

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE SİVAS PROVINCE, 1908-1918

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ABSTRACT

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Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) was a period within which great changes occurred in the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, it was a part of the modernization process that began in late eighteenth century; on the other hand, it was the last period of the Empire that had its own dynamics. This study is to examine changes and continuities in a locality, the Sivas Province, during the Second Constitutional Regime.

The Sivas Province was one of the largest and most populated Anatolian provinces. It located in the middle of Anatolia therefore it had a geopolitical importance. Moreover, it was one of the six Eastern Provinces with a considerable Armenian population. Sivas had the biggest Armenian and Greek population among these provinces. Thus, both geopolitical importance and population characteristics make the province an appropriate place to examine change and continuity during the Second Constitutional Regime.

In this study, transformation of the province is examined over some topics such as demographic characteristics, political life, administrative, educational and economic structures. The research about these topics indicates that three main dynamics of the Second Constitutional Regime were influential on developments in the Sivas case. These dynamics are war, population movements especially the Armenian Deportation and nationalism. These dynamics also determined implementation of the modernization policies in the Sivas Province during the

Constitutional Regime. Therefore, transformation/change of the province is examined over these dynamics.

Keywords: The Sivas Province, Modernization, First World War, Armenian Deportation, Nationalism.

ÖZ

SİVAS VİLAYETİ'NDE DEĞİŞİM VE SÜREKLİLİK, 19108-1918

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İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi (1908-1918) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda büyük değişimlerin yaşandığı bir dönemdir. Bir taraftan, bu dönem, on sekizinci yüzyıl sonlarında başlayan modernleşme sürecinin bir parçası iken diğer taraftan, kendi özgün dinamikleriyle imparatorluğun son dönemidir. Bu çalışma, İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde bir yerellikteki, Sivas Vilayeti'ndeki, değişim ve süreklilikleri incelemektedir.

Sivas Vilayeti Anadolu vilayetlerinin en büyüklerinden ve nüfus yoğunluğu en fazla olanlarından biridir. Anadolu'nun merkezinde bulunması açısından jeopolitik bir öneme sahiptir. Ayrıca Sivas Vilayeti, Ermeni nüfusunun yoğun olduğu altı doğu vilayeti içerisinde en fazla Ermeni ve Rum nüfusa sahip olanıdır. Sonuç olarak; jeopolitik konumu ve nüfus özellikleri, Sivas vilayetini, İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde, değişim ve süreklilikleri inceleyebileceğimiz uygun bir yer haline getirmektedir.

Bu çalışmada, Sivas Vilayeti'nin dönüşümü nüfus özellikleri, siyasal yaşam, idari yapı, eğitim yapısı ve ekonomik yapı gibi bir takım başlıklar altında incelenmektedir. Bu başlıklar üzerine yapılan çalışma sonucunda İkinci Meşrutiyet dönemine ait üç dinamiğin Sivas Vilayeti'ndeki gelişmeler üzerinde etkili olduğu görülmektedir. Bu dinamikler, savaş, nüfus hareketleri özellikle Ermeni tehciri ve milliyetçiliktir. Aynı zamanda, bu dinamikler modernleşme politikalarının Sivas

Vilayeti'nde nasıl uygulandığını da belirlemektedir. Bu nedenle, Sivas Vilayeti'ndeki dönüşüm/değişim ve süreklilikler bu dinamikler üzerinden değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sivas Vilayeti, Modernleşme, Birinci Dünya Savaşı, Ermeni Tehciri, Milliyetçilik.

To Duygu Dölek, Dođan Dölek
and
Devrim Dölek

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CUP	: Committee of Union and Progress
FAP	: Freedom and Accord Party
ABCFM	: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
OCM	: The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers
BOA	: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
Y.EE	: Yıldız Esas Evrakı
DH.ŞFR	: Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi
DH. EUM	: Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-I Umumiye Müdüriyeti
DH. KMS	: Dahiliye Nezareti Kalem-i Mahsus Müdüriyeti

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Modernization process of the Ottoman Empire began in the late eighteenth century. Modernization was seen as an instrument for the survival of the state. The first modernization attempts that focused on military reforms were not continuous. The statesmen realized that the military reforms were not sufficient to save the state. More comprehensive reforms had to be made in different spheres in order to sustain the state. The declaration of the *Gülhane Decree (Tanzimat Fermanı)* (1839) was the first comprehensive reform attempt. With the *Gülhane Decree* modernization attempts gained a constant character. It also marked the beginning of reformation era called *Tanzimat* which extended into 1876.

Several modernization attempts took place in *Tanzimat* period. Protection of life and property of all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects were the most important development in terms of civil rights.¹ The establishment of ministries, restructuring of the provincial system through provincial assemblies and foundation of municipalities were some of the administrative reforms. There were also some important reforms in the legal system. In 1843, the first penal code, which recognized equality of the Muslims and the non-Muslims, was prepared. *Nizamiye* courts which dealt with cases involving non-Muslims were founded in 1869.² Education was another crucial area of modernization. In 1859, *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (Civil Service School) was founded in order to train officials for state offices. A new Regulation for Public Education was issued in 1869 on the advice of the French Ministry of Education. With this regulation it was decided that modern schools, *Rüşdiye* (in every large village or town), *İdadiye* (in every *sanjak*) and *Sultaniye* (in every provincial capital), would be founded.³ The *Tanzimat* reformers attempted to

¹ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri*, vol. 5, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), pp. 172-175.

² Eric Jan Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern History*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1993), p. 64.

prevent bankruptcy of the Ottoman economy through some economic reforms like preparation of budget draft (1841), regulation of the taxation system, modernization of roads, construction of railroads, establishment of telegraphic system, and enactment of the Land Code of 1858.⁴ To sum up, the reforms made during this period attempted to cover almost every sphere of institutional life.

Tanzimat reforms were followed by the declaration of the Constitutional Regime by Abdülhamid II, who was then under the influence of a group of leading Ottoman politicians, Young Ottomans in 1876. According to the Ottoman reformers, loyalty of the non-Muslims could be provided by this way since all Ottomans were now granted constitutional rights. Therefore, reformers considered declaration of the constitutional regime as a means of survival of the state. The Constitutional Regime lasted short however. Abdülhamid II deferred the parliament indefinitely in 1878. The reign of Abdülhamid II, which lasted thirty years, is usually labeled as an absolutist regime. Despite this, the modernization process continued specifically in education and transportation. Abdülhamid II perpetuated educational reforms of the *Tanzimat* period in a more structured fashion. Many modern high schools were opened during the Hamidian Regime. The first university, *Darülfünun*, was founded and previously established vocational high schools were reorganized in this period.⁵ Abdülhamid II linked the failure of *Tanzimat* reforms with lack of centralization; therefore, centralization was the key internal policy of this period. Construction of railroads and establishment of telegraphic network were primary modernization attempts of the Hamidian Regime in order to provide a centralized political structure. The use of technical means in transportation and communication led to more efficient administration in terms of collecting taxes, conscripting armies and keeping law and order.⁶

In spite of all modernization attempts, the state was still in economic, political and social disintegration mode in the late nineteenth century. Rising economic

³ Ibid, p. 65

⁴ Abdullah Saydam, “Tanzimat Devri Reformları”, *Türkler*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), pp. 796-798.

⁵ Bayram Kodaman, “II. Abdülhamid Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler”, *Osmanlı*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), pp. 283-284.

⁶ Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern...*, pp. 81-82.

problems, continuous defeats in wars and inter-communal tensions and conflicts were the main characteristics of this disintegration. The Young Turk movement emerged in this context.⁷ Despite the ideological and political differences among the Young Turks, their common aim was to reinstate the constitution and give an end to the Hamidian Regime. Abdülhamid II had to declare the Second Constitution in July 1908 under pressure from the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).

The departure of this study is related to the modernization process in the Ottoman Empire in that it attempts to assess demographic, political, administrative, educational and economic reflections of the process on localities in the case of the Sivas Province. The extent that Sivas underwent change or was transformed in the context of broad transformation in the early twentieth century is the main question to be answered in this study. Temporally, the focus of this study will be the Second Constitutional Period; however, as it has been pointed out, this period was a culmination of the transformation process which had been continuing since the early nineteenth century. Therefore, change/transformation of the province between 1908-1918 should be viewed by considering that background. In other words, the transformation/change in the Sivas Province is analyzed by keeping in mind that this was a part of a longer process. However, the Constitutional Regime had its own crucial dynamics. This study considers war, population movements and the rise of nationalism as the most important dynamics of this period. Modernization and centralization processes during the Second Constitutional Regime were also shaped under the influence of these dynamics.

⁷ The Young Turks were not monolithic in terms of their ideology and organization. The basis of their movement was formed by the Young Ottomans who were dissolved by the Hamidian Regime. They secretly maintained their political activities in İstanbul and Europe. The ideological affiliation of these constitutionalists was Ottomanism. The organization of *İttihad-i Osmani* (Union of Ottomans), founded in 1889, was the basis organization of Union and Progress. In 1895 the name of the organization was changed to *Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress). The committee was divided into two because of ideological differences after the congress of 1902. *Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti* (Committee of Progress and Union) led by Ahmet Rıza supported centralization. Decentralization was the main claim of *Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti* (Society for Private Initiative and Decentralization) led by Prens Sabahaddin. On the other hand, a second organization, *Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Freedom Society), was founded in Selanik in 1906 without any organic link to the former committees. The members of this committee were soldiers and minor officials who were discontented with the Hamidian Regime. It was a paramilitary organization based on action rather than ideology. After a short time, The Ottoman Freedom Society in Selanik united with The Committee of Progress and Union. The Selanik group became dominant in time. For detailed information see, Suavi Aydın, "İki İttihat Terakki: İki Ayrı Siyaset, İki Ayrı Zihniyet", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 117-128.

The main aim of this study is to examine the change/transformation of a locality in the Empire. It is a fact that the modernization process and transformation of the late Ottoman state is generally studied by focusing on the center. There are numerous studies on modernization attempts in the Empire and their impacts on society. Nevertheless, there is a gap on the situation of Anatolian Provinces during the modernization process. There is scarce academic research on Sivas which focuses on the Second Constitutional Regime.⁸

There are two main reasons for choosing the Sivas Province as a case study. First, the Sivas Province was one of the largest and most populated provinces of the Ottoman state located in the middle of Anatolia. It was on the important routes which link the western parts of the Empire to Eastern provinces and southern parts to the ports of the north. In short, the province has geopolitical importance. Second, the demographic characteristics of Sivas make the province an important social laboratory for analyzing change/transformation in the early twentieth century. The Sivas Province was one of the six Eastern provinces with a considerable Armenian population; actually it had the biggest Armenian population. In addition, it also had a considerable Greek population. These make the Sivas Province an ideal place to examine change/transformation in the early twentieth century.

The change/transformation of the Sivas Province will mainly be analyzed in terms of demography, political, administrative and educational structure and economic transformation. These are also important corner stones of the general transformation in the Empire during the Constitutional Regime.

The demographic structure of Anatolia changed entirely as a result of the population movements between 1913-1918. Therefore, the policies of the

⁸ The MA thesis written by Ohannes Kılıçdağı is one of the most valuable academic studies on Sivas during the Second Constitutional Regime. This study by Kılıçdağı does not only focus on the Sivas Province, it also covers Harput. It gives important clues about the rise of the Armenian bourgeoisie in Anatolia following the Constitutional Revolution. In this study, *Hoghtar*, an Armenian newspaper that was published in the Sivas Province, is used as the primary source. It is an important contribution to the field of Ottoman History since it is the first to use the Armenian Press in analyzing this locality. Ohannes Kılıçdağı, “*The Bourgeois Transformation and Ottomanism Among Anatolian Armenians after the 1908 Revolution*”, Unpublished MA Thesis, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2005). In addition, Horst Unbehaun has studied *Kızılırmak*, a newspaper published in Sivas. His article on this newspaper provides information not only about history of the press in the Sivas Province but also about the different aspects of life in the Sivas Province between 1910-1914. Horst Unbehaun, “1910-1914 Yılları Arasında *Kızılırmak* Gazetesi”, in *Kebikeç*, vol. 17, (2004), pp. 5-26.

Constitutional Regime toward immigration and settlement have to be given special priority in order to analyze the transformation efficiently. The CUP, the main political figure of the Constitutional Regime, was well organized on the immigration and settlement issue. The migrants were usually resettled among the Turkish population in a way that they did not exceed 10% of the Turkish ethnicity. This 10% ratio was more strictly implemented in the settlement of refugee communities such as Bosnians and Kurds, whose culture and language could be a threat according to the CUP leaders.⁹ At least 5000 Arab families were forced to migrate from Syria and Palestine to Anatolia by Cemal Pasha in order to prevent a probable rebellion, and the Armenians who were deported from Anatolia were forced to settle in places evacuated by the Arabs.¹⁰ There were also Albanian, Circassian, Georgian and Laz groups that were resettled in different parts of Anatolia. Furthermore, Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks were compelled to migrate to different parts of the Empire or were expatriated. In short, migration movements that took place between 1913-1918 resulted in very important demographic changes in Anatolia and socio-economic transformation in the Empire. These movements occurred during the First World War; therefore, the policies applied by the CUP must be evaluated by taking war conditions into account.

Administration was also an important part of transformation during the Constitutional Regime. Centralization had been *sine qua non* of modernization and transformation according to the Ottoman reformers since the early nineteenth century. The CUP also favored centralization and it attempted to achieve a more centralized administration. The appointment of powerful governors, who were ideologically close to the CUP and the enactment of Law on Provincial Administration (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat*) in 1913 were two important administrative developments.

The main slogan of the Second Constitutional Regime was “Only education can rescue the state”.¹¹ Therefore, transformation of the educational system played a

⁹ Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 123-127, 143-144.

¹⁰ Fuat Dündar, “1913-1918 İttihatçı Planı”, *Radikal İki*, (18 May 2005).

key role in the modernization process during the Constitutional Regime. New schools were opened and most of the traditional primary schools were closed; more secular curricula began to be applied in schools and education of women became widespread.¹² Emrullah *Efendi*, the Minister of Education, gave a proposal to the Ottoman Parliament which regulated the curriculum and the budgets of schools in 1910. This proposal was accepted in 1913 but with many changes. After the Balkan Wars national education gained importance. In 1916 unification of education was discussed in the CUP congress and all schools in the Ottoman state were bound to the Ministry of Education.¹³

Economic policies applied between 1908-1918 are important components of the Ottoman transformation. Economic policies of the CUP can be evaluated in two periods: 1908-1913 and 1913-1918. During the first period, the CUP followed liberal policies in order to improve the economy of the Empire. They were aware of the fact that the dire situation of the Empire was related to economic backwardness. As a result, the CUP tried to destroy the traditional economic system which was seen as the main cause of economic decline. Individualism, free trade and competition were supported by the CUP because in this way they hoped the Ottoman Empire would reach the level of the European countries in economy and this would result in more European investments in the country.¹⁴ But, during the war, liberal policies could not be applied and the CUP realized that pursuing liberal policies could not improve the Ottoman economy.¹⁵ Although, liberalization of economy was not entirely achieved, the free trade conditions made the non-Muslims stronger whereas the Muslim craftsmen became more and more impoverished.¹⁶

¹¹ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003) p. 125.

¹² Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, (Ankara: Pegem Yayıncılık, 2005) p. 241.

¹³ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze...*, p. 148.

¹⁴ Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern...*, pp. 127-128.

¹⁵ Capitulations were one of the the basic reasons of economic problems. The CUP was aware of how capitulations created a dependent economic structure; therefore, the liberal economic policies were replaced by nationalist economic policies since 1913 by the CUP, see Feroz Ahmad, "Doğmakta Olan Bir Burjuvazinin Öncüsü: Genç Türkler'in Sosyal ve Ekonomik Politikası, 1908-1918", *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, translated by Fatmagül Berktaş, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999), pp. 33-43.

After 1913, the CUP began to implement nationalist economic policies. The First World War provided them with a free hand for the implementation of such policies. During the war the external economic ties came to an end. As the war lengthened, military expenses increased and the expenses were tried to be met by internal sources. Moreover, for the first time inflation became the most important economic problem of the Empire.¹⁷ Within this context, state control over economic life increased and nationalist economic policies began to be carried out. As a result of these policies and population movements, the ratio of the Turkish-Muslim enterprises increased.

To sum up, the Ottoman Empire faced a transformation process between 1908-1918. Nevertheless, transformation might not be at the same level in every part of the Empire. Therefore, this study attempts to analyze to what extent this transformation was influential in the Sivas Province. As previously stated, there are scarce resources on the Sivas Province between 1908-1918. Thus, primary sources are used as much as possible in this study. The most valuable source was a newspaper, *Kızılırmak*, which was published in the Sivas Province during the Constitutional Regime. It provides not only abundant information on the social, economic and educational life of the province; but it also gives an idea about the ideological transformations of the time. It was published in two periods. The first publication period continued for only one year (4 January 1910-15 January 1911).¹⁸ There are forty nine issues in this period; however, the available collection only consists of thirty issues. The newspaper was published once a week during the first publication period. Each issue consisted of four pages. The part where the letters to the editor are published is the most valuable one in this period because these letters provide abundant information about the problems of the province.

The second publication period was longer than the former one (3 November 1913 – mid 1917).¹⁹ Despite the longer publication period, only forty issues of this

¹⁶ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat, 1908-1918*, (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982), pp. 19-20.

¹⁷ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 3.

¹⁸ Unbehaun, “1910-1914 Yılları Arasında ...” , p. 7.

¹⁹ Ibid.

period are available. The last available issue of this period was dated 16 April 1915. It was published once a week and consisted of four pages until 27 August 1914; however, in order to give news about the war more frequently, it began to be published three times a week in two pages. The complaint letters and the articles on the Constitutional Regime were replaced by news of war in the second period. Only a small part was allocated for provincial news.

Besides *Kızılırmak*, the yearbooks of the province (1890, 1903, 1907), Population Statistics of 1914, Census of 1927, Statistics Annual of 1929 and official Ottoman and British documents are used. The data reached from all these primary sources attempted to be used analytically in order to answer the basic question of the study. Therefore, description and analysis are the main methodological tools that are mostly applied. In this sense, the analysis is made in terms of center-local relations. That is to say, on the one hand, effects of the policies of the center on the Sivas Province are analyzed; on the other hand, the peculiarities of the Sivas Province are depicted. As previously stated, this is a case study; therefore, the conclusions are meaningful and descriptive only for the Sivas case. In other words, the study does not aim to make a comprehensive analysis that is applicable to more cases; however, it tries to analyze the Sivas case in detail as much as possible.

In light of this methodological approach, the second chapter will address demographic characteristics of the province. The impacts of Balkan Wars and the Armenian Deportation will be examined following a brief information on the population of the province in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the deportation of the Armenians is the most important population movement on the demography of the province in the early twentieth century, it will be analyzed in details. This issue cannot be understood only by looking at the events during the First World War; therefore, a detailed historical background will be given.

In the third chapter, the impacts of the Constitutional regime will be examined in terms of political, administrative and educational structure. The elections in Sivas, profiles of deputies, representation of the non-Muslims, and political parties and their relations will be the main sub topics of the part on political life. The news in *Kızılırmak* indicates that the people of Sivas demanded a crucial change basically in two areas: administration and education. Therefore, these two

sub-topics are crucial in determining the extent that the Second Constitutional Regime could meet the demands of people. In administrative issues people expected justice and transparency. However, it was centralization which was the prior administrative goal for the CUP. Thus, the governors as representatives of the center will be examined first. Then expectations of the people and realities of the province will be analyzed. The educational structure of the province will be analyzed in terms of policies of the CUP shaped by its transforming ideology and their impacts on the Sivas province. The situation of the non-Muslim schools will also be evaluated. The changes in educational life of the province as a result of the First World War and the effects of the Armenian deportation on this issue will also be discussed.

In the fourth chapter, the economic structure of the province will be examined in terms of transportation opportunities, agricultural life and commercial activities. The economic transformation of the Sivas Province during the Constitutional Regime is closely related to the First World War and deportation of the Armenians; therefore, these dynamics will be taken into consideration in this chapter. The thesis will end with the conclusion chapter which will cover a general analysis of the thesis with some additional comments.

CHAPTER 2

POPULATION OF THE SİVAS PROVINCE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

2.1 Some Notes on the Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire

Making an administrative, educational and socio-economic analysis of the Sivas Province inevitably requires the evaluation of its demographic characteristics. However demography is a difficult issue to tackle with in the context of the Ottoman Empire, despite its importance. The Ottomans developed a census system during the reign of Mahmut II (1808-1839) in order to provide accurate data on population. As a matter of fact, the first census emerged as part of modernization of the army and bureaucracy in the Ottoman Empire.²⁰

The main aim of the first census was to determine the exact numbers of Muslim and non-Muslim males in each *sanjak*, *kaza* and *nahiye* respectively. The reason for counting only males was that Muslim males were recruited for military service while non-Muslim males were exempt; instead, they had to pay head tax (*cizye*). In other words, the Ottoman state considered its military and fiscal needs when it restricted counting the population to males.²¹ According to Kemal Karpat, who has made detailed research on the Ottoman population, the first census had some deficits. To begin with, it did not include the population of all *kazas*. In addition, new methods could have been applied at the time that the census was held. For example, the population could have been classified according to age. Such classification and some other novelties in the census were not carried out because of the opposition of the Sultan. Since the census was important for registering males who were eligible for military service and paying tax, old methods were considered

²⁰ Stanford Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.9 No. 3, (October 1978), p. 325.

²¹ *Ibid.*

adequate.²² Yet, as there was no singular method for collecting data, Ottoman officials kept records of the population under different classifications. For instance, in some regions, Muslims and Christians were classified according to age while in some others population was sorted only as young and old. In some cases, *tuvana*, *sibyan*, and *amelmande* (strong, children and retired, incapable of work) were the main criteria for counting.²³ Christians, in general, were divided into categories according to their wealth: good (*âlâ*), medium (*evsat*) and low (*edna*). Furthermore, children were not counted.²⁴ In short, the census results of 1828/29-1831 do not provide an accurate and complete picture of the Ottoman population.

Some noteworthy developments took place during the Abdülhamid II period (1876-1909) with regards to the census and registration system. Regulation on Population Registration (*Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi*), which was based on traditional census criteria; i.e., conscription and taxation, was enacted in 1878. This regulation emphasized the need for a more comprehensive picture of the Ottoman population for economic and security reasons.²⁵ Apart from this development, statistics gained particular importance for a permanent registration system that would keep regular records of all births and deaths.²⁶ All these demonstrate that demographic data gained importance in the Ottoman Empire. The Census of 1881/82- 1893, which was based on data collected in twelve years, took place as a result of such change in mentality. According to Karpat, this census was the first comprehensive and relatively sophisticated Ottoman population survey that can be used with minor adjustments.²⁷ The last Ottoman census, which formed the basis of the Population Statistics of 1914, was held in 1905/6.

²² Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 18-19.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Shaw, "The Ottoman Census...", p. 330.

²⁶ Karpat, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 30.

²⁷ Karpat makes an evaluation of the reliability of the Census of 1881 by comparing its results with some other sources for the Sivas Province. Karpat, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 34.

To recap, in spite of all deficits, population records of the Ottoman Empire are important sources for demographic analysis. As Karpat convincingly demonstrates, they evolved in time along with political, social and economic necessities. Therefore, such records provide more accurate data on the Ottoman population in time. However, within the framework of this study other population resources such as traveler's notes, yearbooks, and Patriarchate records will be used in order to obtain reliable conclusions.

It should be noted that the figures given in the above listed sources belong to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and they must be considered as approximate numbers. It is because the domestic circumstances of the Ottoman Empire were not appropriate to provide a complete accurate data of the population. For instance, there were nomadic people in the Asian parts of the Empire whose number could not be determined exactly. In addition, the census and registration system was newly developing in these years; therefore, there might be some insufficiencies in the implementation of new methods by inexperienced enumerators and/or registration officials. Communication and transportation problem in the Ottoman Empire was another handicap in counting the population in a definitive way.

Population figures that take place in the non-Ottoman sources should also be approached critically. There are many reasons for being careful in using these sources. For example, the question of how the policies of European powers and Russia toward the Ottoman Empire affected the population figures given by consulates and Patriarchate should be kept in mind. Similarly, manipulation of the data by the Ottoman State as a reaction to the policies of the Great Powers is also possible. The Ottoman Empire was engaged in the Ottoman-Russian War (1877/8), the Libyan War with Italy (1911-1912), the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1918) during its last period. These wars were not only resulted in population movements within and outside the Empire, but also made it difficult to obtain accurate numbers of population. In the light of these assumptions, this chapter will give a general idea on the population of the Sivas Province from the 1890s till the end of the First World War. The Balkan Wars and the deportation of Armenians will be evaluated as turning points in the drastic changes of population figures.

2.2 The Population of the Sivas Province until the Balkan Wars

There are several sources that give information about the demographic features of the Sivas Province. Vital Cuinet's book is entitled *La Turquie d'Asie* is one of the most useful sources on different aspects of the population in the Sivas Province.²⁸ The most noticeable data in the book is his separation of the Muslim population as Sunnis and Shiites. All Ottoman sources such as general census results and yearbooks indicate a homogeneous Muslim population, without making any classification according to ethnicity and sect. Cuinet's classification is important because it gives an idea about the differences among the Muslim population in this respect. The table below shows the population of the Sivas Province in 1890 according to data presented in Cuinet.²⁹

²⁸ Cuinet's book entitled *La Turquie d'Asie* was published in 1894. It was written after a long travel in Anatolia by the author. The part that he informs us on the Sivas Province, is in the first volume of the book between pp. 615-702. In fact, the year when he visited the Sivas Province is not specified, however, it is considered as 1890 because the information given about salinas (*tuzla*) of the province depended on data from the 1890s. For detailed information, see, Adnan Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle Sivas*, (İstanbul: Acar Matbaacılık A.Ş., 2001), p. 128.

²⁹ Vital, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie; géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890-94), p. 618.

TABLE 1:
Population of the Sivas Province in 1890 according to Cuinet

	Sivas <i>Sanjak</i>	Tokat <i>Sanjak</i>	Amasya <i>Sanjak</i>	Karahisar-i Şarki <i>Sanjak</i>	Total
Muslim Suni	300.810	101.200	132.000	25.670	559.680
Muslim Shiite	150.404	50.600	66.000	12.830	279.834
Armenian Gregorian	42.579	31.898	44.000	11.046	129.523
Armenian Protestant	14.193	4.740	5.500	6.000	30.433
Armenian Catholic	7.096	1.281	1.100	1.000	10.477
Greek Orthodox	31.933	12.681	11.000	20.454	76.068
Jews	—	400	—	—	400
Total	575.015	202.800	259.600	77.000	1.086.015

As it can be seen from the table, the majority of the Muslim population was composed of Sunnis; however, the Shiite population also formed a considerable size. The Shiites were nearly half of the Sunnis in all *sanjaks*.

In order to make a comparative analysis of the population estimations in the late nineteenth century, the result of the Census of 1881/82-1893 must be examined. The population composition of the Sivas Province according to this Census is illustrated in the following table.³⁰

³⁰ Karpat, *Ottoman Population...*, p.136.

TABLE 2:
Population of the Sivas Province according to the Census of 1881/82-93

	Sivas <i>Sanjak</i>	Tokat <i>Sanjak</i>	Amasya <i>Sanjak</i>	Karahisar-i Şarki <i>Sanjak</i>	Foreigners within the Province	Total
Muslims	309.653	165.911	179.746	102.675	8.573	766.560
Greeks	3.834	7.942	11.364	14.029	645	37.813
Armenians	67.737	14.685	15.525	17.096	1.502	116.545
Catholics	2.029	721	302	—	—	3.052
Jews	—	209	—	—	—	209
Protestants	762	37	1.158	—	37	1.994
Non- Muslim Gypsies	—	381	—	—	54	435
Foreign Citizens	—	40	25	—	—	65
Total	384.015	189.925	208.120	133.800	10.811	926.671

It can be seen that the population figures of Cuinet and the Census of 1881/82-1893 are close to each other. The Muslim population (839.514) and the Armenian population (159.956) are slightly higher in Cuinet. The Ottoman census demonstrates numbers of both females and males, foreigners, Gypsies; therefore, it is more detailed than Cuinet.

The *sanjak* of Tokat was the most multi-ethnic and multi-religious region of the Sivas Province according to both the Census of 1881 and Cuinet's data. The Jews and Gypsies as well as peoples from all sects of Christianity were living in Tokat. Karahisar-i Şarki, on the contrary, was the least multi-ethnic and multi-religious area of the province according to the census. Cuinet claims that there were Protestant and Catholic Armenians in Karahisar-i Şarki. In the census, the Protestant and Catholic Armenians were not specified. Probably, the census counted Armenians without classifying them as Gregorians, Protestants or Catholics. However, such classification is important because the Sivas Province was one of the main centers of missionary activities. Armenians were the main target of missionary activities and many of them were converted to Protestantism as result of such activities.³¹ Therefore, Cuinet's classification of the Armenians as Gregorian, Protestant and Catholic is appropriate. His classification demonstrates that missionary activities

³¹ Ahmet Göksel, *İnanç Tarihi açısından Sivas*, (İstanbul: Bayrak Matbaası: 2004), pp. 124-125.

were mostly influential in the central *sanjak* and Karahisar-i Şarki and less in Tokat and Amasya *sanjaks*.

In order to have a clearer picture of the province in terms of demography, the 1890 yearbook of the Sivas Province should also be evaluated. According to this, the total population of the central *sanjak* was 232.770.³² This number is close to the results of the Census of 1881/82-93. In the yearbook of 1890, separation of the female population from that of males is restricted to the central *sanjak* of Sivas.³³ In the other three *sanjaks*, there is no separation between the figures of males and females which means that the figures are confined only to the male population. If this is the case, total population can be estimated as 333.615*.

Coherency of the figures of the 1881/82-93 Census, the yearbook of 1890 and Cuinet's results support the idea that these sources are reliable. In order to analyze the reliability and accuracy of the Census of 1881/82-93, Karpat provides a comparative population table of the Sivas Province:³⁴

³² *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1308 (1890), pp. 191-204.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 191.

* This estimation is made by doubling the given number with the assumption that the female population was approximately equal to the male population.

³⁴ Karpat, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 34.

TABLE 3:
Comparative Population Table of the Sivas Province

Source of Statistics	Christians	Christian-Muslim Ratio	Muslims	Total
Armenian Patriarch to His Majesty's Ambassador ³⁵	62.000	1:1.3	80.000	142.000
Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880	201.245	1:3.4	694.437	895.682
Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant Chermiside, August 1880	201.245	1:3.4	694.431	895.676
Abedine Pasha to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880 (doubling the males)	143.174	1:4.0	584.604	727.778
Unknown to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880	136.432	1:4.2	578.166	714.598
Government to Lieutenant Chermiside, August 1880 (doubling the male numbers)	143.176	1:5.1	729.872	873.048
Sivas Almanac for 1878 (doubling the male numbers)	181.586	1:3.9	711.264	892.850
According to Baker pasha (doubling the males)	140.732	1:4.0	567.818	708.550
The General Census of 1881/2-1893*	160.113	1:5.1	766.558	926.671

When compared, figures of different sources included in the table are not dramatically different from each other except for the statistics prepared by the

³⁵ As it is seen the numbers given by the Armenian Patriarch are quite different from the numbers given by other eight sources. Karpat claims that it is grossly wrong for both Muslim and non-Muslim population. Moreover, this population rate is not appropriate for the population of the Sivas *sanjak* nor the total population of the province. For more details about the issue see Karpat, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 34.

* The results of the Census of 1881 are not included in Karpat's table. It is added in order to show the population picture in a systematic way.

Armenian Patriarch to His Majesty's Ambassador. In the document of the Armenian Patriarch, both the figures of Christian and Muslim populations are more than the ones in the Ottoman sources such as Abedien Pasha and Baker Pasha Reports. The largest figure of the Muslim population is in the census. The census also displays a bigger Christian population than some other Ottoman sources. The reason is probably the span of the census as other sources generally belong to 1880 whereas the census covers a period of 13 years. Within this period the population might have increased. In conclusion, if all the above sources are taken into consideration, the population of the Sivas Province was dominated by the Muslims -especially Sunni Muslims- with a considerable number of Armenian and Greek minorities in the late nineteenth century. The Christian-Muslim population ratio can be estimated between 1:4 and 1:5.

The population of the Sivas Province increased more than 200.000 between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The table below demonstrates population of the Sivas Province according to the Census of 1905/6.³⁶

TABLE 4:
Population of the Sivas Province according to the Census of 1905/6

	Sivas Sanjak	Amasya Sanjak	Karahisar-i Şarki Sanjak	Tokat Sanjak	Total
Muslims	398.867	207.336	128.437	238.148	972.788
Greeks	5.752	23.633	20.367	17.688	67.374
Armenians	79.344	23.810	20.419	20.483	144.056
Armenian Catholic	2.081	541	—	678	3.300
Protestants	1.882	1.769	100	502	4.253
Suryani (Syriac)	—	3	—	—	3
Jews	—	—	—	299	299
Gypsies	—	1.180	308	823	2.239
Foreigners	—	60	—	—	60
Total	487.926	258.260	169.631	278.555	1.194.372

³⁶ Karpat, *The Ottoman...*pp. 168-169.

