1994), pp. 1469-92.

contains the whole country<sup>11</sup> in general and about the realisation of the technical substructure investments. The area was described on a plan which has a scale of 1/4000000 with the river basins. The improvement activities relatively contain topics such as the construction of roads, railways, ports and wharfs, watering of the agricultural lands, the drying of the swamps.<sup>12</sup> (see Figure 4.1) The attention is drawn to the importance of sub structuring in the *Layiha*; the impossibility of talking about “moral or material” improvement (economic and social) unless the substructure works such as roads and ports are structured and the country is let to be run by itself as it is explained. The situation of the country is the best evidence to that.<sup>13</sup>

The *Layiha* of Hasan Fehmi Paşa belongs to the period when the Rumelia is by most means not in the Ottoman territory anymore and the rest of the land is also under threat. After the loss of Rumelia, all the attention was turned to Anatolia, and directed to evaluating the potential values of Anatolia. In addition to this, the change in the foreign trade channels, the production centres and the control centres necessitated a transportation network appropriate for the current economic relations along with obtaining faster transportation facilities. The effective usage of the country sources (*tevsî-i dâire-i servet-i millîye*) and increasing the public activities (*teksîr-i muamelât-ı umûmiyye*) along with meeting the necessities of the time and the state is directly connected with the carrying out of the development works mentioned above. Hasan Fehmi Paşa also added that the economic improvements are not the reason for the sub-structuring investments, but a result of them. There are references to the past of the Ottoman Empire in the text, that the Ottoman Empire had understanding the importance of the providing of the transportation facilities, however some of the actions taken are not competent with the necessities of the time, also there were important negligence's and some missed opportunities.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> With its modern day meaning it qualifies as a regional plan and the geography it contains is the whole of Anatolia, Tigris–Euphrates territory, the coastal region of the eastern Mediterranean (today's Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel etc.) and the Nile Delta.

<sup>12</sup> There is the detailed explanation of the examination which is done by the *Nafia Nezareti*, detailed proposals and the cost and the benefit of the project in the report.

<sup>13</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, “Anadoluca İ' mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır”, p. 157.

<sup>14</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, “Anadoluca İ' mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır”, pp. 157-8.





Figure 4.1. The State Plan prepared by *Nafiya Nezareti*, dated 1882 (Dinçer 1968-71)

The aim was to go beyond the present situation and it is summarised as the following: ‘Providing richness and wealth, getting over poverty and meeting the needs...’ The longing behind the expectancy of getting over the current situation is for the Ottoman Empire ‘to obtain its ancient honour.’<sup>15</sup> Like most of the intellectual and the bureaucrats of the *Tanzimat*, Hasan Fehmi Paşa’s hesitation was also ‘saving the state from its obscure position and bring it back to the superior position in the olden times’. “*İhtiyac-ı zaman*” expression was used in order to indicate to meeting the necessities of the time. The Ottoman Empire, will obtain its old fame once it is competent with the current age. There was the perception of the future, along with the longing for the past.

The expression, which states ‘increasing the prosperity level of the country by the means of land and people (*mülken ve milleten*) ringing the conditions to developed

<sup>15</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, “Anadoluca İ’ mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyihadır”, pp. 159-60.

grounds', indicates that not only the development of the land, which is the property of the Sultan is aimed but also the development of the people is aimed too.<sup>16</sup> Tekeli and İlkin indicates that, the thoughts about 'developing the people' the text are newly formed.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the approach such as the prosperity of the public society being one of the bases of the maintenance of the state had been valid in the Ottoman administration tradition for hundreds of years. The new approach in this period, was the state not being the only owner of the property and consideration the necessity of the society to increase its own wealth. With another expression the private property has been started to be supported.

In order to be a statement of reason for the necessary substructure investments, the attention is drawn to the past and current catastrophes in the country. One of these catastrophes was the famine which has been faced several times and had been the cause of life and property losses.<sup>18</sup> On the other side, not being able to control the rivers and the spawns and the floods after that makes it impossible to cultivate the agricultural land, in addition to this also threatens the health of the society, especially because of malaria. Population had been moving from these regions to others and some of the villages and *vilayets* had become vacant.<sup>19</sup> All these restrains that were lived through had been preventing the desired production rates. In the advised proposal, there were the formation of discharging channels by the rivers and the river banks, draining the swamps, formation of irrigation channels and irrigating the agricultural land and as a result of these preventing the famine in terms of agricultural production.<sup>20</sup> The proposals aim to provide the active usage of the current potentials.<sup>21</sup> It is seen that, gradually the effort to bring the nature under control was increasing. So the settlements

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<sup>16</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, "Anadoluca İ' mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyıhadır", p. 160.

<sup>17</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, "Mustafa Celaleddin Bey'in 'Bir Eyaletin Islah ve İmarı Hakkında Mükaleme' Adlı Risalesi," pp. 1474 -5.

<sup>18</sup> The news related with the famine in the *vilayet* of Aydın are seen in the *Hizmet* newspaper within the same era.

<sup>19</sup> Hence an important amount of the immigrants who have placed at Çukurova and the coastal regions have caught malaria, lots have been died and the placed people had to reimmigrate. See Kocacık, "Balkanlardan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler," p. 171 and 177.

<sup>20</sup> During the same years the news of the drying of the spawns in the *vilayet* of Aydın have been on the newspapers frequently. See *Hizmet*, 1885-1890.

<sup>21</sup> BOA, *MM*, 3325, "Anadoluca İ' mâlât-ı Umumiyyeye Dâir Lâyıhadır", pp. 159-60.

and the society would be secured and naturally the stabilisation in the production activity would be achieved. Within the precautions taken for the society's health, the need for healthy labour forced in the economic area also has an important role.

The *Layiha* about the *vilâyet* of *Tripoli* which has been prepared by Sultan Abdülhamid himself around the year 1880 is directly related with a *vilayet* and qualifies as a regional development plan with its current meaning.<sup>22</sup> The detailed evaluation of this document is necessary in order to see the reflections of Abdülhamid's aspect about the *imâr* and reforms.

It is seen that the precautions in order to protect the land union are of primary importance in the text on which the necessary activities are listed. It is expected to organise police and gendarme forces apart from the military precautions, in order to protect the region.<sup>23</sup>

The precaution, which is related with the administration in order to strengthen the rural organisation, is to structure *kaza* (county) and *liva* organisations where necessary.<sup>24</sup> In the study of İlber Ortaylı, which he has evaluated 'Local Organisations during the Tanzimat Period', it is stated that in addition to the changing structure of production also the levelling of the transportation system and settlement centres has changed, namely since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This situation, necessitated the continuous reorganisation of *vilâyet* and *sancak* frontiers until the last years of the Empire. 'After the Tanzimat, some changes were seen in the spatial organisation as much as the administrative organisations of the *vilayets*. All of these arrangements have been done in order to serve the aim of settling a central administration (in the local).'<sup>25</sup> The decision of the *vilayet*, *liva* and the *kaza* centres and their frontiers, and the administrative organisation, is not independent from the

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<sup>22</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, "Trablusgarp Vilâyetinin Husûl-ı Tamamî-i Mamûriyyet ve Terakkisi ve Takviyesi Emrinde Lâyih-ı İlhâm-ı Mezâhir-i Hazreti Hilâfet Penâhi Olan Mütâlâat-ı Seniyyeyi Hâvi Tâlimât Suretidir," in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, ed. and trans. Alâaddin Çetin and Ramazan Yıldız (İstanbul: Çığır Yayınları, 1976), pp. 226-34.

<sup>23</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, pp. 226-8.

<sup>24</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid Han, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 228.

<sup>25</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri(1840-1880)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2000), p. 29.

economic structure. The authority in power is in the search of restructuring its authority on land within the economic structuring.

The rest of the formal document includes activities in order to develop the *vilayet*. Trade was one of the frontiers within the economic structure. It was so that, like education, agriculture and security were almost structured around this frame. Before anything, it was demanded to perform the transportation investments –ports, wharfs, railways and roads in order to connect the hinterland to the port– which would enable the commercial business; along with provision of the custom controls which was almost of the same importance. In order to do, this keeping the coasts under control and renewing the customs building were inevitable.<sup>26</sup> Improvement of the commercial business in that region would increase the income in terms of taxes from the region, as well as increasing the level of prosperity of the inhabitants. The urban citizen would increase their income from the commercial sector whereas the rural people would increase their income from the production to serve the commerce. This process would enable the loyalty of the society to its state.

The services, which were taken into consideration just after the transportation services were the communication services. The settlements, which were far to Tripoli which was the centre of the *vilayet*, would be connected to the centre with a telegraph line, whereas the close settlements would be connected with a telephone line. It was also demanded to take the necessary precautions for the postal service to work properly between Tripoli and İstanbul and within the *vilayet*. Transportation and the communication services were the necessities of the time.<sup>27</sup> However, these were also not sufficient, and running an omnibus in the city in order to “explain the works of civilisation” has been proposed. This was necessary for the comfort of the citizens. Apart from these the building of clock towers –another evidence of civilisation- to

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<sup>26</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, pp. 228-9.

<sup>27</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 229. The importance given to communication by the Ottoman administration is at the superior level. During the 15th and the 16th centuries with the present technological opportunities, there is the structuring of an important communication organisation. See Yusuf Hallaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)* (Ankara: PTT Genel Müdürlüğü, 2002). During the Tanzimat era the primary substructure investment has been the structuring of the telegraph network. In 1865, the İzmir-Manisa-Edremit-Çanakkale-İstanbul telegraph line has started its service. Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri* p. 29.

necessary spots was not neglected.<sup>28</sup> Clock towers should be the concrete expressions of ‘necessity of time’ (*ihtiyac-ı zaman*).

Another point which was worth attention when evaluating the *Layiha* was the detailed explanation of the agricultural potentials of the Tripoli *Vilayet*. Especially the reformation of olive trees, providing their care with the workers who would be brought from Crete, and organising the trade of the olive and the olive oil to be obtained, has been foreseen. Also it was expected to increase the income of the citizens with these kinds of interferences. In addition to these, there were detailed propositions about the (wild) plant, animal and sea product species which were native to Tripoli. It was asked to cultivate these products with scientific methods, and provide their sales by the citizens.<sup>29</sup> At this point it was noted that the products of nature were seen as economic sources and there was the effort to provide the maximum benefit from the probabilities of the nature. This domination would be made possible with the accumulation of the time’s knowledge.

It was especially commented that, the trade of the stated products should be done from the port of Tripoli. This would cause the trade to be performed from one spot and that spot would be controlled by the state. The central authority, which supports private interferences, also has the effort to organise the sector in a structure, which would be held under control in the provincial level. This effort was not only shaped with the forcing of the current economic rules, but at the same time it was also shaped with the thought of structuring its own power with those economic rules.

Also the comments about the public investments which would be provided with state investments were worth attention. The traces of Abdülhamid’s policy of wide spreading the educational establishments all through the land, is also seen here. He especially decided for the foundation of *ibtidaiye* (primary school) and *mekteb-i rüştiye* (junior high schools) in the region. Along with the consideration of production by scientific means (*fenne uygun*), also the foundation of industrial, veterinary and agricultural schools and especially the education of occupations in accordance with the needs of the region were being decided. Behind the education policy lays the effort to

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<sup>28</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 230.

<sup>29</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, pp. 230-31.

create loyal citizen but it was not stated openly. Interestingly enough this aim was stated within the article related with the formation of a press organisation in the *vilayet* and its activities. It is interesting to see the press find itself a place in an organisation which was about the construction and the reform (*imâr ve ıslah*) of a *vilayet*. The Sultan decided the formation of at least two newspapers in Tripoli with them containing articles about ‘the improving the loyalty of the citizens towards the Caliphate and strengthening their patriotic sensation.’ He also stated that, if required, the equipments for the printing press and the writers could be sent from İstanbul. Also he asks for the printing of a monthly scientific newspaper including texts about agriculture, industry, trade and economy (*ilm-î servete*).<sup>30</sup> The Sultan did not hesitate about structuring a local news organisation and then using it as the voice of the central authority.<sup>31</sup> Both the educational institutions and the press are two important equipments in order to help the society project of the central authority.

The last part of the *Layiha* is about the methods of the performing of these investments and it qualifies as an enlightening to the economic approach of the period. It is not expected for the state to provide all the investment by itself. Especially, the profiting investments should be encouraged to be founded by private investors.<sup>32</sup> The statement of reason for this, is both the insufficiency of the public treasury in order to support all these investments —this situation was not stated as such— as well as inciting the private investors in the region. The importance of supporting the private investments is stated all through the text. The basic aim was to structure a society which is integrated with the common economic system in the world and has the power to compete. There was also the need to limit the power of the foreign private investor.

In the above explanations, it has been confirmed that the main aim of the actions the Sultan has devised on, in order for the development of the *vilayet*; is to protect the integrity of the land, to improve the power and the supervising of the central authority at

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<sup>30</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>31</sup> This situation is not only present at a far *vilayet* like Tripolis but for some times also in İzmir with the support of the administration. The only local newspaper *Hizmet* in İzmir has started publishing in the 1880s with the incitements of Halil Rifat Paşa who is the governor in charge. About this please see Zeki Arıkan, *İzmir Basınından Seçmeler: 1872-1922* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayı, 2001), p.4.

<sup>32</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, Kısım: 1, Evrak: 156/35, Zarf: 156, Karton: 3, in Sultan II. Abdülhamid, *Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, p. 234.

every corner of the land, protect the military sources and increase the tax income. It is known that this aim had been valid for all times of the Ottoman Empire, but what was new and unique to the period is the method and the tools used, in order to achieve this aim. The reorganisation of the areas such as economic structure, transportation, communication, educational institutions and press in accordance with the needs of the time, are progresses towards achieving the aim. 'Meeting the needs of the time' has been an important item at all times, however together with Tanzimat it has settled at the heart of administrative and intellectual approach. The difference of Abdülhamid II is the effort to project the necessities of the time and trying to apply the in the provincial and local levels. Within these efforts there was also the sensitivity to generate projects which are suitable for the region. One of the most important points is the project of the administration for the new society. Abdülhamid II desires to transform the Muslim society into a society who is loyal to its state and into production and trade activities which are integrated with the new economic organisation of the world, and able to structure its own capital accumulation in order to do this. At this point, it is seen that the conditions which are preventing the state to achieve his aim, are being neglected and the methods, which will lead to the achieving of the aims are being established rationally.

There are lots of references to local conditions and private ownership; however, there is also the structuring of a strict control mechanism. A structuring like this, might seem contradictory in the beginning but the materialising of the local conditions—in other words the local administration and the local capital groups—as a being, would only be possible under the circumstances the central authority have put forward. The transformation in the possession relations in the nineteenth century has been evaluated by Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, in the frame of the transformation of the relationship between the state and the community. There is the transformation from a public society with the approach that '... economy and the public structure is being formed upon the income and legitimacy hesitations of the dominant groups,' to a public society with the approach that 'structured upon the income and legitimacy hesitations of the central administration which is the organiser of the exchange activities of the society and the economy towards the market.' This transformation or even so the refraction was the inevitable result of the capitalism process, which started in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the international level and within a structure as explained above the state, has to re-construct its legitimate bases. The structural transformation in the state-community relations was formed in the universal level but both within the frame

of interior political struggles of different regions and with the relations with other countries. The role of an administrative structure which directs the economy and the society was of importance in order to achieve a market organisation in conditions where there were power struggles of different levels.<sup>33</sup>

Incrementing the local conditions with the control of the state was inspected in the organisation of the local administrations and in parallel to this in organisations about the resettlement and construction activities after the Tanzimat and especially in the Hamidian Period. The aim of the state ‘is to straighten the administration of the *vilayet*, increasing the income and settle a coherent method of governing.’ Along with this, it was also aimed to control dominant local groups. ‘The necessity of a governor of Tanzimat was not liberty, but income, property and life security.’<sup>34</sup> Is it possible to approach the process which was powered by the solidarity and the understanding between the local conditions and administration centre, as a condition of the Ottoman modernisation?

From the texts belonging to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which are explained above, the concept of *imâr* might possibly be summarised as the following: What is aimed in *imâr* activities, is to improve the level of prosperity, meet the needs of rural and urban areas in accordance with the necessities of the time and with the country and the community. This is inevitable, in order to get over the discomfort in the country and to get out of the narrow hinge at which the country is in. The actions that needs to be taken in order to achieve these aims are explained as below; the provision of the necessary substructure, to get over the unnecessary conditions of the nature in order to achieve this aim if necessary, evaluating the natural sources of nature by using scientific methods, formation of a social substructure —especially educational facilities in the primary and secondary level— and the formation of the economic structuring along with the administrative structuring. At this point, it is seen that the ‘planning’ activities have

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<sup>33</sup> Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, “Hukuk, Mülkiyet, Meşruiyet: Mukayeseli Tarih Yazımı İçin Bir Öneri,” *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier and Murat Güvenç (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p. 2-3. İslamoğlu; Apart from describing the improvement of capitalism and the public transformation it carries out, as a break out in the universal level, and without discussing the before-ness or the after-ness of this break off states that this causes a transformation in the Western Europe as well as the not west geographies, also fixed the problematic upon the happening of the transformation on different geographies. In this concept, the attention is drawn to the similarities as a result of the comparison of the transformation between the Western Europe with non west and China – Russia and Ottoman. It proposes a survey by penetrating the complex structures of different regions in order to climb over the Central point of view of Europe. Also about this please check Huri İslamoğlu, *Neden Avrupa Tarihi?* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri*, p. 24.



been thought in the regional level and forwarding to a reorganisation in the regional scale in terms of economic means, administrative means, along with social means. In fact all of these has been structuring with the effort of being integrated to the capitalist world as İslamoğlu indicates.

## 4.2. The Order Concerns of the Central Authority

The hesitation of the Ottoman administration in terms of controlling building construction within the urban areas had not been an issue that came up in the nineteenth century. It has been known that there had been imperial edicts explaining that the illegal construction has been forbidden, limiting the number of floors, forbidding the cumbas and the fringes and forbidding the people to build wooden building in order to avoid fires ever since the sixteenth century. Apart from this there had also been a series of precautions claiming that the construction equipment should have been produced with the specified dimensions.<sup>35</sup> However the regulations had not been as effective as they meant to be usually because of the passing time. Yerasimos connects this problem to the decisions of the Sultan about the urban areas (*örf-i sultani*)<sup>36</sup>, conflicting with the decisions of Sharia (the Islamic law). When there has been a court case about a building in construction, the *kadı* used to make a decision in accordance with the Islamic law jurisdictions but not in accordance with the Sultan's decisions. The edicts were being sent to the *kadıs* but they were losing their sanction as a result of the time limitation. Sharia was protecting the rights of the private property owners until the limit to interfere the neighbour or the public rights. The issue had usually been examined within the frame of district relations or better the relations of the individuals. The public benefit was important but the issue was not evaluated according to a common law but according to the position that had been the issue of the case. It was appropriate to meet the necessity of public activity in the minimum level within the evaluated point. As a

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<sup>35</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Hicri Onikinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, (İstanbul: 1930) quoted by Stefan Yerasimos "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, tran. Ali Berkay (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 6-7.

<sup>36</sup> 'Örf-i sultani is a legal system formed of Sultan's orders.' The Ottoman administrators had the right to order complementary rules in addition to the Islamic law for issues like war, policy and public order.' They even ordered 'some rules that have been conflicting with the Islamic law' within a frame of rationality when necessary. See Metin Heper "Osmanlı'da Devlet Geleneği," *Türkiye Günlüğü* 73 (2003), pp. 116-7.

result of this, a street that had been rarely used for example could be as narrow as two meters with the negotiation of the resident and even be closed as a result of the negotiation. Within a system like this, the urban pattern could be reshaped in accordance with the necessities, relations and the negotiations of the residents but not in accordance with the regulations that had been specified by an upper authority.

In the nineteenth century, the administration tried to achieve control that could not be provided with the state regulations (*örf*), by operating the European legal system. In fact it had been aimed to “make the *örf* into the customary law and leave the Islamic law completely out of order” during the period that came along with the Tanzimat.<sup>37</sup> Huri Cihan İslamoğlu states that before the Tanzimat the legal regulations was not by all means and included the negotiation of the forces as an area of power conflict within the public and administrative level. Law generally represents an area of contradictions and the bases of negotiation for these contradictions. The rules have the quality of being particularistic; they are structured by the obligations and rights in situations of special cases, people and groups. The series of rules are structured within a period and they are variable and diachronic in accordingly. However, during the period that started with the Tanzimat, the concern of the Ottoman State in terms of strengthening the central authority as well as the concern of the imperialist external forces in terms of structuring areas of interference as a result of affirming that they would protect the rights of the Ottoman Christian society, would together lead to a change within the legal system of the Ottoman State. The new legal system qualified as an instrumental one in the direction of the benefit of central administration and the economic class. It has an abstract and general quality of the legal system that include all the population and in the direction of equality issue.<sup>38</sup>

The Ottoman governors should have also discovered that *nizam* (order) starts in space so that they brought the regulation about the controlling of the buildings in force May 17th of 1839 even before the Tanzimat was announced.<sup>39</sup> Mustafa Reşit Paşa required that the urban space should be organised in accordance with ‘scientific’ rules. The term ‘scientific’ was made up of in accordance with geometrical rules (*kavaid-i hendese*). The main aim had been the structuring of *nizam* as well as order.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> İslamoğlu, “Hukuk, Mülkiyet, Meşruiyet: Mukayeseli Tarih Yazımı İçin Bir Öneri,” pp. 2-6.

<sup>39</sup> Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 50.

Neumann, in his study evaluating the *Tarih-i Cevdet* of Cevdet Paşa who was one of the governors of the Tanzimat period states that, the term *nizam* was ‘the key to understand the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.’<sup>41</sup> The first meaning has been explained as ‘order, rules, tidiness’ in *Kâmus-i Türkî*, whereas the second meaning had been explained as the laws that has been regulated in accordance with the necessities of time.<sup>42</sup> At this point ‘the necessities of time’ stand forward and specify themselves. It has been seen that, *nizam* refers to a political aim to reach as well as the administration to structure this aim, when *Cevdet-i Tarih* has been evaluated. Consequently, *nizam* (order) had to realize in whole parts of the system starting from the top. Administrative order is a power that protects the right and the benefits of the others against the unjust.<sup>43</sup>

Along with the newly structured construction regulations, the bases of negotiation among the individuals and the initiative of the residents in terms of shaping the urban space has been disappearing or at least get to be limited with the conditions specified by the administration. The space that has appeared within these quotations is different from the traditional space, a space with the influence of an abstract power. The narrow, intricate streets and the dead ends of the traditional pattern would not be seen in the newly organised areas; so that there would not be spaces with the highest degree of confidentiality in the districts; the ‘public level’ of the spaces for common usage would be similar in all the settlement. The operability of the streets and the roads had been upgrading; and brought up to the appropriate dimensions for the operation of traffic, to prevent fire and to provide the public order.

As the Building Regulations dated 1848, 1863 and 1882 are evaluated; it is seen that the concern to prevent fire has been one of the main issues in terms of structuring the norms about building construction. The effect of the fires that had been lived for hundreds of years in İstanbul is great.<sup>44</sup> The fire was a problem to be solved, on the other hand the administrators had seen the fire as an opportunity to reorganise the urban

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<sup>41</sup> Christoph K. Neumann, *AraçTarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet’in Siyasi Anlamı*, tran. Meltem Arun (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 185.

<sup>42</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, p. 1463.

<sup>43</sup> Neumann, *AraçTarih Amaç Tanzimat*, pp. 185-6.

<sup>44</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin had evaluated the fire problem within his studies and informed about the cautions in centuries. See Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye: 2*, ed. Cengiz Özdemir, trans. Mustafa Serin and others (İstanbul: IBŞB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 1077-97.

pattern. It is seen that the narrow streets, the crowded and dense settlements had also disturbed the offices related with the public order. Two basic precautions had been emphasized on by the *Meclis-i Vâlâ* after the Hoca Paşa Fire (*Harik-i Kebir*) in 1863 in the official report about the formation of *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu*: widening the streets and the marketplace as much as possible and transforming the houses to brick and stone houses. It has been stated that the above precautions are important in terms of providing cleanliness and sanitation (*hıfz-ı sıhha*) also protecting security in İstanbul is the same as ‘guarding a mixed up jungle’, however it is possible to provide security by ‘streets with their ends seen’.<sup>45</sup>

The first study of arrangement after fire that is within the norms was established in İzmir. After the fire in 1845 that had devastated the whole of the Armenian District and some of the Frenk District, the Ottoman Administration itself sent two architects from the capital city for reorganising the devastated fire area. By doing so, the *İlmuhabir* decisions dated 1839 had been put into action by the order of the Sultan.<sup>46</sup> The traces of the Building Regulation that had been put into force in 1848 had been seen in the planning study by Luigi Storary after the Aksaray fire in 1856. The fire, that had been the cause of a great devastation after the fire in 1854 in Bursa, was the cause of the first organisation studies to start.<sup>47</sup> The new arrangements in the same city after the fire in 1863 in the Armenian district was the cause of an aspect change in the region and the district became a place of preference by the upper income level and a place which hold different ethnical groups together.<sup>48</sup> A similar period had been lived in Salonica after the fire in 1890. The Jewish district, that has been integrated with the historical centre and where two thousand residences had been on fire, was transformed into a upper level residential environment after the arrangement studies of the

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<sup>45</sup> For original text see Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*. vol. 2, pp. 939-944.

<sup>46</sup> Cana Bilsel, “19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir’de Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekanlarının Başkalaşımı.” *Egeminarlık* 36 (2000), p. 218.

<sup>47</sup> İlhan Tekeli, “Bursa’nın Tarihinde Üç Ayrı Dönüşüm Dönemi,” *Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşununun 700. Yıldönümünde Bursa ve Yöresi* (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi and Mimarlar Odası Bursa Şubesi Ortak Yayını, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Béatrice Saint-Laurent, “Bir Tiyatro Amatörü: Ahmed Vefik Paşa ve 19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Bursa’nın Yeniden Biçimlenmesi,” *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, tran. Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 88-90.

Municipality engineers in accordance with the Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*) dated 1882.<sup>49</sup>

The Hoca Paşa fire in 1865 had devastated the region that was limited with the Marmara Coast, Sultan Ahmed Piazza, Bayezid Square, Yeni Cami and Kapalı Çarşı in Istanbul Suriçi; and the fire area being both an administrative and a commercial region made the issue to be considered with intentional care. Within the arrangement studies there was the widening of the roads, especially the *Divan Yolu*, arrangement of the building islands and cleaning the environs of important monuments. Zeynep Çelik states that these applications under the administration of *Islahat-ı Turuk* Commission between the years 1865-1869 had surpassed the aim of overcoming the problems of the fire areas and became an effort to ‘assign a character of an European city’ to the historical region of the city. In addition to this a plan was prepared to obtain a ‘European city character’ with wide axes and squares that would change the region completely after the Pera fire in 1870. However, the loss belonging to the private property being too much caused a great dismay among the regional society, the administration had cancelled the plan and was contented with the widening of the main axes and the arrangement of building blocks.<sup>50</sup> It is seen that catastrophes such as fire had been the reason for urban organisation in the Ottoman State as well as an opportunity by the administrators especially in İstanbul who had idealised the European cities.

Another issue that the researchers who studied the urban planning activities after the Tanzimat have emphasized on was the effectiveness of the central authority in terms of resettlement operations. As also İlhan Tekeli stated; ‘there had not been any radical resettlement operation in the urban area’ during the nineteenth century. Still in lots of researches it had been claimed that, the planning activities in the Ottoman cities had not qualified for containing the whole city but structured by local plans in pieces, such as the reorganisation of fire areas. As a result of this Tekeli defines this period that started on the second half of the nineteenth century until the announcement of Turkish Republic as ‘the inhibited modernity period.’ The author while doing this definition takes action from the reality of the Ottoman administration not performing large scaled,

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<sup>49</sup> Aleksandra Yeralimpos, “Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan’da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme,” *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, tran. Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 50.

<sup>50</sup> Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pp. 55-65.

radical, urban operations like in Paris, Vienna, Berlin and even St. Petersburg —urban applications are within the focus of modernisation process— during the modernisation period that idealised Europe and this situation is seen as “unsuccessful”.

However before evaluating as ‘successful’ or ‘unsuccessful’, a question could be asked in order to comprehend the result. Why did the Ottoman Administration not try radical methods in terms of planning activities like the other countries of the time? Apparently the ‘financial issues’ is the first and most likely answer to this question, but by itself it is not enough to understand.

The tradition of consultation and the search for negotiation between the administrator and the community in the Ottoman administration tradition has been worth attention. Şevket Pamuk asks that ‘how can the Ottoman Empire endure its existence for six hundred years in Eurasia in a geography that had been the intersection of commercial axes’ and emphasises that one of the possible answers might be the ‘flexibility, pragmatism and tendency to negotiate.’ In the search for understanding to internal and external problems, there could be examples from many areas to the ‘tendency towards negotiation and discussion.’<sup>51</sup>

The process of negotiation between the administrator and the community specify itself within the applications of resettlement in the urban areas. The cancellation of the plan made after the Pera fire mentioned above as a result of the objections of the community has been one of the most important examples. Yet the public society had the right to object the plan that had been prepared in the 1863 Street and Building Regulations (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) and the 1882 Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*) for fifteen days. The negotiation bases were especially defined within the new organisations in the current pattern in terms of providing justice and the solution of possible problems between both the individuals and the public and the individual. Friés, who has evaluated the construction activities in Damascus by the end of nineteenth century, states that the organisations in the urban areas can only be possible after negotiations between the administration representatives and the residents; and these arrangements can only be applied in the urban centre since they will also answer the necessities of the tradesmen in the marketplace. The operation of widening the roads in the centre of Damascus had faced the objections of the community and the *Vali* Mithat

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<sup>51</sup> Şevket Pamuk, “Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi İçin İpuçları: Seçici Kurumsal Değişim ve Osmanlının Uzun Ömürlülüğü,” *İlhan Tekeli İçin Armağan Yazılar*, ed. Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier and Murat Güvenç (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), pp. 297-313.

Paşa chose to apply radical methods instead of applying procedure specified by the regulation. However, this should have caused great objections so that the following *valis* of Damascus worked within the legal procedure in terms of applying new arrangements.<sup>52</sup> As the objections to the construction operations increased in Bursa, Ahmed Vefik Paşa, even though he has been one of the favourite governors of the time, was called back to İstanbul.<sup>53</sup> The administration should have thought that the tension of the society had increased more than necessary.

The generally negotiative manner of the Ottoman administration could be said to appear as a result of the ‘precautionary’ manner during the Abdülhamid II. Cevdet Paşa, who was one of the most trusted administrators of Abdülhamid, claimed that he accepted ‘the power of public as the only power that has been more than the Sultan’ and he hesitated from ‘the public’. According to Cevdet Paşa, ‘the success of a rebellion depends on the aim of the rebellion being accepted by the public.’ Many examples that had been lived throughout history indicate that ‘some people had lost their positions as a result of criticism from the public conscience’, should have made lots of Ottoman governors like Cevdet Paşa sensitive to the public movements. At this point Cevdet Paşa accepts that ‘the public’ specifies history from time to time, also states that ‘the reforms could only be possible in case they are supported by the public’ and ‘the public should be taken into consideration in terms of management’.<sup>54</sup>

Çetinsaya who studies on the characteristics of the Hamidian Regime also emphasises the ‘overcautious’ situation of the state. Considering the delicate situation that the emperer is in, the main principle had been ‘not taking risks, not destroying the status quo and to negotiate instead of conflict.’<sup>55</sup> ‘Not to give cause to complains’ both in terms of internal and external policy<sup>56</sup> and the principal of stopping any incident in case of a rebellion, has become the condition of advancing upon delicate balances.

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<sup>52</sup> Franck Friés, “Tanzimat Dönemi Yönetmeliklerinin Bir Taşra Kentinin İmarı ve Yenilenmesi Üzerine Etkileri: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Sonunda Şam,” *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras*, prepared for publishing by Nur Akın, Afife Batur and Selçuk Batur (İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1999), pp. 183-5.

<sup>53</sup> Saint-Laurent, “Bir Tiyatro Amatörü: Ahmed Vefik Paşa,” p. 90.

<sup>54</sup> Neumann, *AraçTarih Amaç Tanzimat*, p. 198-204.

<sup>55</sup> Çetinsaya, “II. Abdülhamid Rejimine Yeniden Bakış,” *Türkiye Günlüğü* 73 (2003), p. 162.

<sup>56</sup> Tahsin Paşa, *Sultan Abdülhamid: Yıldız Hatıraları* (İstanbul: M.A. Halit Kütüphanesi, 1931) quoted by Çetinsaya, in “II. Abdülhamid Rejimine Yeniden Bakış,” p. 162.

Apparently the aim of this study has not been to evaluate the reasons that lay under the reconciliatory manner of the Ottoman State, which has been a really detailed issue. The important point is to see that the Ottoman administration has been sensitive towards the reactions of public, chose to negotiate when necessary and the same tradition is also seen within the rearrangement of the urban area. The interesting is that the administration has the effort to arrange and control the urban space as well as trying to take things under control by not giving any cause to complaints and in a reconciliatory manner.

### 4.3. Transformation of Urban Form and New Residential Areas

The population census in 1881–1893 indicate that the urban population ratio had reached the percentage of 25%; whereas it has been guessed that 8-9% of the country population had lived in the cities during the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Another important change is the distribution of the urban population in the country. The settlement network started to disintegrate since the seventeenth century as a result of population pressure, social and economic depressions. However, radical transformation related with production and international commercial relations has been seen during the nineteenth century. During the integration process to the world economic relations, the improvements that took place after the 1850s accelerated the transformation in the settlement and transportation network. In December 1881 along with the structuring of the Debt Administration (*Duyun-i Umumiye*) as a result of the *Muharrem Kararnamesi*; the creditor European countries emphasised on the agricultural production for export in order to improve the tax sources to be collected.<sup>58</sup> During this process, the port cities have stepped forward in terms of population amounts as well as cosmopolitan structures as a result of the increasing commercial capacity with the European countries. Apparently İzmir has a different historical progress upon the cities of subject. The integration of İzmir with the Mediterranean commerce reaches back to the seventeenth century.

