

MIGRATIONS FROM THE CRIMEA AND CAUCASUS TO THE BALKANS
(1860-1865)

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(1860-1865)**

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ABSTRACT

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(1860-1865)

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This thesis scrutinizes migrations from the Crimea and the Caucasus to the Balkans between 1860 and 1865 using documents from Ottoman archives and newspapers of the period. The intensity of the migration movement that occurred after the Crimean War fluctuated in the years that followed. The migration movement reached its peak in 1864 after the decision of mass exile of the Russians for the Caucasian peoples. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the reasons for these migration movements, how the migration process progressed, what kind of policy the Ottoman Empire followed in the Balkans, how these policies changed during the studied period, and what problems the state and migrants faced during and after the settlement. As a result of the studies carried out within the scope of this purpose, it has been revealed that the Ottoman Empire did not have a regular policy about immigrants, adopted a different settlement policy in the Balkans than in Anatolia, and faced health, security, and slavery problems during the settlement.

Keywords: Balkans, Emigrant, Tatar, Circassian, Migration

ÖZ

KIRIM VE KAFKASLARDAN BALKANLARA GÖÇLER (1860-1865)

ÇETİNKAYA, MEHMET

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

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Bu tez, 1860-1865 yılları arasında Kırım ve Kafkasyalardan Balkanlara yapılan göçleri Osmanlı arşivlerinde yer alan belgeler ve dönemin gazeteleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Kırım Savaşı sonrasında meydana gelen göç hareketinin yoğunluğu takip eden yıllarda artarak veya azalarak devam etmiştir. Göç hareketi 1864 senesinde Rusların Kafkas halkları için aldığı toplu sürgün kararından sonra zirveye ulaşmıştır. Tezin amacı göç hareketinin hangi sebeplerden kaynaklandığını, göç sürecinin nasıl ilerlediğini, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlarda nasıl bir politika takip izlediğini ve bu politikaların çalışılan dönem içerisinde nasıl değiştiğini, göç sırasında ve sonrasında devletin ve göçmenlerin ne gibi problemlerle karşılaştığını incelemektir. Bu amaç kapsamında yapılan çalışmalar sonucunda Osmanlı Devleti'nin göçmenler hakkında sabit bir politikası olmadığı, Balkanlar'da Anadolu'dakinden farklı bir iskân politikası benimsediği, iskân sırasında sağlık, asayiş ve kölelik problemleriyle karşılaştığı ortaya konmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkanlar, Muhacir, Tatar, Çerkes, Göç

To my family and those who lost their lives on their migration to Ottoman

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.I. Outline of the Study

This thesis examines the historical process of migrations from the Crimea and the Caucasus to the Balkans between 1860 and 1865. The thesis is divided into five chapters: introduction, Emigrant Commission, Historical backgrounds of migrations and establishment of the Emigrant Commission, Migration and Settlement, socio-economic issues, and conclusion. The thesis explores the settlement process of emigrants settled in the Balkans during a six-year period, the state's response to the migration in this process, and the challenges experienced.

In the first part, literature review is made, gaps in the literature are determined and the contribution of the thesis to the literature is explained. The second chapter of the thesis is devoted to historical background of the migrations and establishment of the Emigrant Commission. In this chapter the historical background of migrations is reviewed to establish the historical links between the migrations. Then the first migration to the Balkans after the Crimean War, which may be regarded as the start of migration movements in the second half of the nineteenth century, is dealt. Also, the reasons that forced the people of Crimea and Caucasia are discussed. Moreover, this chapter mentions the reasons for establishment of the Emigrant Commission, its structure, and working mechanism. In addition, commission's budget and closure of the Commission is dealt. The third chapter of the thesis reveals the reflection of the migration movement that took place between 1860-1865 in the Balkans, the activities of Nusret Bey, and how the state managed the process with instructions. Also, the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire is explained. The fourth chapter of the thesis is devoted to socio-economic issues such as, land allocation, the tax and military

service exemptions granted to emigrants, the passport case of emigrants, and legal procedures, slavery, health, public order and settlement problems and aid to emigrants. In the conclusion, findings and evaluations is given in the light of the information obtained with the studies carried out during the thesis.

Most of the studies in the literature cover a far broader or shorter time span than the one covered in the thesis. On the other hand, existing studies focus on the migrant flows to Anatolia during the times mentioned above. There are, however, studies on the Tatar and Circassian migrations to the Balkan region separately. However, because these two migrations are sequential, it would be more accurate to study these migrations together.

This thesis aims to examine migration movements to the Balkans from the Crimean War (1856) until the end of 1865. Also, the aim of this thesis is to answer the questions of what caused the people of Crimea and Caucasus to migrate, how the Crimean and Caucasian emigrants were resettled, how the state managed migration in the Balkans, and what challenges the state and immigrants encountered during and after the movement. By examining the process, it is desired to contribute to the history of the Balkans, Romania, and Bulgaria as well as Tatar, Circassian people.

I.II. Evaluation of Sources

In the thesis the documents registered in the Ottoman Archives under twenty-six distinct sub-titles are utilised. Most of the documents used in the thesis are consisted of variety of scattered documents that share different grounds. The majority of the documents are formal letters sent by *Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi* (The Grand Vizierate Bureau of Correspondence) to various authorities, ministries, offices and individuals. Second majority of the documents are those belonging to the *Majlis-i Vala*¹ (Supreme Council). The papers comprise official letters, decisions, and instructions that are sent to the relevant people after the *majlis* debated them or petitions the *majlis* received. The third majority of the documents constitute the

¹ From now on used for referring to Supreme Council.

sultan's orders about emigrants (İrade-i Dahiliye). Among the documents, petitions are more realistic papers than others since they allow emigrants to express their own views and opinions. People's experiences, difficulties, and desires are clearly conveyed in petitions presented to the Porte, *Majlis-i Vala* or Emigrant Commission. Instructions (*talimatnames*), on the other hand, consist of a set of orders given by the government to state officials in a particular region. There are many instructions among the archive documents, first of which is dated 1856, written to the governor of Silistra.² Instructions are critical to understanding how the migration process works, as they clearly state what the officials should do. They were sent to officials at different levels of the state, such as members of the Emigrant Commission, governors, and qaymaqams. It is expected from the officials to act in accordance with the instructions and avoid actions that do not comply with the instructions. There are also letters of instructions delivered directly to a governor or other authorized officials in a *kaza*. Order letters are crucial in demonstrating the state's position on a particular event or circumstance.

Another source that projects migrations is newspapers. Unfortunately, newspapers that contained information about immigrants were under the state's control. Far from criticism, they mainly contained information about the aid given to emigrants and the places where they are settled. In the 1860s, especially *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* had become the voice of the state. The aid given to the migrants had been announced to the public thanks to these newspapers. By publishing the names of the benefactors and their amount of donations in the newspaper, the state aimed to encourage the people to help the migrants. Also, after 1861 two privately-owned newspapers, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* started publishing. They paid close attention to Circassians' fight against Russia. Lastly, the *Tuna Gazetesi* (Danube Newspaper), which started its publication life as a provincial newspaper with the establishment of the Danube province in 1864, is an essential source for examining the events after 1864. Published in two pages in Turkish and two pages in Bulgarian, the newspaper contains a lot of information about emigrants and the Danube province.

² İ.DH. 343-22622.

Most of the existing literature focus on Caucasian and Crimean migration to the Ottoman Empire has focused on migrations to Anatolia, whereas migration to the Balkans has been overlooked. Abdullah Saydam, who examines the Crimean and Caucasian migrations from 1856 to 1876, has a notable example of these works.³ Even though he mentions migrations to the Balkans, his research focuses mainly on Anatolian lands. Also, Hayati Bice's work on the migration from the Caucasus to Anatolia is another important contribution to the field.⁴ Both studies are beneficial to understand the situation in Anatolia, but they have inadequate information about the migrations to the Balkans.

There are some significant sources that describe the events in Crimea during the Crimean War and explore the reasons that impacted emigrants' migration decisions. Hakan Kırımlı is the author of one of these works. He analyzes the events in Crimea and the causes for migration to the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War in his work, *Crimean Emigrations from Crimea to the Ottoman Empire During the Crimean War*.⁵ Mara Kozelsky has also produced some significant works. She analyzes the situation in Crimea during the Crimean War, the Russian government's stance toward the Tatars, and Russian-Tatar relations in her study *Casualties of Conflict: Crimean Tatars During the Crimean War*.⁶ Her other work, *The Crimean War and the Tatar Exodus*⁷ also contributes to the existing literature about the Tatar exodus by looking at the local war conditions that prompted the migration, as well as the local and imperial responses to Crimea's rapid population loss. Another study that concentrates on the reasons behind the Tatar exodus belongs to Brian Glyn Williams. In his article *Hijra and Forced Migration from 19th century Russia to the Ottoman Empire, A critical analysis of the Great Tatar emigration of 1860-1861*, Williams

³ Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856-1876)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1997.

⁴ Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Ankara 1991.

⁵ Hakan Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea to the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, no. 5 (Sep., 2008), pp. 751-773.

⁶ Mara Kozelsky, "Casualties of Conflict: Crimean Tatars during the Crimean War," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 67, no. 4 (2008), pp. 866-91.

⁷ Mara Kozelsky, eds., "The Crimean War and the Tatar Exodus," in *Russian-Ottoman Borderlands The Eastern Question Reconsidered*, ed. Lucien J. Frary and Mara Kozelsky (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press: 2014), pp. 165-192.

explains the Tatar exodus by referring to the migration movements from the first Tatar migrations to the final exodus.⁸ Furthermore, Kemal H. Karpat is the author of a well-known study on the subject. He discusses the founding of Mecidiye, the causes for migration, and its impact on Dobruja's demography. However, his research is restricted chiefly to Dobruja and the years 1855-1860.⁹ But, his study is crucial to comprehend the settlement patterns of future immigrants in this region. In addition, Mark Pinson has three important studies about the Tatar and Circassian migrations to Balkans. Pinson draws a good perspective on the Tatar resettlement in Bulgaria and the Circassian settlement in Rumelia.¹⁰ However, the situation that Pinson ignores is that these two migrations are successive of each other.