According to the yearbook of 1907, population of the province was 1.185.016, with 968.786 Muslims and 216.230 non-Muslims (131.643 Armenians, 64.401 Greeks, and 20.186 other non-Muslim groups).³⁷ The Muslim population increased more than all other non-Muslim groups. Several reasons could be given for the increase of the Muslim population but the most important one stemmed from the population movements. The Sivas Province was one of the major destinations for the refugees from the East. Especially after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877/78, hundreds and thousands refugees came from Rumelia and the Ottoman-Russian borders. In the first place, two thousand Circassians were settled down in the province.³⁸ In 1881, 1887, 1891, 1901 and the following years immigration continued.³⁹ Until late 1891, there were 9.745 refugees who moved from İstanbul and the Black Sea region to the province.⁴⁰ Moreover, in 1879 there were 10.000 male refugees in Merzifon and 9.081 in Tokat. Other certain refugee numbers are 400 in Suşehri, 1.031 in Köprü and 1.239 in Amasya.⁴¹ To sum up, approximately 30.000 refugees were settled down in the Sivas Province after the Ottoman-Russian War.

The population of the Sivas Province did not change drastically between the years 1908-1914. When several sources are examined, it is clear that the impact of population movements after the Balkan Wars was not very effective on the population composition of the Sivas Province until late 1915.

Several documents dated 27 April 1909 were sent from Sivas to İstanbul about the population of the province. These documents included information about the population of provinces where Armenians inhabited, such as Bitlis, Mamuretü'l-aziz, Diyarbekir, Van, Erzurum and Trabzon.⁴² It is highly probable that the main aim of the center was to get information about the Armenian population of these

³⁷ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 257.

³⁸ Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877-1890)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), p. 38.

³⁹ Erdal Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Doğu Politikası*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2005), p. 331.

⁴⁰ İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya...*, p. 205.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Y.EE 33/50, Y.EE 33/58, Y.EE 33/55.

provinces after the Adana Events of April 1909.⁴³ According to the document which was sent from the Sivas Province to the center, distribution of the population in April 1909 was as in the following table.⁴⁴

TABLE 5:
Population of the Sivas Province according to the Document of 1909

Islam	729.518
Greek	36.373
Armenian	112.103
Catholic	2.937
Latin	1
Protestant	2.491
Jew	220
Non-Muslim Gypsy	1.576
Total	885.318

The above figures demonstrate a crucial change in population of the province when compared to the figures of the yearbook of 1907 and the Census of 1905/6. The Muslim population is approximately 200.000 less than from what the former data indicates. Moreover, the Greek and the Armenian population figures are significantly less than the other data. It is not possible to know the exact reason behind the population decrease. It can be assumed that the change in the borders of the province was one of the reasons. For instance, Mecitözü and Osmancık, *kazas* of Amasya

⁴³ The declaration of the Second Constitutional Regime was not welcomed by the inhabitants of Adana. Muslims were afraid of losing their privileged position whereas the Armenians were waiting for autonomy as soon as possible. Tension within the province increased in time. Conflicts between the Armenians and Muslims began on 14 April 1909, the day after the counter-revolution movement known as 31 March Incident (*31 Mart Vakası*). Both sides attacked each other for nearly thirty days. The exact number of the human loss is not clear. According to the Patriarchate report 21.330 Armenians died. However the total number of deaths was given as 10.000 by the provincial government. On the other hand, Gürün claims that 1.850 Muslims and 17.000 Armenians died as a result of these events. For detailed information, see Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2005), pp. 249-255 and Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi*, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1987), pp. 550-568.

⁴⁴ Y.EE 33/58.

sanjak in the 1890s, are included in the Çorum *sanjak* of the Ankara Province in 1914.⁴⁵ Because of the consistency between the Census of 1905/6 and the yearbook of 1907, the total population of the Sivas Province should be accepted between 1.185.000-1.195.000 on the eve of the Balkan Wars.

2.3 The Impact of the Balkan Wars on the Population of the Sivas Province

The Balkan Wars and its consequences were disastrous for the Ottoman Empire. Rumelia, which was one of the most important parts of the Empire in terms of commerce, agriculture, culture and education, was lost. Losing these lands resulted in demoralization not only among the politicians and state elites but also among the ordinary people living in different parts of the Empire. Demoralization of the inhabitants of the Sivas Province can be observed in the articles written in a local newspaper, *Kızılırmak*. A speech by Ahmet Sıtkı, Inspector of Primary Education (*Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiyye Müfettişi*), is an example in case: "... We have lost the lands that had been conquered by our ancestors. But, no land we have lost resemble to Rumelia. The loss of Rumelia hurts our hearts every moment, it is like a wound that devastates us..."⁴⁶ He pointed out another dimension of the loss of Rumelia:

...What is your most precious possession? Your life, property, children, family, and honor... No, above them all your motherland... If your country is being crushed by the enemies, your life, property, children, family and honor would mean nothing. The situation of the unfortunate Rumelian refugees is the animate proof of my claims...⁴⁷

It is clear that demoralization caused by losing Rumelian lands was only one dimension of the issue. However, resettlement of the refugees from Rumelia was the

⁴⁵ Karpat, *The Otoman Population...*pp. 136-172.

⁴⁶ *Kızılırmak*, 10 Mart 1330 (23 March 1914), No: 15 "... Atalarımızın bin bir zorluklara bize bıraktıkları bu topraklar zamanla elimizden kaybolmaya başladı. Ama kaybettiğimiz topraklardan hiç biri Rumeli'ye benzemez. Rumeli'nin acısı yüreğimizi acıtan, vücudumuzu her an sarsan bir yaradır..."

⁴⁷ Ibid "...Bu dünyada en önemli varlığınız nedir? Canınız, malınız, evlat ve aileniz, ırzınız ve namusunuz...Hayır bunların ötesinde vatanınız. Vatan bir kere düşmanın mundar ayakları altında ezilmeye başlarsa canınızın, malınızın, ne evlat ve ailenizin ne de ırz ve namusunuzun bir ehemmiyet ve itibarı kalmaz. İşte Rumeli'nin bedbaht ve felaketzede muhacirleri bu iddianın canlı birer kanıtıdır."

most important and the main issue for the state. The number of the refugees was approximately 640.000 in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars.⁴⁸

Immigration continued even in 1914. On the eve of the First World War, 200.000 refugees arrived in the Ottoman lands from Thrace, Macedonia and Epir.⁴⁹ Settlement of these refugees was a major problem during the war years. They were resettled in İzmir, Konya, Antalya, and Adana. Sivas was not a center of resettlement; however, there are some documents which demonstrate that the Sivas Province became a new home for some of the refugees.⁵⁰ Sixty-four Albanian households together with some other Turks and Bosnians, who had been staying in Konya, were settled down in Diyarbakir, Sivas and Adana in the summer of 1915.⁵¹

Circassians were the largest group that had been resettled in the Sivas Province since the 1880s. Immigration of the Circassians into the Ottoman lands began in the 1860s.⁵² Their immigration accelerated especially after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877/78. Although they were distributed to different parts of the Empire, they were mostly resettled in the Balkans. Following the Balkan Wars, they were expelled from the region like other Muslims.⁵³ The exact number of Circassians resettled in the Sivas Province cannot be determined.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin ...*, p. 56.

⁴⁹ Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 26.

⁵⁰ Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi...* pp. 78-79.

⁵¹ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, p.117.

⁵² The first largest Circassian immigration to the Ottoman Empire took place between 1862-1865. Also, sporadic Circassian immigrations intensified in 1877/78 and from 1890 to 1908. Karpas, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 67 and Justin McCarthy, *Ölümler ve Sürgünler*, translated by Bilge Umar, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1998) p. 36.

⁵³ Most of the Circassians immigrated into the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. They were settled in the Arab Lands. They fought against the Arab militants and the British Army in support of the Ottomans. However in Anatolia what was anticipated by the officials did not happen and the Circassians started militant activities right after their resettlement. The Circassians who were resettled in the Sivas Province in the 1880s lived in tribal organization. They attacked the native people and seized their lands. During the First World War the Circassians maintained their militant activities. In Sivas, they organized political activities against the government and were crushed by the government immediately. Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi...*, p. 130.

⁵⁴ According to the Patriarchate Statistics of 1912 there were 45.000 Circassians in Sivas. It is a great number when compared to other Muslim populations in this statistics; 192.000 Turks and 50.000 Kurds. However, as previously mentioned, the reliability of the Patriarchate numbers is questionable.

The 1927 General Census might be helpful in this respect as peoples were classified on the basis of their birth place, age, language, religion, occupation and nationality. Making a separation on the basis of native languages may give an approximate number of the Circassians who immigrated to Sivas. Administrative borders shifted after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey; however Amasya, Tokat, and Karahisar-i Şarki will be included in the table as they had been within the borders of the Sivas Province in the late Ottoman era. The number of people with Circassian as their mother tongue according to the census results of 1927 is as in the following:⁵⁵

TABLE 6:
The Number of People with Circassian as their Mother Tongue in Sivas in
1927

Sivas	4.381
Amasya	1.535
Şebinkarahisar (Karahisar-i Şarki)	7
Tokat	7.131
Pınarbaşı*	13.616
Total	26.670

Although the above figures do not give exact information, they show that there was a considerable Circassian population in Sivas in 1927. Probably, as a result of population movements, most of the Circassians might have come to Sivas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Justin Mccarthy, *Müslümanlar ve Azınlıklar*, translated by Bilge Umar, (Ankara: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1998), p. 47.

⁵⁵ 28 *Teşrinievvel Nüfus Tahriri*, (Ankara:Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1929), pp. 57-61.

*Pınarbaşı (Aziziye) is one of the largest *kazas* of the Sivas Province until the end of the Ottoman Empire; therefore it is also added to the list although it is a *kaza* of Kayseri after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey.

To put it briefly, despite the lack of exact numbers, some refugees were settled in the Sivas Province after the Balkan Wars. Ahmet Sıtkı's speech which was previously mentioned indicates that there were some refugees from Rumelia in Sivas who were living in poor conditions. However, when the Population Statistics of 1914 are compared with the Census results of 1906/07, the decline of the Muslim population can be observed. Before making an analysis, the population statistics of 1914 must be evaluated.⁵⁶

TABLE 7:
Population of the Sivas Province according to the Population Statistics
of 1914

	Sivas Sanjak	Amasya Sanjak	Tokat Sanjak	Karahisar-I Şarki Sanjak	Total
Muslims	374.549	178.639	258.851	127.696	939.735
Greeks	7.430	24.950	17.699	25.237	75.324
Armenians	78.605	23.017	21.336	20.448	143.406
Jews	—	1	343	—	344
Armenian Catholics	2.395	534	764	—	3.693
Protestants	1.915	1.913	633	114	4.575
Suryanis (Syrac)	—	3	—	—	3
Gypsy	—	1.206	827	330	2.363
Total	464.889	230.263	300.453	173.825	1.169.443

The Muslim population decreased from 1.194.372 to 1.169.443. The decline of population might be a consequence of wars. However such a comparison reveals that there was a bigger population movement after the Ottoman-Russian War than the Balkan Wars into the province. Moreover, it also becomes clear that most of the refugees from Rumelia were settled in the province after 1915.⁵⁷ It is perhaps because of the deportation of Armenians, which might have been seen as a solution for the resettlement of refugees from Rumelia, one of the major problems of the CUP

⁵⁶ *Memalik-i Osmaniyye'nin 1330 Senesi Nüfus İstatistiği*, (Dersaadet: Hilal Matbaası, 1336), pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin ...*, p. 117, Halacoğlu, *Balkan Harbi ...*, p. 92.

after the Balkan Wars. This claim will be elaborated in the part on the deportation of Armenians in the following section.

2.4 The Armenian Deportation and its Impacts on the Population Composition of the Sivas Province

The Sivas Province was one of the six provinces (Erzurum, Van, Mamuretü'l-aziz, Bitlis, Diyarbekir) in the Ottoman Empire where the Armenians had a considerable population size. As a matter of fact, it was Sivas which had the largest Armenian population among the six provinces in the early twentieth century.⁵⁸ The deportation of Armenians during the First World War can be seen as the most important event that drastically altered the population ratio of the province. However, this development cannot be analyzed by only focusing on war years. Problems between the Armenians and Muslims, particularly in Sivas, became more obvious in the late nineteenth century and gained a political dimension. For this reason, it is crucial to analyze the political and economic context paving the way for the deportation of Armenians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

2.4.1 The Context of Armenian Deportation

The Armenian deportation will be analyzed by highlighting three main topics: The legal status of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, the economic context and political developments beginning from the late nineteenth century. All these are interrelated and played a major role in the decision to deport the Armenians from Anatolian lands.

2.4.1.1 The Legal Status of the Non-Muslims:

The legal status of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire is a broad issue because the non-Muslims had been living in the boundaries of the Empire since its foundation and their legal status was subject to change over time. Due to the focus of this study, the legal status of the non-Muslims will be examined only in the context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

⁵⁸ Aydođan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, p. 23.

The Ottoman State determined the legal status of non-Muslims according to the Islamic Law in principle.⁵⁹ However, as a result of growing relations with European States, the legal status of non-Muslims started to be regulated by three main sources in addition to Islamic Law in the nineteenth century: Capitulations, Peace Treaties and Ottoman reforms.⁶⁰ Capitulations and Peace Treaties are also related to political developments and economic context; therefore under the topic of legal status only Islamic Law, the Ottoman reforms and their restrictions will be evaluated.

According to Islamic Law, non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim ruler who were the People of Scripture were called *zimmis*. Security of life and property as well as religious freedom of non-Muslims was guaranteed by the Muslim ruler. The *zimmis* in return had to be loyal to the state and pay poll-tax called *cizye* and land tax called *harac*.⁶¹ *Zimmi* status formed the basis of the *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslim communities, Greek Orthodox, Armenian (Gregorian) and Jewish, were accepted as *millets* by the Ottoman State.⁶² They were autonomous bodies in their religious, cultural, economic and social life. Each *millet* was presided by its highest religious dignitary who controlled the schools and administrated certain branches of civil law besides carrying out religious functions.⁶³ In other words, non-Muslims were only subject to Islamic Law on issues related to criminal law.

The autonomy and freedom of the *zimmis* were not limitless. There were many political and religious limitations for non-Muslims. For instance, marriage of non-Muslim males to Muslim women was legally forbidden and their testimony against Muslims was not accepted.⁶⁴ Moreover, non-Muslims might not reside

⁵⁹ Taner Akçam, *İnsan Hakları ve Ermeni Sorunu*, (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 1999), pp. 49-50.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 51.

⁶¹ H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) pp. 207-208.

⁶² The *millet* system was based on religion and sects rather than ethnicity and/or language. For example, in the nineteenth century the Armenians belonged to three different *millets*: Gregorian, Catholic and Protestant. For detailed information see, İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlılarda Millet Sistemi”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 30 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2005), pp. 66-67.

⁶³ Salahi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993) p. 5.

around mosques and their houses had to be lower than those of Muslims.⁶⁵ The application of these rules can be questioned. For instance, relation between the neighborhood and mosques developed in two ways in the Sivas case. First, mosques played a central role in the formation of new neighborhoods. Secondly, mosques were built for the Islamization of non-Muslim neighborhoods.⁶⁶ In order to Islamize non-Muslim neighborhoods, more than one mosque was built in the Sivas Province by the Ottomans. To illustrate, in the Ali Baba neighborhood the majority was non-Muslims in the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century two more mosques were built and in the nineteenth century, majority of the neighborhood population became Muslims as a result of the migration of non-Muslims to other neighborhoods.⁶⁷ The decrease of non-Muslim population within the Ali Baba neighborhood supports the prohibition of dwelling of non-Muslims around mosques because the more mosques were built; the less area remained for non-Muslims to settle. Therefore, they had to find new areas to live.

However, there is another example which challenges the rule on the requirement of lower houses for the non-Muslims. An article in *Kızılırmak* complains about the Muslim houses due to their low ceilings and it claims that the houses of the Christians are higher than those of the Muslims.⁶⁸ In short, the application of regulations might be different in localities and making generalization may lead to misinterpretation by looking only at *fermans*. Yet, whether applied or not, it can be argued that, legal regulations perceived non-Muslims as a different social group and that mentality might obstruct the interaction between the non-Muslims and

⁶⁴ Akçam, *İnsan Hakları...*, p. 54.

⁶⁵ According to Islamic Law, houses of non-Muslims have to be different from the ones of Muslims. Some *fermans* were published in accordance with this understanding. For instance, a *ferman* of 1724 declared that the non-Muslim houses had to be lower than the houses of Muslims; however, this rule was not strictly applied in the Ottoman Empire. For detailed information see, Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Gayri Müslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), p. 19, Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, (New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 35.

⁶⁶ Ömer Demirel, *Sivas Şehir Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000) p. 56.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Erzurumzade Ahmet Nazım, “Nesl-i Ati Nasıl Yetişmeli?”, *Kızılırmak*, 25 Mart 1330 (07 April 1914), No: 16.

Muslims.⁶⁹ Lack of interaction between the non-Muslims and Muslims must have affected tensions that arose among these groups in subsequent times.

To put it briefly, the relationship between an Islamic State and non-Muslim subjects through the *millet system* can be evaluated both as egalitarian and non-egalitarian from different perspectives. On the one hand, one can argue that religious, cultural and economic freedom of non-Muslims is an indicator of the egalitarian social structure of the Ottoman State. On the other hand, it can be argued that social limitations for non-Muslims indicate the non-egalitarian structure of the Ottoman society. However, rather than creating an egalitarian society, the mentality towards such grants should be evaluated as an apparatus to reduce conflicts and preserve the social order in harmony in a heterogeneous society. This was realized to an extent until the late of eighteenth century. Nevertheless, following the French Revolution and the rise of nationalism in Europe, *millet* system became obsolete in regulating social relations in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰

Ottoman reforms regulating the status of non-Muslims came to the agenda in the early nineteenth century. Ottoman statesmen were aware of the fact that the *millet* system, which included some political and social restrictions for non-Muslim communities, became inadequate under the new circumstances shaped by the French Revolution and its principles; equality, liberty, citizenship, and the rights of man and citizen.⁷¹ By reforming the state and society, Ottoman statesmen expected to secure the loyalty of non-Muslims to the state and thus preventing disintegration of the Empire.⁷² The Ottoman reforms were not only a result of the awareness of the Ottoman statesmen. They were also made under European pressure because non-Muslims gained protection of the European States in the nineteenth century.

The *Gülhane Decree (Tanzimat Fermanı)* (1839) and the Reform Edict of 1856 (*Islahat Fermanı*), which were declared under European pressure, stipulated some reforms aiming to improve the situation of the non-Muslims. The *Gülhane*

⁶⁹ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie...*, p. 36.

⁷⁰ Şükrü Hanioglu, "Turkish Nationalism and the Young Turks, 1889-1908", *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 85.

⁷¹ Akçam, *İnsan Hakları...*, p. 60.

⁷² Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction...*, p. 154.

Decree was the first major attempt of improving the social and legal situation of non-Muslims. It claimed that protection of life, property and personal dignity of all the Muslims and non-Muslims would be provided by the state and everybody was equal before the law. Actually, the *Gülhane* Decree was a direct consequence of the need for modernization. Therefore, it can be argued that besides European pressure, the rising consciousness of the Ottoman statesmen about modernization was also the motive behind the *Gülhane* Decree.⁷³

The Reform Edict of 1856, as a part of the *Tanzimat* period, made concrete the principle of equality by declaring that non-Muslims would be treated equal to Muslims in taxation, conscription, education (non-Muslims could enter military schools) and the administration.⁷⁴ In spite of continuity between the *Gülhane* Decree and the Reform Edict of 1856, there is a great difference between them. European pressure over the Reform Edict of 1856 is obvious. Different from the *Gülhane* Decree, it was not prepared only by Ottoman statesmen; ambassadors of France and Britain were also in the preparatory commission of the Reform Edict.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Reform Edict of 1856 was suggested in the Treaty of Paris; therefore, internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire became much more open to European influence than it had previously been.⁷⁶

Tanzimat reforms were followed by the declaration of the Constitutional Regime in 1876. This constitution was also based on the principle of equality and gave religious privileges to non-Muslim communities; however, it paradoxically stated Islam as the religion of the State. This paradoxical situation continued until 1928 when the article, which claimed Islam as the religion of the state, was abolished from the constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

With the 1908 Revolution, the constitution of 1876 was brought into force. Although the declaration of the constitution was welcomed by most Ottomans, the principle of equality and Ottomanist ideal created discontent among both Muslims

⁷³ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Islahat Fermanı Devri*, Vol. 6, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1995), p. 5.

⁷⁴ Akçam, *İnsan Hakları...*, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁵ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi...*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 6.

and non-Muslims. The Muslims thought that with the application of the principle of equality as stated in the constitution, the status of non-Muslims would improve in their disfavor as non-Muslims had already been under the protection of European Powers.⁷⁷ On the other hand, some non-Muslims believed that the ideal of combining all Muslims and non-Muslims under the Ottoman identity by the CUP was a threat to their religious privileges.⁷⁸ Although they strongly demanded equality, they did not want to give up some of their privileges.⁷⁹ As a result, neither Ottomanism nor equality could be achieved during the Second Constitutional Regime. It was obvious that the legal system which was based on Islamic law would not allow the application of the principles of the French Revolution. Another handicap before this was the swift change in the ideology of the CUP following the Balkan Wars. With the adoption of Turkish nationalism, the CUP gave up its focus on creating an Ottoman identity.

To sum up, all legal reforms, which began in the early nineteenth century and continued until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, became null and void. The reforms that took place as a result of foreign state interventions and internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire did not succeed in providing the loyalty of non-Muslims to the Ottoman state. On the contrary, the social and political tensions, which in the long run prepared a solid ground for ethnic and religious conflicts, began to rise.

⁷⁷ Bozkurt, *Gayri Müslim Osmanlı ...*, p. 215.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 195.

⁷⁹ Conscription was one of the equality issues. Non-Muslim males had been exempted of conscription. However, through the Ottoman reforms their conscription began to be thought as a requirement of Ottoman citizenship. Although it could not be applied until the declaration of the Second Constitutional Regime, conscription was on the modernization agenda since the declaration of the *Gülhane* Decree. The reaction of the Armenians towards conscription is questionable. It is generally argued that the Armenians did not want to join the Ottoman army; however, the news in *Kızılırmak* and *Hogtar*, an Armenian newspaper published in the Sivas Province during the 1910s, show that the Armenians of Sivas were so happy about conscription. For detailed information see, *Kızılırmak*, 13 Eylül 1326 (26 September 1910), No: 37 and Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *The Bourgeois Transformation and Ottomanism Among Anatolian Armenians after the 1908 Revolution*, Unpublished MA Thesis, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2005), p. 76.

2.4.1.2 Economic Structure of the Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries:

The economic structure of the Ottoman Empire and the position of the Armenians within it must be evaluated in order to understand the background of the Armenian Deportation. It is a generally accepted argument that non-Muslims, especially those living in cities, dominated economic life in the Ottoman Empire. However, until the eighteenth century, there was a balance between the non-Muslims and Muslims in this respect. Non-Muslim merchants gained superiority during the eighteenth century. Transformation of the economic relations with Europe was the main reason of this development. European merchants began to choose non-Muslim Ottoman merchants as mediator in their economic activities due to several reasons such as the taxation system and legal restrictions.⁸⁰ Their preference of non-Muslim merchants rather than the Muslim ones was related to religious and linguistic overlap. Besides, non-Muslim Ottomans began to change their citizenship and benefit from the privileges granted by the capitulations.⁸¹ As a result, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, non-Muslim merchants achieved a huge amount of capital accumulation and they formed the basis of the Ottoman commercial bourgeoisie.⁸²

The economic position of non-Muslims was an important factor in determining their political stance. Non-Muslims were reluctant to support the CUP, especially after the Balkan Wars. As they had benefited from economic privileges since the eighteenth century, they did not favor the CUP's policies for centralization which also aimed to strengthen the Turkish element in the Empire.⁸³ This was the main reason for non-Muslims to support liberal parties during the Second Constitutional period rather than the CUP. In short, the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire was influential in shaping political life, particularly in the early twentieth century.

⁸⁰ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie...*, pp. 96-97.

⁸¹ Ahmad, "Doğmakta Olan Bir...", p. 28.

⁸² Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie...*, p. 90.

⁸³ Ahmad, "Doğmakta Olan Bir...", p. 29.

In this span of time, the economic position of non-Muslims began to draw the attention of some Ottoman intellectuals. For example, Yusuf Akçura, one of the leading thinkers of Turkism, stated that:

There was almost no Turkish bourgeoisie during the Ottoman reign. Similar to the situation in the Polish Kingdom, imprisoned elements comprised the Ottoman Turkish bourgeoisie. The Ottomans were only soldiers or officials. Yet the bourgeoisie forms the foundation for our contemporary states; the large modern states have relied on an artisanal, commercial and banking bourgeoisie in their formation. The Turkish national renaissance can be honorable ground for the genesis of Turkish bourgeoisie within the Ottoman state.⁸⁴

Therefore, creating a national bourgeoisie composed of Turkish-Muslim merchants was seen as a requirement of nationalism which became the main ideology of the CUP especially after the Balkan Wars. The economic superiority of non-Muslims beginning with the eighteenth century was opposed to the nationalist economic policies of the CUP shaped by its ideological transformation after 1913. This tension should be considered in analyzing the context of the Armenian Deportation.

2.4.1.3 Political Developments:

The second half of the nineteenth century was disastrous for the Ottoman Empire. Defeats in several wars, loss of lands and people, and the rise of nationalism in different parts of the Empire were both indicators of political and economic disintegration. Following the defeat in the war with Russia in 1877/78, the Berlin Conference was convened. The Armenian issue emerged as an international issue in this conference.⁸⁵ The 61st article of the treaty which was signed at the end of the conference stated that the Ottoman state would make some reforms in Eastern Anatolia where the Armenians formed a considerable size of the population.⁸⁶ The reform issue would be the main instrument of intervention into Ottoman affairs by some European powers; for example, Britain in the next years.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie...*, p. 109.

⁸⁵ Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, (İstanbul:Remzi Kitapevi, 2005) p. 82.

⁸⁶ Hikmet Özdemir, Kemal Çiçek, Ömer Turan, Ramazan Çalık, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Ermeniler: Sürgün ve Göç*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004), p. 53.

As a matter of fact, the power struggle between Russia and Britain played a central role in the Armenian issue. The policies of European powers toward the Armenian question, especially those of Britain and Russia, changed over time. Until the early twentieth century, Russia was reluctant about the reforms in, as sometimes is called, the Armenian *vilayets* and did not support an independent Armenian state in the Ottoman lands. Such a state would be a threat for Russia because the Armenian population living in its borders in Transcaucasia would want to join it. The Russification policy was a product of this fear.⁸⁸

British policy toward the Armenian issue, similar to Russian policy, was shaped by national interests rather than Armenian interests. The geopolitical position of the Ottoman Empire was crucial for Britain for two reasons: First, the Ottoman control of the Straits provided British ships access to the Black Sea to counter a probable Russian naval offense in India. Secondly, the Ottoman lands in Asia formed a land barrier to Russian expansion.⁸⁹ Therefore, the application of reforms under supervision of Britain rather than dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was more appropriate for British interests. However, Kodaman argues that Britain was no longer concerned with protecting the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire because it was not strong enough to impede Russian invasion to the south. Therefore, an independent Armenian state which would be under the control of Britain would be more useful.⁹⁰ Whether the main aim of Britain was protecting the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire or not, the Armenian reforms were supported by Britain for the sake of its own national interests. However, the reform project was not materialized due to the lack of consensus on reforms among the European States and reluctance of Russia to force the Sultan for the reforms.⁹¹ To sum up, all reform demands of the European states in Eastern Anatolia in accordance with their national interests were in vain as a result of the power struggle between them. It is a fact that,

⁸⁷ Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası...*, pp. 171-182.

⁸⁸ Manoug Somakian, *Empires in Conflict: Armenia and the Great Powers, 1895-1920*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995), p. 24.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁹⁰ Bayram Kodaman, "Hamidiye Hafif Süvari Alayları, 2. Abdülhamit ve Doğu Anadolu Aşiretleri", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, No: 32, (1979), p. 433.

⁹¹ Somakian, *Empires in Conflict...*, p. 22.

the Armenians were not important either for Britain or Russia. Armenian activities took place in order to attract attention of the European states and the Europeans' insensitivity to the issue was an indicator of this assumption.

Before evaluating the Armenian events of the 1890s in Sivas, the domestic political atmosphere should also be analyzed. The Hamidian Regime (1876-1909) was the main focus since Abdülhamit II's policy in the Eastern provinces of Anatolia deserves special attention. The Hamidian Regime is famed for its repressive character. There was rising discontent toward the regime in all of the Empire. Henry Fanshawe Tozer, a traveler who visited the Sivas Province, told his observations about public opinion towards this Regime was as follows:

The people living here did not seem satisfied with the İstanbul government. For them the only aim of the administrators was taking taxes from people and conscription of men. They did not do anything to meeting the needs of the region, and they condoned the guerillas. Commerce nearly ceased...Again without bribe the services did not work so the officers became richer and richer. As a result, the existing regime was unbearable and at this point everybody, Muslims and non-Muslims were sharing the same idea.⁹²

As it is understood from the traveler's notes, the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire were full of problems and state authority over those regions was not strong. Abdülhamid II's regime viewed the cause of general disorder in the Empire in lack of centralization. As a result, centralization became the main tenet of his policy in order to secure unity and survival.⁹³ The Hamidieh Cavalry Corps founded in the Eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire were a part of this understanding.⁹⁴ The Kurds were seen as a key in both centralization attempts and the maintenance of the Hamidieh Cavalry Corps. The government attempted to restrain Kurdish activities which would be very harmful to other Muslim and non-Muslim peasants on the one hand, and it tried to secure the loyalty of the Kurds to the central state on the other hand. Such loyalty could only be possible by making them part of the military force.

⁹² Tozer came to Sivas in 1878. His travel observations were published in a book in 1881 entitled *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor*. For detailed information see Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*p. 124.

⁹³ Stephen Duguid, "The Politics of Unity: Hamidian Policy in Eastern Anatolia", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.9 No.2, (May 1973), p. 139.

⁹⁴ Kodaman, "Hamidiye Hafif...", p. 429.

In other words, by using Kurds, the central authority aimed to balance the power of urban notables and provincial governments.⁹⁵ The Hamidieh Cavalry Corps were founded in 1891. Although, communication between the center and Eastern Anatolia increased and centralization was achieved to an extent, it can be argued that this development was the result of the transformation in power relations rather than centralization for several reasons. First, the tribes that acquired the right to form Cavalry Corps became more powerful politically than other tribes; therefore, tension among tribes increased. Secondly, in time, some tribes gained excessive power which resulted in resistance and opposition to local administrators.⁹⁶ In other words, Abdülhamid II's Eastern Anatolia policy resulted in new power relations rather than consolidation of the central authority in the region. Some tribes in the region were successful in the power struggle and they began to repress other native agents and local authorities. Especially, after the Sason events (1893), clashes between Armenian revolutionary organizations and the Hamidieh Cavalry Corps increased. The control of the Hamidieh Cavalry Corps became impossible after 1894; nevertheless, new corps continued to be organized.⁹⁷ To sum up, the centralization policy of the Hamidian Regime attained success to an extent between the years 1889-1893; however the center lost its control on cavalry corps and tribes after 1894. As a result, violence gradually increased in the region.⁹⁸

The foundation of Armenian Revolutionary organizations and their activities were other important political developments in the late nineteenth century.⁹⁹ According to Somakian, unbearable living conditions and the inability of European powers to induce the Sultan to implement reforms were the key factors in the foundation of Armenian organizations.¹⁰⁰ In addition, national awakening among the

⁹⁵ Duguid, "The Politics of Unity...", pp. 144-145.

⁹⁶ Kodaman, "Hamidiye Hafif...", pp. 447-451.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 450.

⁹⁸ Duguid, "The Politics of Unity...", pp. 146-149.

⁹⁹ For detailed information about the foundation of revolutionary Armenian organizations and their programs see Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler...*, pp. 426-458.

¹⁰⁰ Somakian, *Empires in Conflict...*, p. 15.

Armenians was also influential in the foundation of such organizations.¹⁰¹ The rise of education level, opening of new Armenian schools and increase in printing activities led to the development of an intellectual group among the Armenians.¹⁰² In consequence, a worldview that was shaped by nationalism, demand for patriotism and freedom spread within the Armenian Community.¹⁰³ Until 1890, the Hamidian regime was not repressive towards the Armenians. However, when Armenian political organizations began their agitative activities in the Eastern Provinces, the Armenian schools, journals and other activities by the revolutionaries were put under strict control.¹⁰⁴

In respect to political developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two Armenian revolutionary organizations were important. The first was the Hinchak Party, which was founded in Geneva, Switzerland, in August 1887 by seven young Armenians in order to support revolutionary activities in the so called Turkish Armenia.¹⁰⁵ The second was the Tashnak Party (The Armenian Revolutionary Federation). It was established in Tiflis in the summer of 1890.¹⁰⁶ These two parties were welcomed by the Ottoman Armenians who were discontented from the existing political regime.¹⁰⁷ However, the burden of the revolutionary activities would be very heavy for the Armenian population as a whole. It is because the revolutionary organizations began to act in order to attract European attention to compel the Ottomans to make the reforms. To this end, they did not hesitate to

¹⁰¹ Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 29.

¹⁰² Ibid, pp. 48-58.

¹⁰³ Emergence of a new worldview among the Armenians was closely related with the missionary activities. The first American missions came to the province in 1851. They opened schools and hospitals in a short period of time. On the one hand, the Armenians were educated in accordance with western principles; on the other hand they became aware of the Anglo-Saxon way of life. As a result of these developments, the Armenians began to rebel against the State in the late nineteenth century. For detailed information see Seçil Karal Akgün, "Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Ermeni Meselesindeki Rolü", *Atatürk Yolu*, no. 1 (May 1988), pp. 5-11.

¹⁰⁴ Kodaman, "Hamidiye Hafif...", p. 438.

¹⁰⁵ Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary...*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 151.