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<sup>57</sup> İlhan Tekeli, Yiğit Gülöksüz, “Kentleşme, Kentlileşme ve Türkiye Deneyimi,” *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi. Vol. 5*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), p. 1230.

<sup>58</sup> Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi, 1500-1914*, p. 232.



While ancient port cities such as İzmir and Salonika kept growing, there has also been the appearance of new port cities such as Mersin, Beirut, Dedeğaç and Haifa. After 1840, with the increasing number of steam vessels of great tonnage, the capacity of the present ports was insufficient. Since 1860 until the end of the century, wharfs constructed in İstanbul, İzmir, Salonika and Beirut with the investment of foreign firms. The back up areas of these ports where there have been agricultural production have been strengthened with the railway and highway connections ever since 1856.<sup>59</sup> The construction of new wharfs and railway stations caused a structural transformation in the urban areas. Along with the improvement of international and regional commerce, new service units took their places in the city centres. Banks, insurance, post office, foreign firm branch offices along with commercial contact offices and depots that are directly related with the ports necessitated new office buildings. In addition to this the number of the representatives of the European countries increased rapidly.

The economic growth in the port cities created new labour facilities and magnetised people of different economic and social classes to itself. The local merchants of the region and the representatives of foreign cities took their places in the city before anything else. In studies about port cities, it has been dwelled upon migration, increase in population and the cosmopolitan structure but very little upon the life and life environment of less income groups. The packing of commercial goods, storage and shipment necessitated intense labour. Apparently this drew population from the distant geographies of the country as well as the region of the port city. The construction of new port facilities, the increase of mechanisation in shipment and evacuation has decreased the need for longshoreman but still they carried on with their importance. The existence of trade guilds with their porter and rower member and the efficiency of these guilds has been the evidence of this power. The researches of Quataert indicated that the longshoreman in İstanbul, İzmir, Salonika and Trabzon could cooperated to be a power by their protests.<sup>60</sup>

The port cities are not the only ones who lived the transformation by the end of the nineteenth century. Especially the generalisation of the construction activities upon Anatolian *vilayets* during the Hamidian period, structuring of connections Eskişehir,

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<sup>59</sup> Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," pp. 799-807.

<sup>60</sup> Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," pp. 802-4, also for the study of the author about the same topic see, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1882-1908*, (New York: 1983).

Konya and Ankara with İzmir and İstanbul between 1890–1895, strengthening the highway connections had been the main reason of providing the integration of internal regions with the country and world market.<sup>61</sup> (See Figure 4.2) The increase in production in Central Anatolia during the process explained in the third chapter; would bring enlightenment to the commercial focuses of the classical period.<sup>62</sup> Even though the railway did not reached Bursa, the highway connections with Mudanya and Bandırma ports were strengthened. Bursa kept its importance with its resistance within the manufacturing sector even though it has left the quality of being the second great city of the Ottoman to İzmir.<sup>63</sup> A similar situation is present for Aleppo.<sup>64</sup>



Figure 4.2. Railroads in the Ottoman Empire, 1914. (Source: Quataert 1997)

The restructuring of the country administration within the centralised administrative structure of Tanzimat, had caused the appearance of a bureaucrat class in cities and especially in provincial centres. ‘Especially during the Hamidian Period there

<sup>61</sup> Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>62</sup> For the urban improvement and transformations in Ankara and Afyon during the last quarter of the nineteenth century within this context see. Sevgi Aktüre, *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümü* (1978; Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınları, 1981), p. 135 and 199.

<sup>63</sup> Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” pp. 900-11.

<sup>64</sup> Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” pp. 926-7.

had been an increase among the officers who take roles within the civil administration.’ The provincial almanacs have the quality of being informative about the officer employees in the centres of *vilayet* and *sancak*.<sup>65</sup> In addition to this the barracks that had been constructed in the urban area had been worth attention with the large area they occupy as well as the city became a place to accommodate an important military population with the *Nizamiye* and *Redif* troops.<sup>66</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the increase in population, new administrative structuring and the economic improvement had specified the social levelling in the great cities of Ottoman such as the port cities like İzmir and Salonika; and brought the difference between the high and low income levels to the peak. It is not wrong to indicate that there happens to be people belonging to every religious and ethnical group in every level of the economic scale. The population increase along with the transformation within the socio-economic structure had created a new building demand in the city. There was the high income level who demanded to live in a qualified environment and conditions as well as the people with no regular income who had been in search for only a place to shelter.

The regions chosen by the new central functions structured the new life environments of non-Muslim community belonging to the high income level and the European people like it has been seen in İstanbul-Pera and İzmir-Punta. In the following years, there is the tendency of locating the new prestigious residential zones within the extension of the main transport connections. Access was provided by new public transport vehicles such as train and street cars. An example to this situation is the extension of urban progress to be in the Karataş–Göztepe axis in İzmir since 1880. The existence of railway and seaways facilitated the appearance of settlements that were disconnected from the city. Buca, Bornova, Karşıyaka and Bayraklı in İzmir have been the best examples of this situation. In İstanbul, mansions in Boğaziçi and chalets in Kadıköy started to generalise. On the other hand, the high income level in Bursa and Salonika had chose location in the rearranged district after the fire that is almost clashed with the centre. In Salonika, they started to grow over the city walls in 1870, some of

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<sup>65</sup> Sevgi Aktüre, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişmeler,” *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi: 4*, ed. Mustafa Şahin (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), p. 895.

<sup>66</sup> Aktüre, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişmeler,” p. 896.

the city walls were demolished and new residential areas for the middle and high income levels were constructed in eastern of the city.<sup>67</sup>

In many cities, the ancient districts continued to be the life environment of middle and lower middle income level groups. However as explained above, the approaching of a dense worker population to the port cities, caused the structuring of poor districts in the outer walls of the city. The destitute segment has settled in the west of the frontier walls in Salonika<sup>68</sup> and upon the axis that extended from Basmane to Kemer in İzmir.<sup>69</sup> Apart from these, there has been illegal construction in cities with population increase.<sup>70</sup> Apparently the share of immigrant population in terms of the increase in city population should not be forgotten. As explained below, the immigrant districts have been the main reason of growth for numerous cities.

Along with the bestowing of rights to the ones who have administrative rights upon the *mîrî* land that get close to absolute property ownership<sup>71</sup>, and this opened the way to constructing buildings upon the *mîrî* land on the city boundaries. However opening the *mîrî* land on the city boundaries for construction, in other words transforming it into urban land depends on the permission of the Sultan and only with the rearrangement of the current plans.<sup>72</sup> The official documents, that belong to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, have proved that the *mîrî* land and the state-farms were put on sale by the administration.<sup>73</sup> According to the Article 37 of the Resettlement Regulation dated 1878 the immigrants obtained the right to buy farms that are in the city boundaries.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Yerolimpos, “Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan’da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme,” p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> Meropi Anastassiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Selanik, 1830-1912*, tran. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p. 374.

<sup>69</sup> Mübeccel Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir* (1972; İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1998), p. 52.

<sup>70</sup> Tekeli, “Tanzimat’dan Cumhuriyet’e Kentsel Dönüşüm,” p. 882.

<sup>71</sup> According to the Article 8 of the Land Regulation dated 1858, the citizens would be given title deed bills to certify their rights to thrift in villages and counties. “[...] *keyfiyet-i tasarruflarına mübeyyin yedlerine tapu senetleri ifa olunur.*” For detailed information about the issue see Halil Cin, *Osmanlı Toprak Düzeni ve Bu Düzenin Bozulması*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1985), pp. 248-50.

<sup>72</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 42, July 26th 1895, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> The issue is evaluated in detail within the fifth chapter.

<sup>74</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, Lef 2, *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*, 13 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1295 [June 14th 1878].

Also on the Article 9 of the 1863 Street and Building Regulation define the conditions of constructing new districts upon vacant land and orchards.<sup>75</sup> There were also additional articles on the 1882 Building Law such as asking the people who want to construct districts on the lands, to renounce land for ‘a gendarme station and school’ without any charge if necessary, lay out a drainage network within the land to be constructed and contribute to the sidewalk constructing expenses upon the sale amount of new parcel lots.<sup>76</sup> Leaving land for the construction of a gendarme station and a school are the indication of two important policies specific for Hamidian period. One of them is the generalisation of primary schools in accordance with the education policy; and the other is to generalise the organisation to provide “public order” on the base of districts. Another article to direct urban development is related with the situation of *mîrî* and wakf lands. According to the Article 16 of the 1882 Building Law, the wakf and *mîrî* lands would be assigned in return for rent and the building to be constructed upon the land would belong to the person assigned.<sup>77</sup> The same issue takes place in the Article 9 of the regulation dated 1863. As a result of this, the unused *mîrî* land and the land belonging to the foundations that are under the pressure of settlement and located on the city environs would be open for construction. It should have been also thought to prevent illegal construction by renting the after the necessary arrangements.

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<sup>75</sup> Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye. Vol. 4*, p. 1675.

<sup>76</sup> The original version of the Building Regulation sated 1882 is as follows: “Ham arazi ve bağ ve bostan üzerine ebniye inşasıyla mahalle teşkili için parça parça satmak isteyenler taayün edecek lüzum ve icab üzerine orada meccânen bir karakolhâne ve bir de mektep mahali terketmeğe ve hududu nihayetine değin lağım yapmaya ve satılan yerler bedelâtından kaldırım masârifiyçün Şehremâneti’ne beher arşında dört para te’diyesine mecburdur. [...] O misillü arâzi sahibi evvel-emirde istidânâmesiyle beraber Şehremâneti’ne bir harita vererek devâir-i mukteziyye ile bi’l-muhâbere o arazinin mahalle şekline girmesinde mahzur olup olmadığı ve orada bir karakolhane ve bir mektep inşasına lüzum görünüp görünmediği tahkiki olunarak netice-i tahkikatta o mahalın mahalle şekline vaz’ında bir gûne mahzur olmadığı tebeyyün eylediği halde haritası üzerinde işbu kanunun tayin eylediği vechile sokakları çizilerek ve karakolhane ve mektep inşasına lüzum görüldüğü takdirde karakol ve mektep mahalleri dahi gösterilerek Dâhiliye Nezâretine takdim ile bi’l-istîzân müteallik buyurulacak irâde-i seniyye mûcibince ruhsat-ı resmiyye i’tâ olunacaktır.” See Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye. Vol. 4*, pp. 1718-9.

<sup>77</sup> The original version of the related item is as follows: “Onaltıncı Maddede muharrer ham yerler gerek arâzi-i emîriyyeden olsun ve gerek arâzi-i vakfiyyeden bulunsun üzerine inşa olunacak ebniye mülk olmak üzere mukataa-i zemin olarak icâre tahsis olunacaktır.” See Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye. Vol. 4*, p. 1719

#### 4.4. Constructing of Immigrant Districts in the Ottoman Cities

At the end of the nineteenth century, it has been signposted with the studies performed during the last years that the problem of providing new life environments for the immigrants has an important part among the planning activities in the Ottoman cities. It has been explained in the previous chapter that the resettlement of the immigrants in the cities became possible with the construction regulation dated 1878. However, in 1855 and the following years, new cities and counties (*kasaba*) were constructed in the Dobruca region for the resettlement of the immigrants.<sup>78</sup> After 1878, there were the issue of integrating of immigrant groups to the present cities. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century immigrant districts have appeared in most of the Ottoman cities and for some cities has a specific role in terms of transformation in the urban form.

Cevat Eren in his literary work written in 1966, indicate that the bases of the issue of slum houses in Turkey had been fed with the decision, which state that the immigrants could settle in the city.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately this comment has been repeated by some historians throughout the history.<sup>80</sup> In fact the immigrant districts have been structured after the decision, with the approval of the Sultan and in the defined land. These districts arranged orderly and in accordance with the regulation despite the insufficiency of infrastructure. During the same years slum house districts have been seen in İstanbul and İzmir but the residents of these districts have been the low income group who came from the other cities and villages. There could also the poor immigrants among the residents of the districts mentioned above but it can not be stated that these districts appeared as a result of the decision mentioned.

Sevgi Aktüre has been the first to call attention to the appearance of immigrant districts after 1878 and their physical structuring. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the three concrete indicators of the spatial change in Ankara were the administrative centre and the railway as well as the immigrant district. The *Boşnak Mahallesi* that structured in 1878 in the eastern part of the city has been the only visible

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<sup>78</sup> Evaluations about the resettlement process in the Dobruca region and the Mecidiye city that had been structured in this region as an administrative and commercial center are in the second chapter.

<sup>79</sup> Eren, Türkiye’de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri, p. 82.

<sup>80</sup> Kocacık, “Balkanlar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler,” p. 180

differentiation in Ankara in terms so that residential areas both in terms of physical structure as well as the amount of land.<sup>81</sup> (Figure 4.3) Serim Denel state that the *Boşnak Mahallesi* of fifty house were constructed in accordance with the items of the 1863 Street and Building Regulation and it has been the first application of plan with geometrical order in Ankara.

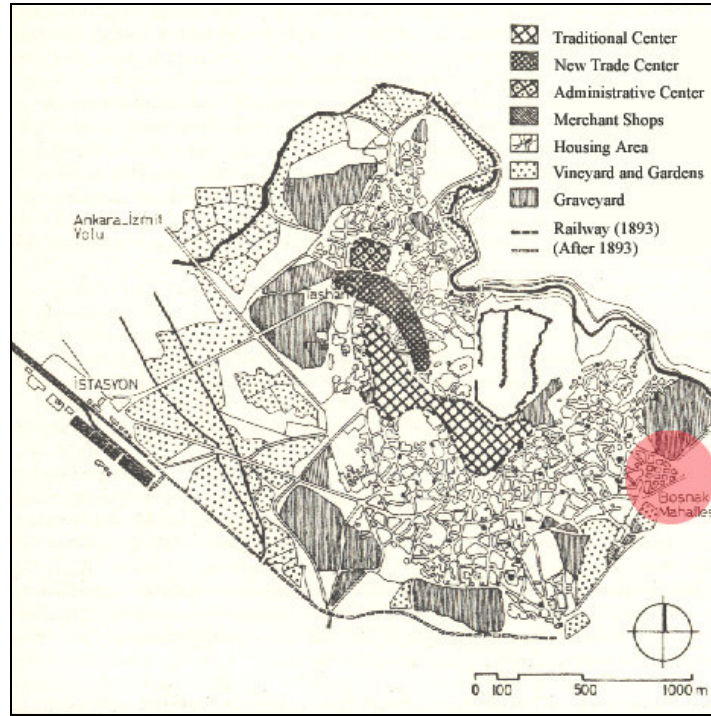


Figure 4.3. The location of Boşnak District in Ankara, 1926.  
(Source: Aktüre1981; prepared by the Authour)

The houses that have been built by the administration were given to the families in return for bonds, in 1928. These bonds were changed with title deeds. The parcels were separated as 150-180 square meter and the houses were built as 2-3 rooms (including kitchen). The courtyards at the backside of the houses have been turned into an opening with the additions in time.<sup>82</sup> (Figure 4.4)

<sup>81</sup> Aktüre, *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti*, p. 135.

<sup>82</sup> Serim Denel, "19. Yüzyılda Ankara'nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusundaki Farklılaşmalar," *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, ed. Erdal Yavuz and Nevzat Uğurel (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1984), pp. 137-9.

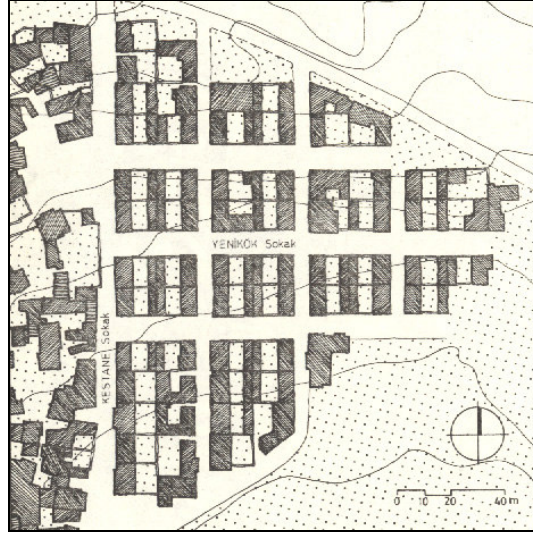


Figure 4.4. Plan of the Boşnak District in Ankara (Source: Aktüre1981)

It has been explained before that Hüdavendigâr ranks the first place among the *vilayets* that the immigrants were resettled. In parallel it is seen that numerous immigrant districts have constructed in Bursa. (Figure 4.5) The first immigrants to come to the city were settled in ancient districts such as Mollaarap, Alacahırka and Yıldırım.<sup>83</sup> In the year 1870, the city still had the population, as number in the sixteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Its population was 69.000 in 1831 and increased up to 77.000 in 1895.<sup>85</sup> Understanding that the population of the sixteenth century had changed in a very small amount during the years and the present districts especially upon the city boundaries had a low density enough to absorb the new coming population. Hayriye, Vefikiye, Şükranîye, İclaliye, Mecidiye, Babadağ, İntizam, Ruscuk, Selimiye,<sup>86</sup> Çırpan and Hocahasan Districts<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa'da Yer Adları Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Bursa Ticaret Odası Kültür Yayınları, 1996), p. 14.

<sup>84</sup> It has been estimated that the sixteenth century population of İstanbul is around 60.000. See Maurice M. Cerasi, *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi*, çev. Aslı Ataöv (İstanbul: YKY, 1999), p. 53. Also see Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Kentler ve Kentliler*, p. 53.

<sup>85</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Bursa'nın Tarihinde Üç Ayrı Dönüşüm Dönemi," *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşununun 700. Yıldönümünde Bursa ve Yöresi* (Bursa: 1999), p. 21.

<sup>86</sup> Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa'da Yer Adları Ansiklopedisi*, p. 15.

<sup>87</sup> Türkoğlu, "Formation and Transformation of Urban Fabric in the 19th Century Bursa,," B.A. Diss., METU, 2002, pp. 162-72 quoted by Arzu Temizsoy, in "Resettlement of Balkan Refugees in İzmir During the Late Ottoman Period: A survey on the Urban and Architectural Properties of the Planned District of Değirmendağı." B.A. Diss., METU, 2002, p. 46-8.



have constructed in different parts of Bursa, as a result of the migrations after the Ottoman-Russian war. However the significant districts that showed themselves in the city whole by the grid-iron pattern have been the Ruscuk, Selimiye, Çırpan and Hocahasan Districts that were structured towards the valley in the north of Hisar (Figure 4.6). The first immigrants had been settled in this region during the governorship of Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1879-1882).<sup>88</sup>

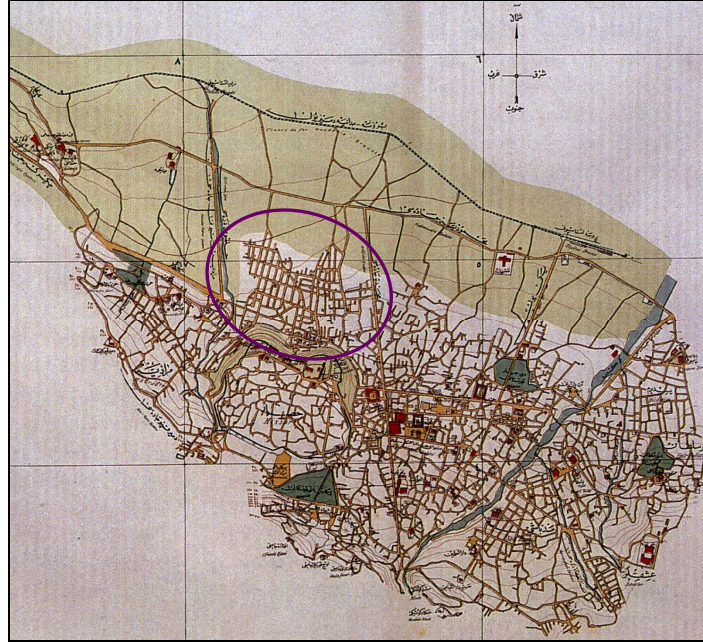
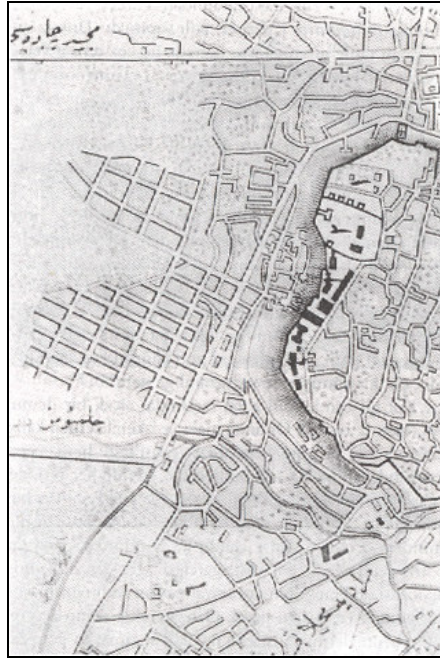


Figure 4.5. The location of the Immigrant Districts in Bursa, 1921.  
(Source: Archive of Municipality of Bursa)

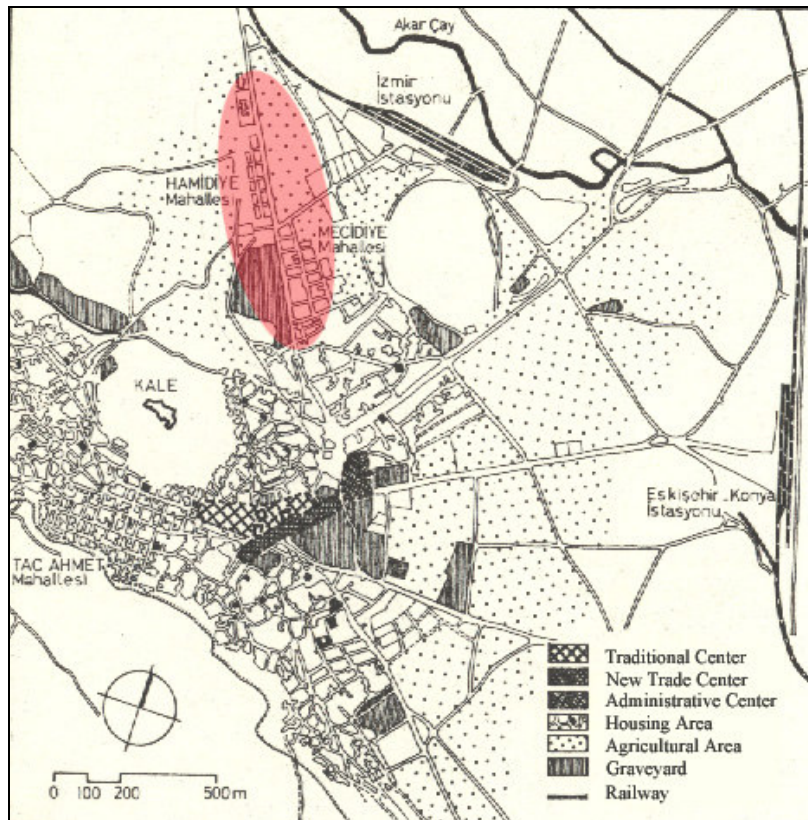
In Afyon, which is another city of the Hüdavendigar *Vilayet*, upon the axis that is directed towards the İzmir station, Hamidiye and Mecidiye Districts were constructed for the immigrants in accordance with the 1882 Building Law (Figure 4.7). Aktüre has indicated that the immigrants as well as the civilian and military bureaucrats who had been assigned to the city has an important share in the population increase between the years 1890-1898, the population raised from 17.500 to 31.000.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Tekeli, "Bursa'nın Tarihinde Üç Ayrı Dönüşüm Dönemi," p. 19.

<sup>89</sup> Aktüre, *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti*, p. 199-217.



**Figure 4.6** Ruscuk, Selimiye, Çırpan and Hocahasan Districts in Bursa, 1907.  
(Source: Saint-Laurent 1999)



**Figure 4.7** Hamidiye and Mecidiye Districts in Afyon, 1910  
(Source: Aktüre1981; prepared by the Author)

Along with the resettlement of the immigrants, the city of Eskişehir growth towards north direction. The appearance of the railway in 1883 has also been effective in terms of urban transformation.<sup>90</sup> (Figure 4.8)

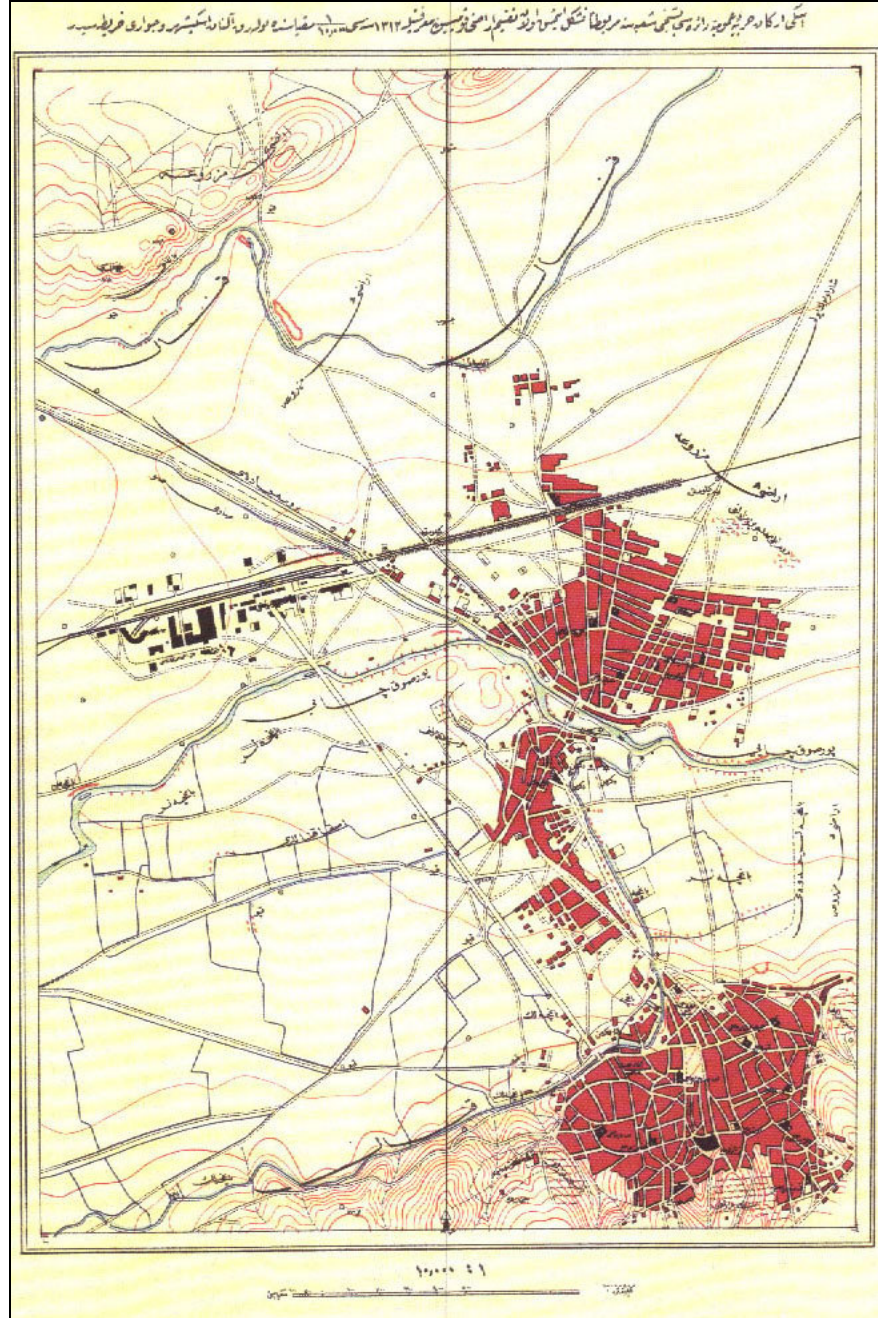


Figure 4.8. Eskişehir Map prepared by *Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye*, 1312 [1894-1895] The immigrant districts were established at the north of the River. (Source: Uçkun and Uçkun, 2002)

<sup>90</sup> B. Yelda Olcay Uçkun and Erkan Uçkun, *Eskişehir Odunpazarı Evleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), p. 16-23.

After 1850s, as a result of strengthening the connection of Samsun port that has been standing out in the Black Sea with the Central Anatolia, Çorum became a commercial centre of the region at where the agricultural products had been collected and marketed. The economic transformation caused an increase within the urban population and the immigrants played an important role in this increase. It has also been important to note that; an Armenian district was structured in Çorum between the years 1882–1892 as well as the structuring of Hamidiye, Selimiye, İcadiye and Mahmudiye Districts.<sup>91</sup> Friés, who researched for traces of Construction Regulations of the Tanzimat period in Damascus, claimed that the most effective traces had appeared with the structuring of immigrant districts.<sup>92</sup> (Figure 4.9 and 4.10)

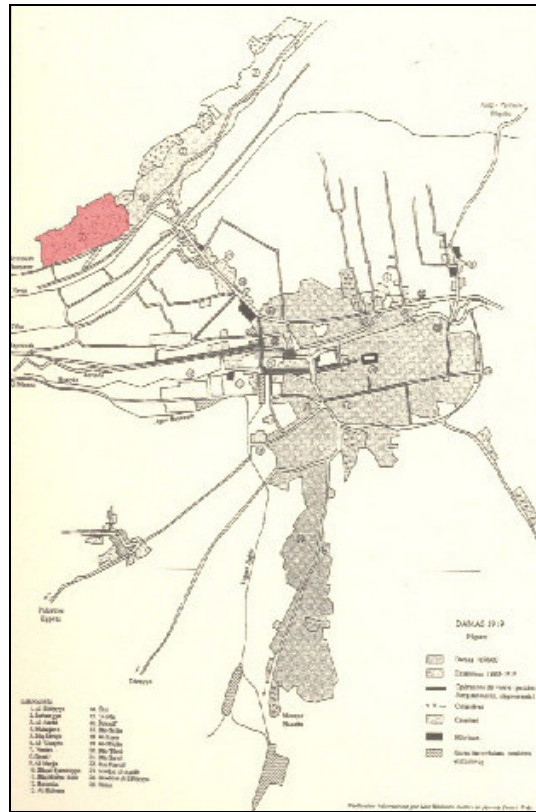


Figure 4.9. The location of the Immigrant District in Damascus, 1919.  
(Source: Friés 1999; signed by the Author)

<sup>91</sup> Aktüre, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişmeler,” pp. 896-901.

<sup>92</sup> Friés, “Tanzimat Dönemi Yönetmeliklerinin Bir Taşra Kentinin İmarı ve Yenilenmesi Üzerine Etkileri,” p. 185.

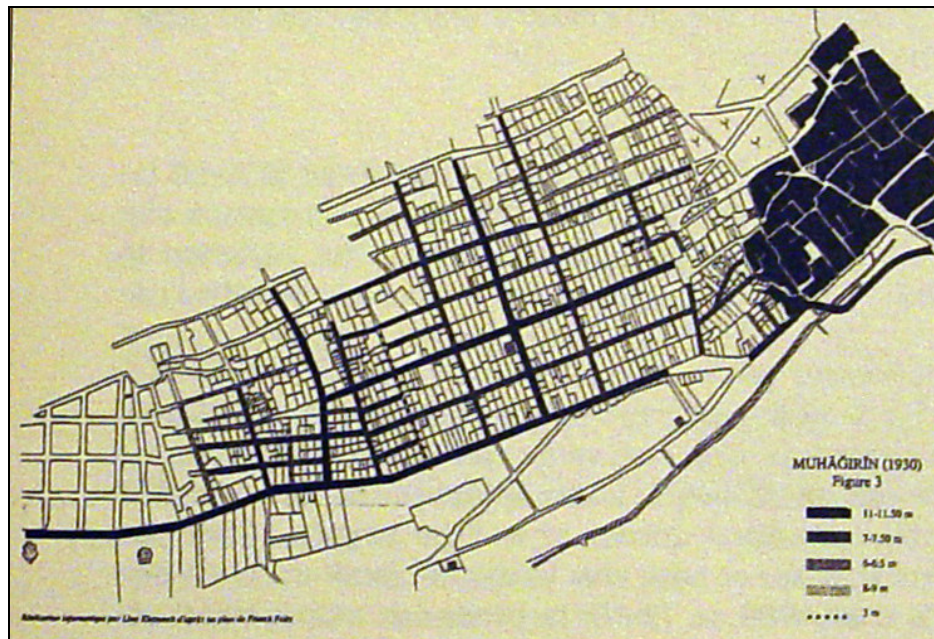


Figure 4.10. The Immigrant District in Damascus, 1919.  
(Source: Friés 1999)

Above, there have been evaluations about the immigrant districts in studies of planning and urban history that examines urban transformation in Ottoman cities. These cities are ones at which the market relations have been strengthened by railway, highway and as a result of this during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and population increase occurred. This situation indicates that the economic potentials of the cities were taken into consideration while the immigrants were resettling.