In the literature migration of the Tatars is less studied compared to the Circassian exodus. Accordingly, there are more studies written on the expulsion of the people of Caucasia. One of these studies belongs to Sarah A.S Isla-Rosser-Owen. She studies the Circassian exodus to Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman response basing on the accounts of British observers in her MA thesis.¹¹ Another MA thesis dealing with the Circassian migration belongs to Gökhan Çakmak.¹² Çakmak's thesis is a well-studied theses based on both the Turkish and foreign newspapers. He also uses some documents from the Ottoman Archives. But he focuses on the migration in a more general way. Thus, in his thesis migration to Balkans highly neglected. Lastly, there are two doctorate theses on the Emigrant Commission which belong to David Cameron Cuthell and Ufuk Erdem. Cuthell examines the founding of the Commission

⁸ Brian Glyn Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration from nineteenth-century Russia to the Ottoman Empire", *Cahiers du monde Russe*, Vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 79-108.

⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye 1856-1878", *Studies on Ottoman Social and Economic History Selected Articles and Essays*, Brill 2002, pp. 202-234.

¹⁰ Mark Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire 1854-1862", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. I, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi (1972, pp 101-114; Mark Pinson, "Kırım Savaşı'ndan Sonra Osmanlılar Tarafından Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskanı", *Çerkeslerin Sürgünü 21 Mayıs 1864 (Tebliğler, Belgeler, Makaleler)*, (Ankara, Kafdav Yayınları: 2001), 52-77.

¹¹ Sarah A.S. Isla Rosser-Owen, "The First 'Circassian Exodus' to the Ottoman Empire (1858-1867), and the Ottoman Response, Based on the Accounts of Contemporary British Observers", (MA. Thesis), University of London, 2007.

¹² Gökhan Çakmak, "1864 Büyük Çerkez Göçü", (MA Thesis, Bozok Üniversitesi, 2017).

in 1860-1866 and its role in the change of Anatolia¹³, whereas Ufuk Erdem examines all of the Ottoman Empire's commissions related to emigrants from 1860 to 1922¹⁴. Compared to Cuthell Erdem gives less information about the Commission since his work compasses more extended periods. Cuthell's theses is crucial to understanding the events in locals. Significantly, his comparison of Anatolia and the Balkans enables us to observe the process and identify differences and similarities in both places.

The limitations of the study are linguistic problems. The sources written in Russian could not be examined. Instead, Turkish and English works written on the basis of Russian sources were used. Another limitation of the study is that the archival study is limited only to the documents in İstanbul. It is possible to obtain more information on the subject by examining the archives in the places where the emigrants were settled, which corresponds to Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Bosnia and Herzegovina today. In addition, detailed information was not given about the situation of the emigrants before they migrated to the Ottoman Empire, as it would exceed the scope of this study. There is not enough information on this subject in the current literature. So, new studies will be very productive in terms of filling this gap.

¹³ David Cameron Cuthell, "The Muhacirin Komisyonu: An Agent in the Transformation of Ottoman Anatolia, 1860-1866", PhD. diss, Columbia University, (Columbia, 2005).

¹⁴ Ufuk Erdem, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Muhacir Komisyonları ve Faaliyetleri (1860-1923)*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2018).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF MIGRATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMIGRANT COMMISSION

II.I. Earlier Migrations

II.I.I. Historical Backgrounds of Migrations

Until the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire faced many migration movements due to the expansion or shrinkage of its borders. But first Muslim exodus to Ottoman Empire happened with the annexation of Crimea in 1783.¹⁵ It was due to Russia's efforts to rid Crimea of Tatars and repopulate the area with Christian immigrants to fill the void left by the Tatars. In accordance with this plan, first of all, first-degree members of the Geray Dynasty those who remained in Crimea, as well as numerous military aristocracy and individuals who resisted Russian dominance over Crimea, were expelled from the peninsula and deported to the Ottoman lands.¹⁶ Russian officials disarmed the remaining Tatar people in the Crimean peninsula in 1784¹⁷ and

¹⁵ Kırımlı, *Emigrations from the Crimea*, p. 751; Karpaz, "Ottoman Urbanism", p. 206; Brian Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation*, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2001), p. 117. M. Murat Erdoğan, Ayhan Kaya, *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Türkiye'ye Göçler*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), p. 122.

¹⁶ İsmet Sarıbal and Raşit Gündoğdu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Muhaceret, İskân ve Entegrasyon: Bursa Sancağı Örneği (1845-1908)*, (İstanbul: İdeal Kültür Yayıncılık, 2018), p. 16-17; Ethem Fevzi Gözaydın, *Kırım: Kırım Türklerinin Yerleşme ve Göçmeleri - Coğrafî, Tarihi, Harsî, İktisadî ve Siyasî*, (İstanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1948), p. 71; Hakan Kırımlı, *Türkiye'deki Kırım Tatar ve Nogay Köy Yerleşimleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), p. 10.

¹⁷ Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 84.

around 80.000 Tatars migrated to Bessarabia and Dobruja, and then to Anatolia.¹⁸ These immigrants were either farmers or had trade skills. The Ottomans were able to repopulate regions that had been completely abandoned or neglected as a result of this steady but low-level inflow, bringing with it the dual benefits of economic revival and greater security through a loyal Muslim populace.¹⁹

The Crimean people had been divided into classes such as nobles, clerics, and peasants by the Russians. Under Russian rule no one who was not noble could own property.²⁰ Therefore, the Tatar peasants' lands were seized on the grounds that they belonged to the aristocracy and the treasury. Russian aristocrats and high-ranking Russian soldiers received these lands.²¹ The Crimean Turks, who were forced to work in corvée and lost their lands with the application of the pressure policy, and exploited like serfs, convinced that they had no other choice but to leave their homeland to get rid of this situation.²²

The number of the Tatars who emigrated to Ottoman Empire between 1784-1800s reached 300.000.²³ The Crimean Tatars did not feel safe; they lived in a state of uneasiness because of the eyes turned to them at the end of every Ottoman-Russian war. Living in the Crimea was becoming increasingly difficult for the Tatars, as they

¹⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Turkish and Ottoman Studies (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 65; Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, (İstanbul: Timaş, 2010), p. 162; Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991), p. 44.

¹⁹ Cuthell, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰ Sarıbal, *op.cit.*, p. 128-129; Müstecib Ülküsal, *Kırım Türk-Tatarları (Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını)*, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1980), p. 132.

²¹ Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, (Hoover Institution Press, 2014), p. 85; For more information about the land confiscation of Russia see: Ülküsal, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

²² Gözaydın, *op. cit.*, p. 42

²³ The number of Tatars vary from 300.000 to 500.000. Gözaydın, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Ahmet Özenbaşlı, *Çarlık Hakimiyetinde Kırım Faciası*, trans. İsmail Otar, (Eskişehir; Kırım Halkbilim Araştırma Gençlik ve Spor Kulübü Derneği, 2004), p. 46; Hayri Çapraz, "XIX. Yüzyılda Çarlık Rusyasının Kırım Politikası", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, no: 11 (Spring 2006), p. 60; Mehmet Yılmaz, "Policy of Immigrant settlement of the Ottoman State in the 19th century", in *Great Ottoman Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, vol. II, IV vols (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), p. 595; Ülküsal, *op. cit.*, p. 134; İlhan Tekeli, "Involuntary displacement and the problem of resettlement in Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to present" (special issue), *Center for Migration Studies*, no: 11 (1994), p. 209.

could not predict the reaction of the Russian government. However, leaving their homeland, the lands of their fathers, and ancestors was still not an easy decision. Even so the Tatars, who could not bear to live under harsh conditions and thought that migration turn would one day come to pass, decided to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. In this direction, many migrations occurred in the years 1802-1810-1812-1816-1819, 1822, and 1827.²⁴

There were several reasons behind these migration waves such as political, economic, and religious. To begin with, the Russians was identifying the Tatars with the Ottomans, and were looking them as an unreliable Muslim community in the Crimean Peninsula. During times of conflict with the Ottoman Empire, the Russian government regularly took the precautionary action of relocating Tatar villages six miles or more from the southern shore in order to avoid any collaboration between the Ottoman navy and the Crimean Muslims.²⁵

In an edict of 29 August 1803, Alexander I was stating that:

I have taken into account that there will be no benefit from the people who want to leave their places of residence and enter Turkish territory under the influence of their religious beliefs, and that if other peoples are settled in the mountainous parts of the Crimea, they will receive more benefit and care. I found it necessary to order you not to prevent those who own the land here and want to emigrate. Provided that the lands of such immigrants should be completely taken into the treasury and considered as the inseparable property of the treasury until the order to give them into private hands is overturned.

*When you allow to migration, explain to the Tatars that this permission is a gift from me. Please also note that, according to our agreement with the Ottoman government, this treat is reserved for our subjects who are only from the religion of Muhammad. Giving a special shape to such migrations will not be beneficial when a complaint is made by the Sublime Porte about the Christians who migrated from there, as has been the case many times.*²⁶

Economic reasons also pushed the Tatars to emigrate to the Ottoman lands. The Russians initially confiscated the Tatars' economic resources in order to subjugate them. With the transfer of fertile lands to the treasury, the Tatars, most of whom

²⁴ Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration", p. 81-82; M. Murat Erdoğan, Ayhan Kaya, op. cit., p. 122; Abdullah Saydam, "The Migrations from Caucasus and Crimea and the Ottoman Settlement Policy (1856-1876)," in *The Great Ottoman Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, vol II, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), p. 584; Kırımlı, *Türkiye'deki Kırım Tatar ve Nogay*, p. 11.

²⁵ Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration", p. 82.

²⁶ Gözaydın, op. cit., p. 76, footnote 54.

worked in agriculture and animal husbandry, found themselves unemployed and in financial difficulty.²⁷ The Russians also sought to implement the "serfdom rule" that they had in practice in their own nation, which treated peasants as the landlord's property along with the land. The Crimeans, on the other hand, were accustomed to living freely and owned the majority of the land.²⁸ Another important factor that affected the Tatar migrations was the religion. Among the Sunni Tatar Muslims there were religious people who believed that living under the flag of infidels and in *Dâr al-harb* (infidel lands) is not licit. We see an example of this mindset in a letter of Trabzon Governor Osman Pasha dated 25 August 1830 stated which he sent to İstanbul "The Crimean and Caucasian *mufti*, *mirza* and *özdens* who came to Trabzon declared that they would not leave the Ottoman State and be subject to Russia because they belonged to the religion of Islam. Therefore, they want to emigrate".²⁹ In addition to being the center where the caliph lived, the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural similarity of the Turkish society with the Tatars affected the decision of people.³⁰ Russia's pressure upon religion and clergy also triggered the migration. Russia dismissed knowledgeable clerics from their duties for a variety of reasons and justifications in order to stifle Turkish-Tatar religious emotions and compromise their moral integrity. It chose clerics who would operate in accordance with its wishes. Also, number of mosques were decreasing every passing day.³¹ Realizing the fact that, Tatars opted for emigrating to Ottoman Empire where they could pray freely.