¹⁰⁷ Arsen Avagyan, Gaidz F Minasian, *Ermeniler ve İttihat Terakki: İşbirliğinden Çatışmaya*, (İstanbul: Aras Yayınları, 2005) p. 11.

sacrifice many Armenian lives.¹⁰⁸ The Hinchak Party explicitly stated that “Armenians are determined to be free. Europe listened to the Bulgarian horrors and made Bulgarians free. She will listen to our cry... We are desperate and we shall do it.”¹⁰⁹

2.4.2 Armenian Revolts in the Sivas Province after 1890

As a result of the political developments in the late nineteenth century, especially by the foundation of the Armenian political organizations, there was an increase in Armenian revolts in the Sivas Province similar to other Eastern provinces in the 1890s. Hüseyin Nazım Pasha’s memoirs give an idea about the rise of these events. He was the Minister of Gendarme (*Zaptıye Nazırı*) in the 1890s when the Armenian militant activities increased.¹¹⁰ As a key state official, he gives a detailed account of the Armenian activities in his memoirs. In his narration, Nazım Pasha unusually made a separation between the Turks and Kurds and defines them by underlining their ethnicity rather than highlighting their common religious bond. This stemmed from his evaluation of the hostility between the Kurds and Armenians. He claims that there were many Kurdish tribes in the districts of the Sivas Province and there had been constant disputes between the Kurds and Armenians. According to him, the Armenians were continuously in preparation of some revolutionary activities; however, they did not find an appropriate atmosphere to start.¹¹¹ The Turks were so patient that they did not provide the appropriate conditions to the Armenians to launch a revolt. The opportunity for this was given by the Kurds in Karahisar-i Şarki and Suşehri in October 1893. The Kurds who came from Erzincan and Bayburt attacked Armenian houses and murdered some of them. The Kurds of Akçadağ, who came from Halep, similarly attacked the Kerven Armenians. The government attempted to prevent these events by transporting the Kurds from the region. The Armenians used the attacks of the Kurds as a pretext to rebel. They began to attack

¹⁰⁸ Somakian, *Empires in Conflict...*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, *Hatıralarım “Ermeni Olaylarının İçyüzü”*, (İstanbul: Selis Yayınları, 2003), p. 10.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 178.

all Turks, as if they were guilty, by the support of the Hinchaks and Tashnaks.¹¹² Similar events also took place in Sivas; refugees from Kars and vagabonds of the city plundered Armenian shops. The next day, Armenians in Muslim dress entered the Muslim Bazaar and agitated the people by screaming “Armenians attacked us, wake up Muslims!” As a result, Turks attacked Armenians. Four hundred and forty one Armenians and five Muslims died in these events.¹¹³ The events were suppressed; however, in Karahisar, Armenians burnt the Turkish neighborhoods. The activities of Armenian militants were more harmful in this region; they shot Turks who were working to extinguish the fire. It resulted in the death of nine Turks; four Turks and two hundred and twenty Armenians were also wounded.¹¹⁴ Similar events continued in Divriği¹¹⁵, Amasya, Hafik¹¹⁶, Merzifon¹¹⁷ and Tokat¹¹⁸. To sum up, the Armenian revolts in Sivas began as a result of the Kurdish activities. According to Hüseyin Nazım Pasha, these events were a part of the Armenian rebellion plan and the issue became more serious when Armenians attacked Turks. He also mentioned that the Kurds from other provinces attacked the Armenians of Sivas.

The British documents enlighten another dimension of the Armenian events. The telegrams and letters sent from Trabzon and Sivas consuls of Britain in 1893 draw attention to the rising Armenian organizational activities in the region. To illustrate, there is mention of four Armenians, who were assassinated in February and March of 1893 in Amasya and Merzifon. According to the consul’s report, these assassinations were related to the Secret Armenian Society. However, this society was assumed to be supported by the Russians because, according to Consul Longworth, the Armenian organization could not be so powerful and invincible on its own. Moreover, he claimed that there might be a co-existence and co-operation

¹¹² Ibid, pp. 179-180.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 180-181.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 181-182.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 182-183.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 184-188.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 188-192.

between an Armenian Association and Muslim Secret Society.¹¹⁹ The report sent from Sivas on the same event argued that this Armenian Organization might be of European origin.¹²⁰ Another report argued that assassination activities might be performed by the Armenian Committees since they were in the opinion that their victims were spies of the Ottoman government.¹²¹

There were also reports about the complaints of Armenians about activities of the Armenian revolutionary organizations. For instance, the report sent by Consul Graves from Sivas claimed that the Armenians of the Sivas Province were uneasy and insecure. Especially, the officials in Merzifon were powerless to break up the powerful and well-organized secret society which engaged in murder of suspected informers and similar lawless acts. The American missionaries and the College in Merzifon also suffered from the activities of the organization.¹²² These reports also affirmed the argument that Armenian organizations were outraging the Armenians in order to attract the attention of the European states. Another report explains the aim of the Armenian organizations explicitly:

*“Memorandum on Armenian Troubles in Sivas and Angora Vilayets of
January 1893*

...The Armenian population of Angora and Sivas Provinces had no special grievances to complain of. Kurdish marauders are unknown in the provinces, and Christians lived on fairly good terms with their Turkish neighbors. It was only in Sivas itself that they had been of late exposed to a certain amount of minor political annoyance. While, if an explanation, of this agitation is sought in a real patriotic movement, initiated for the purpose of throwing off the Turkish yoke, we find it incredible that an insignificant minority of not more than one-sixth of the population, a minority unused to arms and averse to fighting, should dare to revolt against the dominant race and Government.

Everything points to the fact that an insurrectionary movement was never seriously intended, the design really being to create an appearance of revolt and disorder for the purpose of attracting attention and provoking foreign interference...”¹²³

¹¹⁹ “Inclosure 1 in No. 139, Consul Longworth to Sir Clare Ford, May 25, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating to the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey*, (London: Harrison, 1896), p. 121.

¹²⁰ “Inclosure 2 in No. 139, May 13, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating ...*(1896), p. 122.

¹²¹ “Inclosure 3 in No. 139, Mr. Sparado to Consul Longworth, 30 April, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating...*(1896), p. 124.

¹²² “Inclosure 2 in No.142, Consul Graves to Sir Clare Ford, May 21, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating...* (1896), pp. 127-128.

According to British Documents, there was a relatively quite atmosphere in Sivas in 1893. However, three years later, the events which resulted in more deaths began. The increase in the Armenian immigration was also an indicator of security problems in the region. According to a report sent by Vice-Consul Bulman from Sivas in August 1896, two hundred and ninety three Armenians obtained *teskerehs*, official travel certificate, and left the country individually (leaving their families behind). Most of them went to Russia or America. Forty seven families left for Smyrna and İstanbul. In addition, one hundred and fifty men left, without *teskerehs*, for Zeytun, Samsun, Trabzon and Ankara. Finally, four families departed without *teskerehs* by planning their escape at the coast.¹²⁴ It is obvious that, the Armenians left the province with *teskerehs* preferred to live in more secure regions. However, those leaving without *teskerehs* and going to more dangerous areas inspires the idea that they were engaged in militant activities.

An interesting event occurred in the village Capo-Aziz in the summer of 1896.¹²⁵ This village was composed of a hundred houses. Five or six hundreds inhabitants were attacked by the *Kızılbaş* and *Laz* bands. Ten Armenians were killed in total and the village was looted. The inhabitants ran away from the village to the mountains and stayed there for five days. When they returned they converted into Islam, except for three families, in order to save their lives. The governor sent a troop to the village and ordered the soldiers not to allow them to convert. However, the agent sent by the British consul stated that the church was converted into a mosque and the inhabitants began to adopt Muslim names in a short period of time. By the request of the consul and approval of the governor, the church was restored to its former state and required protection was given to the village. The uniqueness of this case stems from the identity of the attackers. As it can be seen, most of the

¹²³ “Inclosure 2 in No.195, Consul Graves to Sir A. Nicolson, July 1, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating...* (1896), p. 160.

¹²⁴ “Inclosure in No.33, Vice-Consul Bulman to Mr. Herbert, August 19, 1896”, *Further Correspondence Respecting Asiatic Provinces of Turkey*, (London: Harrison, 1897), p. 25.

¹²⁵ “Inclosure in No. 37, Vice-Consul Bulman to Sir P. Currie, August 28, 1896”, *Further Correspondence Respecting...* (1897), p. 28.

disputes occurred between the Armenians and Kurds in the Sivas case. Moreover, it is interesting to see Lazés in Sivas. These people probably came from Trabzon.

The last incidents that were reported in the same year took place in three villages situated at the neighborhood of Divriği. The Kurds who came from Harput looted these three villages and killed a hundred Armenians.¹²⁶ Despite the existence of the Kurdish population in the Sivas Province, in none of the reported events, either by Hüseyin Nazım Pasha or British consuls, were they mentioned to play a role. It can be suggested that the Kurdish population were few and there was not a powerful Kurdish tribe in the Sivas Province. Actually, there was only one Cavalry Corp in the province which was established by Karapapak tribe, of Turkish origin, rather than Kurdish ones.¹²⁷ However, the Kurdish attacks, as a whole, can be evaluated as the outcome of the Hamidieh Cavalry Corps. To sum up, despite the rising tensions between the Muslims and Armenians since the 1890s, events never took the form of an ethnic conflict in the Sivas Province.

2.4.3 The Armenians during the Second Constitutional Regime

In spite of all these conflicts, Armenians and Muslims got closer when the 1908 Revolution occurred. The Revolution was welcomed by most of the Muslims and non-Muslims. In fact, it is the common characteristic of the revolutionary processes. There are different groups of people with different demands and discontents but, usually, with a common target (in this case the Hamidian Regime). Thus, until they get rid of the target, the groups act together. However, following the fulfillment of the goal, another major issue arises: establishment of a new system to meet the demands of different groups. In this respect, the Constitutional Regime failed to achieve a new system that would satisfy all constituents of the revolution.

With the constitutional revolution underground political organizations of the Armenians, Hinchaks and Tashnaks, were transformed into open political parties. The political and social atmosphere of the Empire became relatively free. The early

¹²⁶ “Inclosure in No.84, Vice-Consul Bulman to Sir P. Currie, September 23, 1896”, *Further Correspondence Respecting...* (1897), pp. 69-70.

¹²⁷ Kodaman, “Hamidiye Hafif...”, p. 469.

years of the Constitutional Regime seemed to be quite calm for the Sivas Province in terms of relations between the Armenians and Muslims. There are many articles written both by Armenians and Muslims on the importance of union and fraternity between them in *Kızılırmak*. The article entitled “Illegitimate Committee Becomes Hidden” written by Kaluyan (?) Aleskhan (?) illustrates this point well. The Armenian author claimed that

The services of the CUP to the Constitutional Regime could not be denied. The Armenian Hınçak and Tashnak parties were hidden (underground) during the Hamidian Regime and in the Constitutional Regime, as they reached their aim; they unified with all Ottomans and published their programs openly....¹²⁸

He mentioned a newspaper (entitled “*Meşrutiyet*”) published in Paris which included some separatist news about the Ottoman Empire. On this occasion he states that:¹²⁹ “...again we warn our *millet* not to be deceived by this kind cheats and not to allow foreigners to interfere. This should be the duty of each person who feels himself Ottoman.”

This article and many others indicate that there was a rising effort for union of the Armenians and Muslims in the Sivas Province. It is a fact that one can find the Armenian presence in this first publication period of the newspaper (1910-1911); however, by 1914, it is not possible to see articles written by Armenian authors. This shows that this local newspaper had a mission for the union of different religious and ethnic groups for the sake of integrity of the Ottoman Empire during its first publication period.

However, the Unionist hopes came to an end by defeat in Balkan Wars. On the one hand, as previously stated, there was a huge loss of land and people with the Balkan Wars. Rumelia, which was one of the most valuable parts of the Empire, was

¹²⁸ Sivashlı Kaluyan (?) Aleskhan (?), “Na-Meşru Cemiyet Gizli Olur”, *Kızılırmak*, 1 Ağustos 1326 (14 August 1910), No. 31, “İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti’nin meşrutiyete olan hizmetleri yadsınamaz... Ermeni Hınçakyan ve Taşnakyan fırkaları zaman-ı istibdadda gizli bulunuyorlardı ancak istihsal-i meşrutiyetten sonra artık mahsus hasıl olup yek vücud Osmanlılar ile ittihad etmiş ve programlarını alenen neşretmişlerdir.” “...milletimizi tekrar ikaz ederiz ki böyle bir takım müfsitlerin iğfalatına kapılıp müdahalat-ı ecnebiye katiyen mahal vermemek Osmanlı hissiyatıyla mütehassis her şahsın vazifesi olmalıdır.”

¹²⁹ Ibid, “...milletimizi tekrar ikaz ederiz ki böyle bir takım müfsitlerin iğfaliyyatına kapılıp müdahalat-ı ecnebiye katiyen mahal vermemek Osmanlı hissiyatıyla mütehassis her şahsın vazifesi olmalıdır.”

lost. In the aftermath, Anatolia emerged as the core territory of the Empire. Ideological shift of the CUP from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism followed.¹³⁰ On the other hand, nationalist demands and affiliations began to increase among non-Muslims, particularly the Greeks and Armenians. Moreover, the Ottoman State was involved in the First World War just a year later. All these led to deepening of existing economic, political and social problems in the Ottoman Empire. The decision for the deportation of Armenians came amidst such circumstances.

In June 1914, the Tashnak Committee organized a congress in Erzurum and declared that it decided to become an opposition party against the CUP because of adversarial policies of the CUP towards minorities, especially Armenians.¹³¹ With this declaration, the political cooperation between the CUP and Tashnak came to end. When the Ottoman Empire entered the war, the issue became more complicated and some Armenian groups began to join the Russian army and waged war against the Ottomans. The Ottomans were fighting in many fronts and due to the attacks of Armenian militants behind the Ottoman lines in the Eastern front, the Unionists decided to remove this threat by deporting the Armenians. Surely, this was not the only cause for the deportation decision. Rather, as it is examined in the previous parts, there were some historical, economic and political causes behind this decision. In addition, Russian policy which was subjected to change in the early twentieth century was very important in this respect.

In the late nineteenth century, Russia took a negative position against Armenian reforms as well as an autonomous Armenian State. The change in its policy had several reasons: First, by using the Armenian reform issue, it would be able to intervene in Ottoman affairs. Secondly, it would control north-west Persia. Third, by supporting Armenian reforms, it would gain loyalty of the Russian Armenians. Finally, it would achieve the secession of Ottoman Armenia.¹³² Still, Russia was interested in Ottoman Armenia rather than Ottoman Armenians. The

¹³⁰ Kerem Ünüvar, “İhya’dan İnşa’ya”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi*, ed. Ömer Ö. Alkan, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 132., Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki’nin ...* p. 24, Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914*, (Oxford: Clerandon Press, 1969), p. 153.

¹³¹ Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, p. 280.

¹³² Somakian, *Empires in Conflict...*, p. 46.

political ambition can be seen in one of the reports of Sazonov, the foreign minister of Russia:

Since it has become a matter of historic moment for Russia to have an outlet to the Mediterranean, Turkish Armenia constitutes a knot in Russian Near Eastern policy. In order for Russia to establish a political and economic hegemony over Asia Minor a route is needed from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean. Turkish Armenia is of vital political interest to Russia since she constitutes a route from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean Sea.¹³³

While Russian strategy toward the Ottoman Armenians was shaped by such concerns, Ottoman Armenians became a part of this strategy with the anticipation of gaining independence. As they acted with Russia in the war with this anticipation the Unionists made the decision to deport all Armenians not only for reasons emanating from wartime conditions but also to resolve historical tensions and problems with the Armenian community.

The process began on 24 April 1915 when the Ministry of Interior ordered the closing down of the Armenian committees, confiscating their documents and arresting their leaders. In İstanbul 2.345 were arrested immediately.¹³⁴ On 9 May 1915, the Ministry of Interior sent a coded order to Erzurum, Bitlis and Van to start the deportation.¹³⁵ The Deportation, which already began, was enacted as a Temporary Law (*Kanun-ı Muvakkat*) on 27 May 1915. It did not specifically mention the Armenians. According to the law, the people who committed treason could be resettled in other regions by commanders.¹³⁶ On 30 May 1915, the Council of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükela*) resolved to deport the Armenians. The general content of this decision was that: Armenians living close to the fronts obstructed the Ottoman army and they attacked Muslim people. For this reason, the Armenians would be sent to Musul, Zor, Halep and Syria. They would be resettled in these regions; however,

¹³³ Ibid, p. 48.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 307.

¹³⁵ Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*,p. 357.

¹³⁶ Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, p. 308.

their population should not be over %10 of the Muslim population. In addition, newly established Armenian villages should comprise 50 houses maximum.¹³⁷

This law did not stipulate deportation of Sivas Armenians. According to a document, sent by the Ministry of Interior to the Erzurum Province on 27 May 1915, deportation of the Diyarbekir, Harput and Sivas Armenians had not been seen necessary yet.¹³⁸ On June 14, in a coded telegram sent to the Sivas Province it was stated that:

The deportation of the only Suşehri Armenians was appropriate. There was no necessity to deport the Armenians all over the province at the moment. For this reason, the Armenians should not be deported until it became inevitable. For the decision, the opinion of the Ministry of Interior had to be taken.¹³⁹

This code was written as a response to correspondence from the Sivas Province plausibly because the local authorities had complained about Armenians and asked for deporting them in accordance with the deportation law. Suşehri, where the Armenian population was high (11.240)¹⁴⁰, was indicated separately thus there might be rising conflicts between the Armenians and the Muslims in this district.

The memoirs of Talat Pasha and Ahmet Hilmi (Kalaç), the *Kaimakam* of Suşehri in these years, mention the incidents in Karahisar and Suşehri. Ahmet Hilmi came to the province in April 1913. According to him, there were two main issues in the province: maintenance of public order and preventing ethnic conflicts which stemmed from activities of the minorities.¹⁴¹ In 1913, there were two main militants in the Province: *Alev* in Aziziye, and *Cevat* in Gürün and Kangal. Public order was disturbed following the Balkan Wars and separatist demands of the minorities became stronger. However, the governor of the province managed to break the power of militants in a few months.¹⁴² Events became more serious during the First World

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 311.

¹³⁸ BOA.DH.ŞFR, nr. 53/129.

¹³⁹ BOA.DH.ŞFR, nr. 54/7.

¹⁴⁰ *Memalik-i Osmaniyye'nin 1330 Senesi Nüfus İstatistiği*, (Dersaadet: Hilal Matbaası, 1336), p. 20.

¹⁴¹ Ahmet Hilmi Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, (Yeni Matbaa, 1960), p. 79.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 80.

War. In the Sivas Province, there were 30.000 armed Armenians.¹⁴³ Until the application of the Deportation Law, he noted two important events regarding the Armenians in the Sivas Province: namely, the Pürk and Karahisar events. Pürk was an Armenian village in Suşehri. The inhabitants of the village were armed by the Tashnak committee and in February 1915 they began to rebel. However, the gendarme forces intervened quickly and the event was repressed.¹⁴⁴

The Karahisar events, which lasted longer than the Pürk events, resulted in lots of deaths. Karahisar was the smallest *sanjak* of the Sivas Province. Armenians living in Karahisar were mostly peasants. Only a small number of the Armenians were prosperous because of their commercial relations with European markets. The economic balances between the Armenians and Muslims deteriorated when the Ottoman state went bankrupt in the early twentieth century. The Ottoman officials imposed an economic boycott on Armenian businesses and the Muslim population refused to pay their debts to the Armenian merchants in Karahisar. The Karahisar Armenians had to sell their household goods, farm animals, shops and houses in order to survive. The rising tension among the Muslims and Armenians due to the economic context can be evaluated as a cause of the Armenian rebellion there.¹⁴⁵

Karahisar rebellion started in April 1915. According to Kalaç, the *mutasarrıf* of Karahisar was unconcerned with the rising Armenian threat in that when he decided to arrest some Armenian militants and started with the low ranking militant members rather than the leaders.¹⁴⁶ That was the spark of the Armenian rebellion. On June 1915, Armenian men and women with their children hid out in the fortress and they clashed with Ottoman soldiers.¹⁴⁷ The conflict lasted for 25 days. When the siege was broken by the Ottoman powers, three hundred Armenians ran away,

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 97.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 97-99.

¹⁴⁵ Simon Payaslian, "The Armenian Resistance in Sebin-Karahisar, 1915", *Armenian Sebastia/ Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. by G. Hovanissian (California: Mazda Publishers, 2004), pp. 407- 411.

¹⁴⁶ Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁷ Karahisar was divided into ethnic quarters. There were five main Armenian quarters one of which was close to the Karahisar fortress. The Armenians assumed themselves as *de facto* keepers of the fortress because of its closeness to their neighborhood. Payaslian, "The Armenian Resistance...", pp. 405-406.

women and children surrendered. Eighty four soldiers and thirty people died, twenty people were wounded as a result of the rebellion.¹⁴⁸ According to the Armenian sources, the number of deaths was more, one hundred ninety seven Turks and twenty Armenians.¹⁴⁹

On 21 June 1915, the coded telegram ordering the deportation of the Armenians was sent to Trabzon, Mamuretü'l-aziz, Diyarbekir, and the Sivas Provinces and to Canik *Mutasarrıflığı*. It stated that:

Without any exception all of the Armenians within the borders of the province are to be deported together with their families. They will be sent to Urfa and Zor.... The responsibility of sending them and their resettlement is given to the local officials. Moreover, when they reach their settlement areas, the assurance of their life and property, nutrition and rest belong to the administrative officials. The Armenians can take all their movable properties with them. The deportation has to start as soon as possible after taking the necessary measures.¹⁵⁰

By this telegram, deportation commenced in the Sivas Province. On July 4, the Ministry of Interior Affairs made a slight change in people, who were to be subjected of deportation. Accordingly, the Armenians who only had connections to the militants and were deemed treacherous by the government should be deported. Merchants and tradesmen who engaged in their works should be dispersed to other districts within the province.¹⁵¹

On September 28, Muammer Bey, the governor of the Sivas Province, sent a document to inform the Ministry of Interior about the numbers of the deported Armenians and the ones remained. He stated that “till now, 136.084 Armenians were sent from the center of the province and its hinterland. Now there are 6.055 Armenians waiting for their deportation. On the road, there are forty Armenians whose destination is Cizre via Malatya.”¹⁵² In approximately two months, a large portion of the Sivas Armenians was deported. In addition, 6.055 Armenians were yet

¹⁴⁸ Alpay Kabacalı (ed.), *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1994) p. 80.

¹⁴⁹ Payaslian, “The Armenian Resistance...”, p. 415.

¹⁵⁰ BOA.DH. ŞFR, 54/87.

¹⁵¹ BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/287.

¹⁵² BOA. DH. EUM, 2. şb. 68/84.

to be relocated. In other words, the local authorities planned the deportation of 142.179 Armenians from the province. According to Population Statistics of 1914, there were 143.406 Armenians in the Sivas Province; therefore, seemingly only 1.227 Armenians were decided to be kept in the province.

Deportation orders of the Armenians ended formally by a telegram on 15 March 1916.¹⁵³ There is no definite number of the deported Armenians from Sivas. Nevertheless, an idea about their number can be drawn from the number of the Armenians who returned to Sivas following the declaration of the Decree of Return in 1918. According to a report that was prepared by the data compiled by the Armenian Patriarchate in 1921, there were 16.800 Armenians in the Sivas Province.¹⁵⁴ If rest of the 6.055 Armenians were exiled between 28 September 1915-15 Mart 1916, there remained approximately 1.227 Armenians in Sivas. That is, 15.573 Armenians might have returned to the Sivas Province after 1918.

Evaluating the general composition of the Armenians in the Sivas Province following the end of the Ottoman Empire may be meaningful. The administrative borders changed after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Karahisar-i Şarki (Şebin Karahisar) became separate provinces. Aziziye that had been a *kaza* of Sivas *Sanjak* became a district of Kayseri. Despite these changes the Armenian population of Sivas in 1914 and 1927 is compared below according to the former borders:

¹⁵³ BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 62/21.

¹⁵⁴ Özdemir, et.al., *Ermeniler: Sürgün ...*pp. 120-121.

TABLE 8:

The Armenian Population of the Sivas Province in 1914 and 1927

	General Census of 1914 ¹⁵⁵	General Census of 1927 ¹⁵⁶
Sivas	78.605	3.477
Amasya	23.017	777
Tokat	21.336	1.032
Karahisar-i Şarki	20.448	38
Pınarbaşı (Aziziye)*		25
Total	143.406	5.349

This table may be lacking due to the new administrative borders; however, it gives an idea about the Armenian population because the central *sanjaks* of the Sivas Province is included. As a result, it may be argued that most of the Armenians returned after 1918 once again left the city. The establishment of the Republic of Turkey, based on cultural and secular Turkish nationalism with highly ethnic tones,¹⁵⁷ can be seen as a major reason for the Armenian immigrations from the province after 1918.

The property issue could also be a reason for the Armenian immigrations after 1918. From the documents we learn that some Armenians faced property problems when they returned. In fact, on 27 June 1915 a letter of instruction about the maintenance of the Armenian properties was sent to the Sivas Province.¹⁵⁸ However, according to Kaiser, the properties especially the houses and lands of the Armenians began to be allotted to the Muslim refugees after a while.¹⁵⁹ On 26

¹⁵⁵ *Memalik-i Osmaniyye'nin 1330 ...*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁶ *28 Teşrinievvel Nüfus ...*, pp. LIX, 41-45.

*Aziziye's Armenian population 1.032 was included in the Sivas Sanjak in the Population Statistics of 1914; therefore it was not included in the table separately for the 1914's column.

¹⁵⁷ Nesim Şeker, "Türklük ve Osmanlılık Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de 'Milliyet' Arayışları ya da 'Anasır Meselesi'", *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006), p.174.

¹⁵⁸ BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/2002.

¹⁵⁹ Hilmar Kaiser, "1915-1916 Ermeni Soykırımı Sırasında Ermeni Mülkleri, Osmanlı Hukuku ve Milliyet Politikaları" in *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006), p. 136.

September 1915, the Law of Property, which provided legitimacy to confiscation of the immovable properties of the deported persons, was enacted.¹⁶⁰ The confiscation process was not clear and we do not have concrete data about the issue in the Sivas case; however, a letter, sent to Ministry of Interior by four Catholic Armenians from Pirkinik, a village of Sivas, indicated the existence of some property problems. According to this letter, forty Armenians returned to Pirkinik; however, the local government in the Sivas Province did not restore their lands and houses. As a result, the Ministry of Interior sent a document to the Sivas Province on 19 January 1919 and demanded the investigation of this situation quickly. It stated that if there were occupied houses and lands by Muslims they should be restored to their original owners.¹⁶¹

To sum up, following the deportation of Armenians in 1915, the population characteristics of the Sivas Province changed drastically. A large number of the Christian population disappeared and Muslim newcomers were resettled into the places emptied.

A document sent to the *Sadrizam* on 17 December 1916 claimed that, approximately 300.000 refugees that escaped from Armenian militants came to Sivas from the Erzurum region and 144.964 of them were sent to the Provinces of Çorum, Yozgat, Kayseri, Niğde, Kırşehir and Konya. The rest of the refugees from Erzurum (155.036) were resettled in Sivas.¹⁶² In 1916, five thousand Arab families were sent to different parts of Anatolia from Syria and a part of these emigrants were also resettled in Sivas.¹⁶³ Albanians, who had migrated from the Balkans and previously had been resettled in Konya, were sent to Sivas, Diyarbakir and Adana in 1915.¹⁶⁴ Like many other regions of Anatolia, as a result of these population movements and resettlements, the population profile of the Sivas Province profoundly changed. Further homogenization of the population of the Sivas Province in favor of the Muslim population was the most obvious result of the population movements. This

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ BOA. DH. KMS, 49-2/15-1, BOA.DH. KMS, 49-2/15-2.

¹⁶² Gökbel, *İnanç Tarihi...*, p. 181.

¹⁶³ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, pp. 96-104.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.117.

change had deep impact on the economic, social and educational life of the province which will be examined in the context of the Second Constitutional Regime.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME AND SİVAS

The declaration of the Constitutional Regime on 23 July 1908 was cheerfully welcomed in most parts of the Empire. There were different reactions to the Constitutional Regime in the Sivas Province. On the one hand, cheerful ceremonies took place in some districts; on the other hand, the declaration of the Constitution was not welcomed and even hidden by the local officials from the people. The atmosphere in Merzifon¹⁶⁵, as stated by George E. White, a missionary teacher at the Merzifon American College, may reflect the situation:

On 24 July 1908 the constitution was declared immediately. Freedom, Equality and Fraternity! Great! Perfect moments that include feeling of joy, happiness and fraternity. Loving everybody is great. Muslims, Christians, ecclesiastics, people from every complexion, class, and privileged officials began to act fraternally in personal relations. The provincial assembly gathered and determined the date for celebration. We, college teachers, with students went to government building in order to congratulate the officials for the new regime. When we were going, a teacher said that from now on, the young of other millets would be conscripted as well as Muslims. You might hear cheerful shouts of the students. They were so happy not because they wanted to be Ottoman soldiers or they wanted to fight. They were very happy because it meant that the human and citizenship rights of Christians would be accepted totally. When the strict Hamidian regime became more tolerable, Union and Progress Club was founded in Merzifon. The founders of club were 12 people and half of them were Christians. The opening ceremony of the club was very exciting. Everybody was shouting the same words: "Freedom, Justice and Fraternity!" The last word was the most stressed one... It was impossible not to agree with the mufti's praying for the sake of the Sultan, soldiers, officials and all Ottoman people. Thoughts and feelings of people began to move incredibly fast...¹⁶⁶

The situation in Tokat was not similar to Merzifon. In Tokat a reactionary attempt took place against the Constitutional Revolution. According to a report sent

¹⁶⁵ Merzifon was one of the largest *kazas* of the Amasya *sanjak* with a considerable non-Muslim population.

¹⁶⁶ For the full text see Kudret Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri*, (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 1999), pp. 164-166.

from the offices of the CUP in Tokat, Cemal *Bey*, the *mutasarrıf* and advocator of the absolutist regime, held back on the declaration of the Constitution for a week. He had to announce the change of regime as a result of heavy pressure by the supporters of the new regime.¹⁶⁷ There was no celebration in Tokat. On the contrary, Sasalı Mehmed Efendi, a *hoca* (Muslim preacher), benefiting from his closeness to the *mutasarrıf*, began to agitate people against the revolution. He gave speeches in mosques and propagated that freedom and equality were contrary to Islam. He also claimed that Muslims could not be brothers with Armenians who had killed them during the 1896 events.¹⁶⁸ According to the report, his anti-revolutionary propaganda was too influential on uneducated people who did not have idea about a constitutional regime.¹⁶⁹ It was related to the attitude of Cemal Bey. For instance, when Sasalı Mehmet Efendi attempted to prevent a stage play prepared by the Armenians, Cemal Bey encouraged him by forbidding the play.¹⁷⁰ At the end, Sasalı Mehmed Efendi was imprisoned; however, the only accusation about him was his resistance to the gendarmes.¹⁷¹ As a result, Sasalı Mehmed Efendi was successful in mobilizing the people against the new regime. In the early days of the Constitutional Regime, whose most important mission was “Fraternity”, hostility between the Muslims and non-Muslims had already begun to rise in Tokat. In the Tokat case, the importance of ideological tendencies of officials was clear in the rise of such hostility. The reactions to the Constitutional Revolution varied in different parts of the Sivas Province. Consolidation of the Constitutional Regime and expectations of people from it also changed from one locality to another. The case of Zara, a *kaza* of the central *sanjak*, is example of the rising demands of its inhabitants.

The memoirs of Ahmet Hilmi (Kalaç) give information on the developments which took place in Zara just after the Constitutional Revolution. Kalaç was a student at *Mülkiye* in 1908. After becoming a member of the CUP, he decided to visit his hometown, Kayseri. Before going to Kayseri directly, he wanted to see the Black

¹⁶⁷ Aykut Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 316.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 316

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 317.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

Sea coasts. He came to Zara in August via Giresun and Karahisar-i Şarki. He stayed in Zara for a week. His observation on the political and social atmosphere in the *sanjak* are as follows:

In Zara freedom ceremonies had not taken place yet. Officials of the absolutist regime were still in power.... On the third day of my arrival, while we were sitting in the Government Building, we saw that some hundreds of people gathered in front of the building. Their demands were indistinctive because of the uproar. The *Kaimakam* got down... Eventually, one of them said that ‘Will we starve, why are you sending the store of grain (*ayniyyat zahiresi*) to Sivas?’ *Kaimakam* answered the question quickly. ‘I wrote to Sivas to leave the grain here. Today this issue will be discussed in the administrative assembly again. A committee amongst you can come and find out the result soon.’... The following day, people including notables gathered in front of the government building. *Kaimakam* got down again. He asked why they gathered but they did not talk about store of grain any more. They complained about his passive attitude towards corruption. Officials with a reputation of being corrupt were still on duty. The crowd was shouting as “we don’t want” and they were announcing some names and insulting them. *Kaimakam*’s voice began to disappear amongst the voices. Then a *sarık*, turban wore by Muslim males, was seen on the ground. A person was being beaten by the demonstrators. He was the *kadi* of the *kaza*. Somebody from the crowd rescued him... The crowd was chanting for the *Kaimakam* to resign. Briefly, *Kaimakam* sent a sheet of note saying “I abdicate from the office due to necessity (*hasbelicap*).” The crowd, this time, objected to the word “*hasbelicap*” and they demanded the idiom to be taken out. The second letter of resignation was signed by the *Kaimakam* inevitably ... Then the *Kaimakam* problem was solved; the new agenda of the people was the resignation of other officials. Committees were formed from within the crowd; they went to the government building and removed officials from their offices with dismissal decisions... The Commander and the gendarmes were watching the events behind the windows. In the evening of that day, government building of Zara was cleansed from all the officials of the absolutist regime. However, the provincial government told the *Kaimakam* that they would send armed forces as soon as possible so that he can remain in his office. But this was impossible for the *Kaimakam* who was not wanted by the people; therefore he left the town, and transferred his duties to the Commander of gendarme. I left Zara before the armed forces arrived.¹⁷²

These events were the indicators of long years’ discontent among the people. A new regime meant totally a new cadre for Zara’s inhabitants. They explicitly expressed their discontent of the administrators, officials and the former regime. In fact, Mehmet Rauf Bey, the *Kaimakam* of Zara, was a Young Turk; however, he was

¹⁷² Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, pp. 22-28.

dismissed by the Provincial Government due to rising dissatisfaction among the people.¹⁷³

The events of discontent appeared just before the Constitutional Regime in the central *sanjak*. On 23 June, 1908, fifty women gathered in front of the Government Building and protested the low quality and high price of bread.¹⁷⁴ When five hundred people joined the women, windows of the building were broken down and flour stocks began to be plundered by the people. The mayor, who was suspected by the people because of his collaboration with millers, was hardly rescued.¹⁷⁵ It is clear that, the most important expectation of the people living in the Sivas Province was better administration. As well as better administration, fraternity, justice and freedom were the main concerns of the people. To what extent the expectations of the people would be met by the Constitutional Regime? In this chapter, this question is attempted to be answered by focusing on the administrative structure of the province including the relations of civil servants with inhabitants. Education was another dimension of inhabitants' expectations. Therefore, in order to see reflections of the developments in the Sivas Province during the Constitutional Regime, educational developments will also be examined. Before evaluating these, the political life in the province should be overviewed in order to see political context in which administrative and educational developments took place.