Consequently, the central administration to be integrated within the capitalist world organization during the Hamidian Period had been initiatives in order to protect the existence of the administration. The local dynamics such as personal investments, recognition of the private property ownership rights, accumulation of local income, integration of the local forces within the administration were supported and all these were tried to be done under the control of the administration and on the path to strengthen the economic and the administrative structure of the administration. During the Tanzimat period, especially the investments in terms of transportation were tried to be applied towards the benefits of the foreign capital, whereas during the Hamidian Period —despite the *Duyun-u Umumiye*— the construction activities were tried to be applied under the control and the initiatives of the administration and by the usage of local sources. The new regulations in terms of administrative and economic areas, which had been tried in the regional level during the Tanzimat period, were tried to be

generalized countrywide during the Hamidian Period. The important thing at this point was Abdülhamid's method of making the *new* regulations accepted by the community with *traditional* expressions.

Another issue to be stressed on is the experience and the knowledge in terms of management of commerce, developing communicating and defence strategies in the imperial system showed itself in the reorganization and restructuring of the settlement and transportation network in nineteenth century. Eventually the 'planning' concept of the Ottoman during the nineteenth century—rather than the physical organization of the urban area—signify itself as an area of developing strategies in the countrywide and regional scale. It has been seen that the planning activities had been actualized by the usage of local dynamics under the control of the central administration; not complementary but in pieces and not radical but with negotiation when the issue had been the urban space.

After this chapter of evaluating the concept of 'planning' during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; have investigated the actors and the resettlement process of the immigrants in the *Vilayet* of Aydın and the İzmir city.

## CHAPTER 5

# THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN İZMİR DURING THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE IMMIGRANT DISTRICT

### 5.1. The Forced Migration to the *Vilayet* of Aydın and the City of İzmir

During the last quarter of nineteenth century there have been two migration flows to İzmir. The first one of these is the migration, which have started in 1877-78 after the Ottoman-Russian War and mainly from present-day Romania, Bulgaria, and Russia. The second one is the immigration of the Cretan Muslims, which has increased after 1897 as a result of the Crete conflict in 1896. There have also been migrations from Yanya (Janina), Trikala and Yenişehir (Larissa) after the domination of the Thessaly region by the Greece in 1881 and during and after the Ottoman–Greece war of 1897<sup>1</sup> (Figure 5.1). In this section, the migrations which have took place between the years 1877–1908 will be evaluated. However starting from the first half of the nineteenth century with the starting of the Mora Rebellion in 1821, the Muslim community have started to migrate to the Western Anatolia from Mora peninsula and Aegean islands.

#### 5.1.1. The Migrations after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878

During and after the Ottoman-Russian War, migrations from Caucasian's, the *vilayets* of Danube and Sofia have tried to settle most in Rumelia. However, after the migration flow to İstanbul, the government had to direct the immigrant community, who keep coming to the capital city, to the some *vilayets* of Anatolia and the *vilayets* of

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<sup>1</sup> The information about the migrations from Yanya (Joannia), Yenişehir and Tırhala to İzmir are published on the *Ahenk* and *Hizmet* Newspapers.

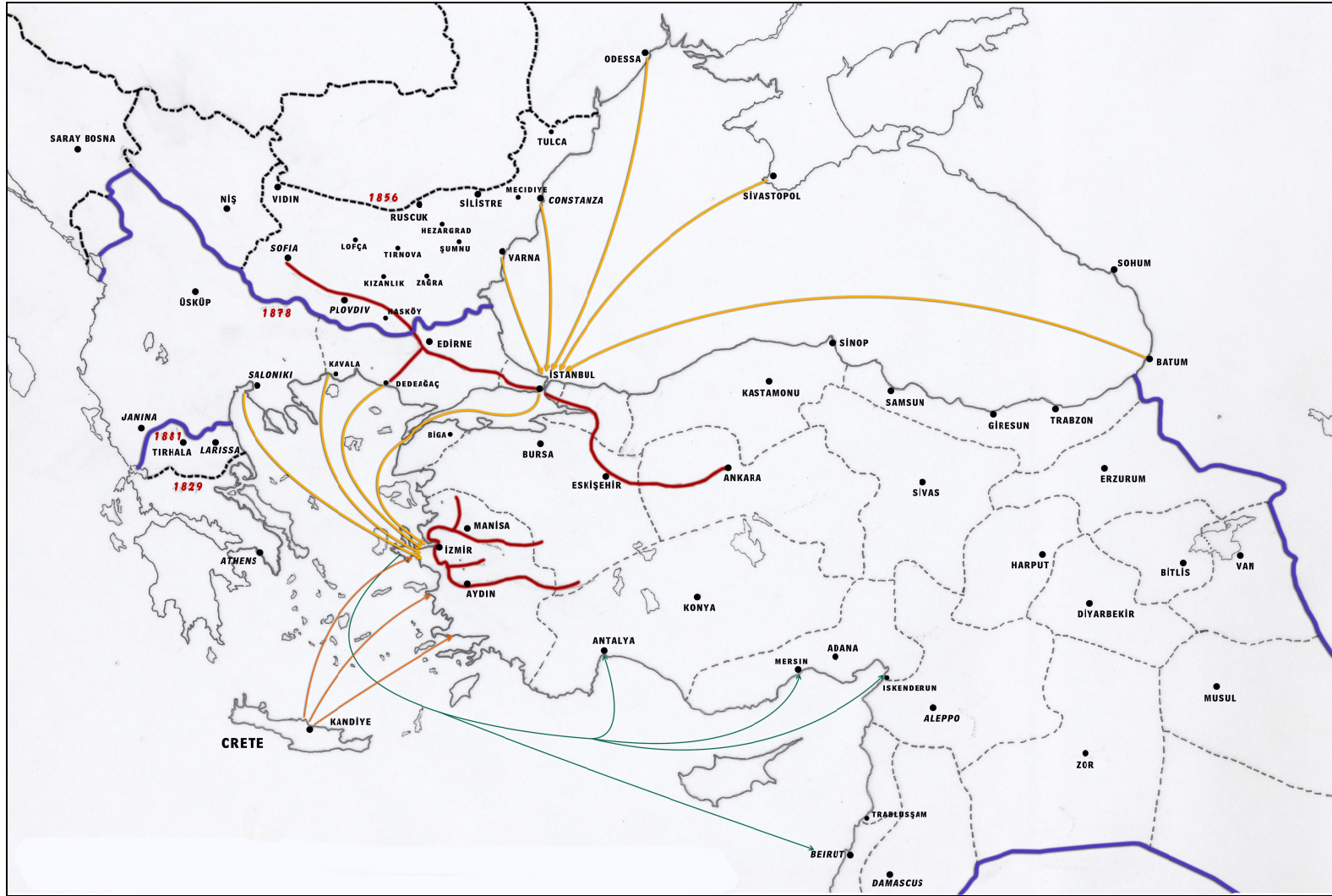


Figure 5.1. Immigration Routes to İzmir (revised by the Author)



Syria, Beirut and Aleppo. Large amount of immigrants were sent to *vilayet* of Aydın in this period.<sup>2</sup>

When the studies about those migrations along with articles and newspaper information of the period are evaluated, it is possible to determine the route of the immigrants who came to İzmir in last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Most of the immigrants have reached the *vilayet* of Aydın via seaway. The people coming from Caucasians were gathered up in Black Sea Batum (and maybe Sohum); the ones coming from the other regions of Russia along with the ones from Crimea in Sevastopol and Odessa, and the ones migrating from Russia and Romania —by using railway and highway— in Köstence and Varna ports and were sent to İstanbul firstly. Some of these immigrants were also sent to İzmir via seaway. The ones living in Vidin, Sofia, Filibe, Ruscuk and around were gathered up in İstanbul and Dedeğaç by using highways and railways. They have sailed out to İzmir from here. In the following years the immigrants, who come from Yanya, Yenişehir, Tırhala and Bosnia have used the Salonica port. (Figure 5.1)

The people who arrived the İzmir port were sent to the centres of *liva* and *sancak* of the *vilayet* of Aydın via seaway, railway or highway and from there to the places they were to be resettled. Some of the immigrants who came to İzmir have been sent to Antalya, Mersin, İskenderun and Beirut Ports by ships and from there to Adana, Konya, Aleppo and Damascus, whit the reason of insufficient resettlement place in the *vilayet* Aydın. Some times the immigrants sent to other *vilayets* as required by own demands. It is guessed that sometimes an immigrant family had to travel over thousands kilometres from their hometown to a new place.

It is known that convoys of immigrants had come to İzmir in the beginning of 1878. In the report sent to the İstanbul Embassy by the Consulate of Britain in February 4th 1878, it is stated that 19.150 people from Dedeğaç and 7.000 people from İstanbul came to İzmir by ships, five or six thousand of them are Circassian and these people

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<sup>2</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> About the route of migration to İzmir see İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 68; Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri (1878-1908)*. Also see the documents of Prime Minister's Archives and the news of *Hizmet ve Ahenk*.

were sent to Manisa, Aydın and other Counties in groups containing 200 to 1000 people.<sup>4</sup>

Three months later (on May 11th 1878) the numbers of the immigrants who have reached the *vilayet* of Aydın reached 45.000 people. The governor of the *Vilayet* stated to *Sadaret* that the *vilayet* does not have the capacity to resettle this amount of population.<sup>5</sup> However, since the migration flow to İstanbul was continuing in those days, the central administration continued to send immigrants to the *vilayet* of Aydın. In an official document dated November 24th of 1878, it is proposed to send some of the immigrants to Biga, İzmir, Mersin, İskenderun and Beirut because of a great deal of immigrants crowd in İstanbul.<sup>6</sup> During December of 1878, the number of immigrants who have come to the city have reached a sum of 66.000 and 60.000 of them were sent to other *liva* by ships or train. The remaining 6.000 immigrants are being settled in İzmir temporarily.<sup>7</sup>

Between the years 1878-1891 only from İstanbul to İzmir, 58.481 immigrants were sent.<sup>8</sup> This number reaches an amount of 77.641 when the ones coming from Dedeğaç are included. ‘As of July 1879, 6.000 of the present immigrants returned back to their hometowns and 9.000 sent to Syria, Bursa and Konya.’<sup>9</sup> In 1878, the *Sadaret* was informed that about 2.500 of the Circassian people who were placed at Bodrum, Milas and Mekri (Fethiye) ports demanded to be sent to Tripoli and Damascus since their relatives and rest of their community was sent to the Syria *Vilayet*, and sat at the port altogether.<sup>10</sup> It can be said that these immigrants are among the 9.000 who have said to be sent to other *vilayets*. It is understood from the document the *vilayet* of Aydın sent to the *Dahiliye Nezareti* on 18 October 1878 that they are worried about the

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<sup>4</sup> FO 424/67 — *Confidential* (3598), p. 432, No. 922/1, pp. 307-8, No. 639/1 in Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Emigration From Balkans: Documents, Volume I: A Turkish Exodus: 1877-1878* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1989), p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 7. 8 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878].

<sup>6</sup> BOA, *A.MKT.MHM.*, File: 483, Folder: 43, 28 Zilkâde 1295 [November 24th 1878].

<sup>7</sup> BOA, *İrade, ŞD*, no. 2256, 7 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1295 [December 15th 1878].

<sup>8</sup> BOA, *Y.A.HUS.*, File:255, Folder: 64, lef. 6 quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> *La Turquie*, 2 Juillet 1879, no. 154. quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 7. 8 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878].

returning back of the Circassian people to the Rumelia.<sup>11</sup> A year after it was understood that there was nothing to worry.

The migration to the Ottoman State from the Rumelia and Russia was decreased after 1880, but still it continued during the thirty years Abdülhamid II had been in charge. During the same period, İzmir also had its share from these migrations. It is understood from the documents and the newspapers that, during the first years the people were migrating in large crowds. In the following years, the migrations were performed in small groups and even by a number of families independently. In the petitions, they wrote to the *Dahiliye Nezareti* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) Mrs. Havva and Hayriye whom are among the immigrants from Filibe declare that they will be transported to İzmir with their children because of their negative circumstances and they demanded to have the ticket to the Aydın ship and the passports (*mürur tezkeresi*) as free. The *Dahiliye Nezareti* answered in a positive manner.<sup>12</sup> The newspaper *Hizmet* dated May 3rd 1890, informed that 180 Muslim families will be coming to the *vilayet* of Aydın from Bosnia–Herzegovina.<sup>13</sup> Also on November 14th 1891, more than 200 immigrants who transported to İzmir from Salonica were accommodated in İzmir for a day by the *vilayet* and re-transported to Kütahya.<sup>14</sup> Also on July 1892, 35 households of immigrants have come in order to be sent to Isparta..<sup>15</sup>

During these years there were also Jewish, *Rum* and Armenian communities among the immigrants who have come from Russia, Romania and Bulgaria.<sup>16</sup> Among the non-Muslim communities, the Jews were of a higher amount. There were a Jewish migration to İzmir in small groups from Russia and Romania at different dates. In July 1888 the *Dahiliye Nezareti* demanded from the *vilayet* of Aydın the completion of the necessary tasks for the resettlement of the 20 Jewish immigrants who have come from Romania in İzmir and Aydın.<sup>17</sup> It is understood that these immigrants have come to

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<sup>11</sup> BOA, *İD*, File: 773, Folder: 62985, 20 Ramazan 1295 [September 18th 1878].

<sup>12</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1511, Folder: 9, 24 Ramazan 1305 [June 4th 1888].

<sup>13</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 346, May 3rd 1890.

<sup>14</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 501, November 14th 1891.

<sup>15</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 568, July 15th 1892.

<sup>16</sup> İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p.68; Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, pp. 75-6.

<sup>17</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1523, Folder: 15, 9 Zilkâde 1305 [July 18th 1888].

İzmir a year ago – probably with temporary passports- and later gave a petition about resettling in İzmir ‘via their representatives.’ The *Dahiliye Nezareti* has decided that ‘there are no secondary aims’ in this demand and agreed their resettlements.<sup>18</sup> In the first week of July 1892, 37 Jewish families from Odessa,<sup>19</sup> a month after that a group of 470 people<sup>20</sup> and after that another group of 50 Jewish people migrated from Russia to İzmir.<sup>21</sup> It can be stated that in the summer of 1892, a total of 700 Jewish people came to İzmir.

In the articles about the immigrants, which were published in the İzmir newspapers of the period *Hizmet* and *Ahenk*, these people were referred to with the names of the regions they are from or with the name of the ethnical group they belong to, like Ruscuklu Ahmed and Tatar Osman. According to these sources, it is understood that these immigrants have come from cities like Filibe, Filibe Pazarcığı, Hasköy, Lofça, Zağra, Kızanlık, Sofia, Niş, İşkodra (Podgoriçe), Yenişehir, Tırhala, Yanya, Ruscuk, Tulça, Köstence, Mecidiye<sup>22</sup> (Figure 5.1), Bosnia and their settlements. Also there were articles about people who referred to as Crimean, Tatar, Circassian or Bosnian frequently.

Migrating from one country to another is not a new event for most of the immigrants who have come to İzmir. The second or the third generations of the families who have migrated from Crimea and Caucasian and settled in Dobruca and Rumelia after the year 1855 had to re-immigrate after the year 1877 and later. The settlement placed in İzmir and around happened to be their second or third place to settle. Especially the immigrants who were Circassian or Tatar were in this condition.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1519, Folder: 49, 25 Şevval 1305 [July 5th 1888]. In the document it is seen that the demands of the Jewish immigrants were considered carefully. During this period some of the Jews, who have migrated to the Ottoman State, wanted to settle in Palestine. Abdülhamid II were careful to the demands of the Jewish people, especially the ones who are not from the Ottoman subject because of their desire to structure a government in the Kudüs Region. See Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>19</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 566, July 8th 1892.

<sup>20</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 574, August 6th 1892.

<sup>21</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 576, August 13th 1892.

<sup>22</sup> Mecidiye is a *kaza* of the *vilayet* of Danube and connected to the *sancak* of Tulça until 1878. The city was founded in 1856 with the orders of the Sultan and the Crimea immigrants were settled there. See Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye: 1856-1878.”

For several times there were the demand from the immigrants who were settled in Damascus and Tripolis to be settled in Anatolia and directly to İzmir, since they were not satisfied of their current situation. In the year 1878, the Circassian immigrants<sup>24</sup> and in the year 1888 the immigrants from Filibe demanded to be transported to İzmir from Damascus.<sup>25</sup>

### 5.1.2. Migrations from Crete

Immigration of Cretan Muslim people have not been indicated adequately such as population movement on Aegean territory in nineteenth century. However, there have been important effects of Cretan immigration both on the Crete and on the urban and rural area of Anatolia.<sup>26</sup> The immigration of the Muslim community from the Crete and other Aegean island to İzmir and Western Anatolia after the Crete conflict in 1896 has been evaluated in this study. But, there were migrations from the Crete on previous periods. It is known that the Muslim community in Crete have migrated to Anatolia and the Christian community have migrated to Greece because of the rebellions and political reasons since the beginning of the century.<sup>27</sup> The rebellion movement in Crete in 1896 and the oppressions performed on the Muslim community caused the immigrations to increase. The first migrations took place from the rural area to the Crete Cities.

It will be useful to check the ratio of the total population of the island before 1896 to the Muslim community in order to evaluate the amount of the Muslim migration from the island. According to the *Salname* of the *vilayet* of Crete in 1876, the island population which includes the *sancaks* of Hanya, Kandiye, Resmo, Laşid, İsfakiye were 91.746 Muslims, 135.780 Christians, 345 Jews with a grand total of

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<sup>23</sup> For more detailed information about this subject see İpek, *Rumelia'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 1-29 and Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 63-75.

<sup>24</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, 1325/24, 13 Zilkâde 1295 [November 9th 1878].

<sup>25</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, 1568/48, 22 Rebî-ül-evvel 1306 [November 26th 18].

<sup>26</sup> Nükhet Adıyeke is attaining to the migrations that took place during the years 1896-1911 in her study. See A. Nükhet Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı (1896-1908)* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2000); also see Öztürk "1877-1878 Savaşından Balkan Savaşına Kadar İzmir'de Göçmen Sorunu." For a study about the life of immigrants, who were settled in Bodrum and their influence on the social life. See Fatma Mansur, *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1972).

<sup>27</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, pp. 77-8. Another evidence of people who came from Crete and settled in İzmir before 1896 are the news published in the *Hizmet* and *Ahenk* newspapers about people who are referred to as "Cretian".

227.871 people.<sup>28</sup> According to the Ottoman population records in 1894, the total population of Crete is 250.000 people and 74.150 people of them are Muslims.<sup>29</sup> It is observed that the ratio of the Muslim community in 1876 is 40%, whereas in 1894 it has dropped to 30%. With this datum it can be stated that there has been a Muslim migration before 1896.

In February 1897, when the Island was occupied by the Greeks, especially the Muslim people in the villages were attacked and there was a great fire in Hania. It is published in the newspapers that the Muslim community living in the villages have started to be gathered in the cities whereas some of the *Rum* community is running away to Greece.<sup>30</sup> The people who have gathered in the coastal area especially in Hania were able to survive only with the help from the Ottoman Government.<sup>31</sup> There was a help campaign in İzmir for the Muslim people in Crete who are in need in April 1897 and it continued for a year.<sup>32</sup> After these events, according to the document dated June 5th 1897, ‘the Muslim immigrants in Kandiye were permitted to migrate to İzmir.’<sup>33</sup> The applications of lots of students from Crete to the *İzmir Mekteb-i İdadî*, was an evident or the search of the families of those children for a way out to a secure place to live and for them to be able to continue their education.<sup>34</sup>

In 1898, the migration of the Muslim community in Crete from the villages to the cities was continuing as well as the increasing migrations from the island to Anatolian coasts and İstanbul. The Crete immigrants have come to Kuşadası in May 1898.<sup>35</sup> A ship sailing from İzmir was carrying the Crete immigrants to İstanbul.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> BOA, Yıldız Tasnifi, Sadâret Hususi Maruzatı, no 2072 quoted by Karpat, in *Ottoman Population*, p. 155.

<sup>30</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, pp. 160-1.

<sup>31</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 270.

<sup>32</sup> *Ahenk*, the periodics of the years 1897-1898.

<sup>33</sup> BOA, *MV*, 92 / 42.

<sup>34</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 278, 6 Sefer 1315 [July 6th 1897]. Since there was a break in the education system in Crete since 1896, the Ottoman State has some projects about the education of the Muslim children especially the lonely ones. These kids continued their education in İstanbul and different cities of Anatolia. For detailed information about this see Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 275.

<sup>35</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 545, May 24th 1898.

During the same days the transferring of the immigrants from Thessaly to Salonica and İzmir has also started.<sup>37</sup> There is also the information about the migration of the Muslim and the Jew community from Tırhala in June.<sup>38</sup> Based on some news, it is understood that the society of this region has come to İzmir.<sup>39</sup>

Until November of 1898, an amount of almost 10.000 people immigrated from Crete to İzmir and other *vilayets* and there are still lots to migrate.<sup>40</sup> It is understood from the articles published in *Ahenk* that the migrations have increased during November and December of 1898 and January and February of 1899. The numbers of immigrants have reached the amount of 20.000 in May 1899.<sup>41</sup>

In the document Kâmil Paşa who is the Governor of the Aydın *Vilayet* has wrote to the *Muhacirin-i İslamiye Komisyonu* on August 1899, it was stated that the number of the immigrants reached 30.739 people in İzmir, almost 50% of these people were sent to the *vilâyet* of Konya, Adana, Aleppo, Beirut, Syria, Bingazi, Ankara and the *sancak* of Karahisar-ı Sahib; among the remaining 15.181 people almost 1.000 people went to other *vilayets* with their own decisions and went back to Crete and 3.000 people who were of families which survived by doing craftsmanship or tradesman ship were settled in cities and villages in the *vilayet*. The remaining 11.181 immigrants have not been settled yet.<sup>42</sup>

However, in the document, which was sent to the Yıldız Palace on August 14th 1315 (Rumî) by Şakir Mehmet Paşa who was in İzmir at the time, it was claimed that the information, which Kâmil Paşa stated is wrong, and that some of the of the immigrants went back to Crete and then again to İzmir but were counted as if they were coming for the first time so some of the counts the governor have reported were repeating. He also claimed that, the number of the ones who move independently to other *vilayets* and the ones who travel back to Crete is more that the number, which the

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<sup>36</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 565, June 30th 1898.

<sup>37</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.ASK.*, File: 139, Folder: 55, 09 Muharrem 1316 [May 29th 1898] and *Ahenk*, no. 536, 14 May 1898.

<sup>38</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 563, June 28th 1898.

<sup>39</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 599, Ağustos 9th 1898.

<sup>40</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 21, Folder: 98, 10 Receb 1316 [November 25th 1898]

<sup>41</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 31, document 2, 3. 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31th 1899]

<sup>42</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef. 3, 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1317 [October 14th 1899].

governor claims.<sup>43</sup> According to the questioning and the investigation results Şakir Mehmet Paşa ordered to be performed after the document above ‘The number of the immigrants who came to the *vilayet* have reached the number of 26.000; the numbers of immigrants who were sent to other *vilayets* were 13.152, 6558 people bought rental property; only 2776 people are not settled yet and 307 of this number is widows and lonely women, as a result 1969 people are out in the open’.<sup>44</sup> As it can also be understood from the reports of Şakir Paşa 4000 immigrants of Crete, should have moved independently and went to other cities or went back to the Crete. As a result, in the November of 1899, there are almost 8000 immigrants of Crete in the Aydın *Vilayet*.<sup>45</sup>

According to the news, the migrations from Crete have decreased but continued during the year 1900 and later. According to the population census of 1900, the Muslim population was 33.496 people among a total of 303.553 people (it has a ratio of 11% to the total).<sup>46</sup> As it was stated above, the population of the Muslim community had a number of 74.150 during the year 1894. In the six years there has been a lessening of 40.000 people, if the natural population increase is neglected. The number of people who were killed during the rebellions and the number of people who were migrated from Crete is not known. The ratio of the Muslim community to the total population continued to decrease during the years 1900 and 1911. According to the population census done in 1911, the number of the total population is 336.151 whereas the number of the Muslim community is 27.852.<sup>47</sup> The remaining Muslim community has also migrated to Anatolia after the population exchange agreement signed in 1924.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef. 4, 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1317 [October 14th 1899].

<sup>44</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef. 1, 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1317 [October 14th 1899].

<sup>45</sup> It is not for certain whether or not the number of immigrants who have come through Kuşadası, Bodrum and Çeşme ports of the *vilayet* of Aydın was added to the total.

<sup>46</sup> *Ahenk*, February 21th 1912, quoted by Adıyeke, in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 267.

<sup>47</sup> *Ahenk*, February 21th 1912, in Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 268. Before the population census in 1911 Cretian *Rums* forced the Muslim community to migration by boycotting them. This caused the population of the Muslim community in the island to be under 30.000. See Adıyeke, p. 273.

<sup>48</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 263. According to the Exchange Agreement, the 23.000 people who came in July 1924 were settled in Ayvalık, Edremit, Mersin and arounds. Adıyeke, p. 268. The ones who did not want to leave the island have become members of the Italian citizenship but still settled in Milas and Güllük, according to the article published on *Yeni Asır* Newspaper dated December 7th, quoted by Adıyeke, p. 305.



Between the years 1877 and 1907 there had been migrations from the Caucasian, Crimea, Balkans, Crete Island and other islands of Aegean to İzmir. It is not possible to give an accurate information about how many immigrants came to İzmir and *vilayet* of Aydın in general, how many of them have been directed to other *vilayets* from İzmir, and how many of them have resettled in other villages and cities of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın. It has not been possible to have access to all legal registers about this topic. Also it is doubted that there are accurate registers about the migrations. In the light of the above information it is guessed that an amount of 120.000 immigrants have come to the *vilayet* of Aydın between the years 1877 and 1907. All of the immigrants have not been settled in the *vilayet* of Aydın. Also it is known that the immigrant have not always stayed at where they were resettled in the first place, but re-migrated in the country until they have found the suitable place for themselves. In the following years, immigrants have come to the *vilayet* of Aydın, who have been placed at other regions, and others who have been placed at other regions of the *vilayet* have come and settled in İzmir.

## **5.2. Resettlement of the Immigrants in the *Vilayet* of Aydın**

### **5.2.1. The First Encounter with the Immigrants**

It is understood from the official correspondences that during the months when there is migration in dense amounts there was a great amount of fluster and commotion especially around the port. The basic reason for this is the identity of İzmir as a transfer point for the immigrants. Both the central and the local administration demand the immigrants to be settled immediately. The immigrants are exhausted and mostly sick when they arrived to İzmir after long and tiring journey full of misery. It is understood that there is a great effort to provide the large group of immigrants to nourish and accommodate in healthy conditions until they are sent to the places to be settled.

It is written in the report which was sent to the Embassy in İstanbul by the British Consulate Mr. Reade that out of the 26.000 immigrants who came to İzmir from İstanbul and Dedeoğlu in February of 1878, five or six thousand were sent to the other regions of the *vilayet* to be resettled, a great amount of the remaining number who stayed in İzmir were staying as guests or tenants in the Turkish houses and the

remaining ones (most of these people were olds, widows or orphans) were settled in huts, hospitals and other administrative buildings.<sup>49</sup>

It is reported that by the end of 1878, 60.000 of the immigrants who came to İzmir were sent to the other *livas*, and some of the remaining 6.000 were settled in official buildings, some in special district whereas some of the immigrants were tenants in khans and houses in Salhane with a rent of 120 *sim Mecidiye* per night.<sup>50</sup> In the telegraph, which was sent from the Vilayet of Aydın to *Sadaret* on December 31st 1878 it was informed that ‘eventhough the number of the immigrants sent to İzmir over the capacity of the *vilayet* every effort has been spent in order to provide their settlements and food supplies, the desperate orphans are settled at the repaired parts reformatory, these people are asked to weave *şayak* and *aba*, almost a hundred huts is build urgently on the land of the desolate madrasa, 30.000 *kiyye* of coal was donated for them, especially the needs of the immigrants in İzmir have been supplied by the citizens of the city’.<sup>51</sup>

A similar fluster was carried on in İzmir, twenty years later, during the acceptance of the immigrants coming from the Crete. It is guessed that, the number of immigrants who came to İzmir has reached its highest level during the last months of 1898 and the first months of 1899.

The necessary parts of the *Kâtipzade Medresesi* in Başoturak were repaired and the immigrants were settled there.<sup>52</sup> During the same days the former Orphanage was also a temporary shelter for the immigrants.<sup>53</sup> It is even understood from the newspaper clippings that there were huts built in the *Kışla’yı Humayun Square*.<sup>54</sup> The immigrants were also settled in mosques like the Müftü Mosque.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> F.O. 424/67 — Confidential (3598), p.432, No. 922/1, pp. 307-8, No. 639/1 quoted by Şimşir, in *Türkisch Emigration From Balkans: Documents, Volume I*, p. 320.

<sup>50</sup> BOA, *İrade*, ŞD, No. 2256, 7 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1295 [December 15th 1878].

<sup>51</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, No. 2859, document 2. 24 Muharrem 1296 [January 18th 1879].

<sup>52</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 715, December 22th 1898.

<sup>53</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 731, January 10th 1899.

<sup>54</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1275, October 25th 1900. The transcription of the original text of the news is as follows: “Girid Muhacirin-i İslâmiyesinden aciz bi-yuvaye olanların saye-i [...] Hazret-i Padişahide iskânları ile temin-i istirahatleri matlûb ve mülterum olmasına mebnî mikdam-a Kışla-yı Hümayun meydanında inşa olunub şimdiki halde lüzumu olmayan barakalar infâsıyla şehrin mevki-i münasibesinde ve halî arsalarda barakalar inşâsı kararlaştırılmış [...]”

According to the documents and the newspaper clippings explained above, the immigrants were settled temporarily in official buildings, barracks, the Orphanage, old madrasa, huts built in madrasa plots, mosques, and some khans. It is also understood that some of the Muslim families let the immigrant families be their guest in their houses or the local government have been renting houses for the immigrants.

The nourishment of the immigrants during their temporary stay in the city was also an important problem. The food supplies (*iâşe*) of the immigrants were met by the foundation started by the Charity Commissions as well donation from the society by giving food.<sup>56</sup> ‘The special committee, which was formed in order to meet the needs of the Cretan immigrants, in order not to leave space for any misappropriation arranged tickets with a value of 20 *kıyye* worth of bread since it was decided to give each immigrant 1200 *kıyye* per day starting from the 25th of the *Şaban* [January 8th 1899].’ The immigrants are supposed to take their bread from the bakeries with these tickets.<sup>57</sup> In addition to these, it is known that the municipality donates allowance to the immigrants who are in need.<sup>58</sup> Generally the food supplies of the immigrants during both periods were met by the generosity of the public community of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın.

### 5.2.2. The Philanthropic Activities for the Immigrants

In the newspapers belonging to 1880s and 1890s, articles about the help campaigns both in the provincial scale of Aydın and İzmir and countrywide scale were recently seen.<sup>59</sup> Generally there were donations by the personal approach as well as

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<sup>55</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 759, February 16th 1899. It is not known if the immigrants were being resettled in the mosques in İzmir. However it is known that the mosques had become important shelters for the immigrants in İstanbul in 1878. More than 100.000 immigrants have been sheltered in the numerous mosques, which are located in the city walls such as Ayasofya Camii, Sultan Ahmed Camii and Yeni Camii. See İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 59-62.

<sup>56</sup> There are articles about the issue in the *Ahenk*. Some examples are as follows: “Hacızade Ferruh Efendi ekmek ve et yardımı yapmıştır.” *Ahenk*, no. 654, 12 Teşrin-i evvel 1898; “Giritli göçmenler için bir hanım bir *zenbil* piriñ vermiştir...” and “Musulluzade Hüseyin Bey göçmenlere et ve pilavdan oluşan yemek vermiştir.” *Ahenk*, no. 741, January 22th 1899; “Kadızaade Ethem Efendi, Müftü Camine yerleştirilmiş olan Giritli göçmenlere yemek vermiştir.” *Ahenk*, no. 759, February 16th 1899.

<sup>57</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 760, February 17th 1899.

<sup>58</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 681, October 12th 1898. However the amount of money spared for the immigrant in the limited budget of the municipality is not known.

campaign activities structured with wide participation. During those years ‘donation’ activities were referred to with the term *Îâne*. The first definition of the word in *Kâmûs-ı Türkî* is defined as ‘help, help with *akçe* (money)’, whereas its second meaning is defined as; ‘the money (*akçe*) for a work of philanthropy or public interest.’<sup>60</sup> Even though the exact definition of the word *iâne* is explained as ‘help’, when the applications of the period is examined, it is seen that it does not only include the donations based on voluntary means. In several times special taxes with the name *iâne*, were collected for the financing of some social services. As a result of this, the anxiety caused by the term ‘tax’ left its place to the moral peace of helping people. The decision of *Vali Halil Rıfat Paşa*, demanding the collection of three *kuruş iâne* from each household in the *vilayet* in order to build houses for the immigrants<sup>13</sup> is an example for this.

Before the Tanzimat, social services and the construction activities were organised based on local sources and labour. Along with Tanzimat, there were regularities to the providing of these services directly from the central organisation and sources. However, this transition was not easy and the government demanded labour and money from the local organisation.<sup>61</sup> In the years when Abdulhamid II was crowned, the important gap in the governmental budget along with the resettlement issue of the immigrants, were necessitating the donations of the community.<sup>62</sup> In fact the ‘happiness of the community’ was provided with the self sources of the community. The services were still being provided with local sources, what has changed was, control of these sources and the organisations were being done by the central administration.

The donation of the community in terms of labour and money was being organised by the special commissions (*ihtisas komisyonları*) structured in the provincial

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<sup>59</sup> Donations about the building or the repairmen of the primary school (*ibtidai mektebi*), the various needs of the industrial school (*sanayi mektebi*), donations for the building of mosque, donations to the army under the name of *Tesisat-ı Askeri İanesi*, building of a *Darulaceze* in İstanbul, the building of the Military Hospital and the *İslâm Gureba Hastahanesi* in İzmir were on the agenda of İzmir for a long time. When the date was approaching the 1900, the donation campaign for the construction of Hicaz Railways had started, which was broader than the nationwide scale. The articles about the charity activities were published in the editions of the *Hizmet and Ahenk* Newspapers dated between the years 1887 and 1900.