Last but not least was psychological reasons among the other causes of migrations. The Crimean Tatars could not psychologically accept the Russian domination in their own country. This refusal was not due to xenophobia, but the severe treatment, persecution, and landlessness policies enforced to the Crimean Tatars, as well as the

²⁷ Ülküsal, op. cit., p. 128.

²⁸ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 65.

²⁹ *Kafkas Araştırmaları I*, Acar Yayınları, İstanbul 1996, p. 126 and 230.

³⁰ Hakan Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında millî kimlik ve millî hareketler (1905-1916)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara 2010), p. 13.

³¹ Ülküsal, op. cit., p. 130-132.

terrible conditions of Russian colonization, were the reasons for their refusal.³² Besides, the impact of earlier migrations and decreasing number of the Tatars living in Crimea led another group to think about leaving the country.³³

All in all, the Tatar migration stemmed from, mostly, the Russia's pressure on the native people of Crimea was not outcome of the economic factors, rather it was the result of the Russian policy. Even so Tatar migrations were impelled migrations in which one retain some power to decide whether or not to leave. However, pushing factors had larger importance than the pulling factors.³⁴ It might be claimed that Russia, in order to expel the Tatars, had implemented a long-term strategy for Crimea. In line with this plan Tatars compelled to depart on a regular basis, while Russian, German, and other ethnic components were brought in and placed in their stead. Because a one-time mass expulsion of Tatars would deprive Russia of the goods and revenues that would flow from the fertile lands of Crimea, it was more rational to adopt a regular migration program. As a result, both the Muslim population and colonialists were continuously being replaced on the Crimean Peninsula. Thanks to this policy, Russia continued to benefit from economic resources while Russifying Crimea at its own will.

While examining the migrations the economic and social conditions of the exporting country and the employment needs of the receiving country should be taken into account. In this direction, Russia was not offering a promising future to the Tatars because most of whom were peasants and had no right to have some lands. On the other side, the Ottoman Empire was offering land and better rights than Russia. The Ottoman Empire accepted Tatars since it had inadequate human resources to cultivate agricultural lands. By accepting migrants and allotting arable lands the empire aimed to enlarge agricultural output to which its economy was mostly based on. In addition, since the 18th century, it had lost a significant number of populations in the wars it entered.³⁵ With the acceptance of emigrants, the population loss compensated by the

³² Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında*, p. 13.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 12.

³⁴ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 63.

³⁵ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 61.

extra reinforcements from outside whose loyalty was utmost to the sultan. Besides, Tatar forces were employed in the army. Throughout the first part of the nineteenth century, the Girays served for the Ottomans in the Balkan Peninsula as administrators and soldiers. At different times, the empire formed battalions of cavalry from Crimean Tatar migrants. They fought under the Ottoman banner against the Russian empire in the Napoleonic Wars, the Russo-Turkish conflict of 1828-1829, and in the Crimean War.³⁶

Throughout the 19th century Ottoman Empire accepted migrants from different backgrounds. Not only the Crimeans but also non-Muslim people were given permission to settle in the Ottoman domains. Political immigrants from the Russian and Habsburg Empires who fought against Russian tsarism and the Habsburgs for national liberation and unification of their people were accepted to the empire. After the Austrian-Russo coalition soldiers crushed the Hungarian Revolution in 1848-49, the greatest number of political emigrants landed in Bulgarian territories. Thousands of non-Muslim immigrants, farmers as well as political and intellectual leaders who fled from the repressions immigrated to Ottoman Empire.³⁷

II.II. Migration and Settlement between 1856-1860

During the 19th century Ottoman Empire and Russia faced each other on the battlefield many times. One of these encounters was the Crimean War whose declaration was published in the official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 4 October 1853.³⁸ Despite the fact that the war began as a fight between the Ottoman and Russian

³⁶ Kozelsky, "Casualties of conflict", p. 786.

³⁷ Ventsislav Muchinov, "Policy of the Ottoman authority concerning the immigration in the Bulgarian lands of the non-Muslim population from the European countries in the 18th–19th centuries (until 1878)", *Население*, no: 2 2014, p. 148; Yılmaz, op. cit., p. 588; Karpat, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze*, p. 94; Karpat, "Muslim Migration", p. 321; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, 1977, p. 116.

³⁸ Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, Brill (Leiden:Boston, 2015), p. 99.

empires, Britain, France, and Sardinia joined the Ottoman Empire a year later.³⁹ During the course of the war, the conditions for a large-scale departure of Crimean Tatars were formed. As is customary, Russian authorities considered Crimean Tatars as a potentially dangerous community when the conflict broke out.⁴⁰ Therefore, the Tatars in Crimea were subjected to intense surveillance. The Commander-in-Chief of Russian forces in Crimea, General Aleksandr Sergeevich Menshikov, was particularly suspicious of the Tatars. In June 1854, he gave instructions for the Don Cossacks' 57th regiment to control the Crimean Tatars' activities and to surround the shoreline from Perekop (Orkapı) to Sevastopol. Other troops were charged with conducting surveys of the Tatars on the peninsula's southern shore as well as in the mountainous region.⁴¹

Fearing the possibility of the Tatars' collaboration with the allied forces, the Russians considered sending the Tatars away from the Crimea and into the interior regions of Russia.⁴² In two days General Menshikov issued two different orders to Lieutenant-General Pestel to deport all Crimean Tatars from Perekop to Sevastopol along the Black Sea coast, as well as seize all Crimean Tatars' livestock that had come into touch with the enemy. However, his orders were not implemented because such conditions of war.⁴³

About 41.000 Ottoman troops were transported from the Balkans to Kezlev by the end of February 1855. The relationship between the Ottomans and Crimean Tatars at Kezlev was good. Kezlev's Muslim clerics had already pledged their allegiance to the Ottomans as early as October 1854. With the despatch of the main Ottoman army relation between the Ottomans and the Crimean Tatars grew stronger.⁴⁴ Some individuals or small groups of Crimean Tatar were moved from Kezlev to the Ottoman

³⁹ Başbakanlık Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı (1853-1856)*, Ankara 2006, p. 84

⁴⁰ Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 752; "Kozelsky, Casualties of Conflict", p. 866; Gözaydın, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

⁴¹ Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 753.

⁴² Ülküsal, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Kozalsky, "Casualties of Conflict", p. 882.

⁴³ Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 754; Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında*, p. 15; Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration", p. 86; Çapraz, "19. Yüzyılda Çarlık Rusya'nın Kırım Politikası", p. 68.

⁴⁴ Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 756.

Empire during the latter months of 1854, and the Ottomans faced an emerging refugee crisis from the Crimea in the first half of 1855. Although individuals from the Kezlev or Balaklava/Baydar regions were probably in Ottoman territory prior to that date, the first significant groups of Crimean refugees from Kerch and Yenikale arrived in Ottoman territory shortly after Ottoman soldiers landed there in late May 1855.⁴⁵ According to the oldest dated archival record about the Crimean migration, earliest group of refugees composed of 220 person from Kerch arrived in İstanbul in mid-June 1855. The state paid 10.893 gurush to supply their essential needs such as lodging, soap, and daily allowance. For daily allowance older ones were paid 3 gurush and younger ones 60 *paras*.⁴⁶

After a long war period, belligerent powers gathered in Paris and signed a treaty on 30 March 1856. One of the articles of the Paris Agreement, which consists of 34 articles, is to grant a general amnesty to those who compromised with the combatant forces. The article V was as follows:

The Sultan, the Emperor of France, the Queen and king of the United Kingdom and Great Britain, the Emperor of all Russians, and the King of Sardinia grant full and complete amnesty to all of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation in the events of the war in favor of the enemy's cause. It is clearly recognized that such amnesty shall be extended to subjects of each of the warring parties who may have continued to serve in the service of one of the other belligerents during the war.⁴⁷

Although the treaty granted a general amnesty, Tatars in Crimea did not feel safe. As a result of insecurity, the *mufti* of Evpatorya and four or five notables of the people heaving heard that Russia was planning on moving them to Kazan, presented a petition indicating that most of the people are willing to emigrate if the Ottoman Sultan grant them a place in Dobruja. They said that if permission is granted, very few people would remain, and even the Evpatorya cavalry unit will totally migrate. A special comission assessed the needs of the residents of Evpatorya. Considering that the

⁴⁵ Idem.

⁴⁶ A.MKT.MHM. 71-85; İ.DH. 322-20915.

⁴⁷ A.DVN.NMH. 12-157; Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı, p. 101.

Ottoman army and allied forces did not know how Russia would treat them due to the services and assistance of the people when they came to the region, the commission asked permission from the sultan to transfer the people of Evpatorya to the Ottoman lands. As a result of the negotiations, it was decided to meet their essential needs and provide them, regardless of nationality, free houses, lands, draft animals, and agricultural implements for procuring seed, as a sign of the mercy of the Ottoman sultan, and. In addition, those who came were exempted from tax for ten years and from military service for twenty-five years.⁴⁸ However, since the public announcement of this situation would mean encouraging the people to migrate, the *mufti* of Evpatorya and the notables of the people were summoned to the presence of Ahmed Pasha, and the situation was secretly expressed to them.

Since the settlers could not be resettled at once, it was decided to settle them temporarily in some suitable towns and villages as soon as they reached to the Ottoman lands. Accordingly, the immigrants would be transferred from Evpatorya to Balchik Pier. Immigrants were to be transported by ten merchant ships apart from the imperial vessels that would carry the Ottoman soldiers. One-third of the vessels were allocated to soldiers and two-third of the vessels were allocated to immigrants and their belongings. Although the immigrants are to be settled in the Dobrudja Plain, since their resettlement can not be completed at once, it was decided that they should be temporarily resettled in Dobrich (Hacıoğlu Pazarcığı), Shumen and other surrounding *kazas* and villages until their houses in the permanent settlement area are built. Said Pasha, the governor of Silistra, was sent to Balchik to take care of the dispatch and other affairs of the immigrants. One million⁴⁹ gurush were given to him to meet the needs of the immigrants.⁵⁰

Not only people of Evpatorya but also people of Sevastopol and Kerch wanted to migrate. Since British forces in Kerch and French forces in Sevastopol were in charge, letters were sent to embassies of these states stating that a ship was sent for those who

⁴⁸ İ.DH. 22622; A.MKT.MHM. 88-64; Eren, *op.cit.*, p. 41; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 62; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 119.

⁴⁹ 2.000 kise.