3.1 Political Life and Parties in the Sivas Province

Political life, which had been under fierce pressure during the Hamidian Regime, gained a relatively free atmosphere with the declaration of the Constitutional Regime. This atmosphere did not last however. The political life of the province will be described through tracing the existing political parties in Sivas and focusing on the deputies elected from the province.

¹⁷³ Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim...*, p. 178.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 173.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

The first general elections of the Constitutional Regime were held in 1908.¹⁷⁶ Five deputies were elected from the Sivas *sanjak* in the elections. One of them was an Armenian and this was proportional to the population of the central *sanjak*.¹⁷⁷ Dagavaryan Nazret *Efendi* was a conservative and he was one of the founders of Freedom and Accord Party (FAP) (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Partisi*). Founded in 1911, it was the most powerful and influential opposition party during the Constitutional Period.¹⁷⁸ In fact, it was an umbrella organization that included very different tendencies; Turkish liberals, conservatives, Arabs, Greeks and Armenians gathered in this party.¹⁷⁹ The only common aim of all these elements was to end the CUP rule. There were also some other Sivas deputies among the founders of FAP; namely, İsmail Hakkı *Paşa* (Amasya) and Mustafa Sabri *Efendi* (Tokat).¹⁸⁰ Moreover, Ömer Feyzi *Bey* (Karahisar) and Ahmed Şükrü *Efendi* (Sivas) were the founders of People's Party (*Ahali Fırkası*).¹⁸¹ It means that five of thirteen deputies of the Sivas Province were explicitly liberals or opponents of the CUP. Only one deputy, Arif Fazıl *Efendi* (Amasya), was elected as member of the CUP. There were seven independent deputies.¹⁸² In fact, we do not know about the ideological affiliations of independent candidates. Nevertheless, according to Kansu, in Tokat, the CUP faced defeat as none of the three deputies were Unionists.¹⁸³ One amongst them was a liberal of the five that was previously mentioned; Mustafa Sabri *Efendi*. Moreover,

¹⁷⁶ Disorder occurred during the 1908 election in the central *sanjak*. A person called *Çerkes Emin Paşa* disrupted the city. He introduced himself as a Unionist and collected some hundreds of people around him. He interfered in the government and shouted in front of the Government Building. The events were suppressed by Muammer *Bey*, *Kaimakam* of Aziziye (and later the governor of Sivas) and *Kürt İsmail Bey*. These two people were also the founders of CUP in the Sivas Province. For more detailed information see, Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, p. 314.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 315.

¹⁷⁸ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, Cilt 1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), p. 294.

¹⁷⁹ Feroz Ahmad, "İttihatçıların Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi Cemaatleri ile Olan İlişkileri", *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, Translated by Fatmagül Berktaş, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999) p.106.

¹⁸⁰ Tunaya, *Türkiye'de ...: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, p. 294.

¹⁸¹ Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, p. 315 and Tunaya, *Türkiye'de ...: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, p. 266.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 417-419.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 316.

Kansu argues that, the two other independent deputies from Tokat were opponents of the CUP. If that was the case, seven deputies - in addition to five liberal deputies - were opponents of the CUP. This general picture shows that opposition against the ruling party was strong in 1908 in the Sivas Province.

Only two of the deputies were elected in all elections held between 1908-1918.¹⁸⁴ The results of the 1912 elections show that most of the liberal deputies were not re-elected, except for Ömer Feyzi *Efendi* (Karahisar) and Arif Fazıl *Efendi* (Sivas). Ömer Feyzi *Efendi* was re-elected as a liberal; however, Arif Fazıl *Efendi* became a deputy from the CUP and he was actually the only deputy represented explicitly the CUP in Sivas. In brief, there was one deputy from the liberal side and one deputy from the CUP; the rest were elected as independents. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the independents might be mostly close to the CUP because these elections were held under the oppression of the CUP. In this respect, decrease in the number of liberal deputies was not surprising. The ethnic composition was the same with the previous elections.

No deputy from the liberal party was elected in the 1914 elections. There were two deputies from CUP and the rest ten deputies were independent. Moreover, for the first time a Greek became a deputy from Karahisar.¹⁸⁵ The deputy profile of 1908, 1912 and 1914 showed the political structure of the Sivas Province to an extent. Independent deputies were possibly the people close to the CUP in 1912 and 1914. Due to repression of the CUP, the politicians who were not Unionists did not find chance to be elected. However, we have no information on why the independents did not become candidates from the CUP. It is paradoxical since the CUP was active in the province since 1910. This can be illustrated by revealing the position of the *Kızılırmak* paper. It was close to the CUP from the beginning; however the organic ties between the newspaper and the CUP became clear in the second publication period (1913-1917). In the issues of 1914, it was mentioned that “the administrative office of the newspaper is the Sivas Progress Club” whereas

¹⁸⁴ Arif Fazıl *Efendi* (Deputy of Amasya) and Dr. Ömer Şevki *Bey* (Deputy of Sivas) were the deputies of the Sivas Province in three elections. See, Ahmad and Rustow, “İkinci Meşrutiyet...”, p. 275.

¹⁸⁵ Feroz Ahmad ve Dankwart A. Rustow, “İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Meclisler, 1908-1918,” *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 4-5 (1976), pp. 275-277.

during the first publication period (1910-1911) the administrative office was mentioned as the Coffeehouse of Sıtkı *Efendi*. Moreover, the news about the gatherings of the Union and Progress and its facilities as a club were more frequent among the issues of second publication period.

The situation of the liberal parties in the Sivas Province is not clear but, if the first election result is taken into consideration, there were supporters of the liberal parties in every *sanjak*. The number of liberal deputies decreased in every election; however, it did not mean that the party lost its power in the province. On the contrary, the opposition probably increased due to CUP's oppressive rule; yet it became invisible in the deputy composition. Moreover, as previously mentioned, there were liberals among the independent deputies. Therefore, it is quite difficult to make a clear evaluation about the political tendencies of the province by looking at deputy profiles. However, if the first election is considered as the most democratic one, it is understood that there were strong liberal tendencies in the province besides the supporters of the CUP.

The CUP was actually the best organized political organization in Sivas as it was in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Clubs were of special importance for the CUP. In the regulations that were accepted in each Party Congress, the structure and duties of the clubs were described in detail.¹⁸⁶ They were the institutions which announced decisions of the center in localities. Furthermore, they were the main place of meetings, conferences and other cultural activities such as evening courses. It is important that the people who were not Unionists could join the activities of clubs -except the Committee meetings.¹⁸⁷ The CUP club in Sivas was an active political organization. Almost in every issue of *Kızılırmak* there were meeting announcements of the club. There were also health and education services of the CUP club of the Sivas Province.¹⁸⁸

The situation of ethnic and religious minorities in the Sivas Province is also worth analyzing. In the aftermath of the Constitutional Revolution, the CUP aimed to

¹⁸⁶ Tunaya, *Türkiye'de ...: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, pp.103-104, 122,152.

¹⁸⁷ Until 1913, there was broad information about clubs in nizamnames. For instance in 1909, 27 articles were about clubs; however, in 1913, only two articles explained the club function. For detailed information, see Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, pp.103-104, 122.

¹⁸⁸ *Kızılırmak*, 1 Ağustos 1326 (14 August 1910), No. 31, (23 March 1914) No. 15.

form an Ottoman identity; therefore, the electoral system was arranged in a way that the representation of different communities was reconciled. This was done by the cancellation of classical Muslim and non-Muslim provincial quotas for a fixed sized chamber. Instead, principle of one deputy to every 50.000 males was accepted in the Electoral Law.¹⁸⁹ The Greek community was against the majority representation for probable negative effects on the representative system. Leaders of the Greek community demanded proportional representation; but, theoretically, all elections were based on majority representation during the Constitutional Regime.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, in practice, the quota system was indirectly applied in the elections of 1912 and 1914. The CUP declared its quotas for non-Muslim communities in 1912. The main aim was to honor the non-Muslim communities and to prevent their move toward the opposition.¹⁹¹ According to the CUP leaders, once quotas were guaranteed, people from different communities would easily cooperate. With this consideration, the CUP came to agreement with the leaders of the Greek and Armenian communities for parliamentary quotas just before the 1914 elections.¹⁹²

In the Sivas case, Armenians were represented by one deputy in each parliamentary session. The position of Greeks seemed more ambiguous because until 1914 no Greek deputy was elected from the Sivas Province, although there was a considerable size of Greek population especially in Tokat, Amasya and Karahisar *sanjaks*.¹⁹³ The quota system, which was unofficially applied by the CUP, might have been effective on the election of Kuvanoğlu Yanko *Efendi* from Karahisar *sanjak* in 1914.

Unlike the Greeks, Armenians had their own political organizations in the Sivas Province. The Tashnaks and the Hınçhak were the most active political organizations in Sivas as they were also in other parts of the Empire. As it is generally known, relations between the CUP and Tashnaks were friendly until 1914.

¹⁸⁹ Hasan Kayalı, "Elections and the Electoral Process in the Otoman Empire, 1876-1919", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No.3, (August 1995) p. 268.

¹⁹⁰ Tanık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: İttihat ve Terakki*, Cilt III, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989) p. 162, 166.

¹⁹¹ Kayalı, "Elections and Electoral...", p. 278.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, p. 279.

¹⁹³ For detailed population information see page 14.

Both committees signed an agreement aiming at cooperation for progress, maintenance of the constitutional regime and union in 1909.¹⁹⁴ The Tashnaks were supported by Armenians more than Hinchaks. However, the news in *Kızılırmak* shows that the Hinchaks were as active as Tashnaks in the Sivas Province. The news on Hinchak generally belongs to the first publication period (1910-1911). For instance, the news of a drama, which was played in Tersesiyen School sponsored by the Hinchak Party, could find place in the paper in detail. This drama was criticizing the Hamidian Regime and supporting the Constitutional Regime. In the play, the actor was a member of the Hinchak Party. All over the play he tried to give the following message to the audience:

... there are a lot of people -not only Turks but also Armenians- who accuse the Hinchak Party for being separatist...There is no reason to demand separation for the Armenians, living under a constitutional government based on freedom, equality and law, and possessing the freedom of speech, association and conscience.¹⁹⁵

Other news exhibited the relationship between the CUP, Tashnaks and Hinchaks in the province. According to a report, Mustafa Necip *Bey*, a member of the CUP's Central Committee, came to Sivas and gave a conference in the Tashnak Club in order to improve the relations between different elements of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the speech, Kirkor *Efendi* from the Hinchak Party gave a hearth to Mustafa Necip *Bey* and claimed that "With this hearth we try to show togetherness of our hearts."¹⁹⁶

The relationship between the Tashnaks and Hinchaks became closer after the Adana Events in 1909. In Karahisar, a pact was signed by the Hinchaks and Tashnaks for cooperation in transferring memberships, sharing information,

¹⁹⁴ Ahmad, "İttihatçıların Osmanlı...", p. 117.

¹⁹⁵ M. Kaprilyan, "Mucib-i Şükran Bir Manzara", *Kızılırmak*, 2 Mart 1326 (15 March 1910), No. 11 "... Hınçakyan Fırkasına yalnız bir takım Türk vatandaşlarımızdan değil hatta bir hayli Ermeni tarafından dahi bir çok gayat ve mekasid müfrite haml ve isnad oluna gelmekte idi. Amal-ı tefrika ve infirad gibi isnadat... Hürriyet, müsavat ve adalet esaslarına müesses bir hükümet-i meşrutide, serbesti-i vicdan ve ictimai ve saireye haiz bir unsurun amal-i tefrika ve infirad taşıyamaz".

¹⁹⁶ "Müfettiş Mustafa Necip Bey", *Kızılırmak*, 10 Temmuz 1326 (23 July 1910), 10 Temmuz Özel Sayısı, "Bu kalble, kalblerimizin beraber olduğunu göstermek istiyoruz".

refraining from agitation against each other and mutual support including arms.¹⁹⁷ Karahisar was an isolated area surrounded by mountains. Therefore, both Armenian committees were of the opinion that self-sufficiency had to be provided in Karahisar and for self-sufficiency they should cooperate.¹⁹⁸ When the CUP held power in 1913, the Tashnak Committee decided to strengthen the self-defense capabilities of Karahisar. Nevertheless, the committee activities in Karahisar continued in isolation.¹⁹⁹ It meant that after the Balkan Wars, Armenian Committees began to minimize their relation with the CUP and for some reason, they began to improve their self-defense. In fact, the decadence of the relations between the CUP and Armenian Committees can easily be understood from the newspaper. Among the 1914 issues, there is no news about the Hinchaks or Tashnaks. Disappearance of the non-Muslim columnists in 1914 was an indicator of the political changes in the province. Therefore, despite the fact that the relation between the Tashnaks and CUP continued until late in 1914, cooperation between the parties disappeared in the Sivas case in 1913.

The rupture of relations can also be understood from the changing discourse of *Kızılırmak* in 1914 and 1915. In almost every issue, there are articles about Turkism and *Turanism*; therefore the expectations about Ottomanism and the union of different elements ceded. For instance, the article written for the Sultan's birthday celebration was as:

We say; let's see Turkey as *Turan* on the day of birth and enthronement, as soon as possible. Our *Sultan!* The independence day of our Turk and Muslim brothers who moan under and suffer in foreign lands is soon!²⁰⁰

Another article which was written to justify the entrance of the Ottoman state into the war claimed that:

¹⁹⁷ Simon Payaslian, "The Armenian Resistance ...", p. 408.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 409.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 410.

²⁰⁰ *Kızılırmak*, 12 Ağustos 1330 (30 August 1914), No. 27, "Diyoruz ki: Veladet ve cülus günlerinin en yakınında Türkiye'nin büyüyüp Turan olduğunu görelim. Yad ellerde kahr altında inleyen Türk ve Müslüman kardeşlerimizin esaretten saltanatın etrafında ve ayla yıldızın öksüz diyarları nurlandıracağı gün uzak değildir Sultanımız".

...Today, the idea that causes the European War (First World War) is the idea of nationalism. Today, most of the Turkish nation is waiting beyond the borders of Caucasia. These captive national brothers have to unite with us in order to stay alive. Because, in our era, the government has to be based on one big nation. The nations small in number are not given the right to live. We are fighting for this aim. The Russians gave us opportunity to save the *Turan*, which is the country of all Turks, from the abject oppression of Moscow.²⁰¹

These examples demonstrate that the emphasis on Turks and the union of all Turks under *Turan* replaced the ideal of Ottoman union.²⁰² This might have led to the rise of tension in the political life of the province.

To sum up, political life in the province was dominated by the CUP, especially after 1913. The results of the 1912 and 1914 elections illustrate this point well. The 1908 election results were different from those of 1912 and 1914 and it can be that it represented the political structure of the province better. Representation of the Greeks living in Sivas was inadequate from the beginning of the Constitutional regime. It is a fact that deputies conveyed the local problems to the center. For instance, in 1912 a group of non-Muslim deputies including Dagavaryan Efendi (deputy in the first term), deputy from Sivas, gave a proposal on the need for reform in the Eastern provinces. The government took the suggestion seriously and a commission, including the representatives of some government departments, was founded.²⁰³ Therefore, representation of the minorities in the center was important in making local problems explicit. The relations between different political parties existed until 1913. Following this year, the hope of Ottoman unity disappeared entirely. While Armenian Committees began to improve their self-defense measures, the CUP began to promote Turkism and *Turanism*. As a result, different nationalisms started to shape the political structure in the same province. The picture was totally different compared to that of 1908.

²⁰¹ "Hal ve Mevki", *Kızılırmak*, 25 Teşrinievvel 1330, (31 October 1914) No.35, "...bugün Avrupa Harbini tevli eden mefkure milliyet mefkuresi. Bugün Türk milletinin çoğu Kafkasya hududunun arkasında bekliyor. Yaşamak için bu mahkum milletdaşlar bizimle birleşmek mecburiyetinde bulunuyorlar. Çünkü bugünkü asırda hükümet büyük milletlere münhasır kalıyor, adeden az milletlere hakk-ı hayat verilmiyor. İşte bu gaye için harb ediyoruz. Bütün Türklerin vatani olan Turan'ı kahpe Moskof boyunduruğundan kurtarmak için Ruslar bize fırsat verdi..."

²⁰² There are also other articles and poems about Turanism and Turkism, see, "Rusya Türklerinde Hareket", *Kızılırmak*, No. 42, "699 Sultan Osman Türkleri Korudu", No. 43, "Arş İleri", No. 45, "Adsızın Türküsü", No. 46, "Uzaklardaki İrkdaşlarımıza Dair", No. 51.

²⁰³ Aydoğan, İttihat ve..., p. 293.

3.2 Administrative Structure of the Sivas Province

The Sivas Province was located on a 837.000 km² area. It was composed of four *sanjaks*. The central *sanjak*, Sivas, included eleven *kazas* and it was the most populated administrative unit of the province. Tokat (4 *kazas*), Amasya (7 *kazas*), Karahisar-i Şarki (5 *kazas*) were other *sanjaks* of the province.²⁰⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, there were constant conflicts between the Kurds, Armenians and Turks since the late nineteenth century. It is clear that the administration of such a huge province with a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population was not easy for the local officials and the central government. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that the governors were very influential people in the public life of the province since the late nineteenth century.

Halil Rifat Paşa was the governor of the province only for three years (1882-1885). Due to his performance, his epigram “The place that you cannot go is not yours” (*Gidemediğin yer senin değildir*) is still located on the busiest street of Sivas. As understood from the epigram he was famous for his efforts in constructing new roads in the province.²⁰⁵ Moreover, the government building, building of justice (they are still in use for the same aims), High School of Civil Administration (*Rüşdiye-i Mülkiye*), Military High School (*Askeri Rüşdiye*) and Office of Education (*Maarif Dairesi*) were built in his period.²⁰⁶

3.2.1 Influential Governors of the Sivas Province during the Constitutional Regime

One of the administrative policies of the CUP was the appointment of effective and reliable local governors to the Eastern provinces, where many problems relating to public security existed.²⁰⁷ This was an extension of the centralization policy which had been implemented since the beginning of the *Tanzimat* Period. The administrators who were experienced and ideologically close to the CUP were

²⁰⁴ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 172.

²⁰⁵ A detailed evaluation was made in the year book of the province., see *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1307 (1890), p. 81.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 81.

²⁰⁷ Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, p. 59.

appointed to the Eastern provinces in order to strengthen central authority. Governors were mandated to appoint the officials and dismiss them if required; therefore the local cadre that was established by reliable governors was also close to the central government. By this way, decision making process was considered to be hastened. Gaining the trust of the local people was another aspect of this policy.²⁰⁸

In fact, the relationship between the governor and the inhabitants was of utmost importance after 1908. As it has been in the Zara and Sivas cases, people had no tolerance of the officials and administrators who were corrupt or inefficient at their posts. Therefore, the appointment of efficient and reliable governors, who could gain the sympathy of the majority, was an important part of CUP's administrative policies. Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul) was the first influential governor of the Constitutional Regime.²⁰⁹

3.2.1.1 Mehmed Emin Bey [Yurdakul]

Mehmed Emin was appointed to the province as governor in June 1910. He was enthusiastically welcomed by both Christians and Muslims and also by the civil servants. His literary fame arrived at the province before him.²¹⁰ His style of speech which was enriched by poems was very influential on the people. A letter came from Hafik illustrates this point well:

... (Mehmed Emin) gave a speech to a group composed of the people, officers and civil servants. This speech was so influential that even the less insensitive were agitated...From the declaration of the Constitutional Regime till now, the main favor that the inhabitants see is your gorgeous body... We pray for the Sultan and the government that sent you to us.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 59-61.

²⁰⁹ The director of Industry School stated that the governors succeeding Reşit Akif Paşa (1907) were not successful like him; they did not continue the projects that he had started. He also added that they were expecting necessary steps from the new governor, Mehmed Emin (Yurdakul). See, "Sivas Sanayi Mektebinden", *Kızılırmak*, 28 Haziran 1326 (11 July 1910), No. 28.

²¹⁰ "Muvasalat ve İstikbal", *Kızılırmak*, 23 Mayıs 1326 (6 May 1910), No. 23.

²¹¹ "Valimizin Ulüvv Tabı", *Kızılırmak*, 1 Ağustos 1326 (14 August 1910), No. 31, "...Ahaliden, zabıtlardan ve memurlardan oluşan bir gruba nutuk irad etti. Nutuk o kadar etkiliydi ki en hissizleri bile galeyana getirdi... Hamiyetli Valimiz, Büyük mücahit, Vaktiyle en ziyade çiğnenen ve en çok ezilen şu zavallı yurda ayak bastığınız günden beri meşrutiyet-i meşrumuz buralarda da canlandı. İlan-ı meşrutiyetten beri bu muhitte sakin-i milletin gördüğü başlıca bir lütuf varsa o da muhterem vücudunuzdur. Sizin efkâr ve amalinizi takdis etmek, sizi can ve yürekte sevmek, muvaffakiyetinize

Despite the sympathy of Sivas people for Mehmed Emin, some officials, who advocated the absolutist regime, were not pleased with his appointment to the province. Mehmed Emin, nicknamed as “*Türkçü*”, was a member of the “National Literature School” (*Milli Edebiyat Akımı*)²¹². Ahmed Münir Bey was one of these officials. He was educated by the *ulema* during the Hamidian regime and he was vice-governor when Mehmed Emin was appointed to the Sivas governorship. Ahmed Münir did not support Mehmed Emin’s struggle for language reform. In time, ideological tensions increased and Sivas people began to change their opinions about Mehmed Emin. When Ahmed Münir resigned, most of the people took his side; however, intellectuals of the province and *Kızılırmak* supported Mehmed Emin.²¹³ In spite of *Kızılırmak*’s positive attitude towards Mehmed Emin, a poem entitled “*Türkücü*” by Külhaşzade Rahmi that criticized Mehmed Emin severely was published in *Kızılırmak*:²¹⁴

(...)
Kendini bülbül-i gülzâr-ı hakıyyat sanarak,
Gübrelikte ötüyor misl-i gurab Türkücümüz
(...)
Kilisalarda gidip câm ediyor inleyerek
Müslümanım diye inler mi hicab Türkücümüz

İngilizden nesi eksik yalnız şapkası yok
İçiyor hük-m-i hilâlile şarap Türkücümüz

Bir namaz kıldığımı gören var mı mescidde,
Feylesoftur tanımaz dîn ü kitab Türkücümüz.

O kadar çeşmi açıktır ki görürse denizi,
Zanneder çölde görünmekte serap Türkücümüz.

Maksadı yapma iken tecrübeye başlayarak,
Kıldı bir kat daha Sıvas’ı harab Türkücümüz.

her zaman dua etmek bütün evlad-ı vatanın borcudur. Sizi bize gönderen padişahımız ve hükümetimize duacıyız.”

²¹² Unbehaun, “1910-1914 Yılları Arasında” ..., p. 22.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ *Kızılırmak*, 12 Kanun-i evvel 1326 (25 October 1910), No. 47, This issue is not available. Unbehaun published this poem by reference to Vehbi Cem Aşkun’s book *Sivas Şairleri*, see Ibid.

In the same issue, the editor of *Kızılırmak* published an article which glorified the governor.²¹⁵ This poem which harshly criticized the governor along with an article glorifying him, within the same issue of the same paper, indicate the clear-cut polarization in the Sivas Province as opponents and supporters of Mehmed Emin. Probably, this poem was effective on Mehmed Emin's decision to resign. In the next issue of *Kızılırmak*, it was announced that Mehmed Emin had sent his resignation letter to the Ministry of Interior; however, the Ministry rejected his request by highlighting his success.²¹⁶ The Mehmed Emin case indicates important clues about the period. Hafik's letter demonstrates that Mehmed Emin was the first governor of the Constitutional Regime who gained support of the most of the people. The people supporting Mehmed Emin perceived him as a symbol of Constitutional Regime. Nevertheless, his Turkist tendencies as a member of the "National Literature School" led to polarization in the province. According to Külşahzade Rahmi, Mehmed Emin's mode of life was incompatible with Turkish-Muslim worldview.

3.2.1.2 Ahmed Muammer Bey [Cankardeş]

With the entrance of the Ottoman state into the First World War, the policy of appointing reliable governors gained much more importance for the center. Muammer Bey, the governor of Sivas between 1913-1916, was a good example of this policy. He graduated from *Mülkiye* in 1899. He was appointed to Kangal (1902), Niksar (1904), and Aziziye (1905) as *Kaimakam*. Then, he became the *Mutasarrıf* of Kayseri (1909) and Adana (1911). In 1911, he was appointed to the province of Konya as governor and two years later he became governor of the Sivas Province.²¹⁷ The list of his working places shows that he had really broad information about the Sivas province and its periphery.

His term of office in Sivas coincided with the war years. The Sivas Province was behind the Eastern front-lines. Law and order was weak throughout the province. As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, in 1913, the Armenian

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ "İstafa ve Adem-i Kabul", *Kızılırmak*, 26 Kanun-i evvel 1326 (8 January 1911), No. 48.

²¹⁷ Ali Çankaya Mücellidoğlu, *Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, Vol. III. (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969) p. 819.

militants formed some gangs called *Cevat* (around Kangal and Gürün), and *Alev* (in Aziziye). According to Kalaç, public order was totally disturbed in the Sivas Province after the defeat in the Balkan wars. As a result, Armenian militants became much stronger in the province.²¹⁸ Therefore, security was the preliminary issue to be dealt with when Muammer Bey became governor of the province. How he handled the issue is clearly narrated in Kalaç's memoirs as follows:

He (Muammer Bey) knew the environment well and also guessed rightly how he might benefit from the inhabitants and the gendarmerie commanders. He invited the experienced officials of *kazas* where events occurred. He gave some instructions to them and in two months the gang called *Alev* was totally destroyed. *Cevat* was also dissolved. The leader of *Cevat* was caught when he was escaping to Dersim. His cut head was brought to Sivas and exhibited at the public square. In this way, security was established in the province. This exhibition was criticized by the Armenian local newspaper because Armenians were not pleased with security. In these days, the Eastern Armenians tried to attract European attention. Thus they did not hesitate to inform Istanbul even about less important events. In fact, there were Armenian *kaimakams*, officials and even policemen in Sivas. They were employed in public services just as Turkish citizens; however, they used their privileges to the advantages of their nationalist desires. Their hostility against the Turks was obvious from the latest developments. In the performances held in Armenian schools, the government was always indicated as tyrannical. While the Armenians within the Empire were behaving in this way, some committees in other countries were striving to gain European support against the Ottoman Government.²¹⁹

The efforts of the nationalist Armenians to attract attention of European States were successful; however, this was not only a result of such efforts. As a matter of fact, the European States were ready to deal with the Armenian issue in accordance with their national interests. After the Balkan Wars, *Babiali* began to worry about a probable European pressure on the Armenian issue. In order to prevent it, *Babiali* began to take some actions: On the one hand, it enacted some laws such as the Law on Provincial Administration (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayat*) (26 March 1913), which transferred the mandate of decision making authority to the Provincial Assemblies. On the other hand, it asked for some experts from Great Britain to be employed in the Ministry of Interior and the Eastern Provinces as advisors.²²⁰ Thus the Armenian

²¹⁸ Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, p. 80.

²¹⁹ Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, pp. 80-81.

issue once again came to the international scene as Russia strictly opposed this demand. It declared that foreign experts could be sent to the region if general reforms were held. These reforms were only possible following negotiations between Russia, France and Britain.²²¹ Then Germany and Italy also became part of the negotiations. As a result, on 8 February 1914 the Ottoman Empire had to accept the Reform Act. According to this, Eastern Provinces were divided into two large regions to be supervised by two foreign inspectors appointed by negotiant states. Called Inspector-Generals, they would control administrative, judicial and security forces of the provinces; they would dismiss all civil servants, as well as governors, in case of necessity. Moreover, the gendarme and police powers would be composed of both Muslims and non-Muslims.²²² The European Powers and Russia would gain direct control on the Eastern provinces through the Reform Act. Thus the massacres of the Armenians, which were reported by the European consulates, was considered to be prevented by the implementation of the security measures of the Reform Act.²²³ Nevertheless, these reforms were never materialized because two Inspector-Generals were dismissed before they began their work as the Ottoman state entered into the war. As a result, the Sivas Province which had been planned to be a part of the region including Trabzon and Erzurum never faced either the so-called Inspector-General or gendarme and police powers composed of Muslims and non-Muslims. Yet, according to Kalaç, public security was provided all over the province by the late 1913.²²⁴

Another important agenda for Muammer *Bey* was improvement of the administrative mechanism which was loosened after the Balkan Wars. Working hours were not limited to daytime for Muammer *Bey*. In the evenings, he held meetings with local administrators and worked on projects to develop the province. All projects were reported not only to the Ministry of Interior but also to the Central

²²⁰ Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, p. 267.

²²¹ *Ibid*, p. 268.

²²² There were many other topics in this Reform Act, for detailed information, see Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, pp.273-277, Somakian, *Empires in Conflict*, p. 62, Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler...*, pp. 401-417.

²²³ Somakian, *Empires in Conflict*, pp. 60-61.

²²⁴ Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, p. 83.

Committee of the CUP.²²⁵ Thus, between 1913-1916, all developments that took place in the province were transmitted to the center.

At this point, it can be argued that the centralization policy, which was commenced in the *Tanzimat* Period and reached a relative success under the Hamidian Regime, was achieved, at least in the case of Sivas Province, after 1913. The shift in CUP's ideology was also influential in this respect. On 23 January 1913, the CUP monopolized the political authority as a result of a *coup d'état*. Under its authoritarian rule, which lasted until the end of the First World War, centralization was a part of the CUP policy. The first principle that was accepted in the Party Congress of 1913 explicitly declared that the administrative policy of the CUP would be based on extension of authority and division of duty.²²⁶ However, in practice with the Law on Provincial Administration, principle of centralization and local administration were to be reconciled.²²⁷

According to this Law, the provincial administration was divided into two parts as General Provincial Administration (*İl Genel İdaresi*) and Special Provincial Administration (*İl Özel İdaresi*). The former, headed by a governor appointed by the center, was considered as part of the central administration; therefore it did not have legal personality.* Special Provincial Administration, on the other hand, represented legal personality of the province. However, all decisions given by the Special Provincial Administration were valid after the governor's approval.²²⁸ Thus, all provincial administration was indirectly under the control of center. Muammer Bey, as a loyal Unionist, performed his duty in accordance with this administrative understanding of the CUP.

In order to control officials and local administrators in *sanjaks* and *kazas*, Muammer Bey traveled frequently. As a result of such travels, some administrators were dismissed or appointed to other positions. On 3 September 1913, he visited

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 82.

²²⁶ "İttihat ve Terakki Fırkasının siyaset-i idariyesi tevsi-i mezuniyet ve tefrik-i vezaif esasına müstenidir." Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de ...: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, p. 140.

²²⁷ Muzaffer Sencer, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tanzimat Sonrası Siyasal ve Yönetimsel Gelişmeler", *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (September 1984), p. 68.

* Legal personality is used for the state institutions that have the autonomy for decision making.

²²⁸ Sencer, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda...", p. 69.

Suşehir which was one of the most underdeveloped regions of Sivas. Muammer *Bey* stated his observations as:

I came to Suşehir. The government building that began to be built in 1314 (1898) has not completed, yet. Here we must work hard. There are 560 homes and two third of the population is Turk. There is one ruined *medrese*. In fact, the land is productive and people are skillful. However, there must be a *Kaimakam* who administers all these advantages well.²²⁹

After this trip, Ahmet Hilmi *Bey* (Kalaç) was appointed to Suşehir as *Kaimakam* in October.²³⁰ He was the first *Kaimakam* of Suşehir who remained here for a long time. Since 1908, thirteen or fourteen *Kaimakams* were appointed to Suşehir and because of their very short term in office, they did not show any performance. However, Ahmet Hilmi *Bey*, completed the telephone line and built new roads in his first six months.²³¹ Obviously, Ahmet Hilmi *Bey* was one of the most reliable administrators according to Muammer *Bey*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Suşehir was a *kaza* of Karahisar-i Şarki where many conflicts existed. Therefore, the improvement of administration was probably one of the reasons for his appointment to Suşehir and security was the other and more important one.