<sup>60</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, p. 127.

<sup>61</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, p. 87.

<sup>62</sup> For the evaluation of the donations between 1878-1890, the budget of the Ottoman state and the cost of the immigrants, see Kocacık, “Balkanlardan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler (1878-1900),” pp. 172-5.

administration. In these commissions, there were someone or several people belonging to the provincial administrative parliament, officers about the subject and powerful people of the city. ‘They were preferred from among the people who can donate to the charity campaigns and have the authority to force the community to work in building activities.’<sup>63</sup>

İlber Ortaylı stresses in his evaluations regarding the specialized commissions:

‘It can be said that, the best example of community, participating within the task and the duties of the central government, is seen in the area of solving the resettlement problem created by the immigrants. [...] The problem had been solved up to some extent as a result of the physical donations of the community as well as the financial donations and the encouragement of the local leaders by the administrators. The central government was becoming indebted to the local community by making them purchase the urgent payments and promising to make the payments later. In the practical means the local community of every *vilayet* had done all kinds of donations, participated physically and most of the times donate the claim to the treasury.’<sup>64</sup>

It is decided that the donations by the community has an important role in the resettling of the immigrants as well as providing their temporary stay and food supply in İzmir. The donations can be evaluated in two sections: The first part includes the donations in order to provide their temporary stay, nourishment, the healing of the sick ones, and the dressing up of them when they first came. The donations were generally run by the organisation of the help commissions directed in accordance with the requests of the central and local administration and the support of the press. The second type of the donation activities are related with the provision of the permanent stay of the immigrants, building houses, building schools and mosques to their districts, bringing water, in other words the activities related with the construction of the immigrant settlements.

The cost of the resettlement of the immigrant’s —even though it is not possible to give exact sums— was mostly met by the donations of the community. The resettlement regulations of the period, official documents related with the donation

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<sup>63</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, p. 87.

<sup>64</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, pp. 88-9.

activities and the newspaper articles about the donations were the most important evidences of the situation.

The effect of the concept of donation upon the community is another very important aspect. The habitants of the city and the region were taking their biggest step towards accepting the immigrants who came to the city by the donations they made. The donation campaigns, which were organised by the support of the newspapers, were creating an atmosphere to unite the local community and to integrate the newcomers in to the city (and the region). As a matter of fact, there was the moral effect created by the wars and the lost land afterwards in those days. Local residents known that the immigrants had been coming from ‘the lost land’.<sup>65</sup>

The newspapers had an important role in the structuring of this moral atmosphere. The *Basiret* newspaper, which was published in İstanbul and happened to be one of the newspapers with the highest circulation rates, had created a sensitivity for the immigrants among the community with the articles about the people who were forced to migrate after the Ottoman–Russian war, the oppression they have faced, the poverty, illnesses, famine and the deaths of the people who have ‘left their homes behind’. The *Basiret*, which was one of the most important defenders of the Muslim union ‘called the community to help to the immigrants and claimed that this would be an expression of the Muslim union.’<sup>66</sup> This duty was being run by the İzmir newspapers in İzmir in those days.<sup>67</sup> In the following years, this duty was taken over by the *Hizmet* and *Ahenk* newspapers. The press both worked in order to encourage the donations as well as continued the encouragement by publishing the list of donators.<sup>68</sup>

As it was explained before, these donations were being directed and controlled by the state. In the regulations, which was sent to the *vilayet* of Aydın, there were detailed explanations about the provision of the resettlement of the immigrants—especially in the villages—to be supplied by the help of the local community. In the related items of the regulations, which was sent to the *vilayet* of Aydın in 1878, the help

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<sup>65</sup> The issue of donations to the immigrants is evaluated in the studies about the migration from Balkans and Caucasia, however the public effect it has created is not evaluated at all. Only Kemal Karpat had drawn the attention to this dimension. See Karpat, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, pp. 222-4 ve 634.

<sup>66</sup> *Basiret*, no. 2326, 9 January 1878 quoted by Karpat, in *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 222.

<sup>67</sup> Zeki Arıkan, *İzmir Basınından Seçmeler: 1872-1922* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayı, 2001), p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> It was possible to specify the wealthy people of İzmir by checking these lists.

expected from the cities and the villages were explained in detail. It was asked that, the tradesmen and the craftsmen who will be settled in the villages and the cities should be supported until finding a job and a house, making up a capital and the related commissions should be supporting these people.<sup>69</sup> In rural areas, it is asked from the town community to ensure appropriate houses for the immigrants, give them an agricultural land from the village property or some land around the village, and provide the necessary equipment, animal and seed help in order to cultivate the land for the first year. It is also proposed that the community should move together in terms of providing this donation.<sup>70</sup>

In the same regulations there were also a series of regulations in order to avoid any misappropriations during the help activities. The cash and other donations collected in each settlement would be written in detail in the notepads arranged and those entries would be sent to the Provincial commission. Especially the donations of money should not be kept in hand but be put in the bank or in material chests and their legal papers would be registered. Also in İzmir, which is the centre of the *vilayet*, donation books [*İlâne-i Şehriye Defteri*] will be formed for a period of six months ‘each district’. It is asked to collect donations by ‘the decision of the community, up to their humanity and with their own will’ and register them in the books with the encouragement of the commissions.<sup>71</sup>

The ordering letter (*Tembihname*), which was prepared to be sent to villages and *nahiyes* in 1878 is important since it is an evidence of the encouragement of the community to donate by the central administration. In the entry of the warning order the conscience of the community is aimed with the following words;

‘[...]The hearts will not bear as the catastrophe of the Rumelian immigrants who had left behind their properties and estates, vineyards, gardens and farms, some were separated from their spouses and children whereas some kids were separated from their parents and took refugee in our country’s fairness and mercy is being thought[...],’<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 5, article 3.

<sup>70</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 5, article 9.

<sup>71</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 5, article 7 and 8.

<sup>72</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 6.

In the continuation, it is stated that ‘the caliph’ is also sure of the helpfulness of his community and it is asked to help the people who have been sent to their village in any way necessary. This document, which is sent to the villagers, is in a style so that it is as if the caliph had entrusted the immigrants to the villagers. In the main part of the document, the support and contribution expected from the villagers is explained in detail.<sup>73</sup>

The Muslim community in Crete started to migrate from the rural areas to the cities because of security reasons and the crowded society in the coastal regions became addicted to any help. In the October of 1896, the *Girid Muhtacin-i İslâmiye İlane Komisyonu* (The Charity Commission for Muslim Cretan Immigrants) was founded in Khania and demanded help from İstanbul and the other *vilayets*.<sup>74</sup> İzmir has started to answer the request for help starting from April 1897.<sup>28</sup> The *Ahenk* announced the donations made by the cities and *vilayets* of Aydın and İzmir, to the Cretan people who are in need, the Ottoman soldiers in Crete, and the Ottoman army contributed in the Ottoman-Greek War for almost about a year on its first pages. There were donations of money, clothing and animals. Someone named Mağmut Ağa from Aydın, granted 171 sheep’s for the Cretan Muslim immigrants in need.<sup>75</sup> In the periods, which coincided with the Bairam of the Sacrifice (*Zilhicce* 1314 / May 1897), the skins of the sacrificed animals were being donated. The sum of the donations given to the Cretan destitute in substitution for the sacrifice money has reached the amount of 327.266.250 *куруş*.<sup>76</sup> It is also seen that the *Ahenk* newspaper had been publishing the news about any size of donations without regarding the amount. It is published in the newspaper and also appreciated that ‘the youth community of the Faik Paşa District collected 17 *mecidiyes* among themselves’ on June 4<sup>th</sup> 1897.<sup>77</sup> On those days, the theatre of Menak Effendi was

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<sup>73</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 2859, document 6.

<sup>74</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 273.

<sup>75</sup> *Ahenk* no. 239, May 23th 1897.

<sup>76</sup> *Ahenk* no. 275, July 3th 1897.

<sup>77</sup> From time to time, some flour and wheat had been sent to the Cretan Community by the branches of donation commissions in İzmir and İstanbul. See Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 274.



opening its curtain for the benefit of the Cretan immigrants and donated the 9.000 *kuruş* worth of profit to the Cretan destitute.<sup>78</sup>

The Cretan Muslims have started to leave their country in groups starting from the spring of 1898. This number reached a sum of ten thousands until November of 1898.<sup>79</sup> In December and January, the main agenda of İzmir was that the urgent resettlement of the immigrants and meeting the needs of them immediately. The hard condition of the winter season was increasing the seriousness of this situation. On January 17th 1899, help commissions were founded in each district. Administrators of the *vilayet*, officers, teachers and wealthy people of the city have taken an obligation in these commissions.<sup>80</sup> The next day, these commissions started their actions and the donations of *Vali Kâmil Paşa* along with superior bureaucrats and the wealthy people of the city were published in the *Ahenk* newspaper. It was expected to increase the amount of donations since it was the Ramazan month.<sup>81</sup> *Ahenk*, on its edition dated January 24th 1899, announced that the grant of the Sultan to the Cretan immigrants who are destitute in İzmir.<sup>82</sup> Doing the first donations by the Sultan and the administrators was extremely important in order to motivate the community for help and claiming the seriousness of this issue.

The donations were collected district by district and sometimes by the visiting the coffeehouses. It has provided a great amount of contribution as a result of the organisation structured by the bureaucrat wife's in İzmir and members of the powerful families. With the organisation of the women, mostly food, clothing, printed cotton and American cloth had been collected. The registering of the cash donations was under the responsibility of *Vilâyet Defterdarı Safiyüddîn Bey* whereas the registering of the goods donations was under the responsibility of Mayor *Eşref Paşa*.<sup>83</sup> The collected donations

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<sup>78</sup> *Ahenk* no. 250, June 3th 1897.

<sup>79</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD*. File: 21, Folder: 98, 10 Receb 1316 (Hicrî) [November 25th 1898]

<sup>80</sup> *Ahenk* no. 736, January 17th 1899

<sup>81</sup> *Ahenk* no. 737, January 18th 1899

<sup>82</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 743, January 24th 1899.

<sup>83</sup> *Ahenk* no. 748, January 29th 1899.

were not only being sent to the immigrants in İzmir but also to the immigrants in Bodrum, Milas<sup>84</sup>, Çeşme and other places.

One of the details, which was worth attention in those days was the donations of the non-Muslims. Even among the donators in the first day, the name of the Balyozzade Matyos Effendi is seen along with *Vali Kâmil Paşa*.<sup>85</sup> In the following days, news about the donations of Armenian, Jewish, *Rum* and Levanten families were frequently seen.<sup>86</sup> These news claim that, these help activities is not an activity among only the Muslim community and the non-Muslims attended these activities as a result of being a human, an Ottoman and a İzmir citizen or because of being someone who live in İzmir in those days.<sup>87</sup> The possible result might be that donating was seen as a necessity for some who wanted to have a word in economic life or an opportunity for some who desired to show their loyalty to the Ottoman administration.

In 1878 and the following years when the state was struggling in an economic crisis the donations of the community was important in terms of meeting the cost of the resettlement of the immigrants. The administration was especially depending on the donations of the Muslim community. In face the administrations demand for help from the community was a practical solution to the financial problem. However, it is also helpful state that; the demand for ‘helping the Muslims who were forced to leave their motherland because they were under oppression’ also served Abdülhamid’s policy towards gathering his society around *İslâm*. Helping the ones ‘who are under oppression, hungry’ was already a type of behaviour that was in the community’s tradition. However, the thoughts of ‘help’ or ‘charity’ were being processed with religious elements; the Sultan was doing a ‘benefaction’ and was requesting help from his community with his position as the *caliph*. Karpas states that, this approach of

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<sup>84</sup> *Ahenk* no. 741, January 22th 1899.

<sup>85</sup> *Ahenk* no. 737, January 18th 1899.

<sup>86</sup> Some of these names were; Kasaboğlu Anastas *Efendi*’s son and son in law, Karabet (?) Arabyan *Efendi*, *Tüccar* Avadis *Efendi*, Etnaşole Brothers, Ispartalızade Estephan *Efendi* and his brothers, İsayan Levka *Efendi*, Aleksander *Efendi* and his wife, Monsieur Vital, Alyoti Brothers, Pandolyon Company, Yusuf oğlu Haralambos *Efendi*, Borbulya Brothers, Yorgaki *Efendi*, Monsieur German, Yanaki *Efendi*, Eczacı Panayot *Efendi*, *Tütüncü* Panayot *Efendi*, *Tüccardan* Marco Polo *Efendi*, Ladokani *Efendi*, *Tüccar* Balıkçıyan Balyozyan *Efendi*, Solari *Efendi*, Mösyö Bari, Toramanoğlu Sarafim *Efendi*, Sisliyan *Efendi*, Monsieur İskanpoli and his wife, Agob Artinyan *Efendi*’s wife and others. The specified names had been read in the edition of the *Ahenk* dated January 21st 1899 and February 4th 1899.

<sup>87</sup> Kemal Karpas also states that there are also Christian names among the people who had helped the immigrants. See Karpas, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 634.

Abdülhamid II was opening way for new formations by bringing forward Islamic traditions and symbols.<sup>88</sup> In other words, the traditional elements were becoming the ideological vehicles of the new formation.

Abdülhamid II's personal contribution and his call to the community for *Hicaz Demiryolu İânesi* (Hejaz Railway Denotation), qualify for a summary of what is explained above. Abdülhamid, with his position as the caliph, was asking not only the Muslims who live on the Ottoman State but all the world Muslim people for contribution. According to *the caliph*, 'the *foreign* [Western] capital should be avoided in order not to let foreign control among the sacred line from İstanbul to Mecca. The Hejaz Railways should be financed by the Muslims and structured by the Muslim engineers. The world should see the power and the union of the Muslims.' Along with this call, Abdülhamid donated an important sum of 50.000 lira and encouraged participation in an effective way.<sup>89</sup> This one and similar events show that Abdülhamid II and the bureaucrats and the intellectuals of the period who share the same idea were encouraging the community for donation as well as providing the re-construction of the country along with re-shaping the public mentality.

The resettlement of the immigrants in the Aydın *Vilayet* and the donations in terms of the construction of immigrant district in İzmir, will be evaluated in detail in the following under the topics about the resettlement of the immigrants.

### **5.2.2.1. Relief to Orphan and Widow Immigrants**

Since the fifteenth century, *hane* was referred to as a unit in the Ottoman registry system. The state has been structuring its relations about issues like taxes, assignment of land and production with the society on *hane* bases, as well as the control of the society begun in the *hane*. When the second half of the nineteenth century approached, it is seen that in the expression of the amount of immigrants, the unit *hane* was being used along with the number of people as well as a demographic unit.<sup>90</sup> A reason for this is the

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<sup>88</sup> Karpaz, *İslâm'ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 345.

<sup>89</sup> Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), pp. 82-3.

<sup>90</sup> In the formal documents related with the immigrants, it is stated that the average number of people in a *hane* is taken as five people.

number of *hanes* to be the specifying element of the number of residential units necessary during the resettlement process. In the rural areas, the assigning of the land is to be done upon the hane unit by accepting it as a family management. However, it was seen that the term *hane* was insufficient in some circumstances apart from the normal conditions when a database about the immigrants was being structured. Among the immigrants, there were lots of widows, old people who have lost their wife, husband or children, destitute young people and orphan kids; and together they were making up the most fragile section of the society. Since the needs, the sensitivity and the resistance of these people are completely different, it was not possible for the administration to refer to these people with the term *hane* and take action accordingly. This situation had forced the administration to evaluate the society in different categories.

The section which necessitates looking after and taken under protection is referred to as *eytam ve eramil* (orphans and widows) in the formal documents about the immigrants and is taken under the protection of the state. This sensitivity about the poor immigrants has been actually related with the general policies of the state about the ‘providing of the public wealth.’ In the nineteenth century, Nadir Özbek states that the issue of ‘meeting the need and providing the wealth and the prosperity of the community’ (*tehvin-i ihtiyacat, temin-i refah ve saadet-i ahali*) is on the main agenda of the central administration and makes the following explanation:

‘It is necessary to evaluate the agenda towards increasing the production capacity and entrusting the prosperity, health and the happiness of the community, as the most important manifestation of modern government being structured as a social government.’<sup>91</sup>

The poor people were defined separately than the other people by state.<sup>92</sup> This categorization also specifies the method of intervention towards them. Apart from these, the state structure a control mechanism with the donations upon the community; trying

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<sup>91</sup> Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002) p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> In his study, Özbek explains the classification of the poor sections of the community in great detail. ‘*Fakr u zarurete dûçâr olmak*’, generally refers to financial hard times as a result of an unexpected incident. The people in this condition are explained as people who ‘necessitate for help’ (*muhtac-ı muavenet*). *Müsâbîn* (*Musibete uğrayan, felaketzede*), refers to the people who have faced natural disasters such as earthquake, famine or drought; *Muhtâcîn-i zürrâ* is used for the agricultural producers who lost their land and equipment as a result of a natural disaster. *Aceze* represents the section of the community who are old, sick, retarded and orphans who are in no conditions to work and survive by themselves; *eytam ve eramil* refers to the people who became orphans and widows after a war or migration. See Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, pp. 49-51.

to hold the poor people in their villages by helping them and preventing the poor and destitute people in the city from an illegitimate position and trying to prevent anything to ruin the public order.

The memorandum sent by the *Sadaret* to the *vilayet* of Aydın in 1899 is important since it is a specification for the practices upon the poor and destitute part of the community. In the memorandum, it was explained that there are almost 950 *eytâm* (orphans), *erâmil* (singles and widows) and *malulîn* (disabled soldiers) upon the Cretan immigrants in İzmir and the precautions in providing their income and food supplies as well as their resettlement in İzmir should be taken. 'If necessary precautions are not taken and if the widows and the orphans are in a destitute position, it will be harder for them to survive and they will possibly fall to illegitimate positions.'<sup>93</sup>

In the first article, the responsibilities of the Cretan orphan girls and the widow women who immigrated to the *vilayet* of Aydın was given to the *Sevk-i Muhacirin Komisyonu* (the Commission of Transferring the Immigrants). After the registration of the names of these people in the *Defter-i Mahfusa*, also the names of the husband or father would be noted along with the address (Article 2). In the third article of the book of regulations, it is interesting to see that the women and the orphan girls have been classified according to their ages and marital status. The girls below fourteen years of age should be adopted; the virgin girls and the young widows above fourteen years of age should be married with an appropriate single Cretan immigrant; the ones who are not convenient for a marriage should live on by being the servant of Muslim 'mothers' (*vâlideler*); the ones who are not convenient for being a servant should get help from the *Muhacirin İane Pulu Mahsulatı* (the Revenue of the Stamp of Donations to the Immigrants). The male kids should be registered to the *Mekteb-i Sanayi* or the *Mekteb-i Rüştiye* as boarders.

It is also seen that the adopting of the orphan kids have been also taken under control by the state. The married people of above thirty years of age should apply for adoption to the Commission, the kids would be adopted by the people whom the commission assigns and their necessities and educations would be provided accordingly (Article 4). The conditions of the adopted kids would be checked by the *Şehremaneti* in İstanbul and the local administrations in the *Vilayets* (Article 5). The educational status of both the children who are being boarded in schools as well as the adopted ones will

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<sup>93</sup> BOA, Y.A.RES., File: 105, Folder: 62, 26 Muharrem 1317 [June 5th 1899], p. 1, 2.

be reported to the commission (Article 8). Also it was stated in the last article that the *eytâm ve erâmil* should be given voyage money and their resettlement and labour should be provided when it is not possible to resettle them in İzmir and they should be sent to other *vilayets*.<sup>94</sup>

Among the immigrants, the homeless children, young girls and the widow women as the most fragile section of the community are taken under the protection of the state. Having detailed precautions and solutions of this degree in the regulations, has been parallel with the ‘protective state’ approach of Abdülhamid II. In a period when the ‘protective’ identity of the Sultan was especially emphasized, the investments all through the country and especially İstanbul to the poor, homeless kids, building hospitals, activities towards the vaccination of kids and charity activities had been increased.<sup>95</sup>

The traces of this approach have been also evident in the site in time. The most evident example of this is the *dulhanes*. The *dulhane* is seen frequently as a building type during the Hamidian Period.<sup>96</sup> As it is also apparent from its name, the *dulhane* is a type of building for the poor women to live in who have lost their husbands during the migration or during the war. However, a surviving example of the *dulhane* has been not recorded so far. The earliest information about the *dulhane* in İzmir was given in the edition of the *Hizmet* dated November 5<sup>th</sup> 1887.<sup>97</sup>

It is seen that especially the education of the children has been of great importance in the regulatory explained above. This is so because of Abdülhamid II’s policy about the generalisation of modern education and educational institutions all through the country. The administration has especially undertaken the protecting of the homeless children. This would prevent them to be poor and homeless in the future as well as providing the necessary educated labour for the state. The homeless children were especially educated in *Sanayi Mektebi* and came up with occupations accordingly.

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<sup>94</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 105, Folder: 62, 26 Muharrem 1317 [June 5<sup>th</sup> 1899], Aydın Vilayetinde bulunan Girit Muhacirlerinin Eytâm ve Erâmilin dar-ül Talimat Mevrudesi Sureti.

<sup>95</sup> About the activities of Abdülhamid II related with his approach to social government and charity works see Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sosyal Devlet*, pp. 117-74.

<sup>96</sup> There are a series of documents in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry indicating a number of *dulhanes*.

<sup>97</sup> Detailed information about the issue will be explained in the chapter about the resettlement of the immigrants in İzmir.

‘In 1897, 450 Cretan homeless kids had been brought to İzmir, 100 of these kids were settled in the orphanages in Bursa, İzmir and Edirne, the other 350 kids were registered in the industrial departments of *Feshane*, *Tersane* and *Tophaney-i Amire* and *Ziraat Mektebi* in İstanbul.’<sup>98</sup>

Also it is understood from a document dated 1900 that there were 50 Cretan homeless children registered in the *Sanayi Mektebi* of İzmir.<sup>99</sup>

### **5.2.3. The Factors to Determine the Resettlement Process in the *Vilayet* of Aydın**

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the resettlement process of the immigrants, who came to the *Vilayet* of Aydın, was not realised in the way the central administration has directed and planned. The resettlement of immigrants were occurred as a result of some though and some moderate dialogues among the central administration, local administrators and the immigrants, which result in negotiation at some point along with the providing of the control of the government. There are some compelling factors in terms of providing this negotiation.

#### **5.2.3.1. The Demands of the Immigrants and the Problem of the Public Order**

When the documents about the transferring and the resettlement of the immigrants are evaluated, it is seen that the sensitivity about the ‘providing of the public order’ (*Asayişin berkemâl olması*) was coming forward. The administrators are really careful in the option of a conflict or uneasiness. In order to obtain this, the demands of the immigrations were taken into consideration when necessary; concessions were made in terms of resettlement.

The demands of the immigrants, about the place to be settled, have been caused of being the administration in such a hard condition most of the time. As a result of the state policy they have decided to send each village, *kasaba* or *kaza* a number of

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<sup>98</sup> BOA, *İrade, Girit*, no: 1258, 12 Kânûn-ı evvel 1313 (R) [December 24<sup>th</sup> 1897] quoted by Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 275.

<sup>99</sup> BOA, *A.MKT.MHM.*, File: 510, Folder: 31, 16 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1318, [October 11th 1900].

immigrant families in proportion with their population and requested as so.<sup>100</sup> However, the Circassian groups objected to their distribution and sending to other villages and demanded their resettling to be 'by assigning them vacant lands in the location they like,' founding new villages and settling them 'tribe by tribe' as it was in Rumelia before. Even though the impossibility of this demand was explained by the officers in İzmir and the *livas*, they were not convinced to be settled in villages family by family. In the document, which was sent to the *Sadaret*, it was reported that the making trouble of the Circassian people had been creating anxiousness in the local citizens as well. Their provoking incidents in the Alaşehir and Salihli stations alarmed the railway officers. It was worried that, they would provoke bigger incidents. Ahmed Hamdi Paşa who sent the document claims that there are two options in the resettlement of the immigrants; the first one is the bringing the powerful members of the group 'to İstanbul somehow, separating them from their tribe, dispersing the tribe and apparently resettling them'.<sup>101</sup> However, the providing of this incident could only be possible by the organization of a 'Nizamiye (Regular Army) rider' along with a 'competent' commander. However, in this situation, the Circassian people would participate in armed fight. It has not been seen possible to reach the target 'harmlessly' with a method like this. Accepting their demand and 'quietly finding a solution for their settlement' would be a better method. Even though it seems costly to the Treasury, assigning the farms belonging to the Treasury to the Circassian people would be appropriate in order to prevent great damage to be made in the future.<sup>102</sup> It is understood from the documents evaluated that, the government is not content about the assigning of the farms to the immigrants.

Regarding the negotiations between the *vilayets* and İstanbul, it is understood that the solution of this problem has taken a rather long time. As a result of the request of the *Dahiliye Nezareti*, the Aydın *vilayet* has started its search for an appropriate land for the resettlement of the immigrants. Thus, it was stated in the document, which was sent to the *Dahiliye Nezareti* on September 12th 1878 that, there were some plots found in the *kazas* of Bozdoğan, Nazilli, Bergama and the *nahiye* of Nif, also they were

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<sup>100</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 2859, document 5, Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878]: Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerinin İskan ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa.

<sup>101</sup> Separating the tribes from their leaders was a popular method applied by the Ottoman State since the fifteenth period. See Chapter II.

<sup>102</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 2859, document 7, 8 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878].



requested with the necessary orders ‘to give each family (hane) 5 acres of land conditioned that they will build their house by themselves.’ It is also stated in the same document that they should be settled in the soonest possible time before the coming of winter and in order for the Circassian people not to return back to Rumelia.<sup>103</sup>

On February 1st 1879, according to a decision of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*), under the current conditions, in order not to leave way for any commotion, the demand of the Circassian immigrants to be settled within their community and to a village founded for them had been accepted. In order to do this the *mîrî* farms, which were around the Aydın *vilayet* would be assigned to the immigrants and if necessary (private-own) vacant land would be purchased.<sup>104</sup>

Similar inconveniences were lived twenty years later during the resettlement process of the Cretan immigrants. When the dates approached May 1899, the number of the Cretan immigrants who came to İzmir since 1898 reached the sum of twenty thousand people. The resettlement of this many immigrants caused the administrators to come up with different ideas. It has been a big problem in where this many immigrants would be resettled. In the *Meclis-i Mahsusa-i Vükelâ* (Cabinet meeting) decided to settle them around İzmir and Aydın since possibly they would object to be sent to different *vilayets* because of the possible the high cost of consigning the immigrants to other *vilayets*.<sup>105</sup> However on the same days, Hüseyin Rıza in the letter he sent to the Yıldız Palace states that, it was not appropriate in terms of security and order to resettle the immigrants of this amount in the *vilayet* of Aydın, there were not appropriate lands to settle this number of people in the *vilayet* and they should better be transferred to appropriate *vilayets*. Furthermore, it was useless to settle these immigrants along the Aegean Sea coast starting from Urla up to Çeşme and Marmaris ‘in order to obstruct to the Greek defeatism.’ As a result of this —after the transfer to other *vilayets*— the remaining immigrants should be settled in the Aydın *vilayet* at the appropriate spots of the coastal line.<sup>106</sup> *Sadaret* also had the same opinion and decided that ‘there are inconveniences of settling them by the coastal line in a *vilayet* like Aydın and it should be explained to the immigrants in the apposite language that necessity to transfer them

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<sup>103</sup> BOA, *İ. DH.*, File: 773, Folder: 62985, document 1, 20 Ramazan 1295 [September 18th 1878].

<sup>104</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 1, 8 Safer 1296 [February 1th 1878].

<sup>105</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 32, 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899].

<sup>106</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 31, document 2, 3. 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899].

to the other *vilayets* of Anatolia and the issue of the land constriction in İzmir for them. Afterwards the immigrants should be distributed to different *vilayets*.<sup>107</sup> It is seen that the worries for a gunfight between the two groups with tension had overcome the thought of providing the population equilibrium in the region where there was a dense amount of Greek and *Rum* population.<sup>108</sup> The encounter of the Cretan Muslims, who were forced to leave their lands because of the Greek government along with the Cretan *Rums* being their enemies, with *Rums* could have result in conflicts in Western Anatolia. Especially the control of the incident in the rural areas would have been harder. In the days of great tension among the Ottomans and the Greeks, the risk of a conflict could not be taken.

As expected the Cretan immigrants objected to the decision to send them to other *vilayets* and nothing resulted from the efforts of the officers to convince them. Haydar Paşa, who was sent from İstanbul to İzmir, reported that he was working on convincing the immigrants to go to other *vilayets*<sup>52</sup> on the telegraph he sent to Yıldız on June 5<sup>th</sup>, but in his telegraph dated the following day it is seems as if he is convinced by the immigrants that they should be staying in İzmir. Haydar Paşa informed that the Cretan immigrants in İzmir do not want to be transferred to another *vilayet* after explaining their poor conditions and their poverty, also adding that ‘even the Muslim community in İzmir (*İzmir ahali-i İslâmiyesi*) want them to be settled in the *vilayet*’ since the immigrants ‘were not provoking any incidents ever and were safe and sound’ and claiming that they should be resettled in the *vilayet* of Aydın.<sup>109</sup>

However it is understood that lots of Cretan immigrants were sent to other *vilayets* in September. According to the information of Yaveran Mehmet Şakir Paşa from İzmir to the Yıldız Palace; the number of immigrants who came to the Aydın *Vilayet* reached the sum of 26.000 and 13.152 of this number were transferred to other *vilayets*.<sup>110</sup> As a result of this, most of the Cretan immigrants were settled in cities and *kasabas*, which did not include a great amount of *Rum* population and easier to take under control, whereas the rest of the immigrants were sent to other *vilayets*.

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<sup>107</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 32, 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899].

<sup>108</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 32, 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899].

<sup>109</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.ASK.*, File: 151, Folder: 111, 27 Muharrem 1317 [June 6th 1899].

<sup>110</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef. 1, 8 C 1317 [October 14th 1899].

The following events after the sending of a group of immigrants to Bornova in June of 1899, is an important issue in terms of 'public order'. On his telegraph sent to İstanbul dated June 8th, Haydar Paşa claims that some of the Cretan immigrants had been sent to the *nahiye* of Bornova but since there were 'already lots of non-Muslims', *Vali* Kâmil Paşa had taken action in order for the immigrants to be sent back.<sup>111</sup> However Şakir Paşa thinks that this action of Kâmil Paşa was not correct and he should possibly taken action regarding the Englishmen.<sup>112</sup> At those times Bornova was a suburb, where mostly Englishmen were settled. The resettlement of the immigrants probably disturbed the Englishmen and they have possibly requested Kâmil Paşa who is known for his closeness to the English to prevent this resettlement. Eventually Kâmil Paşa tried to prevent the resettlement by stating that there were not enough military forces to provide security in a possible incident.

Another document, which was sent from İzmir to Yıldız during the same dates, is also important because of its bringing forward the worries about public order. Necib Mehmet Bey states in his report that: 'The desolate situations of the Cretan immigrants in İzmir streets are affecting both the Muslim community as well as the Christian community. The British missionary who want to benefit from this situation are coming to İzmir in order to encourage the immigrants to start a rebellion. Their aim is to start a disorder in the city and give an opportunity to the British naval army to interfere in the incident.'<sup>113</sup>

The incident of starting a rebellion by utilizing the situations of the immigrant was lived through before in the capital city. Abdülhamid II accepted some of the immigrants who were directed towards Anatolia to İstanbul and provided shelter for the 200.000 of these immigrants via his special founds.<sup>114</sup> However in May 20<sup>th</sup> 1878, author Ali Suavi, who was one of the pioneers of the New Ottomans trend, started a rebellion by gathering up the Rodop and Filibe immigrants. The aim of Ali Suavi was to re-crown Murad V. who was known for his closeness to the constitutional regime, by overthrowing Abdülhamid II who had dispersed the parliament and propped up the

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<sup>111</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.ASK.*, File: 151, Folder: 118, 29 Muharrem 1317 [June 8th 1899].

<sup>112</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.KOM.*, File: 10, Folder: 27, 23 Safer 1317 [June 11th 1899].

<sup>113</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.KOM.*, File: 10, Folder: 21, 3 Sefer 1317 [June 11th 1899].

<sup>114</sup> Karpaz, *İslâm'ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 339.

constitution.<sup>115</sup> After this incident the Sultan ordered for the immediate transferring of the immigrants to other *vilayets* from İstanbul and tried to avoid from the gathering up of the immigrants in İstanbul during his reign.<sup>116</sup> Eventually, the gathering up of the Cretan immigrants in İstanbul was also found dangerous and it was decided to transfer them to other close *vilayets*.<sup>117</sup>

The vulnerable situation of the immigrant community could be provoked by some group —from inside or outside— and this could result as a skirmish with guns all of a sudden. Hence a possible skirmish —in a period when international policies are so responsive— was an acceptable excuse for the other countries to interfere in the events as a ‘guarantor.’ However during the Cretan events in 1896 and after it was seen that especially England appealed to this method.<sup>118</sup>

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the superior decisions taken to the resettlement issue in the *Vilayet* of Aydın were not applied strictly and the decisions had been taken in accordance with time and the conditions of the region. It is seen that the policy of population balances seen during the Hamidian period is more compromising when compared with the policies of the *İttihat ve Terakki*, and the differences are not so sharp. The administrators of the period cared for the immigrant groups not to be misappropriated both in terms of internal security and the tranquillity of the foreign affairs. As a result of this, the efforts to ‘have peace in public order’ during the resettlement process of the immigrants are the indicators of some applications.