⁵⁰ A.MKT.MHM. 88-64.

wanted to migrate. Veli Bey was dispatched to Evpatorya with ten thousand gurush subsistence and Moteş Efendi was sent to Sevastopol as civil servants in order to deal with the affairs of the immigrants. It was decided that the same treatment applied to the people of Evpatorya would be applied to those who came from Kerch and Sevastopol.⁵¹ During the early phases of the migration, thirteen government ships and ten merchant vessels docked at Evpatorya, while one Ottoman ship proceeded to Kerch and another to Balaklava.⁵² Emigrants from Kerch and Sevastopol were transported mainly in the European vessels as well as the Ottomans.⁵³ As it was planned when the emigrants were docked to Balchik Pier they were dwelled in tents or villages and *kazas* for a temporary period of time. A letter was sent to the governor of Silistra on 3 May 1856 to organize the permanent settlements of the immigrants according to instructions. The instructions were as follows:

Everyone, Muslim and non-Muslim, who sought shelter in the Ottoman Empire from the Crimea shall be excused from tithes and other taxes for ten years, and from military duty for twenty-five years, until they achieve a particular level of status and riches. Because settling immigrants in different villages and towns would not benefit them or the state, detached villages will be created in close proximity to each other by assigning vacant, fertile, and productive lands in areas where they are appropriate, have water, and are extremely close to a river or sea.

Those engaged in farming will be established in areas where they can plough, and those engaged in crafts will be settled in areas where they can perform their own business, so that everyone may engage in their own business and acquire money quickly. As there are sufficient and abundant, fertile and productive vacant lands in Dobruja and its surroundings for the settlement of immigrants, tables showing the amount of population that can be resettled in a village will be created after examination and parceling out of the places suitable for settlement based on the number of immigrants.

⁵¹ İ.MMS. 7-266; Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı, p. 285-288.

⁵² For the names of the ships and vessels see Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasyadan Göçler*, p. 83.

⁵³ Karpat, "Establishment of Mecidiye", p. 211.

New names must be assigned to the new villages that will be built for the immigrants. After the property has been assigned based on the immigrants' status and needs, free title deeds with the names of the landowners will be prepared and distributed.

If there are individuals among the emigrants who have the power to build the houses required for their settlement, they can do so, and if the immigrants can not afford, the state will build their houses. The timber and other materials needed for these houses should be prepared with the assistance of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. Estimated expense books should be prepared and submitted to the center. Eventhough the houses will be made of wood, effort should be taken to ensure that they are as same style and orderly as possible, with wide and regular streets.

Because the construction of the houses will take a long time, the individuals who are waiting for the completion of the construction of their houses will do nothing till the houses are built. Accordingly, they will be unable to engage in agricultural the next year. Given the size of the lands allotted to them, the number of oxen and carts needed should be registered, and with the state procuring the oxen and carts, the immigrants should organize the fallows they will need this year and be rendered agriculturally capable for the next year. Although it is thought that the oxen and carts in the Imperial Army in Rumelia will be given to them, it should be investigated that how much can be obtained from there and the result should be recorded in the books and reported to the center quickly.

While it is not necessary to provide seed grain to who have power to provide himself and craftspeople, it is vital to provide both seeds and sustenance to the poor. The type and quantity of seeds and grains to be supplied should be informed.

The supply of agricultural tools and implements will be carried out by surrounding regions and efforts will be made to carry out this work in the form of neighborhood aid.

Although they were excused from taxes and military conscription for a period of time, their population should be documented in line with municipal order and a copy should be sent to the center to assure their order. Also, *imams* and headmen will be elected from each village, and these villages will be acknowledged as one or more districts, according to the circumstances. Again, a district manager, population clerk,

and scrutinizer will be chosen from among themselves, and they will be paid in a reasonable manner. By incorporating these settlements into a proper district, it will be assured that religious issues are handled by the director of that district or his deputy, and that appropriate police officers are assigned to the directors' entourage.

It is evident that oxen, seeds, and other items handed to immigrants by the state would place a significant cost on the treasury due to their purchase from elsewhere. Although these are handed in the form of aid, for the time being, a large load on the treasury will be avoided by repaying them gradually when prosperity returns to them in the future. For this reason, the joint guarantor method written in the agricultural regulations will be followed during the delivery of the aforementioned materials.

Matters other than those mentioned above will be asked from the center, and all kinds of measures will be taken for their rest and security.⁵⁴

The instruction sent to the governor of Silistra is crucial for us to understand how the process worked. The instruction emphasizes making the immigrants productive in a short period of time and providing them with the necessary agricultural tools. After settling the immigrants as quickly as possible, the state desired to make them productive so that the amount of money spent to immigrants could be decreased and the burden on the state treasury could be reduced.

By late June 1856, the governor of Silistra, Said Pasha, had notified the Porte that sixty families from the Balaklava were on their way to the Balchik, while the total number of immigrants arrived in Silistra had reached 13.600.⁵⁵ The number of houses that had to be built for these immigrants was, except those who could afford to build their own house, 3000. However, since the construction of houses by the state would place a significant strain on the state budget, it was decided to take the support of the locals. Because of the miserable situation of the people of Silistra Province, the duty of constructing houses for immigrants was distributed to *kazas* around the Silistra. Said Pasha offered to split the duty of constructing houses to *kazas* of Vidin, Sliven, Tırnova, Svishtov, Nikopol, Plevne Pleven, Lovech, Sevlievo, Karnobat, Rusokastro,

⁵⁴ İ.DH. 343-22622; *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı*, p. 290-295; Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 762; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 120-122.

⁵⁵ ML.CRD.D. 1750, p. 15; İ.DH. 346-22844; Referring the same document Saydam gives the number of emigrants as 13.036. See. *Kırım ve Kafkasyadan Göçler*, p. 85.

Aytos.⁵⁶ To settle emigrants town of Karasu, which was ruined because of the Ottoman-Russian wars in the first half of the nineteenth century, was chosen as the hub of settlement site. Regarding the houses to be built for immigrants, the decisions taken during the *Tanzimat* period were implemented. It is planned that the houses constructed in areas where immigrants will be settled would be built in the same style and order as possible, and roads will be wide and orderly. In this line, the town of *Mecidiye*, established by the decision of the sultan on 2 September 1856 for the settlement of emigrants named after the reigning sultan Abdülmecid, was the first and the most significant Ottoman settlement planned and built according to the new system.⁵⁷

A council consisting of the governor of Silistra Said Pasha, the emigrant officer Numan Efendi and those with knowledge on the subject convened several times to discuss the issue of houses to be built for immigrants. As discussed in the council, the timber needed for the construction of the wooden houses was to be supplied from the forests around the settlement site. According to calculation 100.000 carts of timber and wooden construction implement was to be needed. From each *kazas* four or five-person were to be brought with the carts to the Karasu. The houses were to be consisted of two rooms.⁵⁸ These houses built for immigrants set an example for those who will come later. Although artisans, tradesmen, and other urban occupations among the immigrant would be dwelled in the town, those engaged in agriculture were expected to live in the neighboring villages. Individuals, other than immigrants, was given permission to construct houses, shops, and other buildings in order to enhance the town's prosperity.⁵⁹

Not long after the arrival of the Crimean Tatars, in order to attract new populations to work in the Ottoman lands the Ottoman government announced the *Tavattun*

⁵⁶ İ.DH. 346-22844; Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism", p. 217; Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 764.

⁵⁷ Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism", p. 202-203; Kırımlı, "Emigrations from the Crimea", p. 765.

⁵⁸ İ.DH. 346-22844.

⁵⁹ A.MKT.NZD., 192-65; A. MKT.MHM. 88-64; Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı, p. 306.

Nizamnamesi (Refugee Regulation) on 13 January 1856.⁶⁰ The regulation was published in local newspapers also translated into other languages and published in major European newspapers, ensuring that many people were aware of Ottoman immigration policy.⁶¹ On 2 May 1856 two more articles were added to regulation.⁶² Consisting of fourteen articles and an additional one article, total fifteen articles, published on 23 May 1858, Emigrant Regulation was as follows:⁶³

- A- Those who desire to come must, regardless of nationality, adopt Ottoman nationality and swear to remain loyal to the Sultan.
- B- Immigrants will accept and abide by the current and future laws.
- C- They shall be protected from infirmingment to their religion and sect, just like other Ottoman citizens, and will have the sectarian privileges enjoyed by all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion. They will be allowed to perform their rites in the chapels. If enough people agree to create a new village, the Ottoman State will grant a permit to erect the requisite chapels.
- D- In the provinces to be determined by the Ottoman Empire, the appropriate quantity of agricultural land and industrial space will be provided based on the power and needs of everyone from state-owned areas that are vacant, fertile, and have good weather.
- E- If the land to be granted is in Rumelia, they will be exempted from all taxes for six years; if it is in Anatolia, they will be exempted from all taxes for twelve years.
- F- If the land to be granted is in Rumelia, they will be exempted from conscription for six years; if it is in Anatolia, they will be exempted for twelve years.

⁶⁰ A.d. 3, p. 22; İ.MMS. 10-408, p. 2; Karpat gives the dates as 9 March 1857 (5 Cemaziyelahir 1272) see. Karpat, Ottoman Population, p. 62; Also the gazettes of Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 562 and Ceride-i Havadis, no: 887 the date of the regulation is given as 7 August 1856. In the news of Tavkim-i Vekayi published on 23 May 1858 and Ceride Havadis published on 25 May 1858, it is stated that an additional artical was added to Refugee Regulation.

⁶¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze*, p. 154; Shaw, op. cit., p. 115.

⁶² A.d.3, p. 26.

⁶³ Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 562, 9 Şevval 1274 (23 May 1858); Ceride-i Havadis, no: 887, 11 Şevval 1274 (25 May 1858).