Other services that were carried out in his term of office were establishment of the Orphanage (*Darü'l-eytam*), construction of new roads and parks, military hospital, etc.²³² Moreover, he was the first governor who put up a statue of *Gazi Osman* in the country.²³³ It was actually an important attempt when economic and social circumstances are considered in 1900s. He could not put up the statue of Osman Gazi in Sivas because of the biases of the people; therefore, he preferred a place somewhere on the border of Tokat.²³⁴ This attempt shows that Muammer *Bey*

²²⁹ Hayri Orhun, Celal Kasaroğlu, Mehmet Belek, Kazım Atakul, *Meşhur Valiler*, (Ankara: İçişleri Bakanlığı Merkez Valileri Bürosu Yayınları, 1969) p. 331.

²³⁰ Kalaç, *Kendi Kitabım*, p. 83.

²³¹ “Suşehir Muhabirimizden...”, *Kızılürmak*, 24 Temmuz 1330 (06. July 1914), No. 21.

²³² Orhun, et.al., *Meşhur...*, p. 316-318.

²³³ Çankaya, *Mülkiye Tarihi ...*, p. 819.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 820.

was open to change and strove to affect the minds of people by introducing novelties. It can also be considered as a sign of his ideological affiliation. In the war years, particularly following the defeat in the Balkan Wars, turning to the past and constructing a brilliant “Turkish” history became inevitable.²³⁵ The ideological shift was clear in *Kızılırmak*. The issues published between 1910-1911 were explicitly based on Ottomanism. As previously stated, there were many articles which focus on the unity of the Christians and the Muslims. However, the discourse of the newspaper changed after 1913. For instance, the article which was entitled “699: Sultan Osman Protected Turks” demonstrates this point well:

... The honorable Turk! While *Kızılırmak* is telling you not only about the supreme characters of your race, it also invites you to look at your past and reminds you how the disorder and the power vacuum (*fetret*) damaged your great race and state...²³⁶

As a result, Osman began to be seen as the Sultan of the Turks not the Ottomans. The statue of Sultan Osman might be meaningful at this point.

Muammer Bey was appointed to Konya in January 1917. This term of office did not last long because Muammer *Bey* got the information that an inquiry was carried out about his role in the Armenian deportation and massacres. He went to İstanbul and waited for the result. He was arrested in February 1919 and sent to Bekirağa.²³⁷ On 7 April, 1919, Admiral R. Webb, the British Vice-High Commissioner, sent a list to London including names of the perpetrators and their

²³⁵ The news about ceremonies for the anniversary of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire was entitled “Türk İstiklal Bayramı” *Kızılırmak*, 25 Kanunuevvel 1330 (7 January 1915), No. 43. In fact, the emphasis on “Turk” rather than “Ottoman” was meaningful because the Ottoman Empire was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state since its foundation. The foundation of the Ottoman State was claimed as the independence of Turks. Moreover, there was a series, which was entitled “Türk Medeniyeti”, lasted a long period of time. See, Sadi Movultay Kırımlioğlu, “Türk Medeniyeti” *Kızılırmak*, 8 Kanunusani 1330 (21 January 1915) No. 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52 (it is the last issue which is available; therefore, it is not known whether this series continues or not) They deal with the Turkish states and Turkish tribes especially in Central Asia. Life styles, war strategies, cultures, political relations were explained in detail. In the beginning of the series, it was stated that: “Turks are civilized by birth. They established a great and magnificent civilization under difficult circumstances (nomadic way of life). Folk literature, as national literature of Turks, that is composed of its own language and alphabet is an indicator of Turkish civilization.”

²³⁶ “699: Sultan Osman Türkleri Korudu”, *Kızılırmak*, 25 Kânunuevvel 1330 (7 January 1915), No. 43, “...Ey yüksek alınlı Türk! Senin iyiliklerin için *Kızılırmak* bugün sana ırkının yüceliklerini söylerken gözlerini biraz geçmişe çevirerek fetret, nizamsızlık günlerini ve bu günlerin senin azimetli ırk ve devletine ne büyük zararları dokunduğunu da yâd etmeden geçmiyor.”

²³⁷ Bilal Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985) p. 58.

crimes during the Armenian deportation. Besides Muammer *Bey*, Gani *Bey*, the chief CUP representative in Sivas, was accused of helping Muammer *Bey* in massacring the Armenians. Sabit *Bey*, the ex-governor of Sivas, and Süreyya *Bey*, the *Mutasarrıf* of Amasya, were also on the list.²³⁸ On 10 April 1919, the first execution with regard to the Armenian deportation was carried out; however, the burial of Mehmet Kemal *Bey*, *Kaimakam* of Boğazlayan turned into a protest. The reaction of people resulted in the exile of these arrested for their crime to the Island of Limbos, Malta.²³⁹ There were fifty nine names on the list and nineteen of the names were ticked. The ticked names were the most ferocious ones according to the British. Muammer *Bey* was one of these 19 people.²⁴⁰ On 2 June 1919, the exiles arrived at Malta. There were five administrators from Sivas: Sabit *Bey*, Muammer *Bey*, Gani *Bey*, Faik *Bey* (the *Kaimakam* of Merzifon), Ahmet *Bey* (the ex-Governor of Sivas). They were –except Ahmet *Bey*- directly accused of behaving cruelly during the Armenian deportation.²⁴¹ In fact, it was the most serious accusation among others because other people were accused of either collusion to cruelty or some other issues which were irrelevant to cruelty.

In 1920, Britain attempted to collect legal documents including evidence of the crimes for the arrests. Next year, General Harington sent the documents to London. In these documents, there was evidence against only five Turkish commanders. The rest of the arrested were only accused of massacring the Christians on inadequate proof.²⁴² Later, as a result of inadequacy and also Ankara Government's efforts, the release of the arrested came on the agenda. However, Muammer *Bey*, Gani *Bey*, Ahmet *Bey* and Faik *Bey* were in the list which included the persons (fifty eight names) not to be released by any means.²⁴³ Therefore, the only way of freedom for them was to escape. Sixteen people –including Muammer *Bey*, Gani *Bey*, Ahmet *Bey* and Faik *Bey*- escaped from Malta on 6 September

²³⁸ Ibid, pp. 70-72.

²³⁹ Ibid, pp. 75-80.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 96-97.

²⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 109-110, 218.

²⁴² Ibid, pp. 233-236.

²⁴³ Ibid, p. 339.

1921.²⁴⁴ After Muammer *Bey* returned to Anatolia, he requested to be appointed as *Mutasarrıf* of Kayseri and this was accepted. He became the deputy of Sivas after the 1923 elections, but died in 1928.²⁴⁵

It is quite difficult to understand why Muammer *Bey* and other three administrators of Sivas were assumed to be the most ferocious people who should have been judged decisively. According to Şimşir, Britain could not find any concrete evidence about the crimes they had committed. However, according to Dadrian, on 19 September 1919, Andrew Ryan, a civil servant of the British Embassy, mentioned a committee that was gathered in Erzurum. This committee was composed of four governors including Muammer *Bey*.²⁴⁶ The main aim of the meeting was to decide on the destructive measures against the Armenians. Ryan defined this group as the cruelest criminals of the Armenian deportation.²⁴⁷ This meeting and Ryan's interpretation might be the departure point for Britain; however; interestingly enough, only Hasan Tahsin *Bey*, the Governor of Erzurum, existed on the list of fifty eight people in addition to Muammer *Bey*.²⁴⁸ Therefore, it can be argued that Sivas might have a special meaning for Britain. Four administrators of the province were evaluated as the most dangerous and guilty of the exiles.

3.2.2 A New Regime with Old Problems: Public Service and Officials during the Constitutional Regime

With the foundation of the Second Constitutional Regime, expectations of the local population increased. Several letters, written by common people and published in *Kızılırmak*, were indicators of rising expectations. Most of the letters were in form of complaints about officials and defects of public service.

²⁴⁴ Ibid pp. 383-385.

²⁴⁵ Orhun, et.al., *Meşhur...*, p. 325.

²⁴⁶ Mustafa Abdülhalik *Bey* (the Governor of Bitlis), Tahsin *Bey* (the Governor of Erzurum) and Cevdet *Bey* (the Governor of Van) see Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Türk Kaynaklarında Ermeni Soykırımı*, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2005) p. 145.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Mustafa Abdülhalik *Bey* (Governor of Bitlis) was also exiled to Malta however his name was not on the list of fifty eight people. Cevdet *Bey* (Governor of Van) was not exiled to Malta. See, Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, pp. 415-418

As underlined in the former part, people were fed up with corruption during the Hamidian Regime. They believed that the Constitutional Regime would bring them a more transparent and fair administration. However, many letters show that only a little change occurred in this respect. A letter from Yeni Han, a *kaza* of the central *sanjak*, explains the situation well. It is about a court member in Yeni Han, Varjebet (?) Sagmun (?), who was claimed to cheat people and take their money in the name of the Armenian Church. The letter writer stated that the church had become an arena of plunder. Sagmun and people like him covered all their illegal actions with a gloss of the constitutional regime. The author also claimed that as long as exploiters of the Constitutional Regime like Sagmun existed in the government and in the church committee, the future of millet would remain in dark.²⁴⁹ The answer of *Kızılırmak* was: “We forward this important problem to Şavarş (?) *Efendi*, who is the representative of the Armenian Patriarch in Sivas”²⁵⁰ In another issue, there is one more complaint letter about Sagmun. According to this letter, he was claimed to commute a death penalty to fine penalty. That was interpreted as abusing his position and it was claimed that such kinds of acts would damage the Constitutional Regime.²⁵¹ From this letter, it is understood that the non-Muslim people demanded improvements in their own community relations in the Constitutional Regime. They preferred to inform their Patriarch through *Kızılırmak*. Therefore, the newspaper began to be seen as a mediator between the church and Armenian people as well as a forum through which people could independently express their complaints.

²⁴⁹ Sivashlı Kalviyan (?) Aveskan (?), “Yeni Han’dan”, *Kızılırmak*, 6 Eylül 1326 (19 September 1910), No. 36, “...Bunların din ile millet ile bir alakası yoktur... Kilise odası bir meydan-ı yağmaya dönüşmüş. Sagmun (?) ve onunla uyuşanlar her ne kaparlarsa her ne yaparlarsa meşrutiyet süsü veriyorlar. Eğer bazı taraftan istizah olunsa Sagmun’un yaptığı veludlu saçması olsun, o liyakatsızlıklar, o ehliyetsizlikler teyid olunur, sitayişlere boğulur...Sanki Yeni Han kilise heyeti Sagmun’dan ibaret imiş? Biçare millet sen istediğin kadar ağla bağır, karşında kilise heyeti denilen heykel-i muhterik vardır... Sagmun gibi kemirici mahlûklar kilise heyetinde ve hükümette bulundukça milletin hali de istikbali de siyahtır, simsiyahtır.”

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Sivashlı Kalviyan Aveskan, “Yeni Han’dan Mektup”, *Kızılırmak*, 21 Mart 1326 (4 April 1910), No. 14, “...Varjebet (?) Sagmun (?) zi-nüfuz ve zaman-ı istibdaddan beri memuriyeti yalnız kendi menfaatleri için kullanmıştır. Bu sefer de tahkikat-ı kanuni evrakını, her nasıl olduysa verilen hüküm değiştirilerek katli istenen merhumun cezası nakit para cezasına çevrilmiştir. Bu katilin tahliyesinin kanunun hangi noktasına tatbik edilerek uygulandığını aleni sual ederiz. Bu şahsın meşrutiyette dahi bu derece hükümet içerisinde tesiri olduğuna şaşarız... Böyle haller mukaddes ve muazzez meşrutiyetimizi mesul edecek...”

Another letter came from Zile, a *kaza* of the Tokat *sanjak*, and complained about a verdict. A person called Hüseyin from Yeni Müslüman Village was sentenced to twenty days of imprisonment because of carrying a knife “...such a heavy penalty has never been seen during the absolutist regime. In the Constitutional Regime, it would be shameful if a judge dares such forgery...”²⁵² Especially in *kazas*, religious Courts benefited from the ignorance of the people and took unregulated fees from them. *Kızılırmak* stated that there were also very reliable officials in *kazas*. If information about the unlawful officials was posted on the government buildings of *kazas* officially, bribery might have been prevented.²⁵³ However, such dissuasive acts would be ineffective because bribe and abuse of the position seemed to become a natural part of civil service.

Moreover, as it can be seen most complaints focused on judges or courts. These were the most important offices of the Constitutional Regime because the new regime offered justice to people in principle. People continuously faced bribes and abuses in judicial mechanisms in their localities. This paradoxical situation led to question marks in minds about the Constitutional Regime. In fact, despite continuous bribes and corruption, people insisted on their rights. Although functioning of the administration was not transformed entirely, a new mentality began to rise among people with the Constitutional Regime. An article which was published in *Kızılırmak* includes both anxiety about the continuing problems and hopes of change. The author explicitly claimed that it was only the central government that defended liberty. Misery of Anatolian peasants continued. However, according to the author, the people of Anatolia were now aware of the fact that honor and despotism, cruelty and personal dignity might not co-exist anymore. Moreover, they knew that old laws could not be applied in the new regime.²⁵⁴

²⁵² “Doğru ise Ayıptır”, *Kızılırmak*, 9 Mart 1326 (23 Mart 1910), No. 12, “...Bu kadar ağır bir ceza devr-i istibdadda bile görülmüş ve uygulanmış değildir. Meşrutiyette bir ceza reisinin böyle bir sahtekârlığa cesaret etmesi ayıptır...”

²⁵³ “Vali Paşa Hazretlerine...”, *Kızılırmak*, 21 Mart 1326 (4 April 1910), No. 14.

²⁵⁴ H., “Elvermez mi”, *Kızılırmak*, 4 Temmuz 1326 (4 July 1910) No. 29, “...Hükümet-i meşrutinin kurulmasıyla milletin hariki istidad olunmadı. Benim fikrimce, fikr-i hürriyet yalnız merkez hükümette kaldı. Bir kere Anadolu içlerine girilsin, ufak köyler gezilsin. Ah, oralarda görülecek sefalet manzaraları insanı ağlatır. Bir köylü, bir çiftçi bir zadenin yahut bir büyük ailenin esiri olsun. Sonra, daha ileride bir zat-ı hükümete istediğini yaptırın. Evet, bunlar çekilir şeyler değildir. Vaktiyle bu gibi âdemler hükümete memur tayin ettirecek sahib-i nüfuz imişler. Artık şerefle tagallübün,

Such letters were printed only in the first period of the newspaper (1910-1911). Actually, the newspaper had a mission to inform the civil authorities about problems of people in this period. In addition, it tried to enlighten people about the Constitutional Regime. It supported people in most of the problematic cases. It was the voice of the Christians as well as Muslims. All these letters further demonstrate that administrative problems such as corruption continued in localities. The difference of the Constitutional Regime from the absolutist one was that people found some channels to convey their complaints and began to trust in justice. Surely, this was the case of the first years of the Constitutional Regime.

Following the entrance of the Ottoman state into the war, there were no complaint letters. However, disappearance of such news cannot be evaluated as disappearance of the problems. It can be argued that the mission of the newspaper changed totally in the second publication period (1913-1917). International developments began to take over newspaper headlines. News about the province and its periphery were limited to construction activities such as schools and roads, collection of aid for soldiers, activities of schools and scouts. Therefore, it seems possible to suggest that, people lost one of the most important channels through which they expressed their problems after 1913. With the declaration of mobilization for war, articles dealing with national uniqueness of the Turks replaced articles criticizing some aspects of the Constitutional Regime.

3.2.3 Dreams of a Better Province: Efforts and Realities

The Province of Sivas was a classical Anatolian Province during the nineteenth century. The descriptions of travelers can be helpful to imagine Sivas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A. D. Mordtmann described the province in 1850 in the following words:

... When we came to Sivas, we faced incredible dirtiness and mud. There were roads divided into three parts: on the sides there were sidewalks and

insafsızlıkla hamiyetin bir arada bulunamayacağı para ile insaniyet alınamayacağını idrak etti. Bundan sonra millet mevcudiyetini idrak etti. Eski kanunların yeni devrede de tatbik olunamayacağını idrak eden millet elbette meclis idare intihabları içinde yeni kanun yapacak ve bunlara oradan da uzanacak ve erbab-ı hamiyeti boğacak eller maksadına yetişemeyecektir”.

in the middle a way that was full of deep holes which resembled graves...²⁵⁵

After forty years, Cuinet wrote about the city the following words:

As many other cities of Ottoman Asia; Sivas has a depressing appearance. It stems from the houses made by sun-dried bricks. However, by orders of the authorities, the houses have begun to be plastered by lime. Moreover, the roofs began to be made by tile. The roads are without sidewalk. The streets are too dusty in the summer and full of water and mud in winters. Streets were to be illuminated by electricity but without result.²⁵⁶

According to Cuinet, the Government Building was the most magnificent one in the city. It was decorated with frescos and rich furniture. Every evening a band founded by Municipality played music in of the Government Building garden. Another important building that contributed to the beautiful appearance of the city was the Justice Palace. It had the same architectural structure with the Government Building; however, Justice Palace was smaller.

It is clear that municipal services were furnished in Sivas in the late nineteenth century because Cuinet mentioned a big building which was used for municipal services.²⁵⁷ However, as of 1910 the success of the Sivas Municipality was very debatable. It was understandable because the Municipality was still a developing body that did not work efficiently then. In fact, this was a general characteristic of the municipalities in the Ottoman Empire. They began to be formed in the nineteenth century as a result of increasing relations with foreign countries. Commercial relations with other countries resulted in the need for structural changes, especially in the Ottoman port cities. Therefore, economic transformation led to municipal arrangements.²⁵⁸ However, transforming old organizations and services based on community and neighborhood relations was not easy. In fact, they had already begun to dissolve but formation of new services and institutionalization of the municipalities did not fill the vacuum totally. As a result, they began to develop

²⁵⁵ His travel book was entitled *Anatolien Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*. For more detail see Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların...*, p. 86.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, pp.131-132.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 132.

²⁵⁸ İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000) p. 123.

many structural problems.²⁵⁹ Municipalities were not organized in neighborhoods and rural areas until the end of nineteenth century. Therefore, when we talk about municipality facilities of the Sivas Province during the Second Constitutional Era, it was a newly emerging organizational structure.

In early twentieth century, city planning, performed by municipalities, began to be seen as an indicator of modernization. Despite all efforts, the appearance of Sivas province in 1910 was far away from civilization according to an article in *Kızılırmak*:

...Narrow, muddy, and cornered streets, houses with irrelevant architecture, disordered bazaars... Planning a city is the municipality's duty. If the municipality aesthetically conscious, entrepreneurial and hardworking, the city will certainly develop...(In Sivas) the municipality have been dealing with sidewalk construction for two years and this is worth appreciation. However, by only constructing sidewalks, it does not perform its duty. It is seen that bigger and more important services are ignored...²⁶⁰

The most important service was probably health services because most criticisms about the municipality focused on it. The city water was too dirty in 1910 and several diseases such as typhus and typhoid were widespread. The system carrying water to the city center was open. This was the main reason of epidemics. Closing this system was necessary; however, the financial resources of the municipality were not adequate to cover the expense. Emir Şevki *Efendi*, the deputy of Sivas, conveyed this problem to the Ottoman Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*). At the end of the discussion, 8.000 lira was decided to be sent to Sivas.²⁶¹ In late 1914, the sewer system had not been constructed yet in the Sivas Province.²⁶² The lack of this system was another reason for epidemics.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 124.

²⁶⁰ “Sivas’ın İstikbali ve Belediye” *Kızılırmak*, 31 Teşrinievvel 1326 (13 November 1910) No. 42
“...Dar, çamurlu ve köşeli sokaklar, her biri bir tarz-ı mahsusta ve adeta bir birine yabancı gibi bir takım şekiller ibraz eden evler, her türlü intizamdan yoksun çarşılar... İşte Sivas’ın umumiyet itibariyle gösterdiği zevk-i medeni...Şehre bir intizam vermek her şeyden evvel belediyenin görevidir. Belediye dairesinde zevk-i selim, fikr-i teşebbüs ve bir de gayret bulunursa elbette o memleket terakki eder...Belediyenin iki yıldır sürekli kaldırım inşaatı yapması şayan-ı taktirdir fakat bununla vazifesini ikmal etmiş değildir. Daha pek büyük ve mühim vazifelerin unutulduğu görülür...”

²⁶¹ “Akd-i İctima: Ciddi ve Vazife-şinas Mebus”, *Kızılırmak*, 1 Ağustos 1326 (16 August 1910) No. 31.

²⁶² “Sivas’ta Yeni Hayat” *Kızılırmak*, 2 Teşrinievvel 1330 (10 September 1914) No. 33.

Moreover, there was not a regular and systematic State Hospital in Sivas until 1924.²⁶³ A hospital building began to be built in 1893 and was completed by Reşit Akif Paşa in 1903. However, due to financial problems, the hospital could not be opened. During the governorship of Reşit Akif Paşa, a hospital was opened in *Kazancılar* neighborhood; however, the building was rented so that hospital was housed to several buildings.²⁶⁴ According to the yearbook of 1907, there was only one hospital in the Sivas Province and possibly, it was this moving hospital.²⁶⁵ Muammer Bey also began construction of a hospital but later it was used as school.²⁶⁶

However, in *Kızılırmak*, the regularity of “*Memleket Hastanesi*” was glorified.²⁶⁷ The place of the hospital was not signified in the news but it can be argued that in 1915 there was a stable State Hospital in the Sivas Province. After the declaration of Constitutional Regime the “*Gureba Hospital*” was decided to be combined with the Armenian Hospital.²⁶⁸ Probably that “*Gureba Hospital*” was the State Hospital of 1915.

There were also mission hospitals in the province. Around the American College, there was an Armenian-Jesuit hospital. The staff of the hospital also served Muslims.²⁶⁹ It is highly probable that, like most of other mission institutions, the hospital was closed down during the war; however it might be re-opened later.²⁷⁰

There was also a well-equipped American Hospital staffed by American doctors, nurses and native assistants in the Sivas Province.²⁷¹ During the First World War, this hospital was not closed but it is quite difficult to talk about regular health

²⁶³ Müjgan Üçer, “Kuruluşunun 70. Yılında: Sivas Numune Hastanesinin Tarihçesi”, in *Revak*, 1994, p. 74.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 73.

²⁶⁵ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 259.

²⁶⁶ Üçer, “Kuruluşunun 70. ...” p. 73.

²⁶⁷ “Memleket Hastanesinde...”, *Kızılırmak*, 12 Mart 1331 (25 March 1915), No. 49.

²⁶⁸ Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim...*, p. 174.

²⁶⁹ Ahmet Turan Gürel, “Sivas'ta Karanlık Kalan Bir Geçmiş: Sivas Basını” in *Revak*, 1994, p. 142.

²⁷⁰ Ahmet Turan Gürel, a local journalist in Sivas, claimed that he remembered that in the 1930s he was examined by foreign doctors. *Ibid*.

²⁷¹ James, L. Barton, *Story of Near East Relief (1915-1930)*, (Newyork: Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 61, Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, (Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 1989), p. 97.

services of the hospital after May 1915. In late 1915, epidemics began in Sivas and the province itself turned into a hospital.²⁷² Since public health was under real threat during the war, the newspaper continuously gave information about the epidemic diseases and protection methods.

In general terms, health conditions of non-Muslims were better than Muslims in the province. It is because there was only one State Hospital in Sivas while there were at least two well equipped mission hospitals before 1914. Moreover, chemistry was an Armenian dominated profession in Sivas in the early twentieth century. In 1907 there were five chemists in Sivas.²⁷³ Only one of them was a Muslim, Ali Rıza Bey. He was the first Muslim chemist of the Sivas Province and when he opened a pharmacy in 1906, people found it strange.²⁷⁴ However, pharmacies did not meet the needs of Sivas people because after sunset, it was impossible to find an open pharmacy. The municipality was criticized because the pharmacies were not open during the night. According to *Kızılırmak*, if the mayor provided some oil to the pharmacies for illumination, at least one pharmacy would be open each night.²⁷⁵

Despite the deficiencies of the municipality in the Sivas Province, there was the General Assembly of the Province (*Vilayet Genel Meclisi*) which carried out most of the municipal duties. The General Assembly of the Province had a more systematic structure and it was a more effective and functional body than the Municipality in Sivas. In fact, it is very difficult to separate the duties of the General Assembly and the municipality; however, it can be seen in *Kızılırmak*, the public works (*naftia*) of the province were generally met by the General Assembly. In 1915, the main departments of the General Assembly of the Province -education, agriculture and public works- were composed of forty four members and six of them were non-Muslims. The Committee of Administration (*Heyet-i İdari*) was formed by

²⁷² Hans-Lukas Keiser, *İskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet (1839-1938)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005) p. 476.

²⁷³ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 259.

²⁷⁴ Müjgan Üçer, "Sivas'ta Bir Eczane: Ali Rıza Eczanesi", in *Revak*, 1994, p. 98.

²⁷⁵ "Aynen", *Kızılırmak*, 12 Eylül 1326 (25 September 1910), No. 37, "...Sivas'ta gündüz on birden sonra bir eczane açık bulmak bir doktorun gerektiği bir anda mevkiini tayin etmek mümkün değildir. Belediye reisi bey efendi lütfedip teşebbüs ederler ve icap ederse her gece için bir okka petrol vererek bir eczananın gece açık kalmasını sağlarsa insanîyet namına büyük bir iyilik yapmış olurlar. Doktor ve eczacılarımız bunu kabul ettiği taktirde gece ufak bir sancıyı ahali sabaha kadar çekmemiş olacak".

six members and four people dealt with the budget. The head of the assembly was Mustafa *Efendi*. He was aided by two secretaries.²⁷⁶ Establishment of the Orphanage, building new roads, buying new machines for the development of agriculture, organizing industrial and agricultural exhibitions were some of the services performed by the General Assembly.²⁷⁷ Every decision of the General Assembly was published in the newspaper under the topic of Explanation (*İzahname*); therefore, works planned and performances were announced to the people.

As it has been seen, public works were theoretically shared by the municipality and the General Assembly of the Province; however, in practice the main functioning institution in the province was the latter. Non-Muslims were represented in the local government; however, it was a fact that neither the municipality nor the General Provincial Assemblies were founded with the consideration of creating an autonomous and democratic administration in the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁸ They were established as a probable solution to rising provincial problems. In the Sivas case, both the Municipality and the General Provincial Assembly had lots of projects; however, firstly financial problems and then the war circumstances prevented materialization. Leaving aside city planning, cultural activities and arrangement of public places like parks, the Municipality and General Assembly did not even have the capacity to provide infrastructure such as cleansing of city water or regulating the sewer system. However, the hopes of people about a better city had already arisen with the Constitutional Regime. In 1915, such hopes were still alive according to the following:

A February day and it is so snowy (just as today); however the machines of Municipality are cleaning the roads. Two sides of the road are full of tall apartments. There are so many big and small cars in the roads. The people in cars are going to movies and theaters. There is a statue at the center of the Government Arena...After dinner, some young people are talking about their plans for the evening. One says: "I will go to General Assembly, a friend invited me. He will give a speech about the labor unions. After that we will meet with some friends in front of Grand Mosque and go to *Gökalp* Theatre." Another turbaned boy claims that "The discussion in the General Assembly will be very fiery, so until the theatre in *Mehmet Emin* library, it will be better to read some books at the

²⁷⁶ *Kızılırmak*, 17 Şubat 1330 (2 March 1915), No. 46.

²⁷⁷ *Kızılırmak*, 12 Mart 1331 (25 March 1915), No. 49.

²⁷⁸ Ergun Türkcan (ed.) *Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi*, (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1978) p. 22.

library.” When I am walking randomly I see the workers going to Iron House for the night. The workers are singing national songs while they are working eagerly. Then a driver said to me “There will be a concert of *Kızılırmak* students in the winter house of the Park. We can reach in 5 minutes.” When I enter the Park closing by big glass, I feel myself in Syrian summer rather than winter of Sivas. There are orange, lemon saplings and rose trees. I am staying here for one hour and two hours at *Gökalp* Theatre. The people get out from the movie; theatre and concert are going forward to “*Yeni Turan Hotel*” and they purchase the evening paper of *Kızılırmak* when they pass through the printing house. The head topic was: “Governor Muammer *Bey* went to İstanbul by speedy train yesterday and he will return tomorrow by the same train in order to join the labor negotiation in the General Assembly. *Gökalp Bey* is also with him” ... The people looking at walls and book stores see the advertisements as: Sivas Turk Şayak and Wool Factory, Yıldız Mineral Water Company, Tokat Vegetable Preserves Factory, Gürün’s Shawls Company, Kardeşler Coal Mine. I believe that eight/ten years later we will see such a dazzled Sivas.²⁷⁹

In fact, such imagination was not only shaped by hopes but also by the ideology of the author. “*Gökalp Theater*” was meaningful because in these years Ziya *Gökalp* was the most influential ideologue of the CUP. Moreover, the name of the hotel was inspired by the rising ideology of the CUP, Turanism. Advertisements of the factories and companies were also reflection of the National Economic Policy which had been in application since 1913.

3.3 Educational Structure of the Sivas Province

Sivas was an educational center during the period of the Seljuks. In the central *sanjak* there were 4 *medreses* in the pre-Ottoman period. During the Ottoman period only one more *medrese* was established. Although the Sivas Province had lost its importance as an education center during the Ottoman period, it had the highest literacy rate (%7.6) among other Eastern provinces.²⁸⁰ Moreover, according to the 1894/95 statistics, total expenditure for education was 33.200 *kuruş* and this amount was over the average compared to other provinces of the Empire. The Sivas Province was the sixteenth administrative district among thirty six Ottoman districts in terms of the educational expenditure.²⁸¹ Therefore, education was historically an important part of provincial life in Sivas.

²⁷⁹ “Yeni Sivas”, *Kızılırmak*, 26 Şubat 1330 (11 March 1915) No. 47.

²⁸⁰ Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, p. 128.

According to Cuinet, in 1890, there was one *medrese* (with 20 students and three instructors), one millitary *rüşdiye* (with 289 students and 13 instructors), one civilian *rüşdiye* (with 454 students and five instructors), five Primary schools of the Ministry of Education (with 811 male and 236 female students, six male and four female instructors), 30 *mahalle mektebi*, primary schools that offered religious education under the control of mosques, (with 501 students and 30 instructors), and finally one Teacher's Training School (*Dariü'l-muallimin*) (with 60 students and 10 instructors) in the central *kaza*.²⁸² There were also twelve Gregorian Armenian Schools (with 1020 male and 230 female students and 32 instructors). The schools belonged to Protestant Armenians composed of one basic school for males, one basic school for females; and six primary schools (with 431 students and 11 instructors).²⁸³ There was no school of the Catholics in the central *kaza*; however, there was one French primary school (with 200 students) for Catholics. There was one small primary school for the Greeks (with 60 students) and the education language medium was Greek in this school.²⁸⁴

In the Tokat *Sanjak*, there were ten *medreses* (with 200 male students), one *rüşdiye* (with 120 male students), and eleven primary schools (with 550 male and 330 female students).²⁸⁵ In addition, there were Gregorian, Catholic and Orthodox Armenian schools. Each community had only one primary school and 420 male and 200 female students were enrolled in these schools. Further, there was one Latin primary school (with 130 male students), one Greek Orthodox primary school (with 50 male students) and one Jewish primary school (with 50 male students).²⁸⁶

There were more education institutions in the Amasya *sanjak* than Tokat and Sivas. Especially there were many Muslim primary schools with high female student attendance. In this *Sanjak*, there was one *medrese* (with 50 students), two *rüşdiye* (with 240 male students), and 620 primary schools (with 5.500 male and 660 female

²⁸¹ Karpas, *Otoman Population...*, p. 226.

²⁸² Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, p. 134.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 135.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁸⁵ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie; géographie...*, p. 707.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

students).²⁸⁷ Gregorian Armenians had 301 primary schools (with 1.000 male and 90 female students), Catholic Armenians had one primary school (with 240 male students) and Protestant Armenians had 10 primary schools (with 370 male and 100 female students). There were thirty Orthodox Greek primary schools (with 310 male students) and two Latin primary schools (with 280 male students).²⁸⁸

As indicated in the first chapter, Karahisar *Sanjak* was the least populated region of the Sivas province. However, there were many schools in the *sanjak* when its population size is considered. There were three *medreses* (with 90 students), one *rüşdiyye* (with 150 male students) and 606 primary schools (with 6.700 male and 69 female students). Gregorian Armenians had 500 primary schools (with 2.000 male students), the Protestant Armenians three (with 60 male students), the Greeks seventy (with 500 male students) and the Latins two (with 300 male students).²⁸⁹

According to Cuinet, in the late nineteenth century, both Muslims and non-Muslims had educational institutions all over the province. The non-Muslims had only primary level schools while Muslims had primary, secondary and high schools. However, the education given in, especially, primary schools and *medreses* was religious in character. Moreover, as we will see, the education system had many problems in this period. Therefore, the quantitative abundance as reflected in the number of schools did not mean that the quality of education was great. The education of girls was limited to primary school education in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Girls were enrolled only in the Armenian schools among the non-Muslim population. According to the yearbook of 1907, the educational picture of the province was transformed to a certain extent but this data cover only Muslim schools.