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<sup>115</sup> Karpat, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, pp. 236-40. According to an article published in *Herald Tribune*; the Filibe immigrants who have participated in the rebellion explained that their aim was to help their brothers in the Rodop Mountains. They have joined the guerrilla gang founded by Ali Suavi and Circassian leaders because of this reason, Ali Suavi had given the guns to them and they had gathered at some place close to the Çırağan Palace in order to see the Sultan. These people did not know Murad V. was no longer the Sultan. Abdülhamid stated that these people had been provoked by the rebellion leaders. FO 424, cilt 70, enclosure 711/1, p. 437 quoted by Karpat, in *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, pp. 238-9.

<sup>116</sup> Karpat, *İslâm’ın Siyasallaşması*, p. 339.

<sup>117</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 32, 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899] and *Y.A.RES.*, File: 100, Folder: 31, document 2, 3. 21 Muharrem 1317 [May 31st 1899].

<sup>118</sup> Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı*, p. 270.

### 5.2.3.2. The Potential of Land Reserve and the Demand of Agricultural Labour

Since most of the immigrants have been dealing with agriculture, settling on a place appropriate for agriculture and enough for them to maintain was a very important criterion in terms of deciding on a place to settle. However, only sufficient land by itself was not enough.

When the last quarter of the nineteenth century is approached, it is seen that the land appropriate for agriculture is limited in the *Vilayet* of Aydın when compared with other *vilayets*. Western Anatolia had been among the attractive places to settle because of its fertile agricultural land, water sources, well-situated climate conditions and rich variation of crops in accordance. Since the thirteenth century —long before other regions— *Yörük* and Turkmen nomadic tribes have become sedentary life in this region.<sup>119</sup> As a result of this the vacant lands, which are appropriate for agriculture, in order to settle the immigrants are really limited. While the situation is as above, *Hüdavendigâr Vilayet* has taken the first place in terms of the number of immigrants who came from İstanbul during the period between 1871-1891, whereas the *Vilayet Aydın* has taken the second place.

Even though the agricultural area of Marmara and the Western Anatolia especially were narrower than the other regions, the productivity rate of these areas was higher. Since the production in these regions was generally serving industry and trade, the need for agricultural labour was increasing in accordingly. It should have been thought that some of the immigrants would be serving this need of labour. Eventually in the book of regulations which was sent to the *vilayet* of Aydın in 1878 it was asked that; the villager immigrants at first should be *ortakçı* (share-crop) or daily workers in the currents farms,<sup>120</sup> the remaining immigrants should be distributed to ‘villages and *nahiyes* with reference to the number of present households (*hane*) and assigning them of the unused *mîrî* lands around,’<sup>121</sup> if there is not any *mîrî* land around the village then assigning them appropriate farms from the village land.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdî Yapısı* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2000), pp. 55-66.

<sup>120</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 2859, document 5, article 4.

There has been usually the assigning of vacant *mîrî* lands to the immigrant community. The government was not content with the idea of assigning the governmental farms to the immigrants, especially in the first years. In the document dated May 11<sup>th</sup> 1878, which was stating the condition of the immigrants in the *vilayet* of Aydın and sent to the *Sadaret* it was claimed that: ‘Even though the cost of the assignment of the land on auction, belonging to the treasury to the Circassian people seems to be high, what is to come if they are not settled somewhere would have a higher cost.’<sup>123</sup> Months later on February 1st 1879, *Şuray-ı Devlet* decided that the *mîrî* lands could be assigned to some of the immigrants in order not to be the cause of any commotions.<sup>124</sup> As it can be understood from the document above, the treasury was on behalf of the sale of the governmental farms with adjudication. The document dated May 13th 1879, which was explained in Nedim İpek’s study is important in terms of indicating the insight of the treasury. It is so that;

‘It was planned to construct 3000 houses and settle 15.000 immigrants with the 26.000 sim mecdiyes obtained from the sale of the *پرله بك* [maybe Perili Bağ<sup>74</sup>] and the *Çiftlik* of Tepecik in the year 1879. In the case of applying this plan, taxes under the name of *aşar* and share cropper-ship will be collected from the immigrants and the treasury will regain a new income source and will be repaid its expenditure in a couple of years.’<sup>125</sup>

Eventually with time, the purchasing of the farms and the *mîrî* lands in different regions by people with different nationalities and members of the minority groups have worried especially Abdülhamid II and it was preferred to assign the farms to the immigrants.<sup>126</sup> İpek put forward the documents about this issue thus create the impression as if the land was assigned to the immigrants without any worries. However, the income to be obtained from the sale of land was of prior importance for the Treasury, which going through a financial crisis. At that time the farm lands were

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<sup>121</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 5, article 5.

<sup>122</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 5, article 9.

<sup>123</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 7. 8 Cemâziye’l-evvel 1295 [May 11th 1878].

<sup>124</sup> BOA, *İrade, MM*, no. 2859, document 1, 8 Safer 1296 [February 1th 1878].

<sup>125</sup> BOA, *ŞD*, no. 2438: Arz Tezkeresi (13 May 1879) quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli’den Anadoluya Türk Göçleri*, p. 182.

<sup>126</sup> İpek, *Rumeli’den Anadoluya Türk Göçleri*, p. 158.

assigned to the immigrants in accordance with the warnings of the local bureaucrats and the sensitivity of the Sultan about the issue. However twenty years later, the proposal of Kâmil Paşa about the settlement of some of the Cretan immigrants to the *mîrî* farms would not be accepted.<sup>127</sup>

It is understood from the newspaper clippings that the period of resettlement in the *vilayet* until the 1890s was rather problematic. The immigrants were also settled to the areas which were obtained by the drying up of swamps and the reformation of the river beds as a result of the land inconvenience.

‘...There were lots of new lands found at the frontiers of the *kazas* of Menemen and Foça, as a result of the changing the river bed of Gediz and foundation of two villages by the assigning of these lands to the Circassian immigrants, who are in Menemen and not yet settled, have been decided on by the Council of Provincial Administration (*Vilayet İdare Meclisi*) and demanded to the related officers.’<sup>128</sup>

As a result of the examinations, it is claimed that there have been more than 11.000 *dönüms* of lands to be cultivated on the Gediz Delta and 280 families could be settled on this land and even the locations of the villages were decided.<sup>129</sup> Even though the exact identity of these villages is not known today, in a newspaper article, which was published in 1891 there is the mention of Circassian people who were settled in the Kozluca village in Menemen. According to the article; the Circassian people who were citizens of Kozluca were asking the distribution to be reconsidered claiming that it had been in just in terms of the distribution of land.<sup>130</sup>

During September of 1891, the reform studies in order to make the land around the Menderes River appropriate for agriculture had started<sup>131</sup> and it is understood that the reform studied have continued for long years. Some of the immigrants were

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<sup>127</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef 3. 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1317 [October 14th 1899].

<sup>128</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 292, October 26th 1889.

<sup>129</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 305, December 10th 1889.

This type of land, which had been obtained by the drying up of swamps, was popular in the Çukurova Region as well as the other *vilayets*. However it was not easy for the Caucasian communities to adapt to living here both in terms of physiological means and agricultural culture. It is stated that lots of immigrants died as a result of many causes such as malaria. See Kocacık, “Balkanlardan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler,” p. 171 and 177. There is not specific information stating that the immigrants who have been settled in the *vilâyet* of Aydın had been through similar problems.

<sup>130</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 493, October 17th 1891.

<sup>131</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 486, September 23th 1891.

supposedly resettled on this land. When the geographic distribution of the villages founded in the Aydın *vilayet* between 1878 and 1908 is examined, it is seen that they have chosen places at the plain bases not chosen for settlement until that time and river bases.

The *Hizmet* had published an article about the land issue on its edition dated December 25 1886, by referencing the *Tercüman-ı Ahval*. In the article it was claimed that (in the country) some of the villagers have been obtaining extra income by renting the surplus fields and pastures in hand, however these lands are the property of the administration, so the local authorities should decide which lands are in this situation and transfer the rental income to the treasury to be used for the expenses of the immigrants. *Hizmet* also draws attention to the importance of the issue, states that there are similar lands in the *vilayet* of Aydın and if necessary they could also contribute in the decision of these lands.<sup>132</sup> The incidents about the land ownership and the assignment of them, which are explained above, state the insufficiency of the land to be assigned to the immigrants as well as the effort of the state to meet the costs with the income obtained from the sale and the rent of state-owned lands.

It is also seen that some proprietors in the *vilayet* of Aydın have donated land for the immigrants to be resettled. In 1880 Hacı Şükrü Efendi donated his farm, which was half an hour far from the *nahiye* of Bornova, including about a 5000–6000 *dönüm* of field along with a pine-yard and a pasture with a total land of nearly 25-30.000 *dönüm* for the immigrants. In the document it is also stated that the immigrants who are not settled anywhere since they did not prefer any of the places proposed —especially Circassian and Tatars— if they desire, could settle in the farm explained above.<sup>133</sup> In 1890, this time in Söke İlyaszâde Mehmed Bey's wife Fatma Hanım set aside almost 250 *dönüm* of her land in the FalçıkÇiftik (?) for the Orhaniye immigrants, which are a total of 24 families. Two years before this the same Fatma Hanım had 'deserved to have the *Nişan-ı Şefkat*<sup>134</sup> from Sultan because of donating her land of about 550 *dönüm* to the Circassian immigrants.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 13, December 25th 1886.

<sup>133</sup> BOA, *Y.EE.*, File: 40, Folder: 102, 29 Zilkâde 1297 [November 3rd 1880], could be the Çiçekli Köy (with the old name Hamidiye) near Bornova.

<sup>134</sup> *Nişan-ı Şefkat* or *Şevkat Nişan-ı Hümayunu* is a decoration conferred by the Sultan upon ladies of distinction.



During 1897 and after, when the Cretan immigrants started to come to İzmir, the amount of land appropriate for settlement was almost none in the *vilayet*. Even though the Cretan immigrants insisted on settling in or around İzmir, only people dealing with trade or labour were let to be settled in the city or villages and most of the people from the rural areas were sent to other *vilayets*.<sup>136</sup>

#### 5.2.4. Foundation of the Immigrant Villages in the *Vilayet* of Aydın

The proposal of the government in terms of settling the immigrants by distributing them to the present villages could not be structured because of the persistent demands of the immigrants as well as the land problems. It has been seen that, in the period since 1878 until the Balkan wars—even though all of them could not be specified—many immigrant villages were founded in the *vilayet* of Aydın.

The villages that have been indicated in Table 5.1 are the villages that have been mentioned in the documents of the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry and the articles in the newspapers *Hizmet* and *Ahenk*. 70 village names have been specified based on official documents and articles. Also, the villages of İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Denizli, Muğla in 1977, that are considered to be structured during the Hamidian period and of which their names are ending with *-iye* adjunct like *Hamidiye*, *Aziziye*, *Mahmudiye*, *Kadriye*, *Süleymaniye* had been taken into consideration. Some villages have been recorded with their old names as well in the same source. Even though there are also words referring to the ethnical bases of the villages such as *Tatar*, *Dağıstan*, *Çerkez* among the village names. *Moralı*, *Yenişehir* are villages with the names of the villages the immigrants have come from.<sup>137</sup> There are also a number of 45 villages that are estimated to be immigrant villages because of their names; however their existence could not be proven out of the historical sources. It has also been stated that, there could

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<sup>135</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 343, April 22th 1890. In Kiepert's map, there is a village marked in Söke, which is named as *Çerkes Köyü*. See R. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, Ölçek: 1/400.000 (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner, 1902-1906).

<sup>136</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef 1. 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1317 [October 14th 1899].

<sup>137</sup> Even though village names such as *Yeniköy*, *Yeniceköy*, *Yeniçiftlik*, *Yenikonak* were the late founded villages had been seen in the sources frequently; it has been thought that they could not be immigrant villages at all.

be villages that had been structured during and after the Balkan war, among these 45 villages.

As it is indicated in Table 5.2, the original names of many villages were changed in 1977, and some of their new names could not have been specified. There is also the possibility of the abandonment of these villages until today. The location of the villages were tried to be traced on the map of Richard Kiepert dated 1902 with a scale of 1/400.000.<sup>138</sup> Only some of the villages within the list could have been traced on the map. Kiepert had specified some villages on his map with names such as *Çerkezköy, Muhacir, Kırgızlar, Boşnak, Kazaklar*.

As a result of the predeterminations, it has not been possible to specify the number and the locations of the immigrant settlements,<sup>139</sup> whereas it has been possible to specify the areas of intense location. As it has been explained in the previous chapter, Gediz, the Küçük Menderes and the Büyük Menderes Valleys were the areas filled intensely with immigrant villages. The counties that include the mentioned immigrant villages are Saruhan (Manisa), Aydın and İzmir. There were relatively less immigrant villages in Denizli and Menteşe (Muğla). The *sancak* of Menteşe being located in a mountainous and heavily forested area should have been the main reason of it. It has been seen that the immigrant villages choose to be located close to the Champlain bases and upon the railway of highway itinerary as it has been seen in the case of the *vilayet* of Konya and the *sancak* of Eskişehir.<sup>140</sup> It has been asked within the Resettlement Regulation ‘to be located on high location or the outskirts of mountains, close to forests and wetlands if there has been a necessity to structure a new village’.<sup>141</sup> However it has been thought that this item was a recommendation. The settlements have been located on plain lands not only in the *vilayet* of Aydın but also in many regions. In the previous centuries, the settlements in the provincial boundaries have been located on high, secure points or on slopes; the champaign bases had been abandoned because of security, flood and malaria issues. Consequently, the new villages had to be located upon the

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<sup>138</sup> Richard Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner, 1902-1906).

<sup>139</sup> For accurate results about the immigrant villages that had been structured in the *vilayet* of Aydın between 1878-1908; an evaluation needs to be done by the examination of regional maps dated the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

<sup>140</sup> For evaluations about the village settlements in Konya and Eskişehir by the end of the nineteenth century, see Chapter 3.

<sup>141</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*, article 31.

mentioned vacant lands. It is known that in some villages, the immigrant left the places they had first been resettled and moved to more appropriate places. It could not be specified if these kinds of location changes had been lived in the *vilayet* of Aydın. (Figure 5.2)

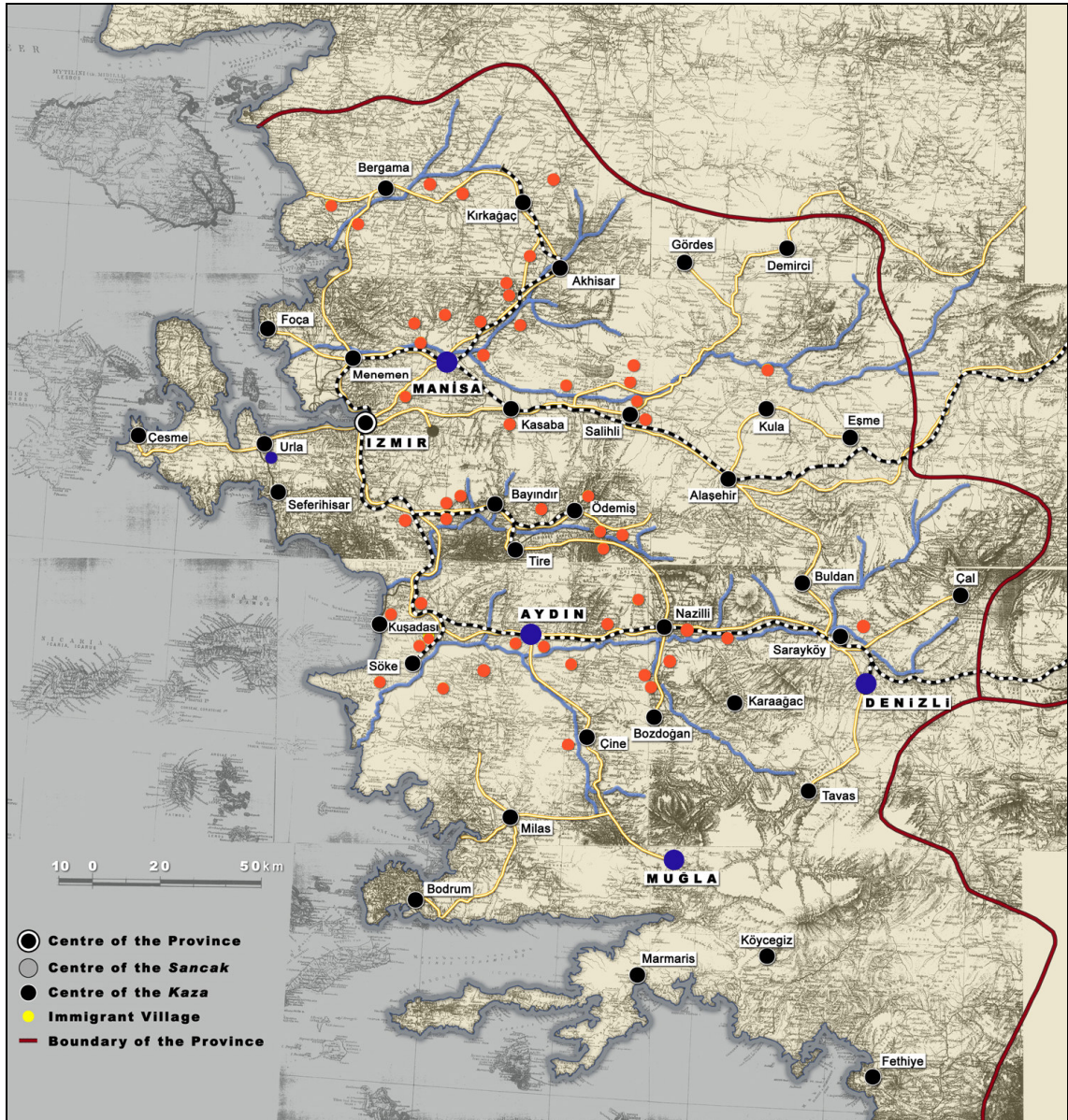


Figure 5.2. Immigrant Villages in the *Vilayet* of Aydın on the Map of R. Kiepert, 1902 (prepared by the Author)

Table 5.1. The Number of Villages in the Anatolian *Vilayets*. (1889-1907)  
(Source: Akbayar 1985; re-arrangement by the Author)

Vilayet	area (square m)	Number of the <i>Sancak</i>		Number of the Village		Increase of number village	number village per 100 square m in 1907
		1889	1907	1889	1907		
Adana	39.900	4	5	1329	1597	268	4
Ankara	94.000	4	5	2273	2746	473	2,9
<b>Aydın</b>	<b>53.857</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2822</b>	<b>2854</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>5,3</b>
Hüdavendiga	81.878	5	5	2164	3607	1443	4,4
Konya	102.100	5	5	1939	2135	196	2,1
Kastamonu	60.000	4	4	2514	4015	1501	6,7

It has been seen that the increase in the number of villages in the *vilayet* of Aydın had been less. (Table 5.2) It has been understood that 32 new villages were established in the *vilayet* of Aydın between the years 1889-1908. However, the number of the villages structured before 1889 has not been accurate. Therefore it has not been possible to give accurate numbers about the number of villages that were structured between the years 1878 and 1908.

Despite the increase in terms of the number of villages between the years 1889-1907 being rather low; the number of villages per 100 km<sup>2</sup> in 1907 in the Aydın *Vilayet* has still been high when compared with Hüdavendigar, Konya, Adana and Ankara. These values prove the establishments about the settlement density. The increase in years in the *vilayet* of Kastamonu is worth attention.<sup>142</sup>

Land had been assigned for the immigrants in the newly structured villages. The land assigned to the immigrants has been forbidden from sale effort previously fifteen years and after 1887 for ten years.<sup>143</sup> It has been asked to finance some the cattle, seed, agricultural equipment from the donations to be collected in the centres of *liva* and *kaza*, the rest would be provided by the government.<sup>144</sup> The immigrants had also built their houses by themselves or with the help of the local community. The immigrants had the right to provide the necessary timber for their houses and agricultural equipment from

<sup>142</sup> It had not been possible to research the reasons for the increase in terms of the number of villages.

<sup>143</sup> Kocacık, "Balkanlar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler," p. 168.

<sup>144</sup> BOA, MM, 2859, Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerinin İskan ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa, madde. 8.

the state owned forests without any charge. However, it had been reminded in the *Hizmet* dated December 18th of 1886 that the immigrants had to ‘pay the taxes for the timber they had cut off from the state owned forests and sold at the market place’ and that the tax-free conditions of the immigrants for two years did not apply for the income obtained from the sale of timber products.<sup>145</sup>

‘A masjid and a school is to be constructed’ in each one of the newly established villages.<sup>146</sup> The financing of the village mosques and schools had been provided by the Treasury from time to time, but generally the construction of these facilities had been provided by the collected donations. The financing of the Hamidiye mosque of Nif along with the İhsaniye Karyesi Mosque of Seferihisar were provided from the Treasury. 9500 *kuruş* were spent from the Treasury for the construction of the schools and the minaret of the Ilıca village, which the Filibe Pazarcığı immigrants had been resettled in.<sup>147</sup> Apart from these, it was indicated to the demand of financing from the treasury for the construction of mosque and fountain in the Mamure Karyesi, where the Batum immigrants were resettled in<sup>148</sup> that, ‘these buildings such as mosque, school and fountain should have been construction by the donations of the community not by the financing of the Treasury.’<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *Hizmet* 11, December 18th 1886, p. 2.

<sup>146</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*, madde. 35.

<sup>147</sup> *Ahenk* 760, 17 February 1899, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1395, Folder: 36.

<sup>149</sup> BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1400, Folder: 86, 26 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1304 [10.02.1887].

Table 5. 2. The Immigrant Villages in the *Vilayet* of Aydın

	In Documents of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives <sup>1</sup>	In the newspaper <i>Hizmet</i> and <i>Ahenk</i>	In 1977 <i>Türkiye Mülki İdari Bölümleri</i> <sup>18</sup>
<b>İZMİR</b>			
<b>Merkez</b>	Mamure <sup>2</sup>		
Seydiköy		Üsküp <sup>5</sup>	
		<i>Gediz Deltasında</i> <sup>6</sup>	
<b>Bergama</b>	Hamidiye (Rumeli)		
	Hamidiye (Çerkez)		
	Osmaniye		
	Sultaniye		
			Aziziye
			Süleymaniye (Hamzalı)
			Kadriye
			Mahmudiye
	Mecidiye <sup>3</sup>		Dağistan
<b>Bayındır</b>	Harizbaşı		Havuzbaşı
	Arık		Arıkbaşı
	Kızılcaboğaz		Kızılcaova
			Osmaniye
<b>Bornova</b>			Hamidiye (Çiçekli)
<b>Ödemiş</b>	İhsaniye		
			Mamuriye (Işık)
<b>Seferihisar</b>	İhsaniye <sup>3</sup>	İhsaniye <sup>7</sup>	İhsaniye
<b>Selçuk</b>			Sultaniye
<b>Tire</b>	Fethiye		
	İhsaniye		
	Fevziye		
<b>Torbali</b>		Yeniköy <sup>8</sup>	Yeniköy
		Hamidiye <sup>8</sup>	
		Ahmedli <sup>8</sup>	
<b>Nif</b>	Halilbeyli	Halilbeyli <sup>9</sup>	Halilbeyli
(Kemalpaşa)			Kadriye (Bayramlı)
		Hamidiye <sup>10</sup>	
<b>Menemen</b>		Kozluca <sup>11</sup>	
<b>AYDIN</b>			
<b>Merkez</b>	Şevketiye		Şevketiye
	Çeştepe		Çeştepe
	Hamidiye		Çayyüzü
	Kadıköy		Kadıköy
	Fenâr		Işıklı (?)
	Karahayıt (Sultanhisar)		Karahayıt
<b>Bozdoğan</b>	Derecik		Direcik (Yenipazar'da)
	Osmaniye		
	Hamidiye		

(Cont.on next page)

Table 5. 2. (Cont.)

<b>Çine</b>	Bereket <sup>4</sup>		Bereket
			Tatarmemişler
<b>Germencik</b>			Mursallı
			Neşetiye
			Moralı
<b>Karacasu</b>	Tekeliler		Tekeliler
	Osmaniye		
	Kavakdere		
<b>Koçarlı</b>	Büyükdere		Büyükdere
	Hayriye		
			Orhaniye
<b>Kuşadası</b>	Davut (?)		Davutlar
	Turfal		
<b>Kuyucak</b>			Azizabat
<b>Nazilli</b>	Fethiye		(Bayındır'da-?)
	Bereketli		Bereketli
	Hamidiye <sup>4</sup>		Hamidiye
<b>Söke</b>	Argavlı		Argavlı
	Beykör		
	Kal'a		
	Şadi		
		<i>Falçık Çiftliği</i> <sup>12</sup>	
<b>Yenipazar</b>	Derecik		Direcik
			<i>Aziziye</i>
	İnce (Nahiye)		Yenice (Nahiye)
<b>DENİZLİ</b>			
<b>Merkez</b>	Aziziye		
	Hamidiye		Hamidiye (Armutlu)
	Sultaniye		
<b>Buldan</b>	Hamidiye	Hamidiye <sup>13</sup>	
		Mahmudiye <sup>14</sup>	Mahmudiye (Mahmutlu)
			Süleymaniye (Süleymanlı)
<b>Çal</b>	Hamidiye		Hamidiye (Güney)
<b>Çameli</b>			Yusufiye (Elmalı)
			Yakubiye (Cevizli)
<b>Çardak</b>	Hamidiye		Hamidiye (Armutalanı)
	Mecidiye		
<b>Çardak</b>			<i>Mahmudiye</i>
<b>Güney</b>	Hamidiye		Hamidiye
<b>SARUHAN (MANİSA)</b>			
<b>Merkez</b>			Süleymaniye
		Mahmudiye <sup>15</sup>	Çerkez Mahmudiye (Yeni Mahmudiye)
			Manastır (Gökçeler)
		Sultaniye <sup>16</sup>	Çerkez Sultaniye (Bağyolu)
			Çerkez Tefikiye (Gülbahçe)
<b>Akhisar</b>			Mecidiye
			Hamitköy
			Rahmiye
	Kavakdere		Kavakalan

(Cont.on next page)

Table 5. 2. (Cont.)

	Osmaniye		Osmaniye (Bünyan)
			Hamidiye
<b>Alaşehir</b>	Hamidiye <sup>3</sup>		
	Kavakdere		Kavaklıdere
			Osmaniye
<b>Kırkağaç</b>			Hamidiye
			Hamitli (?)
<b>Kula</b>			Hamidiye
<b>Salihli</b>	İhsaniye		
	Teşvikiye		
	Orhaniye		
			Süleymaniye
<b>Sargöl</b>			Selimiye
<b>Saruhan</b>			Nuriye
			Gümülceli (?)
	Lütfiye		Lütfiye
			Çerkez Osmaniye (Yeni Osmaniye)
<b>Soma</b>	Ilıca	Ilıca <sup>17</sup>	
			Hamidiye
			Sultaniye
<b>Kasaba</b> (Turgutlu)	Hamidiye		
			Tatarocağı
<b>MENTEŞE (MUĞLA)</b>			
<b>Datça</b>			Mesudiye
<b>Köyceğiz</b>			Sultaniye
			Osmaniye
			Fevziye
<b>Marmaris</b>			Orhaniye
			Osmaniye
<b>Marmaris</b>			Selimiye (Bozburun)
<b>Milas</b>			Selimiye

## Sources:

- (1) The villages that are in the row and are not indicated BOA, *İD*, no: 69324, 71743, 73083, 75970, 77121, 81483, 82320, 82655, 81278, 91461; *ŞD*, no. 3790, 3968, 4111, 4628, 4674, 4717, 5962, 6005, 6009, 6048' quoted by İpek, in *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, pp. 183-184.
- (2) BOA, *DH.MKT.*, File: 1400, Folder: 86, 26 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1304[February 10<sup>th</sup> 1887].
- (3) BOA, *ŞD*, no. 3795; *İD.*, no. 69324, 75970 quoted by Erkan, in *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 161.
- (4) BOA, *İD*, no. 75970, 78504 quoted by Kocacık, in "XIX. Yüzyılda Göçmen Köylerine İlişkin Bazı Yapı Planları," s. 418.
- (5) *Ahenk* 152, October 1896.
- (6) *Hizmet* 292, October 26<sup>th</sup> 1889 and 305, December 10<sup>th</sup> 1889.
- (7) *Hizmet* 314, January 11<sup>th</sup> 1890.
- (8) *Hizmet* 502, November 18th 1891.
- (9) *Hizmet* 245, April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1889.
- (10) *Ahenk* 174, 1 Şaban 1314
- (11) *Hizmet* 493, October 17<sup>th</sup> 1891. For Menemen also see *Ahenk* 625, 657.
- (12) *Hizmet* 343, April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1890.
- (13) *Hizmet* 554, May 14<sup>th</sup> 1892.
- (14) *Ahenk* 237, 19 Zilhicce 1314.
- (15) *Ahenk* 615, August 27<sup>th</sup> 1898.
- (16) *Hizmet* 462, June 27<sup>th</sup> 1891
- (17) *Ahenk* 760, February 17<sup>th</sup> 1899
- (18) TC. İçişleri Bakanlığı İller İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, *Türkiye Mülki İdare Bölümleri: Belediyeler Köyler (1 Ağustos 1977 Durumu)* (Ankara: 1978).



### 5.2.5. The Resettlement of Manumitted Negroes in the *Vilayet* of Aydın

Since 1885, a new subject has been introduced to the İzmir's agenda: the resettlement of manumitted of African origin. Apart from the ones who were born and grew up in İzmir, the manumitted brought from other *vilayets* of the Ottoman State were forced to resettle involuntarily. In other words, what they confronted with was a forced migration. On the other hand, they needed to disengage from slavery and resettle in a safe place to live, but regaining their freedom, they found themselves in poverty, so that they did not have a chance to choose where to live.

Although the attitude of Ottoman State towards slaves was on behalf of their freedom proved by the related regulations, there were no deliberate intentions in the prohibition of slavery with in the territories of the Empire. Later, concerning the subject, Ottoman State was obliged to produce legislative measures due to the change in political approach of European countries against slavery in nineteenth century and as a result of treaties prohibiting the slave trade. What compelled Ottoman State in such a situation was not the prohibition of slavery, but the care of freedmen.<sup>150</sup>

Only apart of the manumitted of African origin could subsist on by their own efforts in İstanbul, where slaves and manumitted people had guilds. Not only buying the freedoms of slaves, who could not afford their living expenses, but also caring the ill and unemployed women and supplying jobs for those unemployed were among the duties of these guilds. Each guild had a manumitted women president, so called “*kolbaşı*” or “*godya*” who also represented a religious or sacred identity.<sup>151</sup> The presence of a similar union in İzmir is known with respect to written documents.<sup>152</sup>

On the other hand, the situation was not the same in some other *vilayets* of the Empire such as; Yemen, Hejaz and Tripoli, where the population of slaves was higher. The manumitted people fell under slave merchants' control or they were inevitably treated as slaves as a result of exploitation of their poverty, soon after they were

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<sup>150</sup> For detailed information on slavery and liberation of slaves in Ottoman Empire see; Y. Hakan Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu, 1800-1909*, tran. Bahar Tırnakçı (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004)

<sup>151</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, p.217.

<sup>152</sup> A. Şahabettin Ege, *Eski İzmir'den Anılar*, ed. Erkan Serçe (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002), p.27.

manumitted. Lack of financial sources was the main liability in controlling such incidents. Under these circumstances, one of the solutions was dispatching a part of freedmen living in Bingazi to İstanbul and İzmir, by the command of Abdülhamid II in 1884<sup>153</sup> which gave start for the journey of freedmen to İzmir.

After Abdülhamid's ordered under consideration, the first written information about the presence of Negroes in İzmir's press was the news concerning the second calf festival of Negroes.<sup>154</sup> This news also pointed out that how Negroes were organised so that they celebrate even the calf festival (*dana bayramı*)<sup>155</sup> as a representation of their traditions. Here, the lacking information is where these Negroes were brought from. Either they were the ones only from Bingazi or there were other Negroes brought from different *vilayets* are unknown.

Among the resolutions of Brussels Conference held in 1890, the countries which were side with the pact had to permit missionary organizations which were given duty to protect the manumitted Negroes and to establish educational institutions for children and guesthouses for women. However this decree was not appreciated by Abdülhamid II, since he considered the missionary organizations as a source of several problems. In the same year, the consulate of Britain proposed to Ottoman State to establish guesthouse for freedman.<sup>156</sup> Together with these events the State approved the establishment of "guesthouse" in 1890, in Bingazi, Trablusgarp, Cidde, Hudeyde and İstanbul. However a part of freedman who would accommodate temporally in these guesthouses had been sent to the *vilayet* of Aydın and during their accommodation period the men would be registered to schools, artisan battalions or military bands, while women would have been employed as salaried servants in Muslim's houses. Some of them had been resettled in agriculturally convenient areas after being married. In the light of this project, the Ministry of Interior was asked the opinion of the *Vali* of Aydın concerning the expenses of the resettlement in December 1890. The *Vali* Halil Rıfat Paşa declared that, after the School of Industry (*Mekteb-i Sanayi*) moved to a new

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<sup>153</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, pp. 220-3

<sup>154</sup> *Hizmet* 247, April 13, 1889.

<sup>155</sup> The Negroes arranged religious ceremonies in the first week of May so called "Calf Festivals" which were held in 1890's in İzmir, in the vicinity of Kadifekale and İkiçeşmelik. However, such activities of Negroes were not appreciated by Ottoman administration in İstanbul and similarly in İzmir. The Governor Hasan Fehmi Paşa prohibited the *calf festival* in 1895, see. *Ahenk* 17, April 22, 1895.