- G- After the expiry of the exemption period from taxes, they will execute all of their responsibilities in the same manner as other Ottoman subjects.
- H- The allotted land can not be sold before twenty years.
- İ- If any of them leave the Ottoman domain and nationality before the specified period, since it will not be appropriate for them to keep the given land and the real estate they have built on this land, and their estates will be left to the state free of charge.
- J- The village and town wherever they will settle, they will be under the protection and administration of officers in their settlement places, just like other subjects of the place to which they are settled.
- K- In the case if they would be have to move within the Ottoman state before the exemption period, they will be allowed to do so. However, the first land date given to them regarding their tax exemption will be respected.
- L- Those who wishe to come must not have committed murder in their own country and their situation must not be unknown, and they must be honest, connoisseurs in agricultural or artistic. The Ottoman Empire has the right to deport such people if it is revealed that they committed murder while they were in their native country before coming here.
- M- Because it will be necessary to distribute land based on the ability and situation of the families who wish to come to the Ottoman Empire, curriculum books containing their names, status, amount of capital, and profession will be arranged and presented to the Ottoman State by Ottoman ambassadors and consuls. It was even stipulated to have a capital of sixty gold *Mecidiyes*.
- N- During their journey to Ottoman domains consuls will provide the necessary help for the transportation of their property and possessions, and when they entered Ottoman lands, the necessary convenience will be provided by the officials and their passports will be provided with free visas by the Ottoman consuls.
- O- Since the land to be given to the immigrants will be in the form of loan within 20 years, if a person dies his land will be given to his inheritors on the condition that they will complete the remaining time. Inheritors have the option of transferring the usufruct of the real estate, completing the remaining

time jointly, or giving the property to one of them. They will also be allowed to sell it to another immigrant who comes and agrees to the terms. In short, whoever, newly arrived head of the family or the successor of the first comer will have the right to possess the land at the end of twenty years.⁶⁴

We can conclude from the regulation that the state needed skilful people, who has also enough capital, for agriculture and craft. While the subsistence and housing expenses of the emigrants who emigrated earlier from the Crimea were covered by the state, this time the condition that those wish to migrate must have a certain amount of capital shows the economic difficulties of the state. According to the state's thought, the state would only provide the necessary agricultural land or industrial needs and make the incomers productive. In this way it was to be sure that they boost the economy. Since it was aimed that newcomers would cultivate the land for twenty years and contribute to the economy, anyone who left their lands before the twenty years would have their lands returned free of charge. The goal of this action was to secure the continuance of soil cultivation. Since there would be no taxation on those settled in Anatolia for twelve years and six years those settled in Rumelia, the newcomers' entire contribution to the Ottoman budget would be made when these time periods were completed.

Proclamation of the Refugee Regulation stimulated many people from Europe to apply for permission to settle in the Ottoman lands. They were given lands in different regions of the Ottoman Empire, ranging from the Balkans to Palestine. However, this was not applied to everyone who wished to settle in the Ottoman. For example, among the emigrants from Crimea, there were also Polish and Christians people who emigrated to the Balkans with the Crimeans and were supplied with bread and flour by the state agencies. However, when they asked for land to farm, their request was rejected by the Ottoman authorities. Since it was believed that they are not originally Crimean and had no relation with agriculture or farming, they just requested land to sell it later for a higher price.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ This article was added to Refugee Regulation on 15 April 1858.

⁶⁵ A.MKT.UM. 270-79.

Following the Crimean War, Russia shifted its focus from the Crimea to the Caucasus. The Crimean War losses would be made up for by successes in the Caucasus. Russia's Caucasian strategy was to settle Muslims in the interior or send them to the Ottoman Empire. Christians who remained loyal to the empire would be placed in territories abandoned by the Muslims. As a result, the Muslim opposition in the Caucasus would be destroyed, and Russia would be able to maintain its own power in the east.

For many years, Russia has been at war with the Circassians and other mountain Muslims in the Caucasus. With the transfer of soldiers from Crimea to this region following the Crimean War, the war grew increasingly ferocious. Under the leadership of the Sheik Shamil Circassians resisted against the Russian forces. However, with the surrender of Sheikh Shamil⁶⁶ in 1859, Russia acquired more authority in the Caucasus and maintained its strategy of pushing Muslims to move either inner Asia or outside. Following Shamil's defeat, the Nogay dervishes began to tour mountain communities in the Caucasus and invited believers to abandon Dar al-harb to migrate to the caliph's domains. Answering this call, many Nogays wintered in the Crimean Peninsula's northern steppes before migrating west over southern Ukraine and emigrating to the Ottomans through the Crimean ports of Kefe and Kerch. Others crossed the Bucak steppe to reach the region of Dobruja.⁶⁷

The events in the Caucasus made Muslims in Crimea feel threatened as well. The migration movement, which continued individually, became a mass migratory movement. Immigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus began to swell in the Ottoman Empire's coastal towns. While some Crimeans went from the Kefe, Kerch, and Sevastopol piers to the Varna and Constanta piers, others headed to İstanbul. The number of Circassian and Nogay immigrants arrived in İstanbul reached 20.000 in 1859. Among the migrants, 11.309 Nogays were relocated in Adana and Dobruja, while 5.694 Circassians were relocated in Kütahya, Ankara, Sivas, and Dobruja.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Imam Shamil was the political, military and sipiritual leader of the Caucasian people and leader of the Circassian resistance to the Imperial Russia.

⁶⁷ Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 159.

⁶⁸ Y.EE.3 4-53; Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kafkas Göçleri I, p. 288-291.

Until 1860, 50.000 Nogays, two-thirds of them being Kuban Nogays, immigrated from the Kuban and Sevastopol areas.⁶⁹ One of the reasons of Tatar migration was the religious ties between the Ottomans and the Crimean Tatars.⁷⁰ There were even rumors that the Quran invited all Muslims to emigrate.⁷¹ As the protector of Muslims and the Islam faith Ottoman Empire was the place where to refuge be sought.⁷² The economic situation and pressure of pomeschicks were also among the reasons of Tatar's migration. But real trigger of the migration was the arrival of Nogays to Crimea while they were on their way to Ottoman Empire.⁷³

The boom in Tatar immigration caused Russian authorities, particularly Russian landlords called as "pomeschik" to prevent immigration. The Russian authorities' and Tsar Alexander's earlier attitude of encouraging immigration began to alter when it became a widespread movement. Contrary to what was expected, the number of Tatar emigrants reached ten thousands. The pomeschchiks, and the state attempted to block Tatar migration since it would deprive them of the people that paid taxes and contributed to production, and their economic revenue would suffer because of the result of this migration.⁷⁴ The landlords called an emergency meeting in the Simferopol (Akmescit). At the conclusion of the discussion, the Pomeschchiks addressed a note to Petersburg urging that the granting of passports to Tatar immigrants be halted.⁷⁵

The pomeschchiks' call was heeded, and some difficulties were made in granting Tatar passports.⁷⁶ In March 1860, the government restricted immigration, claiming that only one-tenth of the population might emigrate. Tatars were also prohibited from selling their houses until their passports were issued. However, many Tatars had

⁶⁹ Pinson, "Russian Policy", p. 47; Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 160.

⁷⁰ Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 111; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 103.

⁷¹ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 104.

⁷² Cuthell, op. cit., p. 135.

⁷³ Pinson, "Russian Policy", p. 46; Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 160.

⁷⁴ Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 100-101.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 163-164.

⁷⁶ Meyer, op. cit., p. 16.

stopped cultivating and sold their farms with the expectation of emigrating before they even had their passports. Furthermore, Russian authorities were getting unfair money from immigrants disguised as tax debt and tuition fees. The government stated right before the end of April that immigration could only be made by sea and from specific ports.⁷⁷

According to the report of the Crimean elders' head, between April and August of this year, 100.000 Tatars departed. Graf Stroganof, Crimea's governor, remarked on 15 October 1860 that the Crimean population was on the verge of decreasing due to immigration, and he proposed that "*at least the Turks of the Yaliboyu should stay in their land.*" Otherwise, it would be difficult to replace Turks in Yaliboyu who work in the garden, vineyard, and tobacco fields.⁷⁸

Kinyaz Vasilchikof was dispatched to Crimea in January 1861 to investigate the causes of Tatar migration and the peninsula's situation. Vasilchikov indicated in his statement to the Minister of Agriculture as a result of his research and investigations that the reasons for the migration of Crimean Tatars were mostly due to economic problems, and that the migration was caused by the Pomeschchiks' persecution and economic pressure rather than religious reasons.⁷⁹

Not only Crimean Tatars, but also Kubanians and Circassians, were migrating to the Ottoman Empire. Some of the people who emigrated by sea went directly to İstanbul, while others proceeded to Black Sea port cities. Those who migrated to İstanbul were resettled by the newly founded *Şehremaneti* (Prefecture of İstanbul). *Şehremaneti* was working on handling the situation by collaborating with the *Majlis-i Tanzimat* and the Ministry of Gendarme over the refugees.⁸⁰

There were several requirements for individuals who wished to travel to Turkey. Those who want to go had to do so through the ports of Kerch, Anapa, and Sukhum-Kale. They were not permitted to go outside of certain ports. Immigrants could only travel on ships that were not prohibited by Russia. Those who attempted to flee on

⁷⁷ Pinson, "Russian Policy", p. 49; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasya*, p. 94

⁷⁸ Gözaydın, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 82-83.

⁸⁰ İ.MMS. 16-696; A.MKT.NZD. 300-88.

unauthorized Turkish boats would be labeled traitors if captured and would face legal consequences. Russia restricted maritime access to these three ports in order to discourage immigrants from taking their animals with them on their journey. The emigrants' application for permission to relocate to Turkey was refused by the Russian authorities. Therefore, immigrants came to the Ottoman Empire under the guise of pilgrimage, obtaining authorization from Russia. To dissuade emigrants from staying in the Ottoman Empire, Russia told the emigrants that anyone who traveled to Turkey to travel and stayed for more than a year would be treated the same as those who migrated to the Ottoman Empire without authorization. In the event of a return, they would be considered traitors, their property would be seized, and their slaves would be emancipated.

II. II. Emigrant Commission

II.II. I. Establishment of the Commission

Migrants began to arrive in the Ottoman Empire soon after the Crimean War, and the Commerce and Trade Ministry was the first to handle their settlement and provisioning. Also, the newly established *Şehremaneti*, established in 1854, was entrusted with managing migration along with the Ministry of Commerce.⁸¹ As migrants arrived in an irregular manner in İstanbul and other port cities including Trabzon, Sinop, and Samsun, the migration process grew more difficult to manage. In 1859, around 100.000 Tatars arrived in Black Sea ports.⁸²

The necessity for the establishment of a distinct organization for migration management was felt since *Şehremaneti* and the Gendarme Ministry were dealing with migration challenges, but their efforts were insufficient to meet the requirements for

⁸¹ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasyadan Göçler*, p. 112-113; Yılmaz, *op.cit.*, p. 595.