There were 132 Medreses and 49 of them were located in Amasya.²⁹⁰ There was one *İdadi* School in each *sanjak* except Karahisar. The number of the primary schools did not change in 17 years and in 1907, there were still 5 primary schools of the Ministry of Education. According to the yearbook, the most important problem

²⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 741.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 741.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 778.

²⁹⁰ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 258.

regarding education was building schools in the villages. Villages of the Sivas Province were too small and far from each other. Therefore, building schools in every village was too expensive for the state. There were some primary schools in the villages administered by teachers and supported by villagers. Interestingly enough, this educational problem was attempted to be solved by the provincial government through appointing *imams* to the villages from the graduates of *Darü'l-muallimin* since 1905.²⁹¹

3.3.1 The Constitutional Regime and Its Educational Policies

With the Constitutional Regime, social problems began to be explicitly criticized by the press. Education was one of the most frequently criticized issues. The Hamidian Regime was usually claimed to be the main culprit for problems in education. According to many, Abdülhamid left the people uneducated in order to maintain his oppressive rule. Therefore, if there would be progress in the Constitutional Regime, education was the primary issue that governments should deal with.²⁹² The new government was criticized in this respect because its efforts for the improvement of education covered only the center of provinces and *kazas*. The villages were not included in the improvement plans. For instance, a primary school was closed down in Toklar district of *Aziziye Sanjak*. The district, populated by Afşar tribe, conveyed their demand as: "... We hope that the Department of Education reaches a conclusion without giving opportunity for extension of complaints by the Afşars, who had been most left without education."²⁹³ While there were rising complaints about the education in the Anatolian provinces, the central government attempted to implement its new educational policies.

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 197.

²⁹² "İbtidai Mekteplerimizin Lüzum-ı Islahı ve Teksiri", *Kızılırmak*, 26 Kânunusani 1325 (9 February 1910) No. 6.

²⁹³ "Tamim-i Maarif ve Celb-i Dikkat", *Kızılırmak*, 3 Şubat 1325 (16 February 1910), No. 7. "Herhalde, ümid ederiz ki Maarif Dairesi şimdiye kadar en ziyade maarifsiz kalan Afşarların tevsi-i şikayetlerine meydan vermeyerek bir neticeye rabt eder."

3.3.1.1 Ideological Framework for the Policies in Education: Ottomanism, Nationalism and Centralization

The improvement of education was one of the most important issues that frequently underlined in CUP's political program. Although it is quite difficult to talk about a determined aim of education during the Constitutional Regime, it can be said that Ottomanism was the main ideology that shaped the educational policies until the end of the Balkan wars.²⁹⁴ Most of the school books, written before the Balkan Wars, described the country in an Ottomanist vision. For example, a book entitled *Education of Morality and Civilization for Girls* defined the country as a home and the citizens were its inhabitants.²⁹⁵ In other words, the profile of an ideal patriotic Ottoman citizen was attempted at.

However, after the Balkan Wars both the education system and its aim began to be criticized accordingly with recent developments. The main reason of the Balkan defeat began to be seen in lack of education. An article in *Kızılırmak* explained this mentality explicitly. The author stated that:

In the Balkan wars science defeats ignorance; reform defeats tradition; lesson defeats laziness; and nation defeats nation-less. In this respect, the most guilty are the parents who do not send their children to schools and the nation lost this war because of ignorance.²⁹⁶

The article claims that lack of “national” consciousness was one of the main reasons of the defeat. Education was the best instrument to instill this consciousness. Therefore, the main aim of education became to rise a new generation equipped with national consciousness.

Another author claimed that “I declare explicitly that the ideal of nation and country does not exist among our young people. The responsible are teachers, directors and governesses. Teachers with pedagogical education are very few”,²⁹⁷ In

²⁹⁴ Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim ...*, p. 242.

²⁹⁵ Füsün Üstel, “II. Meşrutiyet ve Vatandaşın İcadı”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce:Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyetin Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 177.

²⁹⁶ F. M., “Kusur Ne Hacıda Ne Hocada Belki de Karı-Kocadadır”, *Kızılırmak*, 22 Haziran 1330, (05 July 1914), No. 21. “...Bu harpte ilim cehli, tecdid göreneği, ibret ataleti, milliyet adem-i milliyeti alt etti...Çocuklarını okula göndermeyen aileler en suçlu kesimdir çünkü millet cehalet yüzünden savaşları kaybetmektedir.”

fact, one of the most noticeable developments in the Constitutional Regime was the rising discussions on training of teachers. Implementation of the policies of the new regime was dependent to well-educated teachers; however, there were not adequate teachers. In 1908, thirty Teachers' Training Schools (*Darü'l-muallimin*) were opened all over the Empire.²⁹⁸ Teachers' Training School was founded before 1908 in Sivas. Nevertheless, the attractiveness of this school is debatable. In 1910, there were only ten applications for enrollment from all over the province. The main reason of few applications was the belief that graduates would be appointed to villages with low income.²⁹⁹ Not only in Sivas but also all over the Empire, the reluctance of young people to work in villages was one of the greatest problems. According to İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, an intellectual of the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods on education, pedagogy, language and theatre, Teachers' Training Schools did not instill national consciousness to students; therefore, the young teachers, who graduated from these schools without national consciousness, did not want to work in villages.³⁰⁰

Nationalist educational policies became more transparent during the First World War. In June 1914, Ottoman Power Associations (*Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri*) were founded. In *Kızılırmak*, the full text of the regulation on the foundation of these associations was published. According to this regulation, the main aim of their foundation was to prepare the young people to defend the country by patriotic feelings. Founding a branch of Power Associations was compulsory for all official schools, *medreses* and other official institutions. It was not compulsory for private schools and community schools. They were directly under the Ministry of War and they could not be founded without the permission of the Ministry. As an initial step before founding a branch of Power Associations, "scout associations" were established. Young males between 12-17 years were to be members of scout

²⁹⁷ S. M., "Mekteplerimiz Nasıl Olmalı", *Kızılırmak*, 5 Mart 1331, (5 March 1915), No. 48. "...Bütün açıklığıyla söylüyorum, bizim gençlerimizde milli, vatani mefkure yoktur. Talebeyi bu mevkide bırakan muallimler, müdürler ve mürebbiyelerdir diyorum. Pedagoji eğitimi almış muallimlerimizin sayısı çok azdır."

²⁹⁸ Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi...*, p. 257.

²⁹⁹ Ahmet Sıtkı, "Gençlerimiz", *Kızılırmak*, (19 September 1910), No. 36.

³⁰⁰ Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi...*, p. 258.

association and those over 17 years old were to become members of Power Associations. Training of the scouts was in accordance with the principles set by the Ministry of War. Moreover, when necessary, these associations were to be supplied with arms and ammunition. The associations founded in private and community schools would not take up arms and ammunition for free; they had to pay an amount determined by the Ministry of War.³⁰¹ After the publication of this regulation, scout associations began to be founded in every provincial school in a short period of time. The newspaper began to publish a series of articles on the importance of physical training and scouts.³⁰² Scout associations were only founded in the Muslim schools and they became a part of official opening ceremonies, greeting ceremonies with speeches that were full of nationalistic and Islamist themes.³⁰³ In this way, Muslim-Turkish children began to be prepared to meet all the difficulties of war. It can be argued that, these associations were the best indicator of materialization of official ideology in the educational system.

Education was not only seen as an ideological tool for the creation of new citizens, it was also a part of the centralization policies of the CUP. According to the 1913 political program of CUP there should be government control over the private and community schools. Moreover, mother tongue of communities could be the medium of instruction; however, Turkish had to be taught in every school in the Empire.³⁰⁴ In 1915, the “Regulatory Decree for Private Schools” was enacted. Turkish became compulsory in all schools. Turkish History and geography would be taught by Turkish teachers in foreign and community schools. Moreover, foreign communities and enterprises were forbidden to found schools in the Ottoman

³⁰¹ “Kavanin ve Nizam: Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri Hakkında Nizamname”, *Kızılırmak*, 16 Haziran 1330 (29 June 1914), No. 20.

³⁰² Kırımlioğlu Sadi Movultay, “İdman Musahabeleri, İzcilik Nedir?” *Kızılırmak*, 2 Teşrinievvel 1330 (15 September 1914), No. 33., (starts in issue 33 and continues in No. 34, 35, 36).

³⁰³ For instance, in a greeting ceremony the scouts read that prayer: “Ulu Allah’ımız! Yer yüzündeki insanları sana çağırın İslam Dinine, büyük Kuran’ımıza hakaret etmek isteyen düşmanlarımızla cenk eden bizleri sen muzaffer eyle Yarabbi! Amin. Hazret-i Muhammed’in halifesine silah çeken şakileri sen kahreyle Yarabbi. Moskof, İngiliz ve Frenk haçları altında esir olan milyonlarca Müslümanları kurtarmak için kan ve can feda eden kardeşlerimizi muzaffer eyle Yarabbi, Amin...” in *Kızılırmak*, 3 Teşrinisani 1330 (16 November 1914), No. 37.

³⁰⁴ Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, p.144

Empire.³⁰⁵ Community schools came under state control since 1908; however, it was not put into effect until 1915. This decree was a clear indicator of centralization attempts.³⁰⁶ As we saw in the first chapter, Sivas had a noteworthy non-Muslim minority. Schools of the non-Muslim will be examined in the following part; in the Sivas case in detail.

3.3.1.2 Educational Developments within the Province: Changes and Continuities

By declaration of the Constitutional Regime, the Ottoman state entered into a new period. Although the first steps of educational transformation dates back to the early nineteenth century, debates on this issue had never been as intensive as those of the Constitutional Regime. Education was seen as one of the corners of development necessary to sustain the survival of the state. Therefore, many attempts to develop a better educational system took place during this period:³⁰⁷ The school was thought to be an institution that made the human nature perfect, improve national economy, develop entrepreneurship abilities and as a result, developed the country totally. Thus, in this period the curricula were renewed; for the first time, lessons about political issues entered into curriculums, education of girls and women gained special importance.

In 1913, the provisional law for Primary Education (*Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Kanun-ı Muvakkat*) was enacted. In accordance with the law, primary education became compulsory and free of charge. Schools called *iptidai* and *rüşdi* were combined and entitled *Mekatib-i İptidaiye-i Umumiye*. Primary education was to be six years.³⁰⁸ The importance of primary education increased; however, there was a dichotomy in the education system. On the one hand, the curricula were changed and

³⁰⁵ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze ...*, p. 139.

³⁰⁶ Centralization, nationalism and modernization formed the ideological basis of some educational policies of the CUP such as introduction of compulsory primary education, attempts to unify education and to introduce a new alphabet. See, İlhan Tekeli, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Eğitim Sistemindeki Değişmeler", in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 2, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985) p. 473.

³⁰⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze ...*, p.125.

³⁰⁸ Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi...*, pp. 243-245.

scientific educational principles were set for application; on the other hand, traditional education based on religious principles was maintained. In the Sivas province, there were many primary schools but most of them were traditional schools. According to the yearbook of 1907, there were only five official primary schools based on new educational principles.³⁰⁹ However, after 1908 new primary schools began to be founded. For instance, during Muammer *Bey*'s governorship two schools called *Kızılırmak* and *Numune* were opened.³¹⁰ News regarding the enrollment days of the schools, teacher applications, and anniversary ceremonies were announced in *Kızılırmak*.³¹¹ There is no information about their curriculums and educational performances in the newspaper. Therefore, it can be argued that they were important not because of their success but because they became symbols of the new educational system. It should also be noted that the newspaper focused only on these schools and does not mention from traditional schools.

Industrial Schools were also important during the Constitutional Regime. Through a regulation in 1911, they were described as schools which train students as artisans and apprentices in accordance with the need of the regions.³¹² In the Sivas Province, there was one Industrial School. The students of this school were orphans. After declaration of the Constitutional Regime it was thought to be combined with the Armenian Orphanage with the consideration that both institutions had very shabby buildings and if they were combined, they might have better conditions.³¹³ We have no idea if this project was ever fulfilled.

The graduates of the Industry School had the chance to continue their education in İstanbul. In 1910, there were fourteen graduates of this school. Six of the graduates would be sent to İstanbul for education.³¹⁴ It was clear that these students were sent to İstanbul by granting them a scholarship. It was granted as a

³⁰⁹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 258.

³¹⁰ Orhun, et.al., *Meşhur...*, p. 321.

³¹¹ *Kızılırmak*, 25 Haziran 1330 (28 June 1914) No. 20, Also in the same publication period No. 28, 32, 38, 42, 47, 48).

³¹² Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi...*, p. 251.

³¹³ Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim...*, p. 174.

³¹⁴ "Sivas Sanayi Mektebinden", *Kızılırmak*, 26 Haziran 1326 (11 June 1910), No. 28.

result of aids collected from the community.³¹⁵ Until 1912, the only income of the Industry Schools was such kind of aids; however, with the Law on Provincial Administration (1913), expenses of those schools began to be met from the budget of Special Provincial Government.³¹⁶

Reformation of *medreses* was also part of educational transformation since the *Tanzimat* period. After 1908, this issue was heeded more. In 1910, the Regulation of “*Medaris-i İlmiye*” was enacted. According to this regulation, the total education period of *medrese* would be twelve years. The curriculum would include courses such as Mathematics, Geometry, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, History, Geography, and Persian, and people would be able to enroll to *medreses* between the ages of 15-35. In 1914, the Regulation of “*İslah-ı Medaris*” was enacted. The main aim of this regulation was to make room for positive science courses in the *medrese* curriculum.³¹⁷ In fact, these efforts were the indicators of creating a more secular, scientific and national education under the Constitutional Regime. The words of Ziya Gökalp were meaningful at this point: “... the most harmful people to our country were taught at *medreses* and *Tanzimat* schools. *Medrese* transformed Turks to non-Turks. However, *Enderun* was the effort of transforming non-Turks to Turks...”³¹⁸ According to an article published in *Kızılırmak* the new schools such as *Darü'l-muallimin* began to take the place of *medreses* in the Sivas Province. However, the author complained about flimsy change. He pointed out that although a lot of students were leaving *medreses* and attending *Darü'l-muallimin*, they did not change their minds. They only changed their clothes and appearances.³¹⁹ In fact, that argument reflected the general picture of the situation in the Empire. During the Constitutional Regime many educational reforms were made or discussed; however change was very little and not noteworthy. Dichotomy between modern and traditional institutions continued until the foundation of the Republican Regime.

³¹⁵ Many issues of the newspaper is full of aid campaigns for Industry School. For instance, a special aid campaign was arranged for the students that would go to İstanbul see “Asar-ı Şefkat”, *Kızılırmak*, 29 Ağustos 1326, (8 September 1910), No. 35.

³¹⁶ Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi...*, p. 252.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 260.

³¹⁸ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze...*, p. 127.

³¹⁹ S. M., “Mekteplerimiz Nasıl Olmalı?”, *Kızılırmak*, 5 Mart 1331 (18 Mart 1915), No. 48.

Another dimension of the educational reforms lay in constituting an alternative to the foreign school education, which was better than the Muslim traditional schools. Foreign schools began to attract Muslim students so there should be new schools based on modern educational principles. The questions such as what the educational system of foreign and minority schools were; by whom they were administered and financed; whether education was the only aim of these schools or not; what was their situation in the Sivas Province, must be answered in order to analyze the educational picture of the province comprehensively.

3.3.2 Non- Muslim Schools in the Sivas Province

There were two kinds of minority schools in Sivas. Some of the schools belonged to the communities and they were also supported by the state financially. For instance, there were eleven Armenian schools in Sivas with 468 *kuruş* expenditure per year and 338 *kuruş* of this expenditure was covered by the treasury payments.³²⁰ However, there were also missionary schools which were founded by the missions and they were generally financed by foreign states and missionary organizations.

Foreign schools began to spread out in the 1850s. This was related to the increased mission activities after the mid nineteenth century. It is a fact that, missionary activities started in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century and the main aim of these activities was to inform people about Christianity. However, in time, missionary activities became instrumental. The golden age of missionary activities was the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This span of time was also the period in which capitalism was transformed into imperialism. Therefore, in the nineteenth century it was difficult to talk about idealistic religious aims for missions. Apart from being religious institutions, missions became tools of economic and political penetration of imperialist states.³²¹

The first missions that came to the Sivas Province were the French. In 1890, France opened a consulate in the province in order to both maintain diplomatic

³²⁰ Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, p. 135.

³²¹ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, pp. 13–14.

relations and support the missions.³²² According to the 1903 yearbook of education, one French primary school (with 279 students) and one French high school (with 401 students) existed in the central *kaza*. The primary school was only for female student.³²³ According to 1890's data from the French Consulate, the mission school in Sivas which was entitled “*Missions des Jèsuites en Armènie Oblates de l'Assomption et Soeurs de Saint-Joseph*” annually received 1.700 franks from the French Government.³²⁴ Although Jesuits were the earliest missions in Sivas, they were never as influential as American missions in the province. In fact, it was the general situation for the Jesuits all over the Empire. Their more stable structure and less influential situation within the Empire stemmed from limited relations with local inhabitants.³²⁵

In 1879, the government of Britain opened consulates in several regions of Anatolia. The Province of Sivas was the center of these consulates. British missionaries carried out their activities through consulates, churches, education and health institutions.³²⁶ Although, Sivas was the center of the British Consulates in Anatolia, there is no detailed information about their educational activities.

American missions came to Sivas later than French and the British; however, they were the most effective in the province. They established themselves in the province by the directions of the “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions” (hereafter ABCFM). ABCFM was one of the sixteen Protestant Missionary organizations; but none of these American Missionary Organizations was as successful as the ABCFM in Anatolia.³²⁷ The main target group was Armenians; therefore, the ABCFM opened agencies in localities that had a considerable size of Armenian population such as Mancılık (village of Kangal), Divriği, Zara, Suşehri,

³²² Gökbel, *İnanç Tarihi...*, p. 121.

³²³ Ramazan Özey, “20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Sivas'ın Tarihi Coğrafyası”, *Sivas Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. Şeref Boyraz (Sivas: Es-Form Ofset, 2003), p. 138.

³²⁴ İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar*, (Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 1990), p. 94.

³²⁵ Keiser, *İskalanmış Barış*, p. 441.

³²⁶ Gökbel, *İnanç Tarihi...*, p. 121.

³²⁷ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, p. 14.

Gürün, Darende, Tokat and Karahisar.³²⁸ There was one American Protestant secondary school (with 110 Students) and one American Protestant School (with 340 students) in the central *sanjak*.³²⁹ The American missionary schools will be analyzed in detail but before that the relationship between the missions and the new regime must be examined briefly.

The missions were happy about the 1908 Revolution because they were working under very strict conditions during the Hamidian Regime. After the revolution, the ABCFM became the closest mission to the government. It adopted a new duty, which was contributing to newly emerging Ottoman Identity. At this point, missionary schools were also to serve Muslim Ottomans.³³⁰ As we will see later, this aim was materialized to an extent in the Merzifon Anatolian Collage.

Following the Adana Events in 1909, most of the mission organizations were alienated from the CUP; however, the ABCFM was still close to the Unionists. Interestingly enough, ABCFM supported the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars. According to ABCFM, European states violated the principles of international law in disfavor of the Ottoman state during these wars.³³¹ As a result, between 1908-1914, ABCFM became more influential in Anatolia through its close relationship with the Unionists.

News published in *Kızılırmak* demonstrates that during the first years of the Constitutional Regime, the relationship between non-Muslim schools and the local officials was well in the Sivas Province. Some gatherings and speeches were arranged in non-Muslim schools and the governor with some other local administrators participated in these activities.³³² Nevertheless, the CUP had the aim to achieve a centralized educational system from the beginning and the ample size of non-Muslim Schools (minority schools on the one hand and missionary schools on

³²⁸ One of the report claimed that all villagers of Mancılık became Protestant. Moreover, in Gürün they were very influential on young girls and women through the education given in three American schools and one protestant church. For detailed information also see, Gökbel, *İnanç Tarihi...*, pp. 123-125.

³²⁹ Özey. “20. Yüzyıl Başlarında...”, p. 138.

³³⁰ Keiser, *İskalanmış Barış*, p. 394.

³³¹ *Ibid*, p. 412.

³³² “Fransız Mektebinde”, *Kızılırmak*, 4 Temmuz 1326 (17 July 1910), No. 29.

the other) was an obstacle before the fulfillment of this aim. This can be understood from the news published in *Kızılırmak*. According to the news, one side of graduation certificates of the community and foreign schools would be written in the official language of the State, Turkish, and the certificates without this property would not be approved by the Ministry of Education.³³³

In fact, since the late nineteenth century, non-Muslim schools were to be controlled by centralizing measures. The Regulation of General Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) of 1869 was the first important step of this control mechanism. It accepted non-Muslim schools as private schools. Through this regulation, the foundation of these schools was tied to three basic requirements: First, the diplomas of the teachers should be approved by the Ministry of Education. Secondly, textbooks which were used in these schools had to be approved by the Ministry of Education or provincial Education Administrations or governors. Finally, a certificate for allowing the foundation of these schools had to be granted by the Ministry of Education.³³⁴ Therefore, the foundation of a non-Muslim School would be theoretically under state control. However, in practice this regulation could not be applied entirely. The most important reason was that it was too late to take some control measures, because until the enactment of the Regulation of General Education in 1869, non-Muslim schools became wide-spread enough to materialize political hopes of the imperialist states and minorities alike.³³⁵ In spite of the rising demand for control mechanism of governments, attempts to this end were prevented by the Patriarchate and Embassies after 1908.³³⁶ As previously noted, “Regulatory Decree for Private Schools” was enacted in 1915 and relatively more control was applied on non-Muslim Schools.³³⁷ Nevertheless, it lasted for a short period of time because when the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War, control on

³³³ “Son Haberler”, *Kızılırmak*, 6 Eylül 1326 (19 September 1910), No. 36.

³³⁴ Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda...*, pp. 26-27.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 80.

³³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 81.

³³⁷ In 1915, Armenians were deported from the Eastern provinces; therefore, the schools which served the Armenian population were closed down. In addition, schools that belonged to the Entente Powers were also closed down. In this context, the enactment of the Regulatory Decree for Private schools in 1915 and its implementation was easier than the implementation of such a decree enacted before 1915.

the non-Muslim schools was loosened. The control mechanism was to be materialized following the Lausanne Peace Treaty in the full sense.³³⁸

3.3.2.1 Some Important Missionary Schools in the Sivas Province

After the 1880s, non-Muslims, especially the Armenians and the Greeks, were much more interested in mission schools. The main reason for the rising interest was the transformation of the Ottoman Empire.³³⁹ As relations with Europe and the USA increased, the need for a better education system emerged. As previously underlined, educational reforms also began to be applied in Muslim schools during this period. Nevertheless, for the communities and imperialistic powers better education had a different meaning. The Ottoman elites viewed educational reforms as a savior of the state while the great powers wanted to increase their influence in the empire. Communities tried to be educated well due to several reasons: First, as a result of rising relations with Western countries, well educated young people who knew at least one foreign language became a must for them. On the other hand, there was a rising bourgeoisie among the non-Muslim communities. Education was the most important tool to improve this class in accordance with the national consciousness that would lead to determination of its own future.³⁴⁰ As a result, there emerged a double education system among the missionary schools. On the one hand, there were still schools of religious education; on the other hand, there were schools –especially high schools and colleges- whose education was secular and modern.

In Merzifon, there were schools reflected this bifurcated structure in missionary schools. The Merzifon Boarding School for Girls was founded in 1865 by Western Turkey Mission of ABCFM.³⁴¹ The main aim of this school was to provide

³³⁸ Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda...*, p. 82.

³³⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, p. 21.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 139-140.

³⁴¹ Frank Andrews Stone, "Anatolia College and Sivas Teachers' College: Armenian Education in American Schools" in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. by G. Hovanissian (California: Mazda Publishers, 2004) p. 208.

the spiritual development of girls. Graduates would be nominated as missionaries.³⁴² Although the main target of this school seemed to be providing religious education to girls, it was directly affected by the rising ethnic and religious tensions like other mission schools in the province. In 1893, the building of this school was burnt. According to the British documents, the arsonists were not exactly known. Hosref *Bey*, the vice-commander of the Gendarme of the Sivas Province and Alay *Bey* (ex-brigand) might be the criminals because Alay *Bey* told Dr. Melcom (an instructor of the Anatolian College) that he would burn it.³⁴³ However, two Armenian teachers of the Girls' School were arrested after the event. Later, it was understood that these teachers were members of a secret Armenian Society.³⁴⁴ There is no more information about the fire and its consequences.

Sivas Teachers' College and Merzifon Anatolia College were samples of secular education. Sivas Normal School for Boys was established in 1880 and it was transformed into Sivas Teachers' College in 1912.³⁴⁵ It was the first ABCFM sponsored college in the Ottoman Empire that was only devoted to teacher training. However, the college had gained neither formal recognition of the Ottoman government nor an American college charter. There were 432 students in the school in 1914 and it was closed after the deportation of the Armenians.³⁴⁶

Merzifon Anatolian College was another missionary school that had a secular curriculum. In 1865, the boarding school of Hasköy was moved to Merzifon in order to be closer to the target group. In 1880, the Western Mission of Turkey applied to ABCFM for founding a college that would train teachers. These teachers would be employed not only in Sivas but also in other Anatolian schools. Anatolian College was opened in 1886 without a campus, building or certificate.³⁴⁷ The Ottoman Government approved it in 1899.³⁴⁸

³⁴² Ibid, p. 210.

³⁴³ "Inclosure in No. 89, Consul Longworth to Sir Clare Ford, February, 15, 1893", *Further Correspondence Relating...* (1896), p. 64.

³⁴⁴ "Inclosure 2 in No. 139, May 13, 1893", *Further Correspondence Relating...* (1896), p. 122.

³⁴⁵ Stone, "Anatolia College...", p. 223.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 224-225.

³⁴⁷ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, p. 153.

The most important characteristic of the college was multi-ethnic and multi-religious profile of its students and instructors. In the establishment agreement of the school, it was explicitly emphasized that irrespective of religion, no one would be refused to be a student of the college. In 1913, there were 200 Greek, 160 Armenian, 40 Russian, and 25 Turkish students.³⁴⁹

The quality of the education was very high in this school. Educating the young men liberally through their own interests was the main aim of the school. The curriculum of this school was prepared in accordance with the requirements of advanced civilization.³⁵⁰ According to a report written by H. M. Jewett, the American consul in Sivas, the education quality of the school was also accepted by the governor of the province. It is claimed that *Sırrı Bey*, the governor of Sivas in 1887, stated the Anatolian College was the best and the largest school in the region. Moreover, he also declared that Turkish language was not taught, even in the Turkish schools of the region, as it was taught in the Anatolian College.³⁵¹ Language instruction was very important at Anatolian College. In the preparatory classes Armenian, English, Greek and Turkish were actively taught. Following this, the medium of instruction was English.³⁵² There were several clubs in the college and their performances were open to public. Therefore, the activities of the college contributed to the cultural awakening of Merzifon.

Despite good education and several cultural activities, the college was thought to engage in political activities by the Ottoman Government. Events of the 1890s affected the college. In 1893, the manifesto of an Armenian revolutionary organization was posted on college wall and this event disturbed *Babiali*. The administrators of the college talked to the related authorities so the college was faced with no official sanction.³⁵³ However, according to the local administrators, the college was the center of troubles and rising tensions in Merzifon. *Hosref Paşa*

³⁴⁸ Stone, "Anatolia College...", p. 213.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 219.

³⁵⁰ Stone, "Anatolia College...", p. 213.

³⁵¹ Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda...*, p. 131.

³⁵² Ibid, p. 130, Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, p. 156.

³⁵³ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, p. 157.

claimed that “All the troubles come from the College, and there will be no peace until it is destroyed.” This statement was made just before the destruction of the college building.³⁵⁴ In spite of all these developments, the college continued until the late 1915. The college building began to be used as a military hospital by the CUP in 1916. The college was reopened in 1919 however the number of students and instructors decreased drastically. There were four teachers, two staff members and 150 students.³⁵⁵ The new period of the college lasted short. In 1920, a lot of documents related to the separatist Pontus Organization were found in the college.³⁵⁶ The school was closed down by the Ankara Government, its properties were confiscated and instructors were expelled.³⁵⁷

When the First World War broke out, the situation of non-Muslim schools began to change. French schools in Sivas were closed and the buildings were confiscated by the government. Later, they were given to the school called *Kızılırmak*.³⁵⁸ Closure of the American schools was ordered by an official telegram sent to Sivas, Diyarbakır and Mamuretü'l-aziz. According to this, the American and German schools, which were turned into orphanages looking after the Armenian children following deportation, should obtain official permission. The Ministry of Education warned the provincial governments to obstruct the orphanages which were founded without permission. As a matter of fact, the closure of these schools was seen as an opportunity to get rid of these non-Muslim schools entirely.³⁵⁹ In consequence, as a result of the government policies and war circumstances non-Muslim schools were closed after 1914.

³⁵⁴ “Inclosure in No. 235, September 2, 1893”, *Further Correspondence Relating ...* (1896) pp. 192-193.

³⁵⁵ Stone, “Anatolia College...”, pp. 220-221.

³⁵⁶ Pontus Organization was founded in 1904 in İstanbul. The main aim of the organization was establishment of a Greek state over the north Anatolian lands. Pontus Organization opened a branch in Merzifon. According to some documents the organization was active in Merzifon in 1908. For detailed information see, Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda...*, pp. 131-132.

³⁵⁷ Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika*, pp. 157-158.

³⁵⁸ “Fransız Keşişler Gitti”, *Kızılırmak* 13 Teşrinisani 1330 (26 November 1914), No. 39.

³⁵⁹ BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr, 55-A/155.

It is a fact that not only non-Muslim schools but also Muslim schools were also negatively affected from the war conditions. Muammer *Bey* was very sensitive about education issues. According to news published in *Kızılırmak*, Muammer *Bey* gave an order about the continuity of education all over the province and he claimed that nothing –even war conditions- were obstruct maintenance of educational activities.³⁶⁰ Most of the teachers of *Sultaniye*, high school, were conscripted for the war; therefore, the continuity of education was really difficult during the war years. However, Muammer *Bey* found a solution to this problem. He nominated the graduates of the school as teachers. Moreover, he also worked as a history teacher in *Sultaniye*.³⁶¹ Nevertheless, in spite of these efforts, the number of schools had decreased extremely by the end of the war. On the eve of the war, there were 345 primary schools in the province and there remained only 167 at the end. The number of the students also decreased %70.³⁶²

In conclusion, the administrative and educational structure of the Sivas Province was affected by the developments that took place during the Constitutional Regime. Although problems of corruption continued, people of Sivas were hoping for a change in the first years of the new regime. They explicitly expressed their complaints about the administrative system and local administrators through *Kızılırmak*. Centralization and nationalism were dominant in the administrative policies of the CUP after 1913. Debates on the Constitutional Regime and its benefits were replaced by the issue of national unity during the war.

The educational structure of the Sivas Province after 1908 was shaped by hopes, ideologies and wars. As we have seen education policies of the CUP strove to be applied in the province. The issues of village schools, search for better educational strategies, and the creation of Ottoman citizen were the cornerstones of the educational policy until the Balkan Wars. Centralization attempts and the rise of Turkish nationalism were dominant in educational policies during the war. New schools were opened. The Scout Organizations of these schools functioned as pre-

³⁶⁰ “Seferberlik ve Mekteplerimiz”, *Kızılırmak*, 24 August 1330 (06. 09. 1914), No. 26.

³⁶¹ “Bizzat Vali Hazretleri Beyefendi de Muallim”, *Kızılırmak*, 30 August 1330 (12 September 1914), No. 27.

³⁶² Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin...*, pp. 128-129.

organizational structure of the Ottoman Power Associations, which were founded for the militarization of society under the conditions of war. Moreover, following the deportation of the Armenians, non-Muslim schools, which were important for centralization policies, were closed. The economic structure of the Sivas Province, which will be examined in the following chapter, was also shaped by the conditions of war in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE SİVAS PROVINCE DURING THE CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME

At mid eighteenth century, economic structure of the European countries began to change radically. Mechanized industry developed as a result of using new technologies in the production process. By early twentieth century, most of the European countries had already completed the first stage, which was mechanization, in industrialization. On the contrary; the Ottoman economy was dominantly based on agriculture. Moreover, especially in Anatolia, traditional methods were used in agricultural production. The rate of industrialization was low all over the Empire. According to one statistic, until 1908, in the most industrialized regions of the Empire (Western Anatolia and Marmara), there were only 133 factories in different sectors such as food, textile and chemicals.³⁶³ Therefore, the Constitutional Regime was the inheritor of an economic structure that had many problems such as low industrialization, traditional agricultural production, and high foreign debts.

The economic problems of the Ottoman Empire deepened when its integration with European capitalism intensified in the nineteenth century. In this process, the commodities of mass production flowed into the Ottoman market and domestic production began to decline as a result of unequal competition between European and domestic products. In addition, the Ottoman Empire began to be seen as a market of raw materials. The non-Muslim figures in the commercial bourgeoisie became more dominant when they began to act as intermediaries between Europeans and Ottomans.³⁶⁴ Therefore, in the early twentieth century, most of the sectors in the economy were dominated by foreign investors or minorities.

³⁶³ For detailed information, see Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi (1908-2005)*, (Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 2006), pp. 20-21.

³⁶⁴ Ahmad, "Doğmakta Olan...", p. 26.

Turkish-Muslim enterprises began to be seen in various sectors after 1908. In fact, the nationalist economic policy followed by the CUP was influential on the rise of Turkish-Muslim enterprises. The First World War provided a convenient economic atmosphere for the implementation of these policies. During the war external economic ties came to an end. Especially, economic relations with food suppliers such as Ukraine, Russia and Romania ceased.³⁶⁵ As the war lengthened, increased military expenses were to be compensated by internal resources. Moreover, inflation became the most important economic problem of the Empire for the first time.³⁶⁶ Within this context, state control over economic life increased and nationalist economic policies were carried out.