<sup>156</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, pp.223-4

building, the emptied one could be re-functioned as guesthouse. Thus, the Sultan approved suggestion of *Vali* and the guesthouse was opened in 1890 for its new guests.<sup>157</sup> Dating the same year, a news in press was cited the guesthouse for Negroes which also mentioned the construction of a wharf and a public garden in front of the guesthouse and the school.<sup>158</sup> The capacity of guesthouse is known to accommodate 60 persons; meanwhile the data about the distribution of persons stayed in the guesthouse according to per year has not been encountered yet. The immigrants from Rumelia from 1878 on and after 1897 the immigrants from Crete was stayed in this *Islahane*.

Regarding the reasons for the selection of İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın for the resettlement of manumitted people any information has been encountered. The reason can be defined as the rising demand of labour power both in urban and agricultural area in and around İzmir, depending on estimations. Even in the worst possibility the freedmen could be employed in temporary seasonal jobs. Besides, the trust in the governor of İzmir and its citizens can be counted as another factor affecting this decision.

The attempts for the resettlement of freedmen in İzmir had been continued even at the beginning of twentieth century. Because of the reaction of Ottoman State against the activities held by Anti-Slavery Society of Italians in Tripoli in 1906, the ‘homeless’ Negroes was brought to İstanbul and settled in “*Darülaceze*”. Nevertheless, soon after their resettlement, the State planned to bring back about 100 freedmen, especially children, to İzmir due to the problems in their adjustment to the climatic conditions. It was also mentioned that the Negroes were keen on settling in İzmir. In order to realise the project, the State also required the necessary information about the establishment of an institution of men, selection and restoration of a convenient building in order to accommodate this function, and the amount of money that local municipalities could compensate. Education and training of freedmen, aside with their resettlement and employment, was another important constituent of the decree.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, whether the decree was put in practice or not is unknown.

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<sup>157</sup> BOA, *İD*, no. 62927, from Halil Rıfat Paşa to Ministry of Internal Affairs [26 Aralık 1890] quoted by Abdullah Martal, in “Afrika’dan İzmir’e İzmir’de Bir Köle Misafirhanesi,” *Kebikeç* 10 (2000), pp. 179-181.

<sup>158</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 439, April 1st 1891.

<sup>159</sup> BOA, *MV*. File: 113, Folder: 112, 29 Rebî-ül-âhir 1323 [June 22th 1906].

The information regarding the number of freedmen brought to İzmir, how they found jobs and homes and the process of their resettlement in villages has not been found yet. Still, it transpired that the groups established their own places in the social life of İzmir. Derived from the news in press, in 1890's, it is proved that 'negro gentlemen and ladies' resided in the vicinity of İkiçeşmelik, Dolaplıkuyu and Damlacık.<sup>160</sup>

As Şahabettin Ege mentioned in his memories dating to the beginning of 1900's, there were separate groups of Negroes living in Temaşalık, Mızraklı and Yapıcıoğlu and they had different festival dates and sites. He also pointed out that Negroes had diverse occupations, but during the summer period, for harvesting, they left the city to work in agricultural jobs.<sup>161</sup> The Negroes were also cited in the memories of Reşat Nuri Güntekin who lived in İzmir, during his high school education in the Second Monarchy Period. In his novel *Miskinler Tekkesi*, he mentioned that 'the inhabitants of Temaşalık district are the Negroes of African origin' and continued '[...] appreciated from Mansions or escaped many Negro sisters and their men are living in poverty at the skirts of Kadifekale [...]'<sup>162</sup>

Regarding the living expenses, Halil Rıfat Paşa reported in 1890 that the settlement cost of a family in a rural area together with its basic needs such as a house, animals, agricultural instruments and etc. was 3.000 Ottoman *Mecidiye* of the period. However, the accounted amount was not approved by the Sultan and he commanded the establishment of a commission working under the presidency of governor in order to compensate the necessary cost for the resettlement.<sup>163</sup> Any attempt concerning the aids for the resettlement of freedmen has not been encountered in İzmir's press yet. Meanwhile, it was recorded that villages like Yeniçiftlik, Hasköy and Yeniköy which were in the boundaries of districts such as Bayındır, Tire and Torbalı were established and this type of villages were only existed in the *vilayet* of Aydın.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 140, 4 Ağustos 1896; 550, 13 June 1898; 1090, [March 16th 1900].

<sup>161</sup> Ege, *Eski İzmir'den Anılar*, p. 27.

<sup>162</sup> Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Miskinler Tekkesi* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi), pp. 50-68.

<sup>163</sup> BOA, *İD*, no. 62927, quoted by Erdem, in *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, pp. 224-5.

<sup>164</sup> O. İlhan, "Bizim Kunta Kinteler" *Hürriyet*, 11-12 Şubat 1990 quoted by Erdem, in *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, p. 226.

## 5.3. The Resettlement of the Immigrants in the City of İzmir

### 5.3.1. The Urban Growth in İzmir after 1877

It has been possible to define the city frontiers of İzmir until 1876 from a map prepared by Lamee Saad. The city had been bordered by the Muslim and the Jewish cemeteries from the South and the surrounding of Kadifekale, Değirmendağı and Karataş had not been building up yet. The wide area between the eastern frontiers of the Frenk District and the Aydın Railway had not been opened for settlement yet. The Tepecik District that has been located surrounding of the Kemer Station, at the intersection of the Aydın Railway and the historical Kemer axis that enters the city from the east had started to specify it (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3. The İzmir Map of Lamee Saad, dated 1876.  
(Source: Serçe et al. 2003)

One of the most important changes in the city from 1850 until 1876 was the construction of the Aydın and Kasaba Railways along with the Alsancak and Basmane Railway-Stations whereas the other development was realised within the construction of the wharf. The building blocks have been produced on the filled area that was on the backside of the wharf. During this process, as Cana Bilsel has indicated, there were

divided land into parcels within the no build up Punta that is located on the north end of the city, before the Aydın Railway and the station has been constructed (Figure 5.4). This situation indicates that land speculations had started along with the expected investments in 1850.<sup>165</sup> During the same time, the Rıhtım (wharf) Company had a most important initiative to provide income from urban land had. The Company had the priority to parcel and sell the filled area large enough to produce urban land and finance the expenses of the wharf construction.<sup>166</sup>

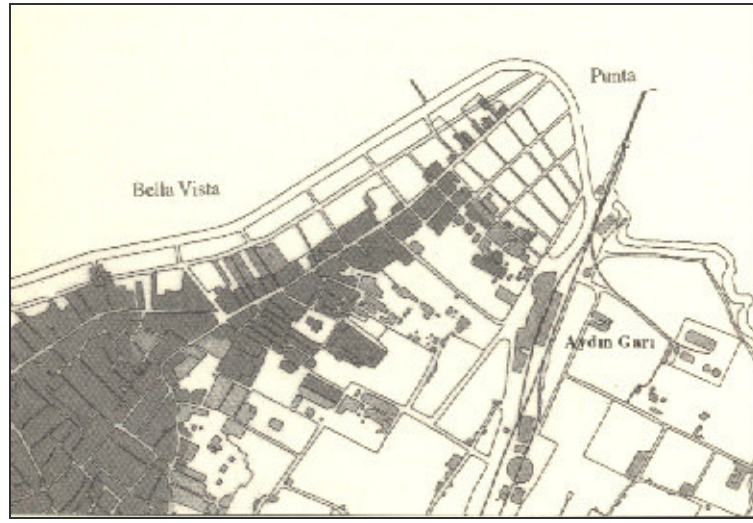


Figure 5.4. Punta (Alsancak) according to the plan of Lamee Saad.  
(Revised by Bilsel 1999)

With the transportation facilities as well as the investments on the substructure, which strengthen the quality of İzmir as a regional commercial centre, in parallel to the population increase had been the reason for an important growth after 1877. It had been estimated that there had also been a brisk movement within the market of urban land.

The urban growth has been occurred within different types and directions. The high income level non-Muslim residents and the residents of foreign countries started to be settled around Punta and Rıhtım whereas the middle and the low income level non-Muslims was settling in the area from the French district up to the Aydın Railway.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Cana Bilsel, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı Liman Kenti İzmir'de Kültürler, Mekân Üretim Biçimleri ve Kent Mekânının Dönüşümü," *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslararası Bir Miras*. ed. Nur Akın, Afife Batur and Selçuk Batur (İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1999), p. 219.

<sup>166</sup> Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir* (1972; İstanbul: Bağlam, 1998), p. 57.

<sup>167</sup> Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir*, p. 52. It has been understood that the district known as Fasulye and Sakızlılar were the life environment of lower income level *Rum* families.

Eventually the Aydın Railway would be the eastern frontier of the city until 1890. It has been seen that the most important development has taken place on the south of the city during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The linear development upon the Karataş, Kokaryalı (Güzelyalı) and Göztepe axis has accelerated after 1884 along with the running of the trail. The opening of the *Mekteb-i Sanayi* and the Military Hospital upon the same axis on 1891 has supported the development in the city. The Jewish people started to be settled in Karataş whereas the Christian community along with the upper income level Muslims started to be resettled in Kokaryalı and Göztepe. This axis has a more cosmopolitan structure when compared with the other regions of the city.

Another important development within the south of the city has appeared with the construction of the immigrant districts since 1880. These districts that had been located on inclined and higher points, on the outskirts of Değirmendağı and Kadifekale, had developed so that they would go over the Jewish and the Muslim cemeteries and encircle the Turkish districts.

Along with the transportation facilities provided by the railway, there have been sub settlements that are disconnected with the İzmir city, in a radius of 10 kilometres from the city centre. Buca and Bornova became settlements where the directors of European railway and wharf companies along with wealthy tradesmen have lived with in their mansions. Both settlements had their connections to İzmir with the layout of private railway line.<sup>168</sup> It has been decided to establish a municipality in Buca in 1898 as a result of the development of Buca.<sup>169</sup> Bayraklı, Alaybey and Karşıyaka had shown developments on the Kasaba (present-day Turgutlu) railway axis. The in-city steamship company also has an important role within the development of these regions.

It has been understood from the newspaper articles and official documents that the urban development had been structured by local development plans. The demands to the permitting of the lands for construction should have been increased during 1890 so that Gabriyel Kalaf, Tevfik Nevzat and Mahmut Necati who were the lawyers of the city announced in the papers that they structured a company for the preparing and approving of the local development plans.<sup>170</sup> In December of 1895, it was announced in *Ahenk* that the essential operations started by the municipality for obligation to make

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<sup>168</sup> Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir*, pp. 53-4.

<sup>169</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 553, 27 Muharrem 1316 [June 16th 1898].

<sup>170</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 42, July 26th 1895.

construction on the vacant and *mîrî* lands in Karataş, Karantina, Göztepe and Mamuret-ül Hamidiye (Göztepe) environs and Karşiyaka.<sup>171</sup> Local development plans that were upon vacant lands on seven different locations around Karşiyaka and Alaybey were approved in 1896 by the Sultan. The mentioned plans are among the rare plan examples that remain today.<sup>172</sup> It has been understood from the newspaper article, which was published the same year; announcing that the land belonging to Mösyö Korsolendi around the Arab Hasan Fountain (present-day Çankaya) were opened to construction, that most of the local development plans had been prepared by Mustin Yevanidi Efendi.<sup>173</sup>

It has been obliged to spare some land for a school and a gendarmerie station in accordance with the Building Law dated 1882, within the regions that had been opened for settlement along with local development plans. It has been informed that the necessary operations had been performed by the Education (*Maarif*) and the Gendarmerie (*Zaptiye*) offices for the assignment of location and value for a school and a gendarmerie station within the ‘Osmaniye and Ertuğrul Districts within the Arab Hasan Çeşmesi, the Mecidiye around Göztepe, Hamidiye in Karşiyaka, Mecidiye in Donanmacı, Şerefiye in Buca and Mamurat-ül Hamid in Kokaryalı, which had been located upon *mîrî* lands’. From time to time there had been some objections to the lands spared for school construction like the ‘heirs of Sarraf Mihailki Kamyanos at the Karşiyaka Donanmacı İskelesi.’<sup>174</sup>

In 1890, there had been demands towards the approval of residential settlement on the east of the Aydın Railway apart from the industrial buildings. In 1898 Matyü Anken ‘4800 *satranç*’<sup>175</sup>, Fotaki Eksantidi from the Ottoman community had applied for opening 19.708 *satranç* lands for construction a district.<sup>176</sup>

Apart from the planned developments mentioned above, there had also been illegal construction upon the *mîrî* land which was stated in the documents of the

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<sup>171</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 79, November 2th 1895, p.2.

<sup>172</sup> BOA, *Y.A.RES.*, File: 82, Folder: 32, 19 Rebî-ül-âhir 1314 [September 27th 1896]

<sup>173</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 145, September 1st 1896, p.4.

<sup>174</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 642, September 28th 1898, p.2

<sup>175</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 642, September 28th 1898, p.2.

<sup>176</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 653, 11 Teşrîn-i evvel 1898, p.2.



Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was informed that illegal residences had been constructed upon *mîrî* lands in Karataş, Göztepe, Kokaryalı and Arabderesi districts. ‘It has been estimated that the application of the articles of Land Regulation (1858 *Arazi Kanunnamesi*) towards the demolishing of buildings that was constructed upon *mîrî* land would give hard times to the community; so that it had been permitted to sell the lands in accordance with the 132<sup>nd</sup> item of the regulation<sup>177</sup>, had been warning the officers in order not to let illegitimate construction again.<sup>178</sup> Until today, the construction of the first slum houses in İzmir has been dating 1928.<sup>179</sup> The problems faced about the resettlement along with the approaching of many immigrants in İzmir along with the Exchange after 1923 had been the main reason.<sup>180</sup> However in 1888, illegal construction was recorded upon state-owned land, it has not been named as slum houses yet. It is interesting to note that the first clemency along with illegal constructions in İzmir was during this period. The hesitation of the administration was the loss of the Treasury as a result of the loss of the necessary value of the land, more than the appearance of illegal construction. The problem would be out of the way by the sale of the lands.

Along with the developments mentioned above İzmir that ‘had been upon a land of 300 ha in 1877, was distributed on a land of 1300 ha in accordance with the plan of the municipality in 1906 and had grown more than four times, apart from Karşıyaka, Buca and Bornova.’<sup>181</sup> In this growth, was relatively high in the urban area. It has been estimated that the immigrant districts had occupied an area of 120 ha even though it had not been of accuracy.

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<sup>177</sup> The related article (132.) is as follows: “Her kim izn-i Sultani ile deryadan bir mahali imlâ eyler ise ol mahale malik olur ve iznolub da üç sene doldurmaz ise anda bir hakkı kalmayıb değeri ba-izn-i sultani ol mahali imlâ ile temellük edebilir ve bir kimse bila-izin deryadan bir mahali doldurur ie orası beytü’l malin olub canib-i mîrîden bedel-i misli ile ol kimseye ve istinkaf ettiği surette bi’l-müzayede talibine satılır.” *Arazi Kanunnamesi*, ed. Orhan Ceker (İstanbul: Ebru Yayınları, 1985), p. 71.

<sup>178</sup> BOA, *DH. MKT.*, File: 1496, Folder: 4, 8 Receb 1305 [March 23rd 1888].

<sup>179</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction of Resettlement, General Directorate of Housing, *Gecekondu in İzmir*, (Ankara: Social Research Department, 1966), p. 7.

<sup>180</sup> Tülay A. Baran, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Yapılanması: İzmir (1923-1938)* (İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>181</sup> Erkan Serçe, “İstatistiklerle İzmir (1917-1918)” *Kebikeç* 4 (1996), p. 159.

### 5.3.2. Foundation of the Immigrant Districts in İzmir

The first entries about the immigrant districts in İzmir have been within the chart of districts and their populations dated 1885. It is also important to note that there was not a mention of immigrant resettlement and the immigrant districts within the *Vilayet Salnames*, which are the important sources of the period. In the charts of the year 1885, Mahalle-i Cedit (Memduhiye), Nüzhetgah, Teşvikiye, Orta Mahallesi, Birinci Hamidiye and İkinci Hamidiye at the Mazlum Bey Çeşmesi, Karataş (Osmaniye) districts were recorded<sup>182</sup> (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3. The Immigrant Districts of İzmir in 1885  
(Source: Serçe 2000; rearranged by the Author).

The Name of District	Number of Household
Mazlum Bey Çeşmesinde I. Hamidiye	218
Mazlum Bey Çeşmesinde II. Hamidiye	100
Orta Mahallesi	80
Nüzhetgah	110
Teşvikiye	101
Cedit	50
Total	659

In 1885, 659 households were recorded. Even though the house hold has been recorded as five people, after the interviews by Nejat Göyünç with almost 10.000 families who resettled in Anatolia by the end of nineteenth century, the average size of the house hold turned out to be 4,1 people.<sup>183</sup> Eventually, the total population of the immigrant districts in 1885 was between 2700 and 3300. İmariye, Hamidiye-i Kebir (II. Aziziye) and Fethiye districts on the outskirts of Kadifekale added to these districts after 1885. The immigrant districts are illustrated on Figure 5.5.<sup>184</sup> It will be seen that most of these districts will change their names and some of them will be divided into two until

<sup>182</sup> BOA, ŞD, 1381/20 author Erkan Serçe, “İzmir Mahalleleri,” p.165-75.

<sup>183</sup> Nejat Göyünç, “Aile Deyimi Hakkında,” *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979), pp. 331-43 quoted by Karpat, in *Ottoman Population*, p. 10.

<sup>184</sup> The air foto of İzmir dated 1950 for illustrating immigrant districts boundary. This air foto is the oldest document which showed that the original state of these districts as well as similar state in the early twenty century.

1908<sup>185</sup> (Table 5.4). There is no knowledge whether Gerenlik'te Karakuyu (I. Aziziye) and Ballıkuyu, which located on the northern slopes of Kadifekale, were immigrant districts, within the registries dated 1885. In case of the districts, such as Ballıkuyu that appeared during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, internal migrations should also be taken into consideration.

The earliest records about the immigrant districts in İzmir after 1885, was dated January 27<sup>th</sup> of 1886. It has been informed within the document sent by the *Vilayet* of Aydın to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that;

'there had been a district structured upon the land assigned to the Rumelia immigrants around the *Çalı Mezarlığı* in İzmir with the construction of 100 residences; and the immigrants applied to the office of *Vilayet* in order for the assignment of an imam along with a headman to the districts and the registration of the district with the name of Halidiye.'<sup>186</sup>

There is no any information about the location of the *Halidiye Mahallesi* and *Çalı Mezarlığı* within the sources.

In June 20<sup>th</sup> of 1887, the community of the Memduhiye District, which was located by the Dibekbaşı Mosque right just behind the Muslim cemetery that was composed of 102 residences three years ago and reached a number of 121 residences since then, had been asking for the specification of an imam and a headman for their district.<sup>187</sup> In December 4<sup>th</sup> of 1889, the official opening ceremony for the mosque<sup>188</sup>, which was constructed by Mehmed Ağa, who was known as Baladur Hacı Bey of the Morea immigrants,<sup>189</sup> who settled in the Memduhiye District.<sup>190</sup> Baladur Hacı Bey, had made over a house, a coffee-house and a shop to a wakf for the mosque. It has been claimed that, one side of the shop was the Muslim cemetery known as the *Çalı*

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<sup>185</sup> Erkan Serçe, "İzmir Mahalleleri," p.173-75.

<sup>186</sup> BOA, *İ. DH.*, File: 976, Folder: 77121, lef 2, 21 Rebî-ül-âhir 1303.

<sup>187</sup> BOA, *İ. DH.*, File: 1035, Folder: 81483, lef 2-1, 28 Ramazan 1304 [June 20th 1887].

<sup>188</sup> VGMA, 590 / 99 / 91, 11 Rebî-ül-âhir 1307 [December 5th 1889].

<sup>189</sup> It has been understood from the gravestone of Baladur Hacı Bey who had died in March 4th of 1898 that he was from Mora. For the gravestone article see. Münir Aktepe, *İzmir Yazıları: Camiler, Hanlar, Medreseler, Sebiller*, ed. Fikret Yılmaz (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2003), p. 59.

<sup>190</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 204, December 5th 1889.

*Mezar*.<sup>191</sup> *Çalı Mezarlığı* is a reference for both of the mentioned districts. These data dated 1886, was stating the district that has been referred to as Halidiye was in fact the Memduhiye District.

It is understood that a plan applied because of the grid-iron pattern of the districts. However, there is not a registry about how and when the organizations of the settlement plan. The earliest map about these districts is the one with the water axis on it, which had been done by an English company. Even though the map does not have an accurate date, it has been estimated that it should be dated 1905 or a few years later.<sup>192</sup> It will be named as the Map of 1905 within this study. There are the building blocks and the main usages on the map. It has been possible to estimate the dense areas and the opened axis in accordance with the map. (Figure 5.6 and 5.7) It has been possible to be informed about the physical structure of the districts as the Map of 1905 and the cadastral plan dated 1934.<sup>193</sup>

The districts were constructed since 1879 as a result of the dense migrations in 1878 and 1879, in accordance with the Building Regulations dated 1863 and 1882. The Hamidiye District upon Değirmendağı and Memduhiye that were constructed near the older Turkish districts had been the first districts. Nüzhetgah and Teşvikiye districts developed later. The *Halil Rifat Paşa Caddesi* that happened to be the widest street upon Değirmendağı was seven-eight meters wide whereas the other streets had been six meters wide.<sup>194</sup> It has been seen that the size of the plots were much smaller when compared with the ones of the Nüzhetgah District. The reason of the dense structuring should have been because of the obligation to resettle the many immigrants who came to the city until 1880 as soon as possible.

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<sup>191</sup> VGMA, 590 / 99 / 91, 11 Rebûl-âhir 1307 [December 5th 1889].

<sup>192</sup> Çınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* (İzmir: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, 1998), pp. 193-9.

<sup>193</sup> For the cadastral maps dated 1934 of the immigrant districts see Arzu Temizsoy, "Resettlement of Balkan Refugees in İzmir during the Late Ottoman Period: A Survey on the Urban and Architectural Properties of the Planned District of Değirmendağı." B.A. Diss., Middle East Technical University, 2002.

<sup>194</sup> According to the Turuk Ebniye Regulation dated 1863, a street of a 3. degree should be 10 zira (7.50 m), whereas a street of 4. degree should be 8 zira (6 m). In the Ebniye regulation dated 1882, it had been obliged to construct the streets of fourth degree as 10 zira and the streets of 5. degree as 8 zira. See. Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*: 2.

Table 5.4. The Immigrant Districts of İzmir and Renamed after 1885  
(Source: Serçe 2000, pp. 173-5)

1885	1908	1911	1937
Mahalle-i Cedit	Memduhiye	Memduhiye	Altay
İmariye *	İmariye	İmariye	İmariye
Fethiye*	Orhaniye	Orhaniye	Selçuk
Hamidiye-i Kebir	Mamure-i Hamid	II. Aziziye	II. Aziziye ve Kadriye
Gerenlik'de Karakuyu	Birinci Aziziye	Birinci Aziziye	Kocakapı
Nüzhetgah Mahallesi	1. Sultaniye	1. Sultaniye	Tınaztepe
	2. Sultaniye	2. Sultaniye	Kocatepe
	3. Sultaniye	3. Sultaniye	Duatepe
	4. Sultaniye	4. Sultaniye	Çimentepe
	5. Sultaniye	5. Sultaniye	
Orta Mahallesi	İhsan-ı Hamid	Mahmudiye	Güngör
Mazlum Bey Çeşmesinde Birinci Hamidiye	Hamidabad	Selimiye	Yeşiltepe
Mazlum Bey Çeşmesinde İkinci Hamidiye	Mamure-i Hamid	Mecidiye	Çağabey
Teşvikiye	1. Süleymaniye	1. Süleymaniye	Atilla
	2. Süleymaniye	2. Süleymaniye	Altıntaş
Karataş (Osmaniye)	1. Karataş	Karataş Osmaniye	Mecidiye
	2. Karataş	<i>Karataş</i>	<i>Barbaros</i>
			<i>Turgut Reis</i>
			<i>Kılıç Reis</i>

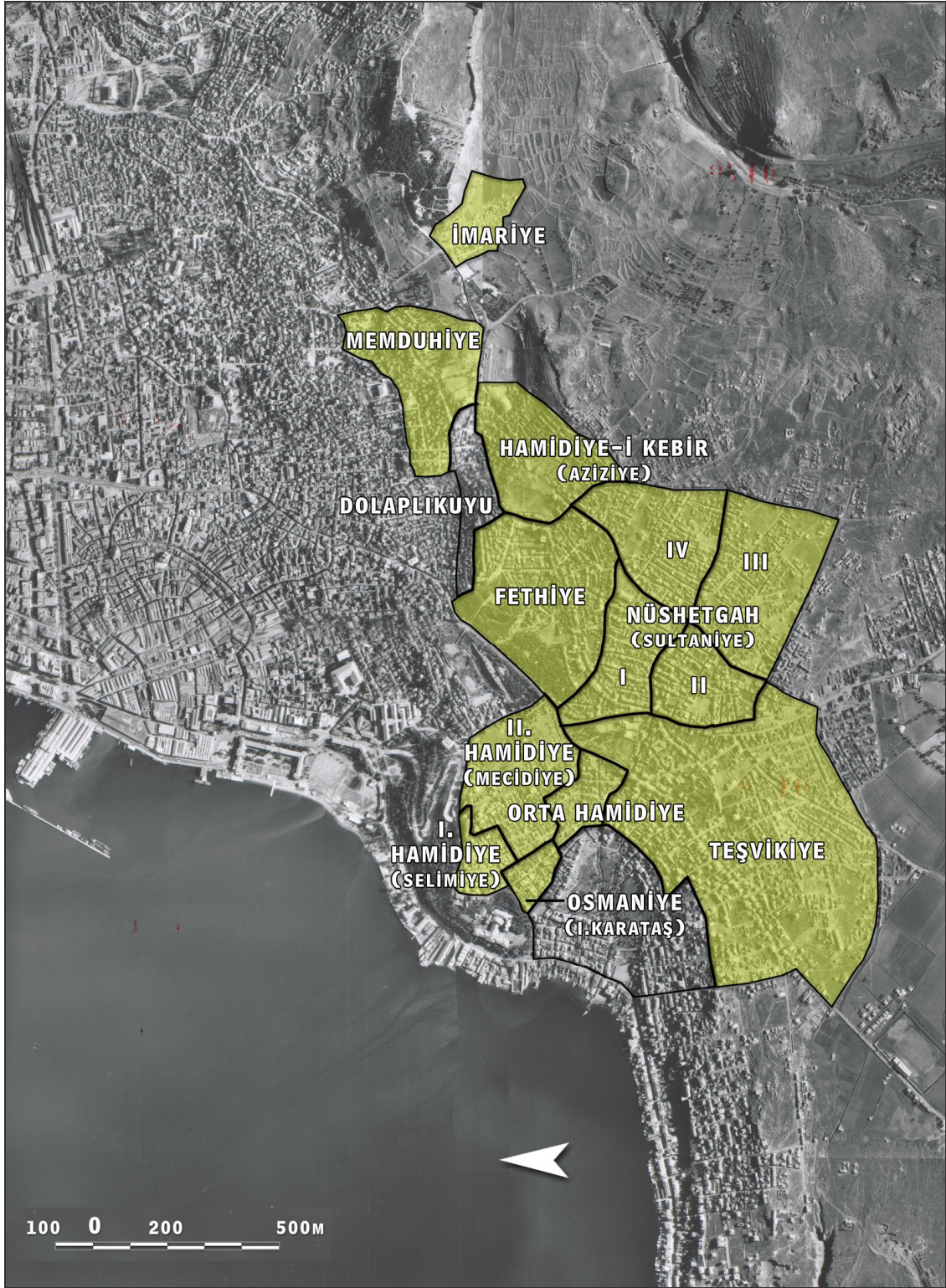


Figure 5.5. The Boundary of the Immigrant Districts in İzmir, 1880-1908  
[The districts illustrate on the air foto of İzmir, dated 1950. For the original air foto see also the Archive of Harita Genel Komutanlığı] (prepared by the Author)

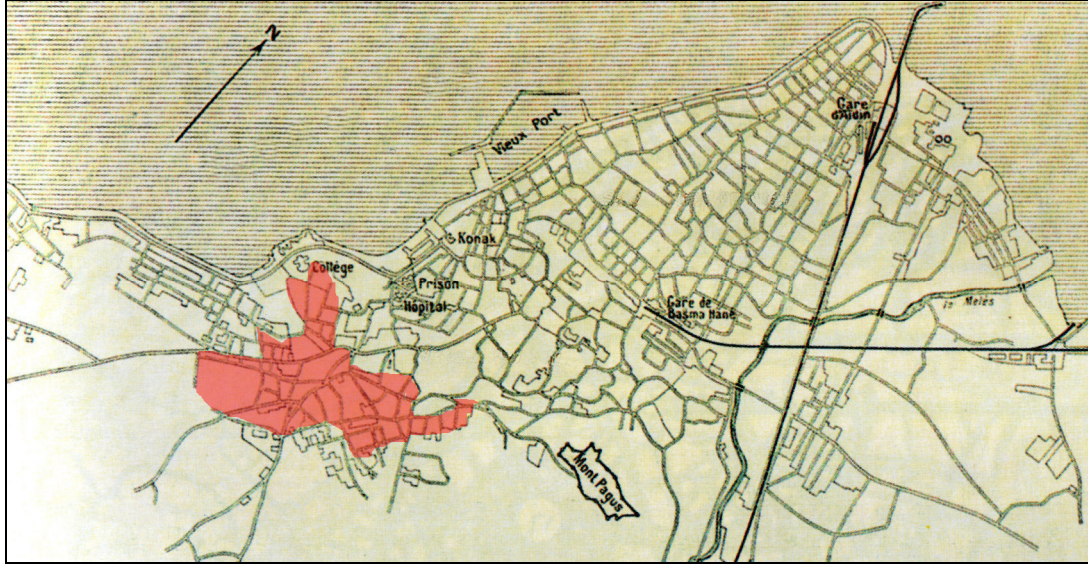


Figure 5.6 The Location of the Immigrant Districts in İzmir in the early Twentieth Century. [Source of the original map: *L'Illustration*, March 1933, no. 4696, quoted by Serçe et al. 2003] (prepared by the Author)

Along with the construction of the immigrant districts, a sub-center upon the Kızılcıullu axis, which connects İzmir to Seydiköy and Buca, was structured. The Kızılcıullu Axis is a historical axis that provides entrance to the city from the south; also the location of the sub-center was known as the *Tire Kapısı*.<sup>195</sup> The wakf records of the İhsaniye Mosque that had been constructed within the Nüzhetgah District and the Eşref Paşa Mosque upon this axis give information about the usages during 1890. There has been the Katıpzade police-station near the İhsaniye Mosque, which was constructed by Selanıklizade Hacı Ahmed *Efendi*. The parcel of the mosque was bordered by the *Kolcubaşı Hasan Ağa Kahvesi* at one side and Şehitler Cemetery on the other side. There were the *Selanıklizade İbtidai Mektebi* on the south west of the mosque and four shops on the base floor of the mosque, which had two floors. Selanıklizade had made over the four shops to the wakf of this mosque.<sup>196</sup> There were also the shops of the wakf of Eşrefpaşa Mosque on the Kızılcıullu axis.<sup>197</sup> According to the claimed registries, there had been almost ten shops as the foundation of the mosque apart from the police-station, coffee-house and school in the newly structured sub-center. It has been estimated that the axis had become busier with the widening of the İkiçeşmelik Street in 1896. The

<sup>195</sup> VGMA, 595 / 52 / 52, 7 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1310.

<sup>196</sup> VGMA, 595 / 52 / 52.

<sup>197</sup> These shops had been demolished in September 2005.

potentials of this axis started to be evaluated along with the structuring of new districts. Mosque, police-station and elementary schools were the characteristics buildings of new immigrants constructed during the Hamidian period. Even though there has been the condition to spare some land for the construction of a school within each district, there were only six schools within the sixteen immigrant districts until 1908. The providing of education services within the immigrant districts will be evaluated in detail under the next section.

During this period when almost all of the public buildings were structured by the donations of the community; ‘the donators’ used their preferences for constructing mosques. Until 1900, almost all the wealthy people of the city donated to construct a mosque. The mosque in the Memduhiye District is a significant example since it was constructed by Baladur Hacı Bey of Mora who himself was an immigrant. The mosque was an important institution to gather the Muslim community around and even be a symbol apart from providing the religious necessities. During the Hamidian Period, there was the policy towards ‘constructing a mosque and a school within each village.’ The mosque was also the indicator of a status for the residents of a newly structured village or district. Becoming a ‘district’ within the Ottoman community meant to have a headman and an imam. It has been natural for these people who were forced to migrate just because they were Muslim to long for ‘an imam and ‘a mosque’ after ‘a house’, is it has been seen in the above mentioned examples. The policy of ‘building a police station within each district’ could not have been applied as a result of the lack of sources. It has been seen that the responsibility of the Katipzade police-station within the Nüzhetgah district had expanded in a wide radius. The districts on Değirmendağı had also been under the control of Karataş police-station.

In conclusion, the school, mosque and the police station within the immigrant districts had been located as urban usages, which should also be evaluated as associations that provide the control of the central administration upon public life.