⁸² Cutheel, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

work.⁸³ By the end of December 1859, the number of immigrants in İstanbul had reached ten thousand, with fifteen thousand having departed the city, and the number was continuously increasing with each passing day. As a result of the İstanbul crisis and the flood of migrants from Crimea and the Caucasus, a new government agency was formed to address concerns that developed during the settlement and dispatching of the immigrants.⁸⁴ However, the idea of establishing a commission for the management of the immigration was earlier than the start of influx. At the end of 1858, the Minister of Finance recommended forming a commission to deal with immigration issues. The Minister presented the recommendation to the *Majlis-i Vala* in the form of a memorandum. According to the memorandum the commission would be made up of Prefecture officers, persons who know about the migrants, and those deemed necessary to be on the commission. The commission would be in charge of recording and categorizing the immigrants as *ulama*, aged, young, employable, unemployable, able, farmer or craftsman. Furthermore, the commission would be responsible for paying immigrants' salary. After doing the appropriate investigation, the commission would determine who would be paid for how long, respond to the demands of immigrants such as daily allowance and housing rent. It was requested in a paper addressed to the *Şehremaneti* on December 25, 1858, to identify who should be in the commission and when the work should begin.⁸⁵

The concept of forming a specific organization to deal with the emigrant problem shows that the empire saw this as a significant issue that needed to be addressed. It also demonstrates a shift in Ottoman attitudes toward migration.⁸⁶ As a result of this shift, on January 5, 1860, the Emigrant Commission was established by imperial edict, and Trabzon Governor Hafız Pasha was appointed as its president

⁸³ "... keyfiyet lede'l-mütâla'a ma'lûm-ı 'âli-i vekâlet penâhileri buyurulduđu üzere muhâcirîn-i merkûme bu avânda pek kesret üzere tevârüd itmekde olduklarından bunlarıñ hîn-i vürûdlarında münâsib mahaller tedârük ile müsâfereten ikâme ve ivâları ve yevmiyeleriniñ i'tâsı husûsât-ı sâ'ireleriniñ tesviyesi ve ba'dehu mahall ve mevâki'-i münâsibeye i'zâmları keyfiyeti başluca bir iş olub Şehremaneti'niñ ise zâten mesâlih-i kesret ve müzâheme üzere olduğundan bu husûsâtıñ cümlesiñi hakkıyla ve tamâmiyla ifâya hâl müsâ'id olamayacağı hasebiyle...", i. MMS. 16-696.

⁸⁴ A.MKT.MHM. 174-72; i.MMS. 16-696.

⁸⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 272-67.

⁸⁶ Dündar, op.cit., p. 140-141.

because he was of Circassian descent and had firsthand knowledge of the territory that would serve as the landing location for future migrations.⁸⁷ Georgian İsmail Efendi, Hacı Pir Efendi, Mustafa Efendi of Ereğli, Refik Efendi, Hacı Kâmil Efendi became the members of the commission. To promote cooperation between the two agencies, Asım Bey, the executive officer of the *Şehremaneti*, would attend the commission on alternate days. The Hamidian Waqf building was assigned to the commission since the place where it was stationed was spacious, available, and convenient for the commission.⁸⁸ The Emigrant Commission was in charge of meeting the needs of the immigrants as well as managing settlement, transportation, and supply. Furthermore, the commission was to accumulate aids from those who wished to donate migrants and to advertise the names of the donors and the sums of the donations in the newspapers *Ceride-i Havadis* and *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁸⁹ The aim of publishing the lists of the benefactors and amount of the donations was to incite the people to donate for the migrants. After ten days of the commission's formation, Hafız Pasha petitioned the *Majlis-i Tanzimat* for an increase in the number of officials working for the commission. However, the *Majlis* declined this request because it believed that adding additional members would not speed up the process, and the names Hafız Pasha presented to the *Majlis* were either occupied with their own services or incapable of fulfilling the work.⁹⁰

To carry out the commission's task, civil officers and clerks from various departments of the *Babiali* (Porte) were appointed to the commission by raising their pay at varying rates. The commission's employees included accountants, clerks in charge of population, clerks in charge of registering fatalities, cashiers, and port and warehouse authorities. Other elements symbolized the logistical and political hurdles that the refugees faced during their journey. Three seats were assigned to the subject of emigrant landing and processing (duhûliye memuru), while two slots were assigned to the registerers of problem of new arrivals' poverty and indigence (muharrir-i fukara

⁸⁷ Cutheel, *op.cit.*, p. 104; İ. MMS. 16-696.

⁸⁸ İ. MMS. 16-696; *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 971, 2 Receb 1276 (26 January 1860); Eren, *op.cit.*, p. 57-58.

⁸⁹ İ. MMS. 16-696.

⁹⁰ A.MKT.NZD. 302-104.

pusula). Another officer oversaw communicating with and charging shipping companies and the military for the usage of the company's ships.⁹¹ The commission also included military officers. According to a document dated October 19, 1861, the commission contained a captain, a sergeant, and ten infantries. These infantrymen were reduced in number to one sergeant and four men. However, the commission requested that soldiers be dispatched. Nonetheless, owing to a soldier officer deficit, the requisite soldiers could not be dispatched. As a result, eleven Grand Vizierate guardsmen were assigned to this mission. However, because they were paid one hundred guruh each month, they would not be assigned permanently. Instead, they would be changed every two fortnights. The officers' job was to accompany and protect the immigrants and their belongings while they were brought to temporary settlement areas and to the ships that would transport them to their ultimate settlement destinations. Furthermore, they were to bring migrants to court if there was any dispute or controversy among the immigrants. They were also responsible for ensuring that immigrants were assigned rations.⁹²

After a while, Hafız Pasha was dispatched to Anatolia to coordinate and oversee the migration process, as well as to settle the immigrants who had not yet settled.⁹³ The commission's presidency has been handed up to İzzet Pasha, a former governor of Tripoli. After dispatching Hafız Pasha to Anatolia and seeing how sluggish the settlement process was, the government altered its mind and hired more officials to work for the commission. To expedite the process, Ottoman territory were split into settlement zones, and officials were assigned to these zones with the responsibility of arranging the emigrants' settlement. Accordingly, the settlement regions in 1861 in Balkans were as follows: Edirne, Thessaloniki, Silistra, Vidin, Skopje, Kırkkilise, Gallipoli with Vize, Rodosto, Silivri, Siroz, Drama, Medgidia, Shumen, Varna, Tulcea.⁹⁴ The purpose of assigning special officers to particular

⁹¹ Cuthell, op. cit., p. 106.

⁹² A. MKT. NZD. 377-51.

⁹³ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1042, 23 Zilkade 1277 (2 June 1861)

⁹⁴ In the Anatoli Konya, Sivas, Erzurum, Halep, Hüdavendigâr, Ankara, Kastamonu, Harput, Amasya, Kütahya, İzmit, İzmir, Biga, Karesi, Karahisar-ı Sahip, Saruhan, Denizli, Çankırı, Yozgad, Bolu, Sinop,

locations was to accelerate local affairs and finish the immigrant resettlement process as soon as feasible. Civil officials sent to the sanjak, or provinces, collaborated with governors, local governors, and councils in the territories to which they were dispatched. Officers' names and areas of duty were as follows:

Table I. Officers of Emigrant Commission and their places of duty in 1861⁹⁵

Name of Officer	Place of Duty
Colonel Vehbi Pasha	Konya
Colonel Eyüp Pasha	Biga
Colonel Nusret Bey	Silistra
Lieutenant Colonel Osman Bey	Thessaloniki
Major Abdullah Efendi	Kaza-i Erbaa ⁹⁶
Adjutant Major İbrahim Efendi	Aydın
Adjutant Major Osman Kazım Efendi	Kütahya
Redif Major Emin Efendi	Bursa
General of Brigade Abdi Pasha	İzmir
Colonel Zeki Bey	Adana
Lieutenant Colonel Hamdi Bey	Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ)
Lieutenant Colonel Daniş Bey	Gallipoli
Lieutenant Colonel Edhem Bey	Sinop
Major Abdullah Efendi	Çatalca

The military officers comprised all of the settlement officers dispatched to the provinces and sanjaks. The motivation for these missions was the state's desire to ensure security by enlisting the army's assistance in the immigrant settlement process. The involvement of governors in the settlement process was critical to the project's success or failure since they had access to army resources as well as the authority to regulate whatever flows of resources occurred.⁹⁷

Izzet Pasha, the former Governor of Tripoli, was appointed as the Head of the Emigrant Commission when Hafız Pasha was despatched on a short assignment to

Viranşehir, Island of Rodos were the places where immigrants were to be settled; Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1042, 23 Zilkade 1277 (2 June 1861)

⁹⁵ *Ibid*; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 110.

⁹⁶ Kaza-i Erbaa is located today Çatalca in İstanbul.

⁹⁷ Cuthell, op. cit., p. 109.

Anatolia.⁹⁸ When Hafiz Pasha's brief appointment in Anatolia came to an end, he was offered the option of staying as president of the commission or not.⁹⁹ He resigned willingly as president of the commission and was appointed to the post of Sheikh al-Harem.¹⁰⁰ After being nominated to the position, Hafiz Pasha served as president of the commission until a new president was appointed.¹⁰¹

Number of civil employees of the commission were reduced or increased as needed. For example, while the Emigrant Commission had an interpreter in 1861 with a monthly pay of 250 gurush, the number of translators was increased to two after 1862 owing to a rise in the number of migrants who did not know Turkish. Due to lawsuits and unrest among immigrants, one of these interpreters was working in court. As a result of the workload, another translator was hired with a monthly pay of 250 gurush.¹⁰² Translators were needed not just in the center, but also in the periphery. Nusret Pasha, who was in charge of settling refugees in Ottoman Europe, asked for ten interpreters to work with him. This request was directed to Porte by the Emigrant Commission. Despite Nusret Pasha's request for ten interpreters, Porte only provided three translators because translators were dissatisfied with the monthly remuneration of one hundred gurush. Hasan Bey was to be paid 350 gurush, Shah Mirza and Mustafa 250 gurush, for a total of 900 gurush for three translators. The Grand Vizirate stated that hiring nine translators would be damaging to the treasury and that those emigrants who had come earlier and had learnt enough Turkish and wanted to work for a hundred gurush monthly compensation might be employed.¹⁰³ The salaries of these interpreters were to be paid from the sanjak of Costanta's local treasury.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 81.

⁹⁹ A.MKT.MHM., 247-3.

¹⁰⁰ MB.İ., 18-89; İ.DH., 500-33971.

¹⁰¹ A.MKT.NZD., 465-25.

¹⁰² MVL. 869.90.

¹⁰³ A.MKT.MHM., 301-7.

¹⁰⁴ A.MKT.UM., 797-81.