There were two other important causes for the implementation of nationalist economic policies. First, during the First World War, the Turkish element was given special importance because the CUP tried to create a national identity from a multi-national and multi-religious imperial identity.³⁶⁷ Secondly, a Turkish bourgeoisie had to be created both in order to improve the economic conditions of the Empire and as conveyor of national identity.³⁶⁸ As previously stated, with the migration movements, the demographic structure of the Empire changed and Muslim-Turks became more dominant in Anatolia. In order to save the Empire, the creation of a bourgeois class composed of these elements was inevitable according to the Unionists. Some regulations show us the main aim of nationalist economic policies. For instance, Turkish became the compulsory language in commercial correspondence.³⁶⁹ Moreover, the rate of Turkish capital in joint companies increased from 3% to 38%.³⁷⁰ In short, nationalist economic policies, which had already begun to be applied prior to the First World War, became the most viable economic strategy in

³⁶⁵ Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern ...*, p. 131.

³⁶⁶ Toprak, *Türkiye'de Ekonomi ...*, p. 3.

³⁶⁷ Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat ...*, p.25

³⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 33.

³⁶⁹ F. Müge Göçek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Oluşumu: Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. By Tanıl Bora, Murat Güntekingil, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p. 68.

³⁷⁰ Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat ...*, pp. 58-59.

war conditions. The First World War was the first global war that a lot of countries fought for four years. Therefore, this long and wide-spread war resulted in structural changes not only in the Ottoman economy but also in the economies of other countries.

Despite structural weaknesses and difficulties, the welfare level of the Ottoman Empire was over average compared to the standards of the Middle East³⁷¹ until the First World War. Although the cost of living was low, wages and prices were relatively high compared to the neighboring countries.³⁷² However, the welfare level was not the same in all regions of the Empire. In 1830's the Empire was divided into three basic regions in accordance with the income level and the Sivas Province was in the second group.³⁷³ Thus, Sivas was a province that had an average level of income and welfare.

The most significant economic activity of the province was agriculture. As a second component of the economy, commercial activities including exportation of rugs, textile and copper products were significant in terms of the economy in the province. The economy of the province was highly determined by transportation opportunities. It is because exportation of both agricultural and industrial products necessitated a better sub-structure. The Sivas Province, due to its geographical location, was an important transit center in Anatolia. It combined the south to northern ports and western parts of the Empire to the eastern provinces. Therefore, the transportation network should be evaluated in the first place in order to make a more accurate analysis of the economic structure of the province.

4.1 Transportation

Transportation was an important factor in commercial activities of the Anatolian provinces. Each province tried to develop new roads in accordance with

³⁷¹ This analysis is made by Vedat Eldem however he did not clarify the content of Middle East. It is a fact that Middle East as a concept began to be used since the Second First World War but Eldem probably used Middle East as a geographical concept. He might emphasize Iran or/and India because most of the Middle Eastern lands belonged to the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century. See, Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), p. 6.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ These three regions were referred as high, average and low level of income. See, Ibid. p. 8.

the budget that was allotted from the center. The Sivas Province, at a distance about 125 miles (201 km) from the Black Sea port of Samsun, was on the great route leading southward to the northern coast.³⁷⁴ Despite its strategic position for trade, the transportation structure was the main obstacle before an active commercial life in Sivas.

4.1.1 Roads

Cuinet claims that in 1890 there were road connections from central *sanjak* of Sivas to Samsun* (75 km 752 m.), Harput (122 km 106 m), Ordu (213 km 325 m), Kayseri (148 km 679m), Darende (131 km 287 m), Karahisar (75 km), Divriği (108 km 490 m), Arapkir (47 km 180 m), Yozgat (48 km 568 m).³⁷⁵ Except for the first class Sivas-Samsun and Sivas-Ordu roads, most of the roads were second or third class. Cuinet did not explain according to which criteria he made this classification; however, it was clear that most of the roads that linked the province to others were inappropriate for transportation. The first class roads connected the province to Black Sea coast, which was the main exportation and importation area for the province. However, according to the year book of 1907, due to bad roads and traditional transportation means such as horse, camel and ox-carts, it was too expensive to export the surplus product.³⁷⁶ In fact the roads, which were categorized as first class by Cuinet, were evaluated as bad roads in the yearbook. The latter information was given seventeen years after the former; therefore, the roads might have become worse due to lack of care over time. Cuinet argued that the difficulty in transportation stemmed from traditional means rather than bad roads. For instance, one cart could carry 1.000 kg grain and transportation of that amount of grain from Sivas to Samsun took seven or eight days. Therefore, the price of one ton of wheat (40 franks in

³⁷⁴ G. Bie Ravndal, *Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, (Washington: Government Printing House, 1925), p. 17.

*The figures do not demonstrate exact distances between the Sivas Province and other places. For example, Sivas is far from Samsun about 200 km. The figure that was given by Cuinet is the length of the constructed roads between the places.

³⁷⁵ Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...* p. 144.

³⁷⁶ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 183.

Sivas) became 120 or 160 franks in Samsun.³⁷⁷ As a result, farmers preferred self-sufficient production and traditional methods in agriculture.³⁷⁸ Briefly, in the late nineteenth century, transportation network of the Sivas Province was poor and it was influential on agricultural production.

Following the 1908 Revolution, one of the remarkable policies of the CUP was to hold a reform in public works, especially in the construction of new roads. Roads were important not only for commercial activities but also for security and military measures. However, construction of new roads was not easy under the existing economic situation.³⁷⁹ The existing roads had been out of repair and the Eastern provinces were deprived of regular road networks. Thus, a substantial budget had to be allotted to repair the roads and for construction. Granting concessions to European states for these seemed the most convenient solution.

In 1910, a contract was made with a French company, the *Enterprise des Routes d'Edat*, for repairing the existing roads and constructing new roads in Eastern Anatolia. This project would cost £ 2.000.000. Because of the outbreak of the First World War, only a small portion of this project was materialized. There were seven main new routes in this project and two of them were to be connected to the Sivas Province: Erzurum-Erzincan-Sivas-Samsun and Giresun-Karahisar-Erzincan.³⁸⁰

The former route was very important because the road from Samsun to Bagdad via Sivas was one of the greatest trade arteries of the country. The latter was also crucial because Karahisar was one of the less-developed regions of the Sivas Province and imperfect transportation conditions were the main reason of underdevelopment. In fact, Tokat, Amasya and Sivas *sanjaks* were on the historical Samsun-Bagdad caravan route. Therefore, in spite of all deficits of roads, transportation continued over this route for many centuries. However, Karahisar was still deprived of roads in the early twentieth century. According to a series about roads of Karahisar, the lack of road to the Black Sea was the main reason of poverty

³⁷⁷ Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, p. 144.

³⁷⁸ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 185.

³⁷⁹ Aydoğan, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Doğu...*, pp. 102-103.

³⁸⁰ *Anatolia, (Handbooks Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 56)*, (London: Published by H. M. Stationary Office, 1920) p. 32.

of Karahisar.³⁸¹ Halil Rifat Paşa, the governor of the Sivas Province between 1882-1885, decided to construct a highroad from Karahisar to Giresun; however, the owners of silver mine which was four hours away from Karahisar for demanded that the planned road pass from the mine area. The provincial government accepted this demand; however, the road became longer and very dangerous. Moreover, this mine was closed only seven years later.

In 1910, the tradesmen and passengers were still using this long and dangerous road. In winters, the road was closed because of snow and avalanches. Every season, there were landslides; therefore, a lot of people and animals died. It was claimed that, if the railroad project was not actualized or route of the road was not changed, commercial life of Karahisar would come to an end.³⁸² Since Karahisar was also a center for products from Zara, Divriği, Erbekeir, Çemişkezik, Keban mine, Harput, Kelkit Şiran and Kemah, the products of these districts could be transferred to Giresun port only through Karahisar.³⁸³ Therefore, not only the commercial life of Karahisar but also the commerce of surrounding districts was in danger. There is no news about Karahisar road construction in the following issues of *Kızılırmak*. Nevertheless, it is known that in 1915, Karahisar was an isolated place.³⁸⁴

4.1.2 Railways

Railways began to be perceived as important transportation means since the second half of the nineteenth century. However, construction of railways was so expensive that governments had to give concessions to foreign companies. After the Crimean War, the railroad network gained special importance in the Ottoman Empire. Economic development was one of the main targets behind the construction of railways. Furthermore, railways would also provide a direct and easier accession to the Eastern parts of the Empire. Therefore, security and centralization attempts

³⁸¹ Ahmet Sıtkı, “Karahisar-i Şarkinin Şimdiki Hali ve Terakkiye Olan Derece-i İstidadı”, *Kızılırmak*, 23 Şubat 1325 (9 March 1910), No. 10.

³⁸² Ahmet Sıtkı, “Karahisar-i Şarkinin Şimdiki Hali ve Terakkiye Olan Derece-i İstidadı”, *Kızılırmak*, 28 Mart 1326 (11 April 1910), No. 15.

³⁸³ Ahmet Sıtkı, “Karahisar-i Şarkinin Şimdiki Hali ve Terakkiye Olan Derece-i İstidadı”, *Kızılırmak*, 4 Nisan 1326 (18 Nisan 1910), No. 16.

³⁸⁴ Payaslian, “The Armenian Resistance...”, p. 412.

were the main drives for constructing railways. For these reasons, a concession was granted for Samsun-Sivas railway with a capital of £ 4.625.000, one third of which would be provided by the government but it was cancelled in 1860. Another concession was granted for a line between Üsküdar and Sivas with a branch to Eskişehir and İzmir in 1859.³⁸⁵ However, it is understood that none of these projects were materialized until the 1890s.³⁸⁶

The policy of Russia was one reason for non-implementation of the railway projects. In 1891, a Belgian firm called Cockerill gained a concession for Samsun-Sivas-Kayseri line and sold it to Russia. Russia viewed the railways –especially in the northern parts of the Empire-as a negative impact on Russian interests. Since the exportation of Ottoman grain and agricultural products would increase by railways, the balance between Russian and Ottoman products would deteriorate in disfavor of the former. Moreover, European influence on the region would increase because European products would enter Eastern Anatolia, Persia and Transcaucasia through railway networks. Because of all these reasons, Russia managed to prevent railway buildings in the Ottoman Empire.³⁸⁷

After 1908, the CUP continued to develop railway projects. In 1909 the government drew up a detailed and long-range program covering 5.695 kilometers. Ankara-Sivas line (408 km), Sivas-Samsun line (with branches 434 km) and Sivas-Sarıklı-Erzurum line (542 km) were three of the four lines that had priority.³⁸⁸

However, the Ottoman state, still could not afford railway construction by its own financial sources. Thus, negotiation for concessions started in 1910. A letter to the editor from Zara showed the discontent of people about foreign concessions. This letter claimed that the railway project had been announced a year ago; however, nothing was done during the time elapsed. It continues: “...negotiation for concessions has been made for a time, but the benefit of these concessions for people

³⁸⁵ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 195.

³⁸⁶ Cuinet did not mention any railway connection to the Sivas Province. He mentions about competition between two rival companies for Sivas railway concessions. For more detailed information of Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, pp. 144-145.

³⁸⁷ Issawi, *The Economic History*, p. 195.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

living in Sivas is unknown.” The author demanded more information about the concessions.³⁸⁹ Demands from people were probably not met by the government because there was no information about negotiations in the following issues of the newspaper. At the end of 1910, railway construction had not yet begun. However, this time the reason for delay was explained. According to *Kızıllrmak*, the railway was decided to be constructed as a narrow line; therefore, new regulations were being prepared by the central government.³⁹⁰ At the end, in June 1911, a provisional agreement was signed with the *Règiè Gènèrale* for surveys, construction and operation of Samsun-Sivas and Sivas-Erzincan lines.³⁹¹ There is no information on as to what extent the railway project was materialized.

In 1914, another concession was granted to a French company, *Règiè Gènèrale de Chemins Fer*, for construction of an extensive railway network in Eastern Anatolia. In return, a loan of 800 million francs was given to the Ottoman government through certain French banks. Two of the four lines were in connection with Sivas: Samsun-Sivas- Harput and Maden line and Erzurum-Erzincan-Sivas line. However, nothing was accomplished, except a few miles of Samsun-Sivas line, when war broke out. These lines were to be completed in ten years.³⁹²

Another failed project belonged to Admiral Chester. His project acquired a concession for Eastern Anatolia railway construction-from Sivas to Süleymaniye via Harput, Diyarbakır, Musul and Kerkük. According to this concession, the American firm would also gain the right of exploitation of minerals alongside the railway. However, when the First World War began, he withdrew from the negotiation due to security reasons.³⁹³

Road and railway projects were uncompleted mostly because of the outbreak of the First World War. The CUP abolished all concession agreements with the Entente Powers when the Ottoman state entered into the war. During the war, few

³⁸⁹ Nişan Halacyan, “Aynen”, *Kızıllrmak*, 17 Mart 1326 (30 March, 1910), No. 13.

³⁹⁰ Şemseddinzade Müfti Ziya, “Şimendiferimiz”, *Kızıllrmak*, 14 Teşrinisani 1326 (27 November, 1910), No. 44.

³⁹¹ Issawi, *The Economic History*, p. 195.

³⁹² *Anatolia...*, pp.36-37.

³⁹³ Issawi, *The Economic History...*, p. 196.

railway lines were constructed for logistic targets by limited financial sources. In fact, the railways constructed during the war years can be evaluated a part of CUP's nationalization policy.³⁹⁴ However, it is a fact that nationalist economic policies were never totally against foreign capital. The CUP was aware of the limits of Ottoman financial structure; therefore, it tried to combine such policies with foreign entrepreneurship. This was applied especially for gaining financial support of the allied powers. Before the First World War, not only capital but also all of the staff were foreigners or non-Muslim Ottomans in foreign enterprises. This situation was attempted to be changed during the war. National capital was not enough for big projects such as railway construction; however, native people were encouraged to work in foreign enterprises and contribute to them with their capital, knowledge and labor.³⁹⁵

In short, road and railway construction gained special importance since the mid nineteenth century. The CUP governments attributed more importance to railway issue. However, the First World War caused failure of all projects. Therefore, the transportation network of Sivas in 1918 was not so different from that in the 1860s. The lack of considerable achievements in transportation caused economic stagnation in the province. Exportation and importation were performed under difficult conditions and self-sufficient production was still dominant in almost the entire province.

4.2 Agricultural Production in the Sivas Province

The Sivas Province was one of the most populated provinces of Ottoman Anatolia. Lands of the province were available for agriculture in general terms. However, some regions of the province such as Sivas and Karahisar were too cold and this was an obstacle beyond the agricultural production. Since Amasya and Tokat had warmer climates, agricultural products were much more diversified. Mountains were not so rugged; therefore, they could be turned to agricultural lands

³⁹⁴ Aydođan, *İttihat ve Terakkinin Dođu...*, pp. 111-112.

³⁹⁵ Toprak, *Milli İktisat...*, pp. 69-72.

by some effort. In conclusion, agriculture could be carried out nearly in every part of the province.³⁹⁶

Population density was unbalanced. On the one hand, there were some large areas that nobody lived; on the other hand, especially in the southern parts of the province, two hundred people lived in every one kilometer per square. In these much populated areas, the means of subsistence was industrial production rather than agriculture. Despite the large amounts of empty lands, agricultural products were more than the province needed; therefore, surplus agricultural products were exported.

4.2.1 Agricultural Production until the First World War

Grains were produced in every region of the province; however, they were the main staples of the central *sanjak* because viniculture, apiculture and horticulture could not be done there. In 1890, 47.049.135 *okka* wheat and 32.924.600 *okka* barley was produced in the central *sanjak*.³⁹⁷ They formed more than two third of the total agricultural production of the central *sanjak*. According to the yearbook of 1907, grain was not an important product in Tokat and Amasya because in these *sanjaks* more profitable products such as grape, tobacco, various fruits and vegetables were produced.³⁹⁸ However, the numbers given by Cuinet show that in each *sanjak* grain production composed the greatest share in agricultural production. In Tokat, 40.000.000 *okka* wheat and 10.000.000 *okka* barley and in Amasya, 35.000.000 *okka* wheat and 15.000.000 *okka* barley was produced. This production levels formed more than half of the total production of these two *sanjaks*.³⁹⁹ However, different from the Sivas *sanjak*, a noteworthy production of fruit, tobacco and corn was came from in Tokat and Amasya. Naturally, the latter products were more profitable than

³⁹⁶ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p.182.

³⁹⁷ Total agricultural production was 93.871.900 *okka* in the central *sanjak*, for detailed information see, Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, p. 139.

³⁹⁸ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 186.

³⁹⁹ Total agricultural production in Tokat was 82.746.110 *okka* and 91.884.300 *okka* in Amasya. For detailed information see, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie...*, pp. 715-716 and pp. 747-748.

grains. Therefore, probably the yearbook mentioned not the quantitative production but the economic contribution of the agricultural products. In short, these *sanjaks* had agricultural superiority all over the province. Tokat was the first *sanjak* in viniculture. Grapes produced in Tokat were of good quality. Horticulture was advanced in Amasya. Especially apples of this *sanjak* were famous.⁴⁰⁰ The total amount of agricultural production was least in Karahisar. Wheat (20.000.000 *okka*) and barley (5.000.000 *okka*) production had the greatest share in total agricultural production of the *sanjak*.⁴⁰¹ The uncongenial climate and geographical conditions of Karahisar were the main cause of low agricultural production.

Early in the twentieth century, “*Numune* Field” was founded in Sivas. Education of farmers about new methods in agriculture was the main aim of the establishment of this field. The primary economic problem of the province was the use of traditional methods in agriculture. People did not demand help and encouragement from the government. There were three main reasons for reluctance of farmers to adopt new methods. First, there were inadequate foundations that informed them of new developments. Secondly, the fertility of the lands and abundance of the products satisfied most of the farmers. Last and most importantly transportation of the surplus products was very difficult.⁴⁰²

After 1908, there were some efforts to improve this situation. On the one hand, farmers were educated about new technologies of agriculture; on the other hand, there were attempts to improve substructure by building new roads and railways. Articles published in *Kızılırmak* focused on education of peasants. Lack of education and laziness were evaluated as the main causes of underdevelopment. Moreover, according to the authors, Sivas peasants were conservative; they did not want to understand the importance of new techniques in agricultural production.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 186.

⁴⁰¹ Total agricultural production was 32.802.600 *okka* in Karahisar, see Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie...*, pp. 781-782.

⁴⁰² *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 185

⁴⁰³ “İleri: Çiftçilere”, *Kızılırmak*, 21 Mart 1326 (4 April 1910), No. 14, Ahmet Sıtkı, “Çiftçi Kardeşlerime Hayırlı Öğütlerim” *Kızılırmak*, 12 Eylül 1326 (25 September 1910), No. 37, (Also in No. 38).

However, as mentioned earlier, rather than conservatism or laziness, there were structural problems in Anatolia. Lack of transportation made people reluctant to produce more. As a result, they did not want to use new methods because they could not export surplus products. The importance of the issue can be understood from parliamentary debates. The most frequent issue about the province that was carried to *Meclis-i Mebusan* was the establishment of interurban roads.⁴⁰⁴ Despite attempts to centralize the building of roads after 1908, these attempts could not be truly realized. During the constitutional regime, establishment of roads was materialized through the efforts of governors themselves.⁴⁰⁵ In fact, Muammer Bey and the General Assembly of the Province were very enthusiastic at this point; however, due to war conditions most of the attempts were in vain.⁴⁰⁶

There was one more structural obstacle before agricultural production. When the Constitutional Revolution took place in 1908, as every segment of the society, peasants were also very hopeful about change. However, in a short period of time, the CUP understood how difficult it was to make structural changes in Anatolian agriculture. At the beginning, they did not want to follow conservative agricultural policies. Especially during the first years of the revolution, they wanted to protect the peasants from landlords and notables. However, this remained only as an idea and during the CUP period, landlords continued to preserve their economic, social and political privileges. Political ties between landlords, notables and the CUP were very influential on the maintenance of status-quo.⁴⁰⁷

Then, the CUP decided to commercialize agriculture rather than carrying out some structural changes such as distribution of lands to peasants or dissolution of traditional production relations in agriculture.⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, all policies such as implementation of new techniques, education of peasants or construction of railways

⁴⁰⁴ İhsan Güneş, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi: Meşrutiyete Geçiş Süreci: I. ve II. Meşrutiyet*, (Ankara: TBMM Vakfı, 1997), pp.654-655.

⁴⁰⁵ Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun...*p. 95.

⁴⁰⁶ “Taraf-ı Sami-i Vilayetpenahiden Meclis-i Umumi’ye Tevdi Olunan İzahname”, *Kızılırmak*, 26 Şubat 1330 (11 March 1915), No. 47.

⁴⁰⁷ Feroz Ahmad, “Genç Türklerin Tarım Politikası”, *İttihatçilikten Kemalizme*, Trans. by. Fatmagül Berktaş (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999), p. 63.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 69.

and roads may be seen as parts of this policy; i.e., commercialization of agriculture. However, the expected efficiency was never reached because since the early nineteenth century, European agricultural imports began to enter Ottoman markets and consumption of these imported products was cheaper than transportation of native agricultural products from Anatolia. The Ottoman Empire could protect the peasants by putting high customs taxes on foreign products; however, capitulations obstructed such attempts.⁴⁰⁹ Thus Anatolian peasants were reluctant to use new techniques because they understood that within the existing structural conditions, they could not compete with foreign producers.

As a conclusion, despite all efforts of the central and provincial government such as distribution of seeds⁴¹⁰ or buying threshing machines⁴¹¹ for agricultural improvement in the Sivas province, it was impossible to mention a considerable development in agricultural production.

4.2.2 Agricultural Production during the First World War

Agricultural production was affected negatively during the First World War. Since most of the male population who had been engaged in agriculture was conscripted a larger part of the lands remained uncultivated. In fact, agricultural production of the Sivas Province seemed to increase in 1914 according to tithe (*aşar*) statistics of 1910/1911 and 1913/1914. In 1910/1911, 281 million *kuruş* was collected from the Sivas Province whereas the amount of land tax increased to 365 million *kuruş* in 1913/1914.⁴¹² Better climate conditions were the main reason for this increase. According to *Kızılırmak*, agricultural production was better than the former years before 1915. The article argued that "...despite all the difficulties of the war, Sivas was certainly one of the most productive provinces."⁴¹³ Therefore, Sivas Province was not negatively affected from war conditions during the first year of

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 69-70.

⁴¹⁰ "Darende'den Mektup", *Kızılırmak*, 18 Nisan 1326 (2 May 1910), No. 18.

⁴¹¹ "ŞÜUN: Orak ve Buharlı Harman Makinesi", *Kızılırmak*, (30 August 1914), No. 18.

⁴¹² Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun...*, p. 39.

⁴¹³ "İctimai İhtiyaçlarımız", *Kızılırmak*, 26 Mart 1331 (8 Nisan 1915), No. 51.

war. However, wheat production decreased % 30 all over the country.⁴¹⁴ The stocks were exhausted in time due to lack of a well-arranged distribution policy. Therefore, in late 1915, agricultural difficulties began in Sivas as in other parts of the Empire.

Before evaluating the agricultural policies during the war, land holding structure of the Sivas Province will be briefly discussed. According to the report of Agricultural Responsibility, *Mükellefiyet-i Ziraiyye*, in 1332/1333 (1916/1917), 90 % of the Ottoman population were farmers when the First World War broke out. Most of the farmers owned small or medium size land-holdings.⁴¹⁵ In 1907, 81 percent of all cultivated land in Anatolia was farmed by holdings less than 45 *dönüm* and in 1910, 75 % of farmers owned land less than 50 *dönüm*.⁴¹⁶ In fact, there is no exact information about the proportion of small and medium size holdings in the Sivas Province. According to 1909 statistics, only in Merzifon, the majority of the cultivator households possessed land greater than 50 *dönüm*.⁴¹⁷ On the other hand, there was no consensus in classification of lands as small, medium or big size holdings. In the report of 1332/1333, lands smaller than 100 *dönüm* were classified as small-holdings whereas according to Quartaert, the lands up to 50 *dönüm* were small holdings.

Farmers with small land-holdings were engaged in self-sufficient production whereas the medium size land holders produced for the market; therefore, their agricultural production had a commercial dimension. Share-cropping was widespread among medium land-holders. They also employed agricultural workers for

⁴¹⁴ Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1994), p. 37.

⁴¹⁵ Small-holding was described as the lands up to 100 *dönüm* (10 hectares). Medium land-holding was up to 500 *dönüm* (50 hectares) and the number of farmers who owned these two land scales composed the majority. The number of peasants who owned lands up to 1000 *dönüm* (100 hectares) was not few. However, big land-holdings, over 1000 *dönüm*, were scarce in Anatolia. Zafer Toprak, *İttihat Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2003), p. 431.

⁴¹⁶ Donald Quartaert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quartaert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 864.

⁴¹⁷ Merzifon was a district of Amasya *sanjak*. According to the 1909 statistics, there were 2000 households dealing with agriculture and 1500 of them possessed lands greater than 50 *dönüms*. They were accepted as medium size holders by Quartaert. See, *Ibid*, p. 865.

production. Therefore, the medium land-holders were also employers at the same time.⁴¹⁸

According to the yearbook of 1907, share-cropping was widespread in the Sivas province. However, it was stated that farmers' idleness and reluctance resulted in share-cropping. In other words, the farmers did not want to work on their own lands and they gave the farms to share-croppers. Therefore, widespread sharecropping in the Sivas Province was not related to the size of the land according to the yearbook.⁴¹⁹ However, it can be argued that a medium size holding, as well as small-holding, was an important part of the agricultural lands of the province.

The most affected segment by the war was the medium size landholders. Since almost every cultivator was conscripted, farms remained unplanted. Similarly the small land-holders were also negatively affected by the war due to lack of labor and/or seed but lesser than the medium-size land holders.⁴²⁰ Consequently, agricultural production in Sivas decreased drastically during the war period.

The government hesitated about the policy of agricultural production at the beginning; however, it decided to implement some incentives as well as liability measures rather than coercion. Policies that had been applied during the Balkan Wars startled peasants as the state seized all of the agricultural production by force. This policy did not render the expected results and people began to hide whatever they had or became reluctant to produce more. Therefore, during the First World War, the peasants were motivated to produce more through relatively high payments for their products.⁴²¹ Moreover, in 1916 the law of Agricultural Responsibility, which made all peasants liable for agricultural production, was enacted. According to this law, peasants who were eligible for agricultural production-including women and non-conscripted males over 14 years old –would be identified by the Ministry of Agriculture. Production would be made collectively. All means of production including animals would be used. Officials appointed by the central government

⁴¹⁸ Toprak, *İttihat Terakki ve Cihan...*, p. 431.

⁴¹⁹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 184.

⁴²⁰ Toprak, *İttihat Terakki ve Cihan...*, p. 431.

⁴²¹ *Ibid*, p. 93.

would designate which fields should be planted and who would work in those fields. There were some cash or prison punishments in case of disobedience.⁴²²

The main aim of this law was to increase agricultural production in Anatolia. Of course, the main target was villages. The officials were sent to every province in accordance with need. They were to replace the landowners in order to increase agricultural production. In 1916, 250 officials were working in Sivas to this end. As illustrated in the report on Agricultural Responsibility of 1916/1917, there were 262 officials in Aydın so Sivas was the second province that received the highest number of officials.⁴²³ This can be interpreted in different ways. First, it might be a result of administrative structure of the Sivas Province. The villages were small, abundant in number and far away from each other. Therefore, the number of the officials might be proportionate to the number of villages. Secondly, the number of officials was high in the Sivas Province because, as it was explained in details in the first chapter; almost all the Armenian population was deported from the province. Therefore, lands belonged to Armenians were empty and many officials were needed for the cultivation of these lands.

According to Toprak, Law of Agricultural Responsibility resulted in a noteworthy rise in cultivated areas. In 1916/1917, the cultivated area in Sivas was 1.844.843 *dönüm*.⁴²⁴ Despite the rise after the law, the cultivated area was incredibly lower than the cultivated area in 1909. According to the statistics of 1909, cultivated area in Sivas was 4.240.000 *dönüm*.⁴²⁵ Interestingly enough, the cultivated area did not increase after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The total cultivated area in Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Karahisar in 1927 was totally 1.461.040 *dönüm*. While the cultivated area increased in Sivas, it decreased in Amasya, Karahisar and Tokat.⁴²⁶ Wars –the First World War and then the War of Independence- were certainly very influential on the decline of the cultivated lands. However, it is a fact

⁴²² Ibid, p. 87.

⁴²³ Ibid, p. 433.

⁴²⁴ In Sivas *sanjak* 680.291, in Tokat *sanjak* 538.290, in Amasya *sanjak* 492.018 and in Karahisar *sanjak* 134.244 *dönüm*. Toprak, *İttihat Terakki ve Cihan...*, p. 451.

⁴²⁵ Quartaert, “The Age of Reforms...”, p. 848.

⁴²⁶ In Sivas 746.820, in Tokat 374.850, in Amasya 213.650 and in Şebın Karahisar 125.720 *dönüm*. See *İstatistik Yılığı*, Vol. 2, (1929), (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1929), p. 112.

that this huge decline cannot be explained only through wars. The human factor as an important component of the agricultural production must be taken into consideration. Cultivated areas did not reach the same level even in 1927. Therefore, as well as continuing wars, the Armenian deportation and population loss might be influential on drastic change in the cultivated lands of Sivas.

The land evacuated by the Armenians became an important issue for the government after the beginning of deportation. As it was stated in the first chapter, Armenian deportation began after 21 June 1915 in Sivas. Within two weeks, the government sent a coded telegram to the Sivas Province which shows how important the cultivation of the Armenian lands was. According to this telegram, dated 5 July 1915, farms that were evacuated by the Armenians would be cultivated by the government. The expenses of cultivation would be met from the budget of the Commission of Immigrants. After the harvest, expenses of cultivation would be paid (to Commission of Immigrants) by the revenue of product. The rest of the product would be distributed among the soldiers at the rate of the determined price. This code also mentioned that the labor battalions, *amele taburları*, were being prepared; therefore, it should be notified in two days as to how many individuals from among soldiers and from people were required.⁴²⁷ Therefore, the state strove to maintain the agricultural production to meet the sustenance of the army and the farms which had been evacuated by the Armenians.

To sum up, the First World War and the Armenian deportation affected the agricultural production negatively in the Sivas Province. The government tried to prevent the decrease of agricultural production through the law of Agricultural Responsibility. Although the application of this law brought relative success in the Sivas Province, the cultivated lands decreased rapidly. At the end of the war, all the food stocks were exhausted and the agricultural production decreased by half compared to the pro-war years.⁴²⁸ On the other hand, as a consequence of the Armenian deportation agricultural activities came to be totally dominated by the Muslims in the province.

⁴²⁷ BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr, 54/202.

⁴²⁸ Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke...*, p. 131.

4.3 Commercial Life in the Sivas Province

The Sivas Province was located on important trade routes. However, these routes lost their importance during the nineteenth century. At the same time, European commodities began to dominate the Ottoman market. These were cheaper and more durable than the local commodities. As a result, they were preferred more than the local ones. All these developments affected commercial life of the province negatively.

Nevertheless, commercial activities were still an important part of economic life of the province in the early twentieth century. Rather than productive trade, transit trade activities were dominant in the province. The products which came from different parts of the Empire were transferred to other regions through Sivas.⁴²⁹ For continuity of the transit trade, infrastructure had to be improved in order to meet the needs of the tradesmen. Inns (*han*), baths (*hamam*), and bazaars (*çarşı*) were the main components of the infrastructure. In 1907, there were 332 inns, 115 baths and 12.177 shops all over the province. The dispersion of inns and shops may give some general clues about the commercial activities.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ Muhiddin Tuş, “19. Asır Ortalarına Doğru Sivas’ın İktisadi Yapısı”, in *Revak*, (Sivas: Esnaf Ofset, 1995) pp. 40-41.

⁴³⁰ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 359.

TABLE 9:

The number of shops and inns in the Sivas Province in 1907

The Name of <i>Kaza</i> or <i>Sanjak</i>	Shop	Inn
<i>Kaza of Sivas</i>	1.810	32
Gürün	391	4
Yeni Han	68	8
Hafik	11	7
Aziziye	-	-
Divriği	561	15
Darende	40	4
Kangal	32	11
Bünyan	71	2
Koçgiri	54	4
Tonus	84	7
Total for Sivas <i>Sanjak</i>	3.122	94
<i>Sanjak of Amasya</i>	3.810	130
<i>Sanjak of Tokat</i>	3.854	65
<i>Sanjak of Karahisar</i>	1.036	42

This table indicates that commercial activities were intensive in the central *kaza* of Sivas, Gürün, and Divriği. Aziziye were the less developed *kaza* in terms of commerce. Agricultural production was dominant in Aziziye, Hafik and Kangal. Amasya and Tokat were also commercial centers of the province. Commerce was less developed in the *sanjak* of Karahisar relative to other three *sanjaks*.