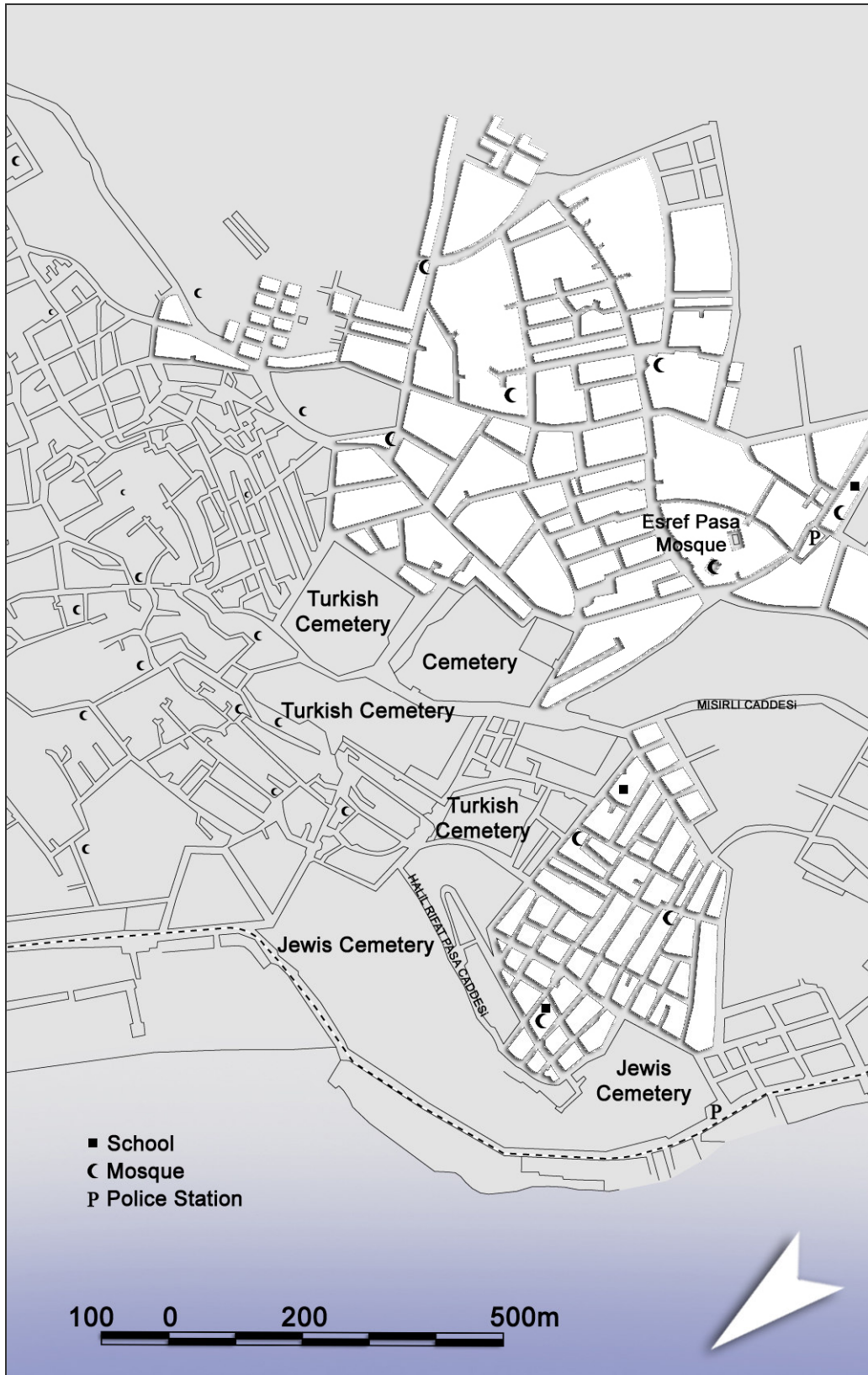


Figure 5.7. The Immigrant Districts on Değirmendağı and the foot of Kadifekale [The Map is based on the British Plan of Water Lines System (1905-1910). Source: Atay 1998] (prepared by the Author)

### 5.3.3. Assignment of Land and Housing Construction

The immigrant settlement regulations in 1878 would offer similar resolutions regarding the land and house provision for the immigrants in villages and towns. The 29th article of *İskân-ı Muhacirin* regulation in 1878 states;<sup>198</sup>

‘due to the presence of unoccupied, *mîrî* (state-owned), *metruk* (abandoned) and *mevkuf* (possessed to wakf) lands in the majority of towns and villages, part of this land must be assigned for immigrants and two or three-room houses must be constructed with the help of the local people.’

In the Article 3 of the Resettlement Regulation<sup>199</sup> concerning the *vilayet* of Aydın, although no statement is provided on the assignment of land for the immigrant families to-be-resettled in the city, it is stated that ‘these people will be resettled in one or two-room houses provided by donation.’

It is estimated that the land on which the immigrant districts were constructed in İzmir, was *mîrî* and wakf. Until the year of 1878, the south border was determined by Muslim and Jewish cemeteries. Immigrant districts were constructed beyond this border. Despite the lack of a detailed examination, it is apparent from a title deed bearing the date of December 2 1929 that a building plot in Nüzhetgah (later named as Birinci Sultaniye-Tınaztepe) District was ‘leased by *Yusuf Baba Vakfı*’. It should also be pointed out that in the Lamee Saad Map dated 1876, the area between the ancient theater and stadium was called *Yusuf Baba* (Figure 5.3). According to the records of

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<sup>198</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.*, File: 1, Folder: 41, lef 2, 13 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1295 [June 14th 1878]. Article 29 of *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi* is as follows: “Muhacirinin kesret üzere vürud ve sevklere cihetiyle, mahallerine nakl, isal kılınan muhacirini, defaten iskân kabil olamayacağına mebni evvel emirde kurâ ve kasabat-ı kadimeye tevzi ve on hanenin bir haneye suret-i misafirette taksim olunup, her karye ve kasaba ahali, kendi hissesine düşen mahacirini barındırması lazımdır. Ekser kasaba ve karyelere arazi-i hâliye-i mîrîye ve metruke ve mevkufe bulunduğundan, o misüllü arazideni muhacirin-i merkumeye lüzumu miktar yer îrâ‘ ve tahsis ve ehl-i karye ve kasabanın muavenet-i umumiyesiyle ikişer üçer gözden haneler inşa olunup, tavnin ve iskân ve muhtac-ı îâne bulunan muhacirin edevat-ı çift vesaire tedarik edinceye dek, ortakçılık ve amelelik gibi şeylerde kullanılarak, vayahut eshab-ı kudret ve merhamet taraflarından sair suretle muavenet kılınarak, eshab-ı ta’işlerinin istihsaliyle, zarurettten vikaye olunacaklardır. Ve muhacirin-i merkume kurâ ve kasabat-ı kadimeye sığmadıkları halde, arâzî-i emîrîye ve hâliye ve mevkufe ve metrukeden iskâna elverişli mahallere îvâ ve tavnin edilecektir.”

<sup>199</sup> BOA, *MM*, File: 2859, document: 5, *Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerinin İskân ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa*, 24 Muharrem 1296 [December 31st 1878].

*Sofyalı el-Hac Ahmed Efendi ibni Mehmed bin Ahmed Vakfı*<sup>200</sup> bearing the date of February 4th 1912, the house of Sofyalı Ahmed Efendi living in Aziziye District was his own property but the land belonged to *Kadı İlyas Bey Vakfı*<sup>201</sup> and its annual rent was two *kuruş*. Although this foundation record is after the investigated period, it is commonly known that Aziziye District was built before then. During the initial resettlement of Turkish people in İzmir, part of the land on which the districts were built on the outskirts of Kadifekale was founded for buildings such as mosques.<sup>202</sup>

In the August of 1889, İzmir Ottoman Customhouse Officer Osman Efendi makes a press statement to express his gratitude to the authorities for the land given to him on Değirmendağı due to his immigration.<sup>203</sup> In 1892, the press warns the authorities about ‘some immigrants selling the house lands given by the government for resettlement’ by pointing out that ‘these lands were given to the immigrants to save them from homelessness and permitting this selling would raise the same threat’ and also reminding that ‘the Sultan forbids the selling of these lands before seven years.’<sup>204</sup> From this piece of news, it can be concluded that land was given to the immigrants by the government. However it doesn’t seem possible to specify the behavior of immigrants who have come to İzmir at different times and who were willing to own real estate. It is known that during the period investigated, a relatively wealthier immigrant Moralı Baladur Hacı Bey lived in Memduhiye District,<sup>205</sup> while the wood merchant Filibeli İsmail Efendi lived in Orta Hamidiye.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> VGMA, 602 / 136 / 255, 15 Safer 1330 [ January 4th 1912]. It has been stated within the foundations records that Sofyalı Ahmed Efendi had given some of the rent income of his house which had been formed of a room, a kitchen some courtyard and an auxiliary building, which had been bought for 1500 *kuruş* in May 25th of 1326.

<sup>201</sup> *Kadı İlyas Bey Vakfı*, belongs to the foundation of the mosque, which had been in Kadifekale possibly. There has been the expression of “Ahmed oğlu İlyas... İzmir Kal’ası Kadısı... sene semâne seb’a mie” [H. 708 - M. 1308/9] within the inscription of the mosque. The foundation records of the mosque belonging to the Aydınoğulları period are within the archives of the Prime ministry. (Tapu Tahrir Defteri dated 1530) as the following: “... Vakf-ı câmi’ der kal’a-i fevkânî İzmir, Kadı bina etmiş. Mukata’a: Bağha ve eşçar ve incir ve badem. Hâsıl 819...” For references about the records and detailed information, see Aktepe, *İzmir Yazıları: Camiler*, pp. 96-7.

<sup>202</sup> Eventhough data about the existence of the foundations within the region had been within reach, the property ownership records could not have been evaluated within the research time.

<sup>203</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 34, March 9th 1887.

<sup>204</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 526, February 10th 1892.

<sup>205</sup> VGMA, 590 / 99 / 91.

<sup>206</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 741, January 22nd 1899.

In August 27<sup>th</sup> of 1889, following the assignment of Halil Rıfat Paşa as the *vali* of Aydın for the second time, the press announced the news about the construction of housing for the immigrants. According to the news, there were ‘still unsettled’ immigrants ‘living in mosques, madrasas and widow houses in miserable conditions’. Therefore, the governor anticipated ‘construction of housing with cost of 1000 *kuruş* each, for immigrants in deprived conditions’ and collecting a donation (*iane*) of ‘three *kuruş* per house’ in the *Vilayet*. In order for the proper collection of donations in security (*‘emniyet ve istikamet-i dairesi’*) to be made and any ‘misuse’ to be prevented, a commission was established. ‘This commission was directed by a member of the Executive Board (*Meclis-i İdare*) of the *Vilayet*, Abdülkadir Paşa, and it consisted of notables of the *Vilayet*, executive board members Sağlebcizâde Hacı Ahmed Efendi, Kalenderzade Sefer Efendi and Evliyazâde Hacı Mehmed Efendi, the Mayor of the First Municipality Office Ragıb Efendi, immigrant resettlement officer Saim Efendi and other civil officers.’<sup>207</sup> From the text, it is clear that the administration did not, actually could not build a house for every immigrant family. So as to provide housing for the poor immigrants, donations were collected. In another news text dated August 31 1889, the public is informed that the donations are being collected. In addition to this, it is pointed out that although it seems like an obligation to make a donation due to the conditions of the time, both the administrator and the public have to participate at this works.<sup>208</sup> This statement was probably made to modify the present or the future reactions of the public.

In November 1889, house construction through the donations began for the poor immigrants. Although it is told that further information about ‘where and how many houses have been built’ will be given,<sup>209</sup> no news on this subject were released in the later issues of *Hizmet*. In April 1891, ‘the districts which has been built in Değirmendağı for immigrants’ is said to be among the works of *Vali* Halil Rıfat Paşa in İzmir.<sup>210</sup>

In this text, there was not any information about the quality of the houses named as “*hanecik*” which were expected to cost 1000 *kuruş* at the beginning. It can be

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<sup>207</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 283, August 27th 1889.

<sup>208</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 284, August 31st 1889.

<sup>209</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 299, November 19th 1889.

<sup>210</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 444, April 18th 1891.

estimated that these houses consisted of one room and one kitchen. Halil Rifat Paşa stated that the houses built for immigrants, had cost 1500 *kuruş*, in a report he sent to Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1890.<sup>211</sup>

Beginning from January 1899, as immigration from Crete to İzmir increased, resettlement of the immigrants became the prior duty of the municipality. Abdülrahim Efendi who was the deputy mayor and the director of Cretan Charity Commission was commissioned to provide accommodation for the immigrants. To begin with, 26 sufficient and durable rooms were built in a few days in Şakir Efendi lot on Ali Efendi Street along with a very big laundry, five toilets, and two water pumps.<sup>212</sup>

In October 1900 ‘construction of huts on vacant lots and available parts of the city was agreed on’ for the ‘homeless’ and ‘helpless’ immigrants from Crete. A member of the Executive Board of *Vilayet Abdülkadir Paşa* and deputy mayor Abdülrahim Efendi were commissioned for this duty.<sup>213</sup> After one month of investigation, ‘convenience of 37 hut construction in five different parts of the city’ was reported to the provincial authority.<sup>214</sup> In February 1901, construction of an eight-room building on a lot across *Abdülkadir Paşa Hamamı* was announced.<sup>215</sup> In order to meet immigrants’ needs in a cost-effective and a quick way, common use areas were considered instead of providing land in the pre-built immigrant districts and constructing new houses. These could be named as some kind of massive housing. Until they had the sufficient economic conditions; immigrant families probably resided in these temporary resettlement places, which could be otherwise named as temporary resettlement rooms.

The temporary resettlement of 30,000 immigrants in İzmir in 1899, the amount of correspondences between İstanbul and İzmir about the immigrants’ transfer to other *Vilayets* and the problems about the resettlement places of immigrants were discussed under previous topics. On October 14th 1899, Yaveran Mehmet Şakir Paşa informed Yıldız Sarayı that ‘6558 people living in cities and towns in the *vilayet*, bought *akarar*

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<sup>211</sup> BOA, *İD*, 62927, 14 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1308 [December 26th 1890] quoted by Y. Hakan Erdem, in *Osmanlıda Köleliğin Sonu: 1800-1909*, tran. Bhar Tırnakçı (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 225.

<sup>212</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 753, February 3rd 1899.

<sup>213</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1275, October 25th 1900.

<sup>214</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1297, November 19th 1900.

<sup>215</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1369, February 16th 1901.

[real estate which brings rental income] and worked either as laborer or as artisan.<sup>216</sup> There is any information on how many members of this population lived in İzmir. As far as the press states, immigrants from Crete settled in Kuşadası, Bodrum, Salihli, Tire and Ödemiş along with İzmir. In 1900 *Ahenk* newspaper had announced construction of '100 pairs of houses' between Kuşadası and Söke by a contractor.<sup>217</sup> Although there is not sufficient information about their resettlement places in İzmir, it is estimated that immigrants from Crete owned houses primarily in Nüzhetgah District and in other immigrant districts. Apart from this they have probably rented or bought houses in the other parts of the city. Especially the immigrants hoping to return back to Crete must have preferred temporary solutions like renting houses.

The subsistence money for Jewish immigrants from Russia was apparently collected with the support of the Jewish community and the foreign aid through the organization of the *vilayet*. A commission was established with the mass participation of dignitaries of the Jewish community under the presidency of a *Vilayet* Executive Board member Uşakizade Sadık Bey for the immigrants who came in July and August of 1892.<sup>218</sup> In one week, 37680 *kuruş* was collected with the help of Jewish, *Rum* and Levantine companies and civil officers.<sup>219</sup> It is not clear if this fund was used to solve the accommodation problem or not. According to the press news one year later in November 22 1893, the enterprise of General Jewish Association Company in Paris agreed on construction of thirty houses in the old Jewish Cemetery across barracks. *Hizmet* newspaper refers to *Amaletya* Newspaper for this piece of news.<sup>220</sup> Considering the fact that housing for immigrants were mostly provided by local contributions then, it is apparent that sufficient fund was not provided for Jewish immigrants. This very event reflects the congregation-based public opinion attendant to the donation activities during the resettlement period. Turkish people and press have been so occupied with the food supply and resettlement of Muslim immigrants that Jewish immigrants were left

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<sup>216</sup> BOA, *Y.PRK.MYD.*, File: 22, Folder: 55, lef 1, 4, 8 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1817 [September 14th 1899].

<sup>217</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1264, October 12th 1900 and 1369, February 16th 1901.

<sup>218</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 578, August 24th 1892.

<sup>219</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 580, August 31st 1892.

<sup>220</sup> *Hizmet*, November 22nd 1893 quoted by Öztürk, in "1877-1878 Savaşından Balkan Savaşına Kadar İzmir'de Göçmen Sorunu." p. 45.

unattended. The Jewish community of İzmir could only solve this problem with the help of foreign aid.

It must be pointed out that the discussion of the solutions for land assignment and accommodation problems was made in accordance with household (*hane*) bases. It is observed that attendant with the view of the Ottoman administration tradition, in the correspondences all over the country and in the regulations sent to the *vilayets*, the ‘household’ has been taken as the basic unit for the definition and the solution of the problems. However, there are also desolate and poor old people, women and children trying to maintain their lives. Different solutions are needed for these vulnerable people.

#### **5.3.4. Providing the Technical and Social Infrastructure in the Immigrant Districts**

The immigrant districts have been the most important examples of planned development during the last quarter of the nineteenth century not only in İzmir but in many Ottoman cities. However, evaluating the formation of these districts by examining the ‘orderly’ arrangement of the physical space has not been adequate for evaluating the planning activities of the period. The important questions to be evaluated within this frame are the actors and the organisations which provided the social and technical infrastructures of these districts.

##### **5.3.4.1. Technical Infrastructure: Streets and Public Utilities**

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the issue most criticized by the media had been the internal access network and the criticized the municipality. The narrow streets, their dilapidation, the dust in summer and the mud in winter, the tradesmen who occupy the streets, the traffic chaos on the axis that are connected to the port and the fast moving carriage men had been the problems within the agenda.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Erkan Serçe states that the transportation problems of İzmir had been the main issue of the caricatures published in *Kara Sinan*, which is a cartoon magazine published in 1875. See. Serçe, *İzmir’de Belediye*, p. 61. It has been possible to see articles about the issue in *Hizmet* since 1886 and in *Ahenk* within the following years. For example see. *Hizmet*, no. 401, 411, 428, 488, 514, 575, 577, 583 and *Ahenk*, no. 9, 15, 17, 158, 176, 531, 562, 614.

Between the years 1889-1890 the studies about 'construction of the Değirmendağı Road' were met by excitement by the media. The dissatisfaction caused by the Muslim districts that are within the inclined and high locations of İzmir and deprived from the municipality services, should have an important role within this excitement. Mithat Paşa who had been the governor of İzmir in 1880 had stated that 'the Frenk Districts improved after the construction of the wharf, whereas the Muslim and Jewish districts those were in the back sides of the city were left to be subsidence'. According to Mithat Paşa the 'prosperity' of these districts depends on the wide road to be opened from Basmane to *Kışla* (Barracks), and the branches from these roads to be entering the Jewish and Muslim districts.<sup>222</sup> Eventually during his governorship only a part of the Göztepe Road was opened, and its responsibility ended before making a connection with the districts on the slopes.<sup>223</sup>

The proposal of Mithat Paşa was first applied by Halil Rıfat Paşa in 1885. During the first governorship of Paşa; 'the construction of a road that started near the jail and ended in the districts in the middle of Değirmendağı and however it was left unfinished'.<sup>224</sup> The road to be opened in those days is the Halil Rıfat Paşa Road of today.<sup>225</sup> When Halil Rıfat Paşa became the governor of İzmir for a second time in June 1889,<sup>226</sup> his first action had been to continue the road construction within the Değirmendere region. The media had been delighted to see rapid construction of the road, which were started on August 1889 and officially opened in March 1890.<sup>227</sup> 6.5 kilometres of the road with the interval connections were constructed with the working of hundred paid workers.<sup>228</sup> The road that started near the jail continued towards 'Kokaryalı above the mountain' after it had reached Değirmendere and there were also connections to Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe from this main axis.<sup>229</sup> This road that

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<sup>222</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no. 3175 quoted by Serçe, in *İzmir'de Belediye*, p. 66-7.

<sup>223</sup> Serçe, *İzmir'de Belediye*, p.67.

<sup>224</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 308, December 21th 1889.

<sup>225</sup> Muzaffer Özgen, "İzmir'de Belediye Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri," *İzmir Şehir Rehberi*, ed. Suad Yurtkoru (İzmir: İzmir Belediyesi Neşriyatı, 1941), p.186.

<sup>226</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 266, June 23rd 1889.

<sup>227</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 333, March 18th 1890.

<sup>228</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 328, February 29th 1890.

<sup>229</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 327, February 25th 1890.



had been known as the Mısırlı Street until 1950<sup>230</sup> is Hatay Street today.<sup>231</sup> With the opening of these roads in 1890 ‘the eight to ten year old districts upon Değirmendağı would be reached by cars and coaches’,<sup>232</sup> and ‘the value of these settlements would be increased a great deal.’<sup>233</sup>

The Değirmendağı and Mısırlı streets with their names during that period were built with the organisation of the provincial administration, which is a different application from the other streets of the city. The most active streets of the city had been financed by building plot sales and taxes – and by providing the highest profit – of the foreign companies. However the transportation problem of the urban regions where ‘the public benefit had priority’, ‘not a high profit would be obtained from people flow’ and the Muslim people were mostly living would not be solved like that.<sup>234</sup> The construction expenses of the mentioned roads would be met by the community.<sup>235</sup> It had also been decided to collect the share of the construction expenses not only for the roads in Değirmendağı but also for the roads from İzmir to Karşıyaka and Bayraklı to Bornova by the Street Commission since August 1890 with taking into consideration the population of İzmir and calculating the construction expense per person.<sup>236</sup> If the remuneration of the construction of the road would not be paid until March 1891, the remuneration would be multiplied by two.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Erkan Serçe, Fikret Yılmaz ve Sabri Yetkin, *Küllerinden Doğan Şehir-The City which Rose from the Ashes* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2003), p. 116.

<sup>231</sup> Özgen, “İzmir’de Belediye Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri,” p. 186.

<sup>232</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 327, February 25th 1890.

<sup>233</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 315, 14 Kânûn-ı sâni 1890.

<sup>234</sup> Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir* (1978; İstanbul: Bağlam, 1998), p.58.

<sup>235</sup> It was stated within the 2nd chapter that; road construction and maintenance works had been survived by the service obligations of people, in the Classical period of Ottoman. In April 1840, Tanzimat Period, *örfi tekâlif* (obligation of service and tax) was abolished, thus the state instead of local had to invest to these works, but, local resources were used due to the conditions. The responsibility to work in the construction and maintenance of roads without any fare for four days in a year, was brought to the 16-60 years old men of the Vilâyet, by 1869 *Turuk Nizamnamesi* (Streets Regulation). However, the people preferred to donate instead of forced working. The best examples of making construction services by donations’ of local people were in Sivas by Vali Halil Rifat Paşa, and in Adana and Ankara by Abidin Paşa. (See Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, pp. 87-9).

<sup>236</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 356, June 1890 and *Hizmet*, no. 372, August 9th 1890.

<sup>237</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 427, February 17th 1891.

Another road construction within the region was the widening of İkiçeşmelik–Bayramyeri to be adequate of the movement of cars by *Vali* Hasan Fehmi Paşa during the years 1893-1896, and the repairment of the Katipoğlu–Kızılçullu axis starting from Bayramyeri.<sup>238</sup> Eventually Bayramyeri became knot point where the İkiçeşmelik, Mısırlı Caddesi and Kızılçullu Roads<sup>239</sup> were connected to each other.

Within the last ten years of the nineteenth century, the region was integrated with the city with the structuring of the main transport axis. Eventually the cross streets of the districts located on the outskirts of Kadifekale apart from the named roads were neglected and were full of dust in summer and mud in winter. In 1901, the community of Memduhiye had warned the officer for ‘the necessity of paving the streets, because they became hard to cross in winter as a result of the rain’<sup>240</sup>

It has been worth attention to see that the urban transport activities had been organised by the governorship instead of the municipality during the time of Mithat Paşa, Halil Rıfat Paşa and Hasan Fehmi Paşa. ‘The decisions about the sub construction and the streets were being discussed and decided on, in meetings with the coalition of the municipality parliament and the Provincial Administration parliament.’<sup>241</sup> İlber Ortaylı states that the Ottoman State never saw the municipality organisations independent from the central administrative units. A result of this was the desire of the central administration to keep the urban activities under control as well as the municipalities facing financial crisis.<sup>242</sup> The European entrepreneurs in İzmir and other port cities demanded the necessary sub-construction facilities to be completed in order to continue with their economic activities and also providing the necessary facilities and services had created new labour areas for the European companies. Such initiatives are not embraced by the Ottoman administrators and the media at all times.<sup>243</sup> Eventually, the project and privilege demands of the local community and the foreign investors

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<sup>238</sup> Özgen, “İzmir’de Belediye Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri,” pp. 186-7.

<sup>239</sup> Today’s Eşrefpaşa road that extends from İkiçeşmelik to Şirinyer.

<sup>240</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 1333, January 1th 1901.

<sup>241</sup> Serçe, *İzmir’de Belediye*, p. 70.

<sup>242</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, pp. 30-2.

<sup>243</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*, p. 30.

about the transportation in İzmir had been rejected by İstanbul with various reasons for many times.<sup>244</sup>

Along with the improvement within the city boundaries and the population increase in 1878, the water supply became an important problem. There were initiatives to bring water facilities to Göztepe, Karataş and Karantina between years 1890-1895.<sup>245</sup> It is also understood that during the same years, the residents of the Memduhiye, Nüzhetgah and Hamidiye Districts provided their water necessities from wells and sometimes the water from these wells was not adequate.<sup>246</sup> Especially the residents of the Değirmendağı region that was 60-70 meters higher than the sea level had to go to the wells in Karataş —almost at sea level— for water, and that is a mere evidence for the seriousness of the situation. The two named wells that are located around the Karataş Police-Station built by Hafız Rıfat Efendi in order to meet the needs of the community.<sup>247</sup> According to the edition of *Hizmet* newspaper dated August 27<sup>th</sup> of 1892, it had been informed that water would be brought to Değirmendağı as a result of Dellalbaşızade Refik Bey's testament. Similar articles like this indicate that in cases where the municipality can not provide adequate solutions for the water supply, the prominent people of the community had used their initiatives.

In June 2<sup>nd</sup> of 1895, the construction of Halkapınar water facilities started after the structuring of the İzmir Ottoman Water Company with the companionship of Belgium on July 23<sup>rd</sup> of 1894.<sup>248</sup> In an article dated June 26<sup>th</sup> of 1898, it was announced that the studies for watering layouts within the Değirmendağı region of the company started.<sup>249</sup> Even though it was projected before the watering company<sup>250</sup> had not made

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<sup>244</sup> The most remarkable of these projects was, the demand of French for privilege of the stretching of Göztepe Streetcar through Urla-Alaçatı-Çeşme in two directions; see *Ahenk*, no. 680, November 11th 1898. The other project was the construction of electrified streetcar line between Bayraklı and Bornova; see *Hizmet*, no. 487, September 26th 1891. Both projects were rejected by the central government.

<sup>245</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 382, August 12th 1890, 462, June 27th 1891.

<sup>246</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 366, July 15th 1890, p.1 and *Ahenk*, no. 1246, September 21st 1900, p.2. Dr. Ali Bulanalp, one of the residents' of Eşrefpaşa, stated in a conversation made in March 6th 2004; that the residents had used water wells until 1930s in the district. Besides the wells in Yağhane, there had been wells every streets.

<sup>247</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 366, July 15th 1890.

<sup>248</sup> Aktepe, *İzmir Yazıları: Camiler, Hanlar, Medreseler, Sebiller*, p. 163.

<sup>249</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 562, 7 Sefer 1316 [June 26th 1898].

<sup>250</sup> Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları*, p. 193.

the watering layout to the districts that were located above Bayramyeri, so the watering problem of these districts could not be solved until the 1930s.<sup>251</sup>

Another problem that had been on the agenda of the *Hizmet* newspaper during 1890s was the lightening problem of the ‘upper districts’.<sup>252</sup> In complaints from the citizens, it has been stated that ‘the gas lamps within the Frenk Districts are lit in the first hours of the evening and bright. However, the lamps in the Muslim Districts except in a few exceptional streets were lit late and were also very dim,’ and it was asked from ‘the municipality to warn the company’.<sup>253</sup> The problem was faced because of the company and the municipality bringing service to the districts in accordance with their wealth situation.<sup>254</sup>

### 5.3.4.2. Educational Services

In the nineteenth century, the initiatives for the restructuring of the Ottoman educational facilities had started since 1838 and the generalisation of the Ministry of Education organisation countrywide had been possible only after 1880 as the country enters a relatively stabilised period event though the Education Regulation (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) had been accepted in 1869. Until 1882 there was the directorate of education in twenty five *vilayets*. The regulation had foreseen a three level educational system as primary, mid and high. After 1879 the semi religious children’s (*sıbyan*) schools were named as *iptidaî mektebi* (elementary school) and were under control of *Maarif Nezareti* (Ministry of Education). *Rüştiye* and *İdadi* were schools where the mid level education was being given.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Güzin Kazanoğlu, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan Günümüze Bir Semt: Eşrefpaşa,” B.A. Diss., DEÜ, 2001, pp. 37-41.

<sup>252</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 445, April 21th 1891, *Hizmet*, no. 464, July 4th 1891, and *Hizmet*, no. 474, August 12nd 1891.

<sup>253</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 409, December 16th 1890.

<sup>254</sup> Serçe, İzmir’de Belediye, p. 67.

<sup>255</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, “Maarif Müdürü Radovişli Mustafa Bey’in Raporları ve Müslim ve Gayr-ı müslim Eğitimi: II. Abdülhamid Devri Selanik Taşrasında Maarif Meselesi (1885-1886),” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar 2* (2005), pp.113-5 and Kemal Karpat, *İslamın Siyasallaşması* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), pp. 178-88.

The educational institutions will provide the labourers who are equipped with the new information and technologies necessary for the central authority as well as the integration of the immigrant community with the local community along with the structuring of the public union. In the Article 35 of the Resettlement Regulation dated 1878, there is the condition of building schools as well as the mosque in the immigrant districts and newly structured villages.<sup>256</sup> In the 1882 Building Laws dated, the structuring of a district was conditioned to the sparing of an area for a police-station as well as a school within the borders of the district area. The educational policy of the period found its place among the regulations as a result of this.

Before 1880, even though new schools had been opened for the education of the Muslim community; the total number had not reached the adequate amount. *Mekteb-i Rüştîye* was opened in 1858 and *Mekteb-i Sanayi* in 1874,<sup>257</sup> whereas the *Mekteb-i İdadi* could only be opened in 1886.<sup>258</sup> According to the Provincial Almanac dated 1298, there had been three schools of which one had been the *Hamidiye Mektebi* in the Cami-i Şerif District, and the other two were the *Teshiliye* and *İkiçeşmelik Mektebi* in Tilkilik.<sup>259</sup>

The new elementary schools were opened within the *vilayet* general and even in the villages since 1885. The number of the elementary schools in İzmir has increased until the year 1887.<sup>260</sup> In March 16th of 1887, in an article about the insufficiency of the elementary schools that had been published in *Hizmet* claims that; even though the schools in İzmir had been structured as a result of a great effort, they are far from meeting the needs and especially ‘the Hamidiye Districts that was structured upon Karataş and had a population of three or four thousand had not even had an elementary school’. The community was invited to contribute with an expression such as ‘it is not reasonable to expect everything from the government so we can not accuse both the education and someone else about the insufficiency of schools’ and then asked for the necessary donations in order not to ‘[...] keep the future of the immigrants who had

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<sup>256</sup> BOA, *İrade*, MM, no: 2786, İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi, Article 35. 13 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1295 [June 14<sup>th</sup> 1878] quoted by Erkan, in *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 228.

<sup>257</sup> Abdullah Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir’de Sanayileşme, 19. Yüzyıl* (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999), p. 39.

<sup>258</sup> Çınar Atay, *İzmir’in İzmir’i* (İzmir: ESİAD Yayını, 1993), p. 230.

<sup>259</sup> AVS 1298 [1881-1882], p. 62.

<sup>260</sup> AVS 1304 [1887-1888], pp. 100-101.

come to our country in illiteracy and oppression [...]’ It was even claimed that constructing schools instead of mosques had been more respectable.<sup>261</sup>

In 1889 some of the expenses of the eight schools and their salaries had been met with ‘the incomes of foundations that no longer have any work of art (*evkaf-ı münderisse*) and some were met with the donations of the community.’<sup>262</sup> However, the donations were not enough to overcome the problem. Five years after the article above; the problem of schools were being evaluated with all details in *Hizmet* and it was stated that; ‘the present elementary schools has not been adequate for İzmir with a population of 100.000 and there were crowd in schools as a result of the number of students being over the capacity.’ The community stated that the need for schools can not be supplied the donations ‘without applying for aid’ contacted the *vilayet* for the necessary precautions to be taken.<sup>263</sup> The number of schools reached the amount of sixteen in 1317. Four of them had been for girls (*İnas Mektebi*).<sup>264</sup>

The first school to be built within the immigrant district were the *Memduhiye Mektebi*<sup>265</sup> and the *Selaniklizade Mektebi* within the Nüzhetgah District. The estimated structuring date for these schools is 1886 or 1887 because their names had been mentioned in the Almanac dated 1303 for the first time. The *Selaniklizade Mektebi*, was built by Selaniklizade Hacı Ahmed Efendi along with the İhsaniye Mosque that was located ‘around the Katipzade police-station’. The schools that had been said to be located to the southwest of the mosque<sup>266</sup> should have been demolished during the 1960s for widening the Eşrefpaşa Street. Another school in the Nüzhetgah District was built by Eşref Paşa in the location where today *Tınaztepe İlköğretim Okulu* is located.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 36, March 16th 1887.

<sup>262</sup> AVS 1304 [1887-1888], pp. 100-101. About the donation activities to schools see also *Hizmet*, no. 510, December 16th 1891, p. 1 and 520, 20 January 20th 1892, p. 2.

<sup>263</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 542, April 6th 1892.

<sup>264</sup> AVS 1317 [1899-1900], pp.56-9.