The commission, which was previously attached to the Ministry of Commerce, later became an indispensable institution and became independent in July 1861.¹⁰⁵ In the expense book dated March 30, 1861, the monthly expense of the commission, consisting of 32 officers and clerks from different branches and duties, was indicated as 12,150 with the new rate.¹⁰⁶ Although the Emigrant Commission gained independence in 1861, its powers were limited. The commission was responding to letters addressed to it from the provinces, while the center was coordinating the distribution of immigrants in İstanbul. In addition, direct petitions from immigrants to the commission were answered by commission members in İstanbul. The provincial councils, or *qadis*, handled the legal concerns of the immigrants. Though provincial authorities were subservient to the Emigrant Commission, the government was in charge of appointments, recruiting, and financial budgeting. *Majlis-i Tanzimat*, *Şehremaneti*, Treasury Ministry, and the Porte all collaborated extensively with the commission. While the Treasury Ministry oversaw the commission's financial operations, the *Majlis-i Tanzimat* and the Porte were in charge of appointing the requisite personnel. After correspondence between the institutions on matters such as land determinations, expenditures, appointments of officials assigned to settlement works, security measures, and social aid, the final decision was reached with the agreement of the Sublime Porte and the Sultan.¹⁰⁷

The *Majlis-i Tanzimat* had an essential role in the migration, particularly in the early stages. The majority of the topics handled by the Council between 1859 and 1861 concerning the despatch and settlement of immigrants. The *Majlis-i Tanzimat*'s recommendations were used to deploy immigrants to settlement locations in Anatolia and the Balkans. The officers of the commission were likewise appointed in accordance with the *Majlis*'s recommendations. Due to the increase in the number of immigrants in 1861, it was decided to appoint more officials to the commission. Accordingly, former Tripoli governor Izzet Pasha, former Edirne *mutasarrıf* Bican

¹⁰⁵ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasyadan Göçler*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁶ For the names of the officers and their salaries see. MAD.D. 9072. page 15; *Saydam*, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ Muhammed Yasin Taşkesenlioğlu, "Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçmenlerinin İskânında Meclis-i Tanzimat'ın Faaliyetleri", *Yeni Türkiye*, no. 74, 2015, p. 560.

Pasha, and Raşid Efendi, who served as Reşid Pasha's steward, were all nominated to the commission.¹⁰⁸

Until December 1862, Hafız Pasha presided over the Commission. He was appointed Shaikh al-harem earlier this month.¹⁰⁹ Vecihi Pasha was appointed to the president of the commission on December 31, 1862¹¹⁰ and Yaver Efendi was appointed as chief scribe of communications.¹¹¹ The reason for this appointment was that the number of expenditure books submitted from the Anatolia and Rumelia regions was rising, and the state needed someone who was knowledgeable with emigrant issues and worked with them.¹¹² Vecihi Pasha had previously worked for the treasury department, mostly as a fiscal inspector, therefore he was well-versed in fiscal concerns.¹¹³ Hence he was appointed to Commission's presidency. He held this post until on April 9, 1864. In this date he was appointed as Shaikh al-harem after the dismissal of Hafız Pasha.¹¹⁴ Osman Pasha took over the seat left vacant by Vecihi Pasha. He was the commission's final president until it was disbanded on November 27, 1865.¹¹⁵

II.II.II. Commission's Budget

The revenues of the commission consisted of three items. One of them was the budget it received from the state, the other was the donations made by the public, and

¹⁰⁸ M. Yasin Taşkesenlioğlu, *Tanzimat Döneminde Bir Reform Meclisi Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzîmât (1846-1861)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2018, p. 218- 219.

¹⁰⁹ Tasvir-i Efkâr, no: 47, 14 Cemadiyelahir 1279 (7 December 1862).

¹¹⁰ A.MKT.MHM., 254-9.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² İ.MMS. 26-1123.

¹¹³ Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 98.

the third was the money given from the Oppenheim Company.¹¹⁶ The names of the people who contributed financially to the commission were published in newspapers such as *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*, and the public was encouraged to help the commission. In the newspapers, it is observed that not only the public but also the palace and statesmen participated to the aid campaigns.¹¹⁷

Table II. Budget of the Emigrant Commission¹¹⁸

Year	Gurush
1275/1859	900.000
1276/1860	2.819.907
1277/1861	1.254.760,20
1278/1862	321.559,20
1279/1863	554.265,20
1280/1864	680.000
Amount given by Oppenheim Campaign	2.777.676,20
1281/1865	1.000.385,20
Amount given by Opehaim Campaign	207.614,3
Aid made by people and benefactors	2.147.447
Total	12.663.613, 110 ¹¹⁹

Table III. Expenditures of the Emigrant Commission¹²⁰

Year	Gurush
1275/1859	743.913,18
1276/1860	3.659.333
1277/1861	1.633.931
1278/1862	336.886

¹¹⁶ The company is established in 1864 in İstanbul by foreigners and acquired many privileges from the government for various fields of work.

¹¹⁷ *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 971, 2 Receb 1276 (25 January 1860); *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 972, 10 Receb 1276 (2 February 1860)

¹¹⁸ MAD.d., 9072; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 200; Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 84.

¹¹⁹ Erdem's total is 12.663.56,83, p. 84; Saydam's total is 12.663,615,03, p. 200.

¹²⁰ MAD.d., 9072. Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 201; Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 85.

Table cont'd

1279/1863	616.886,9
1280/1864	3.888.061,10
1281/1865	1.863.804,30
The amount present in the safe and delivered to the treasury	856,16
Total	12.743.670,83 ¹²¹

As understood from the table above, the commission's expenditures differ according to the numbers of emigrants. The table allows us to conclude that especially in the years 1860-1861 and 1864-1865 Ottoman Empire welcomed a high number of emigrants, and this led state to spend large sums of money on emigrants. A pair of oxen could be purchased for 500-600 gurush in 1861 and 850-1000 gurush the following year. Despite a significant difference in inflation, the amount of money granted to the commission has reduced. This circumstance gives the impression that the allocation is based on the number of immigrants.

II.II.III. Closure of the Commission

Most of the emigrants had been settled in the empire at the end of 1865. For this reason, state did not feel any obligation for the continuation of services of the commission. The commission, which was established due to the necessity of the conditions of the time, was closed on the grounds that there was no need for their services and high expenditure. Despite being dismantled, the commission's tasks were passed to other sections of the Porte. Accordingly, various legal issues concerning immigrants were assigned to the *Ministry of Justice*, while issues concerning settlement, petition resolution, and migrant provisioning were assigned to the Ministry of Gendarmerie, and demands from provinces, writings, and only civil affairs duties were assigned to the *Majlis-i Vala*.¹²²

¹²¹ Erdem's total is 12.126.784, 60. See: Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 85; Saydam's total is 12.663.615,03, see: Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 86.

¹²² Tercüman-ı Ahval, no: 729, 19 Receb 1281 (8 December 1865); Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 98.

When the commission was closed, it had twenty-seven officials working in various branches. Some had been transferred from another Porte institution, while others were civil servants.¹²³ However, not so long, dividing the works of the commission to different branches of the Porte did not work out and the need of reestablishment of the commission was realized. With the proposal of Osman Pasha, it was decided to establish a new administration (commission). Four persons were employed for the new administration. Accordingly, İsmail Efendi, who had information about the emigrants, employed as journal scribe with a salary of 650 gurush, Hüsnü Bey was employed as a document registerer with a salary of 400 gurush, Ahmed Bey, who knew Circassian and Abaza languages, worked as a translator with a salary of 300 gurush, and Baha Bey was to deal with the summary of registrations with a salary of 300 gurush. Their salaries were to be paid out of the money that would be left to the state after the end of the duty of Muhtar Efendi, who was on duty in Ankara and Kastamonu for resettlement and received a salary of 2.185 gurush.¹²⁴

As a result, the commission, which was established as a branch of the *Majlis-i Vala*, later gained an independent identity. It continued to exist for six years between 1860-1865, and the number of officers present in the commission was increased or decreased as the conditions and situation required. During a six-year period, the Emigrant Commission was headed by four different presidents, and it was closed towards the end of 1865. However, soon after it was understood that the existence of such an institution was needed. Therefore, it was re-established under the *Majlis-i Vala*. However, the number of officers on duty was reduced from 27 to 5.¹²⁵ For six years, the commission managed the process in İstanbul together with the *Şehremaneti*, and in the provinces through resettlement officers who were of military origin. The commission dealt with the settling, housing, subsistence, land distribution, clothing, and many other issues of emigrants.

¹²³ For the names and salaries of disbanded commission members see. MVL., 487-94.

¹²⁴ İ.MVL., 556-24966; Erdem, *Muhacirin Komisyonları*, p. 100.

¹²⁵ Ibid

CHAPTER III

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

III.I. Migration and Settlement between 1860-1865

The migration wave spread from Caucasus to the Crimea beginning in 1860. Tatars began to migrate to Ottoman lands by selling their possessions and properties.¹²⁶ Although it began as an individual movement, it quickly evolved into a mass migration. Circassians and Nogays fled owing to Russian intimidation policy. The Russians plundered the villages in the territories they seized, forcing the residents to flee to the Ottoman Empire. The populace, on the other hand, initiated an armed battle against the Russians at first, but soon recognized that this effort was futile and began to regard emigration to the caliph's territories as the only answer. The Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, were concerned about Russian activities in the Caucasus and anticipated that it would be their time, so they began to plan for departure.

The migration did not always proceed with the same intensity. Migration gained or lost pace according on the political atmosphere and circumstances. The migration movement gained traction, particularly between 1856 and 1857, 1860 and 1862, and 1864 and 1865.¹²⁷ The terror caused by the unsafe environment following the Crimean War and Russia's repressive strategy was the driving force behind the first migrant wave.

On January 5, 1860, the Emigrant Commission was established to address issues such as settlement, sustenance, and shelter. Since the Commission was established during the winter season, the major goal of the commission was to provide a place for the immigrants in İstanbul and to transfer the immigrants to regions where

¹²⁶ Williams, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 161.