Exportation rates of each *sanjak* were also important indicators of commercial activities. In the late nineteenth century, Amasya *sanjak* was superior to other three *sanjaks* in terms of export. The total exportation value of commodities in Amasya was 5.732.600 francs.⁴³¹ The primary exported goods were flour, *salep* and several products of grape such as *pekmez*, wine, and raisin. Fruits were also

⁴³¹ Cuinet, *La Turquie...*, p. 754.

important export items.⁴³² Although Amasya was a center of sericulture, the silk textile did not develop in the province; therefore, silk products never became important export commodities. In the mid-nineteenth century a filature was installed in Amasya by a German firm but disease almost wiped out silk growing, so this filature was transformed into a flour mill.⁴³³ Sericulture revived once again in the late nineteenth century. As a result, in the early twentieth century a silk factory was opened in the Sivas *sanjak*; however, due to incapability of production it was closed down.⁴³⁴

The Sivas *sanjak* was the second important export center of the province; however, the value of exported commodities (2.028.010) was considerably lower than Amasya.⁴³⁵ As well as cereals, textile products such as wool stockings and rugs composed an important part of exported commodities. Among the exported goods, value of the wool stocking was the highest. In the late nineteenth century, the exportation value of 500.000 wool stockings was 345.000 franks. In 1907, more than 600.000 stockings was produced in the Sivas *sanjak*.⁴³⁶ Therefore, the return of stockings might increase in the early twentieth century.

The exportation of Tokat *sanjak* came after Amasya and Sivas *sanjaks*. The exportation value of the *sanjak* was 1.822.000 franks in 1890.⁴³⁷ Cereal, fruits and rugs were the main exportation commodities. In fact, Tokat was one of the most important trade centers of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the eighteenth century. One of the most important sources of income was copper trade. There were nearly 150 shops engaged in copper trade with 300 professionals and 800-1000 workers.⁴³⁸ Therefore, many families subsisted through copper trade. In the

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Issawi, *The Economic...*, p. 255.

⁴³⁴ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 193.

⁴³⁵ Mahiroğulları, *Seyyahların Gözüyle...*, p. 146.

⁴³⁶ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), p. 193.

⁴³⁷ Cuinet, *La Turquie...*, p. 722.

⁴³⁸ Barlow Der Mugrdechian, "A Farewell to the Armenians of Evdokia/Tokat", in *Armenian Sebastia, and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, (California: Mazda Publishers, 2004) p. 287.

nineteenth century, when European commodities began to enter the Ottoman markets, cheaply made zinc goods of Europe began to be sold nearly half of the price of Tokat copper goods. In order to cope with European products, modern technology began to be used in copper production in the mid-nineteenth century. The smelters were the only metallurgic foundations in Anatolia that were operated technologically.⁴³⁹ However, due to several reasons, such as the decline of copper price in the world market and/or high cost of copper production in Tokat because of transportation difficulties, smelters began to be closed down in the 1880s. Therefore neither Cuinet's travel book nor the yearbooks of the province of 1903 and 1907 mentioned copper products as export goods of the Tokat *sanjak*.

Another big sector in Tokat was dyeing and textile coloring. The *yazma* of Tokat was famous all over the Empire. Moreover, all kinds of textiles were dyed such as sheets, pillow cases, bed covers, head coverings, and curtains. In the late nineteenth century, one thousand employees in a hundred workshops were dealing with cloth printing trade. The industry experienced a ten-fold growth between 1890-1915; however, due to competition with European products; the tradesmen began to weaken in textile coloring sector.⁴⁴⁰

Among other *sanjaks* of the province, Karahisar had the lowest value of exportation (1.669.305 franks). Woodworks, carpets and honey composed the most profitable goods in exports.⁴⁴¹ It is a fact that the poor commercial activity of the *sanjak* was related to worse transportation conditions. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, brutal climate conditions prevented agricultural production. Therefore, cereal exportation was remarkably lower than other *sanjaks*. It means that there was self-sufficient agricultural production rather than commercial agricultural production in this *sanjak*.

⁴³⁹ Oktay Belli and Günday Kayaoğlu, "Tokat'ta Bakırcılık Sanatının Gelişimi", in *Tarih ve Toplum*, No. 124, (April 1994) p. 40.

⁴⁴⁰ Barlow Der Mugrdechian, "A Farewell to the Armenians...", p. 288.

⁴⁴¹ Cuinet, *La Turquie...*, p. 788.

4.3.1 Population and Commercial Activities of the Province:

Muslims dealt with agricultural activities more than the Christians in the Sivas Province. Therefore, the rural population was dominated by Muslims. Although, there were Armenians who lived in rural areas, they were generally city-dwellers. The Greeks, contrary to the Armenians, generally lived in rural areas and dealt with agriculture.⁴⁴²

The Armenians, more than half of whom lived in city centers in the Sivas Province, were engaged in trade. These city-dweller Armenians had better living standards than the Muslims.⁴⁴³ In the late nineteenth century, half of the property sale records (*mülk satış belgeleri*) and debt lawsuits (*alacak davaları*) belonged to non-Muslims. These documents also show that non-Muslims especially the city-dwelling Armenians were active in commercial life.⁴⁴⁴

The commercial and artisanal occupations that the non-Muslims engaged in were jewelry (*kuyumculuk*), cotton printing (*basmacılık*), boot making (*çizmecilik*), tent making (*çadırcılık*), carpenter-ship (*dülger*), health service (*sağlık*), tinnersmith-ship (*kalaycılık*), and furriery (*kürkçülük*). Moreover, non-Muslims were more dominant in capital-intensive areas and skilled trade.⁴⁴⁵ According to Kodaman, since many Armenians left the province as a result of the rebellions and retribution between 1895-1897, the Armenian population lost their economic superiority in the province.⁴⁴⁶

However, in 1914 there was still a great Armenian population in the province and in general they still lived in city centers. When we evaluate the demographic characteristics of the province, it is seen that there was a correlation between the non-Muslim population and commercial activities. The non-Muslim population of some

⁴⁴² Bayram Kodaman, *20. Yüzyıl Başında Sivas Vilayeti*, (X. Türk Tarih Kongresi'nden Ayırbaşım) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), p. 1861.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Tuş, "19. Asır...", p. 44.

⁴⁴⁵ Ömer Demirel, *Osmanlı Dönemi Sivas Şehri Esnaf Teşkilatı*, (Sivas: Doğan Ofset, 1998), p. 63.

⁴⁴⁶ Kodaman, *20. Yüzyıl...*, p. 1861.

districts is given in the following table according to the Population Statistics of 1914:⁴⁴⁷

TABLE 10:
The non-Muslim population of some districts of the Sivas Province

<i>Kaza & Sanjak Name</i>	Armenian	Greek	Total Population of <i>Kaza</i> or <i>Sanjak</i>	Total of Non-Muslim Population
<i>Kaza</i> of Sivas	23.812	728	81.623	24.540
Gürün	7.788	-	24.545	7.788
Divriği	8.354	-	38.984	8.354
Aziziye	1.038	8	51.554	1.046
<i>Sanjak</i> of Amasya	23.017	24.950	230.263	47.967
<i>Sanjak</i> of Tokat	21.336	17.699	300.453	39.035
<i>Sanjak</i> of Karahisar	20.448	25.237	173.825	45.685

For instance, as it was mentioned in the previous part, Gürün and Divriği were the most developed parts of the central *sanjak* in terms of commercial activities. When the population of these *kazas* is considered, it can be seen that they were the places where the Armenians were populated the most. As previously stated, the city-dwelling Armenians engaged in commercial activities. On the other hand, Aziziye was a commercially underdeveloped *kaza* of the Sivas *sanjak*. The few Armenian population in this *kaza* might be taken as an indicator for the correlation between Christian population and commercial activities. Therefore, it can be argued that especially in the central *sanjak* commercial activities developed in places where a considerable Armenian population existed.

Gürün was a good example of the relationship between commercial activities and existence of Christian population. According to statistics of Marcel Lèart on commerce and industry, there were twenty factories manufacturing textiles fabrics in Gürün in 1912 and nineteen of them belonged to the Armenians.⁴⁴⁸ We do not have

⁴⁴⁷ *Memalik-i Osmaniyye'nin 1330 ...*, p. 20.

⁴⁴⁸ Armin Kredian, "A Gürün Shawl on a Cario Wall", in *Armenian Sebastia, and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, (California: Mazda Publishers, 2004) p. 311.

information about all of these factories; however, Kredian article informs about a family enterprise named “M. Tchokgarian-H. Khiridian et Fils” producing shawls in Gürün. This was an example of cottage industry which was still widespread in Anatolian provinces in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, different from many other cottage industry enterprises that sold products locally, Tchokgarian/Khiridian enterprise had a widespread commercial network after 1912. The shawls produced in Gürün were distributed to different parts of the Empire. The enterprise had branches in Kayseri, Adana, Konya and Aleppo. However, due to transportation problems, shawls were sent to other regions of the empire under difficult conditions. In addition, production of cottage industry did not meet the rising demands. On the other hand, Sarkis Minassian, another Armenian entrepreneur in Gürün, brought a weaving machine from Manchester which made the Minassian firm the main rival of Tchokgarian/Khiridian enterprise.⁴⁴⁹ Because of these reasons, the Tchokgarian/Khiridian enterprise decided to open a factory in Aleppo in 1914. However, this plan never materialized because Tchokgarian and Khiridian families were deported like most of the Armenians living in Gürün.⁴⁵⁰ In short, there was a rising textile industry and most of the enterprises belonged to Armenians in Gürün. Minassian factory that led the beginning of mechanized production was an important indicator of industrial development. However, when the Armenians were deported, these firms were closed down. Probably, both Armenian deportation and continuing war conditions resulted in interruption of industrial and commercial developments in Gürün.

Tokat was another *sanjak* of the Sivas Province where Armenians were dominant in commercial activities. As mentioned earlier, copper trade, dyeing trade and textile industry were the most developed non-agricultural sectors in Tokat. Most of the copper trade shops were in the hands of Armenians. Moreover, dyeing trade and textile industry was dominated by Armenians. There were nearly 120 workshops for *yazma*, the head scarf, production and nearly 1000-1200 Armenian workers were

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 312-313.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, p.320

engaged in this production. The other commercial activities that Armenians dealt with in Tokat were weaving, distillery, pottery and leather works.⁴⁵¹

In spite of the correlation between the size of the Armenian population and the rate of commercial activities, it is impossible to argue that all tradesmen were the non-Muslims in the Sivas Province or *vice versa*. For instance, in Karahisar there was a huge Armenian and Greek population; however, it was the least developed region of the province in terms of commercial activities. Thus, the non-Muslim population was not a direct determiner of commercial activities. The Armenians, nevertheless formed an important part of commercial activities in the Sivas Province. Therefore, the deportation of Armenians obviously had a negative impact on commercial activities of the province.

Following the Armenian deportation, most of the sectors which were dominated by the Armenians were emptied and filled by Muslim-Turkish elements. It means that to an extent the economic policies of the CUP which aimed to create a national bourgeoisie became a reality for the Sivas Province. For instance, there were five national companies in the Sivas Province in 1916. Probably, these Muslim-Turkish corporations were founded after 1913 in accordance with nationalist economic policies.⁴⁵² However, at this point, it should be asked that to what extent the Muslim-Turkish traders formed a bourgeois class. There are lots of question marks and debates about the rise of a national bourgeoisie; however, it is a fact that after the deportation of Armenians, economic life began to be dominated by Muslims-Turks in Sivas which means a homogenization occurred especially in the commercial life of the province after 1915.

⁴⁵¹ Muğrdechian, "A Farewell to the Armenians...", p. 288

⁴⁵² Before the First World War, Turkish-Muslim element began to engage in commercial life; however, their enterprises were generally limited with shops and small companies. Big stock-companies began to be found within the war years. One of the five companies was a large-scale company in Sivas: Komandit Şirket (Yıldızeli) The others were small companies: Yün Dokumacılık Birinci Şirketi (Merzifon), Yün Dokumacılık İkinci Şirketi (Merzifon) Kolektif Şayak Şirketi (Vezirköprü), Dirlik ve Birlik Şirketi (Hafik). The names of the companies indicated that textile sector which was mostly dominated by the Armenians began to be dominated by Turkish-Muslim entrepreneurs in the Sivas case after 1915. See, Toprak, *Milli İktisat...*, pp.105-107, and Toprak, *İttihat Terakki ve Cihan...*, p.442.

4.3.2 Rug Production

Rug production was traditionally one of the most important commercial activities of the province. Rugs and carpets were being produced nearly in every *sanjak* of the province; however, the central *sanjak* had superiority in rug production. Therefore, commercialization of rug production affected the economic life of the Sivas *sanjak* more than it did in other *sanjaks*.

The rugs produced in Anatolian provinces began to be demanded by the European countries in the nineteenth century. Since the rugs were produced serially in order to meet the rising demand, they lost their artistic value.⁴⁵³ In 1907, there were nearly 10.000 rug weaving looms within the central *sanjak* and 2.000 of them were in the central *kaza*. The workers were generally Muslim women.⁴⁵⁴

In 1908, six enterprises joined and founded a corporation called “The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers” (OCM) in İzmir. This corporation had many agencies in Anatolia and one of them was in Sivas. There emerged a new order and direction in rug production by the foundation of this corporation because production began to be made in accordance with the orders coming from foreign countries.⁴⁵⁵ According to the OCM statistics, between 1910-1914 there were 550 rug machines and 1.800 workers in Sivas. The workers earned 1.8 *kuruş* per day.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, this wage was less than wages of workers in other parts of Anatolia. Lower wages in Sivas might stem from relatively higher unemployment rate of the province.⁴⁵⁷ As a result, the corporation could easily find workers who accepted to work at lower wages.

According to the same statistics, the amount of weaved rugs was 35.000 m² and the total earning was 6.6 million *kuruş* between 1910-1914.⁴⁵⁸ Although the amount of weaved carpet was less than other Anatolian provinces, the income was

⁴⁵³ Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun...*, p. 85.

⁴⁵⁴ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1325 (1907), pp. 191-192.

⁴⁵⁵ Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun...*, p. 85.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 85-86.

⁴⁵⁷ To the statics of 1894/95 the number of the employed people was 410.000 whereas the total population was 953.000. For detailed information see Karpas, *Ottoman Population...*, p. 226.

⁴⁵⁸ Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun...*, p. 86.

considerably high. This shows the value of the Sivas carpets.⁴⁵⁹ After the foundation of the OCM, carpet production increased; however, with the First World War the production of the corporation ceased. According to Ottoman documents, production of the OCM came to an end in 1915.⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, most of the workshops in the central *sanjak* were transformed into orphanages during the First World War.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, rug production was one of the most effected sectors by the war. Since, it was an important sector for employment, there might be an increase in unemployment rate in the Sivas Province after the closure of OCM.

To sum up, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the economic structure of the Sivas Province was characterized by agricultural production. Commerce composed only a small part of economic activities. Structural changes occurred in both areas especially after 1914. Human loss as a result of the war and the deportation of Armenians led to decrease in agricultural production. The CUP policies to improve the situation resulted in a relative increase in agricultural production; however, cultivated lands never reached the amount of pre-war years. Commerce, which had been negatively affected by the entrance of the European commodities into the Ottoman markets in the nineteenth century, dominated by the Turkish-Muslim element after the deportation of Armenians and implementation of nationalist economic policies.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1902, Sivas rugs came first in the rug exhibition in Konya. This was also an indicator of value of Sivas rugs. See, *Salname-i Vilayet-i Sivas*, 1321 (1903), p.179.

⁴⁶⁰ BOA. DH. KMS., 50-3/28-1 and 50-3/28-4.

⁴⁶¹ Faruk Aburşu, "Sivaslı Büyük Halı Sanatkârı", in *Kızılırmak*, No. 3, (Ocak-Mart 2002), p. 41.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The leaders of the Second Constitutional Regime, namely the Unionists, argued for change. Although change was considered as a fundamental need for modernization, they did not view it as a radical transformation. On the contrary, pragmatic policies were preferred in order to save the Empire. During the first years of the Constitutional Regime, not only the state elite but also ordinary people were hopeful about the new regime. Civil rights were granted by the Constitution. Ottomanism became the dominant ideology through which the loyalty of every element in the Empire would be secured. In this way rising ethnic and religious tensions were to be prevented and all Ottomans would work for the survival of the state. Nevertheless, hopes of Ottoman union began to decline following the Balkan Wars. The most multi-ethnic lands of the Empire were lost. Anatolia, whose population was dominated by Turks-Muslims, became the center of Empire.

The CUP gained political power by a *coup d'état* on January 23, 1913 in the full sense and the single party period began thereafter. The ideology of the CUP began to shift to Turkish nationalism following the Balkan Wars. The modernization attempts continued during the CUP period and the policies were highly influenced by the ideology of the Committee. Nationalist educational and economic policies were reflections of this influence. It is a fact that, the First World War provided the appropriate circumstances for the application of nationalist policies in every sphere of life.

Despite the war conditions (Tripoli in 1911, The Balkan Wars between 1912-1913, The First World War between 1914-1918), the Ottoman state underwent very crucial changes during the Constitutional Regime. This study aimed to examine the changes in the Sivas Province in terms of demographic, administrative, educational and economic aspects. In other words, the transformation of the Ottoman state during its last ten years is attempted to be traced on a locality.

It is clear that a relative change occurred in demography, administration, education and economy of the province. However, if transformation is considered as a structural change, it can be said that only demography and economy was transformed in this respect.

The Sivas Province was dominated by Sunni-Muslim population with a considerable number of non-Muslims in the late nineteenth century. Circassians, being the most populated refugee group, began to settle in the province especially following the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877/78. The Muslim population of the province increased gradually as a result of population movements until the Balkan Wars. Muslim population underwent a small decrease following the Balkan Wars, probably due to the war conditions. However, none of the migration movements that took place in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century influenced the population composition of the province as much as the Armenian deportation did. The demographic structure of the province dramatically changed after 1915. Almost the entire Armenian population disappeared as a result of the deportation. Moreover, resettlement of the Muslim refugees in the Sivas province after 1915 resulted in further homogenization of the population in favor of Muslims.

The conditions during the First World War and the rise of Turkish nationalism especially after the Balkan Wars were the main causes of this structural change. The deportation of the Armenians cannot be evaluated as an event that took place solely as a result of the official decisions taken in 1915. For this reason, the legal status of non-Muslims, the socio-economic structure of the Ottoman Empire and political developments since the late nineteenth century were evaluated in this study with the aim of highlighting the historical roots of the deportation. Despite the historical background of the issue, it was during the First World War that appropriate conditions for the deportation emerged.

The rise of nationalism among the Turks and Armenians was another important aspect of the issue. As previously stated, following the Balkan Wars Turkish nationalism rose to become the official ideology of the CUP. Articles published in *Kızılırmak* displayed well the rise of Turkish nationalism in the Sivas Province. On the other hand, Armenian nationalism, which had been in development since the mid-nineteenth century, increased its influence on Armenians of the Sivas

Province after 1913. Cooperation between the Hinchaks and the Tashnaks increased in Karahisar following the Balkan Wars. The relationship between the CUP and Armenian political organizations ceased. Thus the activities of the Armenians and the policies of the CUP began to be shaped by nationalism. The rising Armenian events and the decision of deportation should be analyzed by taking the rise of nationalism into account.

Economic life in the Sivas Province also faced structural changes during the Constitutional Regime. Here structural change does not mean transformation in production relations. As previously stated, economic policies of the CUP had never aimed to dissolve the traditional production relations. On the contrary, until the First World War, the CUP followed some pragmatic policies such as distribution of seeds and giving credit to peasants in order to increase agricultural production. Nevertheless, these policies did not result in noteworthy increase in agricultural production of the province. After 1914, economic transformation was shaped by the war and deportation. The war and Armenian deportation led to considerable human loss. This loss was the main reason of the decrease in agricultural production. CUP policies resulted in a relative increase in agricultural production during the war years; however, the cultivated lands never reached the amount of pre-war years. Structural change occurred in property ownership. Since the majority of the Armenian population was deported from the province, their lands began to be allocated to Muslims. Agricultural life of the province was dominated entirely by Muslims following the deportation.

The non-Muslim population was also an important part of the commercial life of the province until the deportation. As it was previously explained in detail, the industrialization of commercial productions began in Gürün in the 1910s. Some of the commercial enterprises had world-wide networks; therefore, production for the market had begun in the province on the eve of the First World War. Commercial activities of the province decreased during the war due to two reasons. First, agriculture gained a more important position due to the need to sustain the army and people. Second, the emptied commercial sectors by the Armenians could not be substituted by the Muslims speedily enough. As a result, the ethnic profile of the tradesmen changed in the Sivas Province. Especially, after the Armenian deportation

and through nationalist economic policies, the Turkish-Muslim element became more dominant in the commercial life of the Sivas Province.

Minor changes occurred in the spheres of administration and education during the Second Constitutional Regime. It is a fact that the Sivas people expected big change in administration during the first years of the revolution. The administrative problems of the previous regime made people intolerable of mal-administration. The letters from different parts of the province demonstrated that a lot of administrative problems still existed in the province. However, the Sivas people could find a channel to explain their complaints during the Constitutional Regime. Thanks to the relative freedom of press, *Kızılırmak* functioned as a platform in which people freely wrote about their problems on administrators and officials between 1910-1911. This mission of the newspaper disappeared when the Ottoman state entered into the First World War. After 1914 national union became the most important topic of *Kızılırmak*. Criticism of new regime and the administrative demands of people were replaced by news about the War and articles on the importance of national unity. The centralization policy of the CUP was materialized in the Sivas Province within the war conditions. Muammer *Bey*, the governor, was very sensitive on this issue. Even the smallest developments within the province were transmitted to the central government and the Central Committee of the CUP. Muammer *Bey* visited districts of the province frequently and inspected the officials. He appointed powerful and reliable administrators to critical districts such as Suşehri. To sum up, although demands of the Sivas people for a better administration could not be met by the new regime, centralization was successfully materialized. It was the biggest administrative change in the Sivas province.

Education was one of the most important fields that the Constitutional Regime was committed to improve. Ignorance was considered as the main reason of disintegration. It is a fact that major attempts took place to modernize the educational system during the constitutional regime. Foundation of new schools, education of women and implementation of more secular and scientific methods were some of these developments. However, it is quite difficult to talk about a serious educational transformation in the Sivas Province during the Constitutional Regime.

According to the articles and letters published in *Kızıllırmak*, most of the villages of the province were still deprived of schools in 1910-1911. Although training of the teachers gained special importance for the central government, the applications for enrollment to the *Darülmüallimin* were still few in the province. The *medrese* education was a problem for the CUP. It did not only attempt to reform the *medreses* through some laws, but it also aimed to encourage the students to enroll in schools offering scientific education. Some students began to be enrolled in these schools in the province; however, this only led to change in clothing without any change in their mentality. All these demonstrate that the central policies were not successful in the province.

Educational policies were shaped by nationalism after the Balkan Wars. New schools were opened in the province as a result of these policies. Such policies became more effective during the war. The foundation of the scout associations in Turkish-Muslim schools was the most obvious indicator of this argument. These were the pre-organizational structures of the Ottoman Power Organizations which operated for the militarization of the society. The scout associations were established not only in the central *sanjak* but also in smaller towns. They became the most active branches of the schools in a short period of time.

The situation of the non-Muslim schools changed during the war. The control of these schools had been one of the most important educational policies since the mid nineteenth century; however, this policy had never been implemented effectively until 1915. All non-Muslim schools in the province were closed in 1915 when most of the Armenians were deported. Therefore, national education and centralization of the educational system could be achieved in the province only after 1915.

To sum up, it is clear that a slight change occurred in the Sivas Province in terms of modernization during the Constitutional Regime. Administrative problems continued. Although new schools were opened, a big development did not take place in the educational system. In spite of all measures and policies, neither industrialization nor commercialization of agricultural production could be achieved. However, all these modernization attempts took place under continuing war conditions since 1911. In this sense, demography and ethnic profile of property ownership were the main spheres of change during the Constitutional Regime.

This study has attempted to demonstrate that the Constitutional Regime, which is known as a period of great transformation in the Empire, also led to some transformation in the Sivas Province. However, this transformation did not create a more developed and modernized Anatolian province. Transformation occurred in population characteristics of the province. As it is analyzed in this study, for the Sivas case, the ideological transformation which began in the center was more powerful than implementation of modernization policies. Therefore, studying on localities may provide with a new point of view on the peculiarities of transformation in the late Ottoman era.

The focus of this study was on the last ten years of the Ottoman state. The War of Independence and foundation of the Republic of Turkey as a nation-state following the First World War cannot be evaluated independently of the developments that took place during the last years of the Empire. The Constitutional Regime left a heritage to the new state. The demographic structure of Anatolia can be considered as a crucial component of this heritage. Therefore, this thesis can lead to new studies which will attempt to read the foundation of Turkish nation-state through localities.

The relationship between the state and localities is important in terms of ideology because if states do not spread the official ideology in localities, they cannot survive. In this respect, localities are the reproducers of the state ideology and they also nourish it. In other words, there is a reciprocal relation between the state and localities in terms of ideology. The official ideology has reflections on the lives of ordinary people. Transformation of the population is also a part of these reflections because population policies are also shaped by ideology. New population formations in localities create their own dynamics and these dynamics articulate the state ideology in time. To sum up, studying locality may provide new points of view for analysis of foundation of the nation states.

The Republic had find appropriate basis in localities in order to spread its ideology, nationalism. The Sivas Province with a homogenous Turkish-Muslim population surely provided this appropriate basis for the newly emerging state. On the other hand, new population formation of the province resulted in the emergence of new dynamics which would become important determinants of the relationship

between the province and nation state. In this respect, such questions can be answered in another study: To what extent the new demographic characteristics of the Sivas Province were influential on its rise as a center in the War of Independence? How was the new regime consolidated in Sivas? How was the relationship between the Muslims and Armenians during the first years of the nation state? What was the state policy about ethnic tensions if there was any? Could the changes in property ownership create a Turkish bourgeoisie? How did the new property ownership affect the socio-economic characteristics of Sivas?

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX 1

Map of the Sivas Province in 1913, Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun



۱۳۲۹ شوبات ۱۰ (ایکینچى شى)

۲۷ دىج اولارنىك ۱۳۳۲ بازار ايرلىنى

(۱۳ نومبر)

عمل ادارىسى
(-بواس)
امداد قون

مدير مسئول
خرابىي زاده ابراهيم
حق

قزىلارماق

۳۲۵

سئالنى ماركوده اون
ايكى غروشدور

مليقات وعمال ساروده
بيديه اون مطرودون
اون يش غروشدور

(۱۰ پارودور) هفتده زودله بيقه اسمايى ، اقصادى . ادن تورك غرهبه سيد (لسنجى)

دوشونه نك دلجون اوليورز . وبونك دوشورون دوشورويه ملتيزه . وملتيزه بك مهم ضرورل ايراك ايتديكنه قانز . خالق هيچ بر وقت كسدى كنديه حركت ايدمن غلاغوزه محتاجدر . ملكتمزه اميل ، نجيب طامش نالهلرك بويوك برقى اولادنيك نالهلنسك استقاله لايقد قالش ، اونلر يمكن اولادني قدر دكل مان هيچ برينه چك بر درجده تحصيلدن محروم بر اققش ، ظلام جهاندك كوله نوب قانلر يئسيب اولمشور بوحال الآدنه دوام ايديدور . وبونك تيجيسى هم او نالهلره ، همه ملكت وخالقه مشوم اوليور . اونلر اسك مختار موقلر ي غيب ايديدور ، الجاليودر ، وامله خدمت ايدم چكاري برده مضرتلر دوقوتيدور .

بوكچوك بر مسئوليت دكلدر مادى اولدني كي معنوى جزا يده واردر . بر آوروپالركي يلكتمز ماديايه اينانلردن دكلز زم برده معنوى علملر وار . وبو عالمك جزالري هر حالده مادى جزالردن دها آغروشدريد بولدينقه شهبه منده بوودور . هر كس مسئولدر . فقط مسئوليتده برنسبت واردر . ضرورت وفساكت اينجده بويوش ، قعير وزوالى برآمده اولدقجه رفاه حال ، سعادت و اقبال ايله ياشامش ، ياشايان انسانلر كته ووطه قارشى خدمت و باعدم خدمت مسئوليتلر البته بردكلادر .

هر ملكتمده ياشايان انسانلرك ايلرى كلنلر ، اونلرك ارتكالى هر حالده ديكر . لرته ، خالقه يشوا و عتونه امتثال اولنى وظيفه لرله مكلفدرلر . زم زادكتمز ، ارتكالىز اكتريله بواصيل وظيفه لرندن غافل بولتيورلر ويا اوكا لايق اولدني

داتى تور اتمك .. تحصيلدن آديمنز درس ايسه آرق قاعات ايله تئببات شمسيدن داتنا اوزاق بولنىق ايدى .

عرب علملستدن بريسى ديوروك: [۱] ياليف قانلى عمل سئين لوجما عندى لكنت اذن من امده البشير كفاف عيش : يقنى ذل مساقه وخدمت الم حتى يقضى عمرى .. نه كوزل توكل ... نه ان قناعت ...

فقط ديايه هر كس قارشى طوبورمق اينجون چاليشنه چيوردور . انسان اينجون ايلىك ياييله جق ايش كندى اجناسى تا مين اتمكدر .. ملته ملكته ايديله چك خدمت بولدن مسكره قانلر ..

چونكه كندى منفعتي بيلمين ، كندى اجناسى تا مين ايدم بهرك باشقه لرته بوكلتمك ايسانلرك مبارزه حيات عالمده موقلر ي بو قدر وملتده خدمت ايدم به چكلدر ،

تحصيل معارف تا مين منفعه آت اولمليدر . عكس حالده معارفك دكل هيچ بر وقتك بولمته بر منفعت تا مين ايدم به چك قلميدر . شمدي حقيقت ظاهر ايدى دكلدر شو حالده صورارز . غايه معارفى ؟ منفعتيدر .

جم

بويوك نالهلرك ذوالى

ملكتمزده ، اسكيدن بوكلك بر موقع طومش بويوك نالهلرك قسماً تدريشى بر صورتمده كوچوكلكده اولدقلى قانلر لرله

[۱] آءء . ديايه ايكي شيه ماله اوله ايدم كندى انسانلرك سمودى صرسته كوردم ، مطاللك بريسى چى ال اچق داندن فور باره جق قدر ميبست ديكرى ده نيايت عمره قدر علمه خدمتيدور .

ندركه هر كون بر اختراع هر كون بر ايجاد ايله هر كون كورلمهش برتى كوستمكه بشرته خدمت ايديدورلر . امين اولكيزكه زم بشرته خدمت ده توصيف ايتديكمز بويوليك جهلتمده بر غايه مندر كره : اوده منفعت .. شو حالده : بزده هر دولر تئبباتمزه ، هر دولر سمعتمزه آره ايجق بر غايه اولمليدر .

ق الحقيقه : رمانك بر ملكتمك استقاله علماً بوكلسمه نيمى مارقته باغليدر . فقط شورامى محققدر كه ؟ معارف ترقى اينجون ، تكامل اينجون بر غايه ككلدر .

بر واسطه در . بويوله اوليدر دوشونور سلك اكلاور كره . اك بويوك داهيلرك اك بويوك نخر برلك .. ملت نظر نديكى موقلر ي كندى فضل و عرفانلرله دكل او واسطه ايله وفضيلت و عرفان قوتيه ملته ايدكلارى خدمت درجه سله قدر اولمشور . چونكه بويوكلكه كوستمكه اولور .

بولدن اكلاور كره معارف بر غايه دكل . بر واسطه در اوله بر واسطه كه اونك ايله انسان شخصه ، ملته تا مين منفعت ايدر . تهكم صنعت و تجارت ده بولدر سميدن بر منفعت تصور اتمين بر تاجر هيچ بر زمان دكل و معارفه قوسى بلكه من ؛ محصور لندن منفعت اوليله جقنى ادراك ايدن بر جقنى هيچ بر زمان چاليشاوه چاليشه مار .

زم نظر منده بر معارفك ، زمكيتليك بر جقتميدن ، بر تاجر دن فرق بو قدر شاعره ديسور : كه آرقق معارف چاليز منده بر غايه لقب اتمل ، بر مقصد كورده ايدلرك اوده اچق شخصى ، عومى بر منفعت اولمليدر . شمدي بو قدر زم معارف چاليز من ، شو اجه لر من ، قائللر من خلاصه ؛ تحصيله علمه هوسكار اولانلر منده كي روح مطلقاً

معارفى ؟ منفعتي ؟ ...

هر ملكتمك استقبالى دنبله كي زمان هين ؛ هر كون تيكرد ايدن هر آخردن عين آهك و عين اطراد ايله چيقان برمانا چيقان بر (مفصلاً) اكلاور كره اوده : معارف ، تجارت ، صنعت ، زراعت كي ملكتمك مادى منأ بوكلسمه ياردم ايديله چك شيلرك ترقى و تقمى در .

ق الحقيقه : رمانك بر ملكتمك استقاله بولمدا اولان شيلره ترقى و تكامله باغليدر بوعومى دمل بر اختاجدر .. بو احتياجك اسباب احضارى تا مين ايله مرفه ، بورد كنده وطن چيقي ، ملت دوقوسى اولان هر فرد چك بولرجلر .

بوكون اك جمل بر حقيقت اولورق نظار اچمدر كه : معارف منأ ايشاماز . ملت بوجوده تشبيه اولتورسه اونك روحى مارقدر . روحس جسد ايسه طبيعى ايدار اولماز . اچق زم هر شيدم اولدني كي احتياج تارك نخرى و تدقيقده در نوع قلميد منفعتي اختيار ايتديكمز كوريلور . مثلا معارف ديورز ، داتما معارف ديورز اچق سوليله كيمز سوزلرده بر غايه آرقق لام كليمه ، او بو قدر . هانكيمزه سورسه لكه ترقى و تكامل بولده تقيب ايديله چك غايه قدر شهبسز هيمن بر آخردن : - معارفدر درز .

فقط اسر معارف ملت اينجون بر غايه مى اولمليدر ؟

بوكلون متفكر و نمود چيلديكمز آوروپالرك هر ايشده هر مشله ده تقيب ايتكلرى غايه مستقدر .

اولترجه ن معارف ، منفعت نه هيچ بر شى عومى . بر غايه اولماز . اونك ايلور