<sup>265</sup> In *Hizmet*, no. it has been stated that the immigrant children were being educated at the Memduhiye School, see. *Hizmet*, no. 488, September 30th 1891, p.1.

<sup>266</sup> VGMA 595 / 52 / 52, 18 Muharrem 1312 [July 21st 1894], Transcription: 2325/34, 35.

<sup>267</sup> Özgen, “İzmir’de Belediye Teşkilatı ve Faaliyetleri,” p. 187.

It is also estimated that the school was constructed during the time the mosque of Eşref Paşa was built (1897-1902).<sup>268</sup>

The immigrant districts in Değirmendağı, had reunited with the school in May of 1895, with the opening of *Selimiye İnas Mektebi* with the testament of Salebcizade Hacı Ahmed Efendi.<sup>269</sup> There was another school in the name of *Değirmendağı İbtidai Mektebi* towards the end of 1890s.<sup>270</sup> When the *Fevziye Mektebi*<sup>271</sup> was opened in Yapıcıoğlu, the number of schools serving the immigrant districts reached six until 1900.

The insufficient number of schools for the Muslim community was increased as a result of the directions of central administration as well as the demand of the community and mostly with the donations of the community since 1885. The construction expenses of the schools as well as their furnishing, maintenance expenses and even the salaries of the staff had been financed with the donations of the community and the incomes of the foundations. Akşin Somel emphasises that the semi-official education commissions and parliaments in *vilayet* and *sancak* centres are rather important in terms of generalising the educational associations in accordance with the new system.<sup>272</sup> The role of the specialised commissions (*İhtisas Komisyonları*) under the administration of the *Vilayet*, as Ortaylı specifies them,<sup>273</sup> became significant once again.

### 5.3.5. Employment of the Immigrants in the City

It has been indicated that the noble immigrants of Crete and Rumelia have contributed positively to the economy of the city they were resettled within, in terms of labor, knowledge and capital. There has not yet been a quantitative study about the economical contributions of the immigrants that were resettled in İzmir since 1878 or a

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<sup>268</sup> Aktepe, *İzmir Yazıları: Camiler, Hanlar, Medreseler, Sebiller*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>269</sup> *Ahenk*, no. 23, May 13th 1895.

<sup>270</sup> AVS 1313 [1895-1896], p. 125.

<sup>271</sup> AVS 1313, p. 125.

<sup>272</sup> Somel, "Maarif Müdürü Radovişli Mustafa Bey'in Raporları ve Müslim ve Gayr-ı müslim Eğitimi," p. 113.

<sup>273</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri*, pp. 18-24.

research about the integration of the immigrants to the economic life of the city. Questioning the contribution of the immigrants to the urban economy has been out of the contents of this study. However, the employment was one of the main issues during the process of the immigrant resettlement, the issue was tried to be enlightened as much as the evaluated sources has allowed.

Within the Article 16 of the Resettlement Regulation dated 1878, it was conditioned to make the necessary donations and facilitations to the ones who wanted to be settled in the city and continue with their crafts, rent or buy stores, be employed among artisans as apprentice and foremen, to earn a capital and have a place in the city and the ones with the license to be employed within prayer leadership and similar labor since ‘there was also Muslim Preachers (imam) and masters of industry’ among the immigrants.<sup>274</sup> In the Regulation sent to the *vilayet* of Aydın, it was asked from all of the country to do anything requirement for the immigrants to be resettled within the cities and counties if they were to deal with commerce of crafts, such as tradesmen guild chief (*esnaf kethudası*) renting them a shop, or employing them in a store with an appropriate wage.<sup>275</sup>

It was possible to reach data about the immigrants’ occupations, appellations, nationalities and their locations in İzmir whom were mentioned in the newspapers. The obtained data was not adequate to represent the immigrant population of that period, but it gives important clues about the occupation preferences of the immigrants resettled in İzmir. In the tables below, are the data that was mentioned on the *Hizmet* and *Ahenk* newspapers between the years 1887 and 1899 (Table 5.5 and 5.6). The occupations and the jobs of the immigrants could be classified as officers, tradesmen, artisans, jobs about security and workmen.

It is known that in the years before 1878 as it was during the Hamidian period, people with education or the ones who had an official duty were assigned to the

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<sup>274</sup> BOA, *Y.A.Res.* File: 1, Folder: 41, *İşkân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi*, Article 36. The original Article is as follows: “Muhacirin-i merkumenin cümlesi eshab-ı ziraatten olmayub içlerinde hocalar ve ehl-i sanâyi’ adamlar dahi bulunduğundan, bu misüllü hocalardan ehliyet ve istihkâkı sabit olanlarının imâmet ve cihat-ı saire tevcihiyle tedipleri ve icra-i san’at etmek üzere şehirde ev tutmalarını arzu ederek dükkân ve hane isticar ve iştirasına ve kalfa ve çıraklık ve ahali-i esnafın yanına girmeye talip olanlar ve ashab-ı servetten olarak şehirde temekkün etmesini isteyenler olur ise haklarında cümle tarafından bezl-i himmet ve gayret ve teshilat-ı lâzime ve muavenet-i mukteziye ifa olunacaktır.” It seems that some of the words were misread in the Article 36, within the transcription of *İşkân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi* that was in Erkan’s work. See *Erkan, Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri*, p. 228.

<sup>275</sup> BOA, *MM*, File: 2859, document: 5, *Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerinin İşkân ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa*, Article 3.



administrative units of the governments both in İstanbul and other *vilayets*. Especially during the Hamidian period, there was a necessity to close the vacancies to work within official administrations as a result of the central administration having accelerated their organizations within the *vilayets*. Eventually the educated ones among the immigrants could easily be employed. Osman *Bey* who was a digest clerk (*icmal kâtibi*) within the Ottoman Customs office in İzmir, *Yenişehirli Hafız Yusuf Efendi* who was a teacher in a new elementary school, *Yanyalı İsmail Efendi* who was a lawyer were among the mentioned people. There are also official records about the employment of the immigrants within the administrative offices. In official documents belonging to the years 1905 and 1906; it has been asked to employ Murad *Bey* who was a Caucasian immigrant within an administrative occupation,<sup>276</sup> and some Cretan immigrants was employed in the İzmir Rüşumat Nezareti.<sup>277</sup>

Another branch of employment which created wide labor opportunities, within port cities like İzmir, was portership and carriagemen. There was trade guild for the porters working in the port.<sup>278</sup> It has been understood that the head of the porters who was also the director of the trade guild, was among the wealthy men of the city.<sup>279</sup> The wages of the porters is not known to a degree of accuracy between the years 1880-1890, however the Consulate Karl von Scherzer, in his study dated 1873, stated that ‘the income of the porters had not been bad, they earned as much as 15 to 20 *kuruş*’.<sup>280</sup> *Tatar Mustafa*, *Tatar Ali* and *Tatar Osman* were only three of the immigrants who earned their lives by doing portage. In the interview performed with the grandchildren of the immigrant families who was resettled in İzmir, it was recorded that their grandfathers had worked as a porter until they were able to save a capital. Within this context, it is

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<sup>276</sup> BOA, *YEE*, Sadrazam Kamil Paşa Evrakına Ek, File: 86-17, Folder: 1701, 28.10.1320 (R) [January 10th 1905].

<sup>277</sup> BOA, *YEE*, Sadrazam Kamil Paşa Evrakına Ek, File: 86-22, Folder: 2112, 3.4.1322 (R) [June 16th 1906].

<sup>278</sup> The importance of the portage in the port cities and the influence of guilds of porters and boatmen were mentioned in the previous chapter.

<sup>279</sup> One of the most important indicators of this was the charity of the Ottoman Head of Customs Porter Hüseyin Ağa for the construction of Gureba Hastanesi, a very high expense as 10 Liras. *Ahenk*, no. 587, 6 Rebî-ül-evvel 1316 [July 25th 1898].

<sup>280</sup> Karl von Scherzer, *İzmir 1873*, tran. İlhan Pınar (1873; İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2001), p. 45.

interesting to note that a street of Mahmudiye district in Değirmendağı was named after *Hamal Hasan*.<sup>281</sup>

The manners of the carriage men within the traffic in İzmir were an issue to be seen frequently on the agenda of the press. One of these articles is about the ‘immigrant carriage men’. It was stated that, ‘some of the immigrant carriage men has been leaving their carriages along the way in Mumhane district of Karataş and barricade the passage of the passersby.’<sup>282</sup> Eventually the carriage men located in Değirmendağı had been leaving their carriages in Karataş since they could not bring the carriages to their own districts.

Another branch of labor that had also created employment in İzmir and Western Anatolia were *Reji Kolculuğu* (Guarding of Regie). Yenişehirli Ahmed Çavuş and Tatar Ali were among the immigrants who provided their income with this work.

It had also been possible to state the names of the immigrants who became craftsmen and artisans. The most common labor among these had been ‘the café owner’ craftsmen. Bosnian Hasan Efendi, Cretan Nuri Bey, Bosnian Abbas Efendi were located among the Kemeraltı craftsmen. There were also immigrants dealing with trade as well as the ones doing barbership, chest making and construction workers.

Some immigrants were on the agenda of the press as a result of their extraordinary characters and talents. Crimean Salih Usta who stepped forward with his talent among the rifle makers in İzmir. Salih Usta had offered the ‘martini rifle’ that he ‘modified’ and made rapidly usable, to the Palace,<sup>283</sup> and was honored with the *Mecidiye Nişanı* of the fourth degree by the Sultan.<sup>284</sup> In addition to this, the *Hizmet* newspaper stated that Hafız Bayram *Efendi*, from the Podgorice, could use almost ten languages to a perfect level even though being blind.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> *İzmir Şehri Mahalle ve Sokak Numaraları Rehberi*, (İzmir: 1939) quoted by Temizsoy, p. 82.

<sup>282</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 444, April 18th 1891.

<sup>283</sup> BOA, *Y.MTV*. File: 77, Folder: 82, 19 Şevval 1310 [May 6th 1893].

<sup>284</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 56, May 25th 1887.

<sup>285</sup> *Hizmet*, no. 509, December 12th 1891.

Table 5.5. Names, Jobs and Residences of Immigrants Encountered in the Newspaper *Hizmet*

Name and Title name	Job	Residence	Date of the Text
Osman Efendi	officer as <i>İcmal Kâtibi</i>	Değirmendağı	March 9th 1887
Kırımlı Salih Usta (owner a <i>Mecidiye Nişanı</i> )	master of guns		May 25th 1887
Muhacir Ali		Servili Tepe	December 29th 1888
Tatar Mustafa	porter		January 15th 1889
Ruscuklu Ali			January 15th 1889
Sofya Muhaciri İsmail			March 12th 1889
Çerkes Ahmed	<i>sandıkçı</i>		April 9 Nisan 1889
Ruscuklu Muhacir Ethem	<i>kahveci</i>	Hamidiye M.	February 25th 1890
Tatar Osman	porter in Arabyan Çarşısı		10 Muharrem 1308
Giritli Hasan Efendi	<i>kahveci</i> in Mezrlıkbaşı		December 30th 1890
Boşnak Hamid Efendi	merchant		June 6th 1891
Bosnalı Hasan Efendi	tradesmen Şadırvanaltın		September 19th 1891
Giritli Ali	barber		September 5th 1891
Tatar Ali	guard		September 19th 1891
Podgoriçeli Hafız Bayram Efendi	who wise ten language		December 12th 1891
Tatar Muhaciri		Arab Hasan Ç.	May 3th 1892

Table 5.6. Names, Jobs and Residences of Immigrants Encountered in the Newspaper *Ahenk*

Name and Title name	Job	Residence	Date of the Text
Giritli Nuri Bey	tradesmen in Kestanepazarı		July 29th 1895
Yanyalı İsmail Efendi	lawyer		July 5th 1895
Bosnalı Hacı Arif Efendi	seller of corn in Köprübaşı		November 12th 1895
Tatar Ali	porter	Şerefiye M.	June 16th 1896
Muhacir Arif	Municipality worker in Karantina		July 14th 1896
Yenişehirli Hafız Yusuf	teacher		September 15th 1896
Filibeli Ahmed Efendi	police		June 2nd 1897
Boşnak Abbas Efendi	maker of <i>kebap</i> in Kemeraltı		May 15th 1898
Tırnovalı Ali	<i>kahveci</i> (café owner)	Teşvikiye M.	May 25th 1898
Yerenceli Yusuf	<i>kahveci</i> in İmariye District		November 13th 1898
Tatar Osman	master builder	Teşvikiye M.	November 19th 1898
Tatar Ali		Tatar Mah.	November 28th 1898
Yenişehirli Ahmed Çavuş	Guard of Regie (Tabaco Monopoly)		January 3rd 1899
Filibeli İsmail Efendi	timber merchant	Orta Hamidiye	January 22nd 1899

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The subject of this study is the resettlement process of the immigrants that came from the regions of Caucasian, Dobruca, eastern Rumelia, Thessaly and Crete to the city of İzmir, the administrative centre of the *vilayet* of Aydın, during the reign of Abdülhamid II.

Since the relationship between settlement and planning is the main concern of the study, the settlement process was analyzed, unlike the existing literature, in terms of the administrative and economic structure of the period. By remaining within local boundaries, it seems impossible to reveal sufficiently the resettlement process of the immigrations experienced in the *vilayet* of Aydın. For this reason, the settlement and *planning* concept of the period of Abdülhamid II were examined separately.

It is well known that resettlement was one of the basic problems of the Ottoman Empire from its very foundation. However, the resettlement policy of the Ottoman State was transformed in accordance with the changing relations between the state and the society throughout its history. The policies of the previous periods of the Empire were outlined in this study in order to determine the basic principles of the resettlement activities during the Hamidian period. Thus, it becomes clear that, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the state applied also the *traditional* methods besides trying to develop new solutions in dealing with the resettlement implementations appeared in search of economic and political stability.

As pointed out in the second chapter, within an imperial system the central authority intends to define the living area of its subjects and to control their mobility. It is observed that a settlement network based on the relations between agricultural production and long-distance trade was organized in the country and the state tried to preserve this system by the nineteenth century although its mechanism of central control weakened from time to time. Even when it was intended to integrate its economy into the capitalist world order beginning from 1840's, the real goal of the state was to increase its central control. In the fourth chapter where the planning concept and

constructional activities of the Hamidian Period are considered, it was revealed that state's authority was preserved in the urban and regional space organization and new formations were adopted in order to maintain "the eternity of state".

The Ottoman-Russian War and the Berlin Treaty were the turning points in terms of the evaluation of the population issues by the Ottoman administration; and they had found the solution in structuring a *millet* within the 'Ottoman-Muslim' identity during the period of nation-based governments in the Balkans. Eventually the political approach to protecting the balances within the heterogeneous structure, which had once been unique to the empire, became less important in the course of time. Another development about the population was the use of statistics. Since 1875, the Ottoman bureaucrats had defended that the census should have wider content than providing information about the tax payers and the potential soldiers. Abdülhamid II was convinced to the necessity of the statistics on all areas of the governmental affairs such as law, economy and administration; and the most systematic and comprehensive census of the government without considering the age and sex had been performed since 1881. Apparently, the Ottoman administration had begun to consider the governed one as person, rather than *hane*. All necessities were performed for the correct establishment of population along with the contents of the population information. This sensitivity was necessary for the control of the state in terms of internal and foreign affairs. The information to be obtained was the population distribution according to religious and ethnical bases in terms of provinces.

Among the implementations of resettlement were to build the balances in favour of the Muslim community by resettling Muslim immigrants at strategic locations and at regions with a high population of non-Muslim people. However, there was the effect of population wars that went on within the diplomacy between the governments, in terms of structuring the new population balances of the regions. Traditional methods such as separating the groups from their leaders and resettling the population by way of distributing them in order to integrate the Muslim population and to reduce the cost of resettlement were preferred during this period.

As mentioned by Karpat and Koloğlu, during the Hamidian period, especially in the political consideration observed after 1880, bringing "Muslim" identity forward was based on a pragmatic approach. The goal was to hold together, at least the Muslim part of the empire's subjects, which was under the threat of being disintegrated. The aim

was not to construct an administration based on the Islamic law (sharia), as it was since the foundation of the empire; the institutional character of the structure of the period displays this apparently. In this thesis, when evaluating the population and settlement policies of the period, the Islamicist policy of Abdülhamid has been taken into account within this framework.

The effort to integrate into the world economic system by the construction activities applied during the Hamidian period was widespread within the country. Local dynamics such as personal investment, legalization of the private property ownership rights, formation of local capital and the integration of local powers into the central administration were supported by the central administration in order to strengthen the economic and the administrative structure. The contributions of the immigrants who came along with their labour, capital and knowledge accumulation to this formation were considered to be important and the rural and the urban resettlement areas were structured in accordance with them.

The importance of cities became more salient in terms of the spatial organizations of the regions in economic and administrative level during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While the immigrants were allowed for the first time to settle in cities in this period, it was accepted that the cities had sufficient facilities to employ the forthcoming population. In the mean time, it should have been considered that the immigrated population would make contribution to increase the share of Muslim middle-class in the economy of the city.

An important issue at this point was the experience in managing commerce, communication and defence strategies within an empire system and this displayed itself also in the reorganization of the settlement and transportation network during the nineteenth century. Therefore the Ottoman concept of ‘planning’ during the nineteenth century signifies itself in developing regional and countrywide strategies which had been developed apart from the physical organization of the urban space. The documents mentioned in the fourth chapter such as *Trablusgarb Vilayeti Layıhası* (a report of public constructions for the *vilayet* of Tripolis) and the report of a physical plan at the country-scale prepared by Hasan Fehmi Paşa; and, as pointed out in the third chapter, besides the estimated economic developments and the constructional investments, the resettlement of immigrants in the *vilayets* of Konya and Adana demonstrate organizational ability of the state at a regional scale.

Having examined the settlement policies and the planning concept of the period, the settlement process in the *vilayet* of Aydın and the city of İzmir were considered in the fifth chapter. Despite its limited land, Aydın was a region with a large ratio of immigrant resettlement in comparison with other *vilayets*. Among the main reasons of this preference were to have transportation facilities such as port and railway for the transfer of the immigrants, the opportunities for the immigrant resettlement provided by the high demand of agricultural labour. A port city like İzmir also had large employment opportunities. Another reason for the resettlement of the Muslim immigrants within the region is also that the province had a high ratio of non-Muslim immigrants as in the *vilayet* of Hüdavendigâr.

It was seen that the resettlement policies which had been produced for the whole country could not be applied completely to the *vilayet* of Aydın. Since especially the Circassian immigrants had opposed to the rule of being distributed to the present settlements, new villages were constructed upon their demands in order not to give way to any public disorder. Many immigrant villages were constructed in the *sancaks* of İzmir, Aydın and Saruhan by the enforcement of the land conditions. The newly constructed immigrant villages contributed to the transformation by means of transportation and settlement network within the regional scale along with the changing production and commercial relations during the nineteenth century. The policy to regard the population balances by ethnical and religious means were especially avoided during the resettlement of the Cretan immigrants. The possible conflicts between the *Rum* population in the region and the Cretan immigrants were not ventured. In conclusion, it was seen that the structure of general resettlement policies had changed as a result of various reasons during the application stage. Instead of a radical application, the way of negotiation was adopted. As pointed out in the fourth chapter, the negotiation tendency in the Ottoman tradition of administration displays itself once again. The unchanged principle was the continuation of general public order. The conflicts to create the basis for external interventions were especially avoided. In further studies, the effect of the immigrant villages upon the rural settlement network could be examined by field studies and by analyzing the historical maps.

As seen from the examples in the fourth chapter, the evaluations in the existing literature concerning the immigrant districts that were constructed in the Ottoman cities at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century are within the context of formation of “the spaces having geometric order” in urban areas;

these authors generally consider the reflections of construction regulations over the applications. However, in this thesis, the “planning of immigrant districts” was defined as an organization covering the social, administrative and economic dimensions of the settlement process. Therefore, the central and local actors taking part in this process, collaboration of these actors, and the solution of financial problems were examined in detail.

It is arguable that the existence of land in the urban area was the most important factor in terms of location criteria for the districts. The immigrant districts were constructed on the *mîrî* and wakf lands. The Land Law dated 1858 gave the permission for building construction on the *mîrî* land by the approval of the Sultan and this also led to the urban development. In addition to the above, the immigrant districts being on the attachment of the Turkish districts rises the idea that the social pattern of the city were effective within the local criteria. The districts being close to the urban centre, to say, the business district had a situation for the benefit of the community. Although there has not been any proof to claim that the location was a result of conscious decision, it is clear that the immigrants were settled within a location that made it possible to structure relations to the local Muslim society.

As the road and the building block organization of the districts were evaluated, it was seen that their application was the result of a plan. There was not a registry about the settlement plans. Only from the registers of 1878 and later, we learn that the districts of Hamidiye I (Selimiye), Hamidiye II (Mecidiye), Orta Hamidiye and Osmaniye were constructed at the site of Değirmendağı; the districts of Memduhiye, İmariye, Nüzhetgah, Hamidiye-yi Kebir (Aziziye) and Fethiye at the foot of Kadifekale; and Teşvikiye on the Mısırlı street. It is estimated that the districts were started to be constructed by 1879, in accordance with the Building Regulations dated 1863 and 1882.

It was asked to reserve land for a ‘school’ and a ‘police station’ in the newly constructed districts by the Building Law dated 1882, as a reflection of the Hamidian period policy. The structured elementary schools are the products of the policy towards the generalization of educational associations all through the country whereas the police stations are the products of the ‘over cautious mode’ being unique to the Hamidian period policy. The construction of a school and a mosque within the immigrant villages and districts, were among the specified issues along with the legal organizations about the resettlement. It was aimed at educating the Muslim community under the control of the state and according to the modern conditions as well as education being the most



important tool in providing the integration of the immigrants into the local community. Eventually, a consciousness of *millet* based on Ottoman-Muslim identity that had been mentioned above could have been structured. The mosque, however having been important as an institution to gather the Muslim community together, was a symbol rather than being only a place for religious needs. A mosque is also an indicator of obtaining a status for the residents of the newly structured village or district. In conclusion, the school, mosque and the police station within the immigrant districts should be evaluated as associations providing the control of the central administration upon public life as well as being urban usages.

As the constructing process of the districts is evaluated along with the building construction and the development of technical, social substructure, important results about the immigrant resettlement and planning were obtained. It was seen that the *vali* had been the lead actor of the ones who had a role during the process. The organization of services such as transportation and sub-construction like bringing water, which were among the duties of the municipality, had been provided by the representatives of the central administration as a result of the lack of financial opportunities and the institutionalization of the municipality. In addition, the responsibility of resettling the immigrants was belonged to the *valis* from the very beginning. However, the personal talents and the sensitivities of the *valis* had an important role during the process of construction activities. The solution of the transportation problem within the immigrant districts in İzmir and the construction of houses for the desolate immigrants in İzmir and the *vilayet* of Aydın were provided by the initiatives of *Vali Halil Rifat Paşa*.

The approach to the centrality of the administration that was brought about by Mahmut II predicted the services to be provided by the central administration in the country. However, the lack of sources in terms of construction investments necessitated the local financial sources and employment support within the province and the city. The specialized commissions connected to the *vali*, and formed by the administrative officers and the wealthy people of the city, collected *iâne* from the community and, from time to time, organized the labour force in terms of construction and resettlement affairs. The commissions mentioned were founded with the order of the administration. At this point, the dialogue of the *vali* with the wealthy people of the city was especially of importance. Also, the issue to be emphasized is the organization of the construction and resettlement affairs by the demand and control of the central administration by the financial support of the local powers. The state was able to mobilize the local sources by organizing local

instruments and the press during the period characterized by economic crises and insufficient economic sources. To finance of the technical and social sub-construction of the immigrant districts in İzmir was possible by this appreciation.

The local press had an important role in terms of mobilizing the contributions of the community in order to produce sub-construction, school and residences for the poor immigrants. The newspapers *Hizmet* and *Ahenk* published articles considering the consciences of the community in order to encourage them for donations and also published the list of donators together. The articles about the personal donations of Sultan Abdülhamid with high-ranking governors were another method for getting contribution. It is also interesting to see the donations made by non-Muslim people within the campaigns organized in order to finance the temporary resettlement and the food supply of the immigrants. At this point, the approach stating that the help campaigns of the non-Muslim people during the Hamidian period were their act of good will in order to get along with the central and local administration can not be denied. On the other hand, the charity campaigns were important tools in terms of integrating the newcomers with the local Muslim community. ‘*lâne*’ and ‘charity’ associations were the financial support of Abdülhamid’s projects based on local sources. It should also be mentioned that the issue of ‘donation’ having continuously occupied the agenda of the public community, rather than having formed an area for the structuring the relations among the public groups, and between the administration and the society. As Nadir Özbek mentions, the charity activities constructed a platform at which it was possible to form the relationships between the state and the society, and those among social groups.

Apart from the campaigns, the schools and the mosques of the districts were within the contents of traditional ‘share’ activities of the wealthy people, even the water was provided by personal contributions from time to time. It was seen that the traditional wakf institutions that was about to loose its importance had a very important role in terms of the foundation of immigrant villages. At this point, it is claimed that the usage of ‘traditional’ institutions in structuring the urban environment with a ‘new’ appearance was a characteristic of the nineteenth century spatial organization. The state of the wakf institution at the end of the nineteenth century may be reconsidered in this context too.

Another type of usage that had appeared during the resettlement of the immigrants in İzmir was the *dulhane*. Until today, there has not been any information about the *dulhane* within the studies about the architectural or settlement history. The *dulhanes* were described as residences built next to each other, having not so wide

content like the *Darulaceze*, for the women who lost their husbands or sons during the war or immigration, who were desolate, and depended on the wages paid by the government. Even though the district they had been located is known, there has not been any detailed information about the physical and the usage conditions of these buildings that do not have any trace today. It has been seen that there had been a detailed regulatory for the responsibilities towards the education and shelter of children and youngsters of all ages and sexes and there had been precautions taken for the desolate, poor and sick children, women and old people. This kind of solutions searched indicate that the Ottoman administration took the responsibility of the ones apart from the ones belonging to the *hane* unit and the ones left for the initiative of the local associations within the traditional organization. By doing so, the central administration also pursued to guaranty the future of the country.

In this thesis, the construction process of the districts was examined mainly within the context of its organizational and financial aspects, whereas the physical dimensions of space were outlined. On the other hand, detailed study of the historical buildings, the road network and the plot patterns are excluded. The outcomes related to the process are expected to illuminate further studies on the physical properties of these districts. Restitution studies of the immigrant districts could both establish their physical characteristics and the transformation process of the physical pattern into above-mentioned districts. A research of this content would also lead to many hints about the social life within these districts.

The immigration from the Balkans continued after the Balkan War, above-mentioned districts became larger and the new ones were constructed in İzmir. Only the Hamidian period was analyzed within the limits of this study and the developments after the Balkan War were excluded. It is possible to find out some information about the effects of the resettlement policies of *Ittihat ve Terakki* government on the city of İzmir as well as on the rural areas of the *Vilayet*. Furthermore, a comparative study dealing with the experiences of the Hamidian period and the period of *Ittihat ve Terakki* would lead to important conclusions.

During this study, generally, it has not been possible to reach the heirs of the families that had been resettled within these districts and the interviewed residents of the districts could only give information about their childhoods, which had been dated 1930-1940. Historical documents about the families either never existed or had been destroyed by some reason. However, it was possible to get important data from the interviews with

the people from second and third generations of the families, which had been resettled during or after the Balkan war in the mentioned districts, by a study that evaluates the period beginning with the constructing of Eşrefpaşa and Değirmendağı districts until 1950 and today. The studies about the social transformation of the districts along with the physical transformation would contribute a great deal to the history of İzmir.

It may be noted that, besides the immigrants came from Rumelia, Caucasian and Crete, other internal and external immigrations had also an effect on the population increase in İzmir in the second half of the nineteenth century. The population movement from the rural and urban areas of the *vilayet* of Aydın and the other *vilayets* of Anatolia to the city of İzmir has not been considered as a subject so far. It is known that there had been a Greek migration from the Mora peninsula and the Aegean islands to İzmir since the seventeenth century. This movement continued during the late nineteenth century. Therefore, besides the immigration districts, new districts were constructed in Göztepe, Bayraklı, Karşıyaka and Halkapınar during the same period. Urban growth was realized by local plans and the illegal constructions on the state-owned land were seen for the first time in this period. The works about the architectural and urban history of İzmir focused generally on the urban centre or surroundings of the İzmir Bay, whereas the poor districts at the edge of the city have not been regarded. In this respect, the district-based studies with reference to the population movements would no doubt provide important results for the urban history of İzmir.

It may be stated in conclusion that this study intends, by way of analyzing the construction process of the immigrant districts, to reveal the characteristics of the construction and settlement activities of the period and how the central and local dynamics worked together to realize them, rather than to deal with the change in the urban form appeared after the physical arrangements of the districts. Moreover, the traces of the social and economic policies of the state on the immigrant districts and the effects of these policies on the resettlement process within the entire *vilayet* were determined as well. It must be emphasized that the *traditional* institutions of the state worked together with the *new* legal and technical regulations to produce solutions in this resettlement process.

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## GLOSSARY

- cedit*: New; *usul-ü cedit*: new method.
- çift-hane system*: Under this system the state organized rural society and economy by appropriating grain-producing land and distributing it under the *tapu* system to peasant families (*hane*). Each family in theory in possession of a pair of oxen was given a farm (*çiftlik*) sufficient to sustain the family and to meet its tax obligations. This was the basic fiscal unit which the state endeavoured to maintain. Families with less than half a *çift* or *çiftlik*, or unmarried peasants, were separately categorized as *bennak* and *mücerred* (or *kara*), and subjected to lower of *çift*-tax (İnalcık 1997).
- çiftlik*: (1) Land workable by a pair (*çift*) of oxen, or a farm in which the fields make up a unit workable with a pair of oxen by a peasant family within the *çift-hane* system; (2) A big farm consisting of several *raiyyet çiftlik*s under the control of an absentee landlord, (3) Any plantation-like agricultural exploitation (İnalcık 1997).
- derbend*: Fortress commanding a mountain pass.
- dönüm*: a measure of land, forty by forty arshins, 933 square m.
- hane*: (1) A house; (2) A family; (3) A household as tax unit.
- Hicrî (sene)*: the date in the Arabian Calendar, based on 622 A.D., the year of the Hegira. The months of this Calendar are Muharrem, Safer, Rebî-ül-evvel, Rebî-ül-âhir, Cemâzi-yel-evvel, Cemâzi-yel-âhir, Receb, Şaban, Ramazan, Şevval, Zilkâde, Zilhicce.
- kasaba*: Small town.
- kaza*: (1) jurisdiction of a *kadi*; (2) An administrative unit corresponding to the *kadi*'s jurisdiction in a province. (3) Subdivision of the *sancak*. A *kaza* was governed by a *kaymakam* after the 1864. The *sancak* of *İzmir* comprised the *kazas* of Bergama, Menemen, Urla, Çeşme, Foçateyn, Kuşadası, Seferihisar, Tire, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Nif and Karaburun in the half of the nineteenth century.
- kuruş* or *guruş*: Piaster.

<i>liva:</i>	see <i>sancak</i> .
<i>mahalle:</i>	Quarter, district.
<i>Mecidiye:</i>	Silver coin of 20 <i>kuruş</i> .
<i>millet:</i>	A community, the religious autonomous organisation of which is formally recognised by the Islamic state; <i>millets</i> in the Ottoman Empire obtained their own charters in the reform period in the 1860s, which extended their autonomous status and gave their organization a formal secular character (İnalcık 1997).
<i>mîrî:</i>	Belonging to the ruler or to the state.
<i>nahiye:</i>	A rural district of a <i>kaza</i> .
<i>ortakçılık:</i>	Sharecropping; as opposed to <i>reaya</i> in possession of land under the <i>tapu</i> system, a sharecropper cultivates land belonging to another person who as a rule supplies means of production and sometimes also shelter, and shares the product equally; an <i>ortakçı kul</i> is a slave working for his owner on the same basis.
<i>öşür:</i>	Tithe, a tax on crops, generally a tenth part of crops.
<i>reâyâ:</i>	All those groups, Muslims or non-Müslim, outside the <i>askeri</i> elite, engaged in economic activities and thus subject to taxes (İnalcık 1997). In the nineteenth century the term <i>reâyâ</i> came to be officially applied to Christians, especially in the Balkans, meant Orthodox Christians (Karpát 1985).
<i>Sadrazam:</i>	The Grand Vezier.
<i>sancak:</i>	County, subdivision of the <i>vilâyet</i> . <i>Sancak</i> was administrated by a <i>mutassarrıf</i> in the nineteenth century.
<i>Sedaret:</i>	Office rank and functions of the Grand Vezier.
<i>sürgün:</i>	(1) A term for the Ottoman method of relocation or forcibly deporting and settling population from one region to another; (2) An individual subjected to this operation (İnalcık 1997).
<i>sipahi:</i>	A cavalryman holding a <i>timar</i> in the provinces in return for military service.
Tanzimat:	(1) Reforms; (2) Radical Ottoman westernising reforms introduced in the period 1839-76.
<i>timar:</i>	(1) Any kind of care; (2) A prebend acquired through a sultanic diploma, consisting as a rule of state taxes in return for regular military

service, the amount of which conventionally was below 20.000 *akça*.  
(İnalcık 1997)

*vakıf*: (wakf) Synonym of *hubs*, namely a pious foundation or an endowed thing, as a rule real estate, but sometimes also an amount of cash, which while retaining its substance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes (İnalcık 1997).

*vali*: the governor of the province (*vilayet*).

*Vilayet*: A province have administrated by *vali* since being in force of the *Vilayet* Law, dated 1864. A *vilayet* comprised a number of *sancaks*, such as the *vilayet* of Aydın consisted of the *sancaks* of İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Denizli and Muğla.

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