¹²⁷ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasyadan*, p. 81.

they would be placed as quickly as possible. However, owing to the harsh winter weather, the essential shelters could not be constructed. For this reason, the construction of dwellings for immigrants was postponed until the summer season. The influx of high number of immigrants in İstanbul was causing several challenges for the government. The growing number of immigrants after 1859 made it impossible for the state to provide shelter for them and to prevent diseases among them. Due to the difficulty in obtaining a shelter for the immigrants who came to İstanbul, immigrants were forced to live in inns, tents, or barracks. The building, which was built as *Darülfünun* in İstanbul, was used as a guest house for two thousand immigrants. Because of the enormous number of new arrivals, some were temporarily relocated to areas near İstanbul such as Kaza-i Erbaa, Silivri, Gallipoli, and Tekfurdağı.¹²⁸ After stating that the number of Nogay and Circassian immigrants is increasing and there is a problem finding a place for them, the *Majlis-i Tanzimat* wrote to the qaymaqams of Kaza-i Erbaa, Gallipoli, and Tekfurdağı that if there is a suitable place for the refugees to stay near Silivri and Büyük Çekmece they should notify the *Majlis* by a telegram.¹²⁹ In this regard, it was agreed at the beginning of 1860 that two thousand people would be temporarily relocated in regions around İstanbul, as there was no room to put immigrants in İstanbul.¹³⁰

Infectious diseases were one of the most serious issues among the emigrants in İstanbul. According to a record in a book containing the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*'s correspondence with other departments and provinces, smallpox emerged among the emigrants before the end of 1859, and the necessary works to vaccinate the immigrants had been initiated.¹³¹ The most common infectious illnesses among the refugees in İstanbul were typhoid, malaria, typhus, and smallpox. Cholera was also seen among Tatar and Circassian immigrants who arrived in İstanbul in 1860.¹³² The causes for the

¹²⁸ Eren, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

¹²⁹ BEOAYN.d. no. 638.

¹³⁰ BEOAYN.d. no. 647.

¹³¹ BEOAYN.d. no. 623.

¹³² Fabio L. Grassi, *Yeni Bir Vatan Çerkeslerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Zorunlu Göçü (1864)*, trans. Birgül Göker Perdise, Tarihçi Kitabevi (İstanbul: 2017), p. 91.

diseases that occurred among the migrants were found to be the warmth of the weather, the narrowness of the locations they resided in, and their failure to comply with the needed hygiene. Therefore, the Emigrant Commission was informed that required steps should be implemented to expedite the transfer of immigrants from İstanbul to other locations and to transport the emigrants to the locations where they would be relocated as soon as possible.¹³³

For the treatment of sick buildings were constructed. Because men and women would be treated separately, *Babıali* hired Ali Pasha Mansion in Dersaadet (İstanbul) for men's care, while women were taken to Gureba Hospital. In Üsküdar, males were served by two wards at Haydar Paşa Hospital, while women were treated in Toptaş Hospital. Men from the Eyüb el-Ensâri Neighborhood were treated in the *Mekteb-i Tibbiye* (Faculty of Medicine), while women were treated in a leased place in Hasköy.¹³⁴

Captains of sailboats and ferries transporting immigrants from Russia to the Ottoman Empire were carrying more passengers than the ships could accommodate. The fact that the ships, which already carried too many passengers, were unable to arrive at their destinations on time owing to weather conditions, along with the heat of the summer season, caused the immigrants to stink and various illnesses to spread among them. On January 15, 1860, the Council of Medicine agreed to take some steps for those who would travel from Russia by sea in order to preserve the health of both the immigrants and the residents of İstanbul. These measurements, which included seven different items, were as follows:

1- All steamboats and sailing ships carrying immigrants will be detained in Kavak.

2- Steamboats and sailing vessels shall be inspected by a quarantine doctor who has been particularly designated for this purpose.

3- Sick immigrants will be segregated from healthy immigrants and transported to the *Kavak Tahaffuzhanesi* (quarantine) for treatment. Quarantine's barracks will be converted into a refugee hospital.

¹³³ BEOAYN.d. no. 683.

¹³⁴ A.MKT.NZD. 304-19.

4- One or more doctors and pharmacists will be assigned to the immigrant hospitals here, together with the appropriate personnel and supplies.

5- Those who are healthy among the immigrants will be housed in tents at Kavak, Selvi Burnu, or Haydar Pasha until their basic requirements are met, at which point they will be transferred to the regions where they will be settled.

6- A quarantine procedure will be implemented for ships carrying immigrants.

7- The remaining immigrants will be evacuated from the inns, and they will be housed in tents outside of town.¹³⁵

In addition to these measures, it was determined to quarantine immigrants from Russia who arrived without a licence in Kavak Quarantine. The captains of the ships transporting immigrants from Kerch Pier have also been advised not to take unlicensed passengers. Due to a shortage of room at the quarantine, it was suggested that unpatented immigrants will be quarantined in tents in Haydarpaşa or Serviburnu.¹³⁶ The Ottoman authorities not only warned the ship captains, but also contacted the Russian embassy and sent a notification that no more passengers should be taken to ferries and vessels from now on, and that passengers should not be placed on the ships in such a way that disease would occur during the journey.¹³⁷ The government implemented these steps in order to protect the health of both migrants and İstanbul residents. In any case, quarantine was not a novel practice in the Ottoman Empire. In 1831, quarantine precautions against cholera were detailed in the *Takvim-i Vekayi* for the first time.¹³⁸

As the number of immigrants increased roughly in the middle of 1860, so did the number of officers employed by the commission. The commission dispatched special officers throughout the sanjaks and provinces to supervise the affairs of the immigrants. The officers would work with local administrations in the areas where they were assigned to conduct the resettlement issues of the immigrants and ensure

¹³⁵ HR.SYS. 1362-11.

¹³⁶ HR.MKT. 347-16; Nevzat Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul'a Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1858-1864)," *Journal of History School* XLVI, no. XLVI (2020), pp. 1525–55.

¹³⁷ HR.SYS. 1362-11.

¹³⁸ Abdullah Köşe, "Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'de Karantina Yani Usûl-i Tahaffuzun Tarihçesi," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 5, no. 1 (December 1, 2003), pp. 89–119.

that the process was completed as quickly as possible. The features of the geography they came from and the region where they landed in Ottoman countries were major considerations in the resettlement of the immigrants. Immigrants from the Caucasus and Crimea were dispatched to various locations in Anatolia or Rumelia for permanent settlement after landing. The initial ports of entry for immigrants arriving from Crimea and its environs were Tulcea, Varna, Constanta, and İstanbul, which are Rumelia port cities, while those arriving from the Caucasus were Trabzon, Sinop, and Samsun.

The number of immigrants grew as the winter season ended. The Ottoman State provided 310 maritime vessels for the passage of Crimean Tatar immigrants.¹³⁹ Up until November 1860, nearly 65,000 immigrants were transported just on the *Hazine-i Hassa* ships. Tatars were ready to migrate to the Ottoman Empire by abandoning agricultural fields and selling their possessions. However, when they migrated, they were forced to sell their property, livestock, and possessions for a pittance. Carts were sold for one carbon¹⁴⁰, while an acre of land was sold for forty *para*. Those who couldn't sell their animals had to abandon them in the open. Among the immigrants, there were clergy, retired memorandums, and soldiers from the Russian military.¹⁴¹ According to an article in *Ceride-i Havadis* Newspaper quoted from *Times Newspaper*, the cause for the exodus was that Tatars assisted the Ottomans and allies in the Crimean War and offered all types of help for the return of Crimea to the Ottoman Empire. Since then, the Russian State had made every effort to make it easier and more appealing for the Crimean Tatars to leave the peninsula.¹⁴² However, a surge in the number of Tatars emigrating in the summer of 1860 spurred Russian authorities to take action. Tatars were notified in June, at the request of the Russian consulate in İstanbul, that they would not be issued passports if they wished to return to Russia. Furthermore, some of the immigrants were traveling to Ottoman areas via land. After a while, the Russian State barred emigrants from traveling by land owing to the potential for damage from the migratory movement. Gerngros, a high-ranking officer

¹³⁹ Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 210.

¹⁴⁰ Russian currency.

¹⁴¹ *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 1002, 11 Safer 1277 (29 August 1860).

¹⁴² *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 990, 15 Zilkade 1276 (4 June 1860).

in the Ministry of State Property, was dispatched to Crimea. Although Gerngros' actual role was unknown, it was assumed that he went to Crimea to either acquire the estates of the immigrants on behalf of the ministry or to establish new people in the territories evacuated by the Tatars. Gerngros remarked after travelling around Crimea for a few days that the Tatars are worthless, and that the region's population would be grown again with the ministry's actions. He soon changed his mind and instructed the provincial gentry head to write a circular urging all regions in the province to stay Tatars. The governor of Tavrida indicated in the circular addressed to the Tatars that they could stay safely, that they would not be deported to the interior, and that there was no need for certain evil individuals to hurry to move to the Ottoman Empire with the support of their selfish interests.¹⁴³

Although Russian efforts to restrict Tatar migration, by the middle of August 1860, the number of Tatars in İstanbul reached 13.000 people.¹⁴⁴ Upon this situation, the Porte told the ship captains that the immigrants from Crimea should be transported immediately to the ports in Varna, Constanta, and Balchik rather than being taken to İstanbul.¹⁴⁵ This decision was made due to the geographical proximity and the low cost of transportation. Immigrants from these ports settled in Edirne, Silistra, Vidin, Skopje, Tulcea, Varna, Shumen, Silivri, Tekfurdağı, Gallipoli, Kırkkilise, Siroz, Drama, Constanta, and Medgidia. After the Crimean War, Medgidia had been established for the settlement of Tatar immigrants. Some of the immigrants who came with this new wave of migration wanted to settle with their relatives in Medgidia.¹⁴⁶ The Porte decided that the new immigrants should be resettled in the Dobrudja Plain as the previous immigrants were settled in this place.¹⁴⁷ Since Tatar immigrants proceeded directly to Varna rather than İstanbul, the number of immigrants in Varna surpassed 2.000 in July 1860. Within two weeks, almost four thousand people disembarked. The immigrants were temporarily housed in Varna in barracks, hospitals,

¹⁴³ Pinson, "Russian Policy", p. 51-53.

¹⁴⁴ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1000, 26 Muharrem 1277 (14 August 1860).

¹⁴⁵ A.MKT. NZD. 317-5; A.MKT.MHM. 185-59.

¹⁴⁶ A.MKT.UM. 412-55.

¹⁴⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 316-21.

and houses until they were relocated to the region where they would be resettled.¹⁴⁸ With the rapid arrival of a large number of immigrants, the question arose as to whether the homes where emigrants would stay temporarily as guests would solely be Muslim subjects' homes or if non-Muslim subjects' homes would also be included.¹⁴⁹ To address this issue, the Governor of Silistra, Halil Kâmil, informed the Porte about the situation in Varna and inquired whether it would be a problem if the immigrants were exclusively put in the homes of Muslims or non-Muslims. To avoid upsetting the Christian subjects, when this question was directed to Despot Efendi, Ruşçuk *çorbacı*, and deputies, the response was "We embrace and accept the guests with pleasure." Upon this answer immigrants were established as guests not just in Muslims' house but also in non-Muslims's homes.¹⁵⁰

Due to a shortage of accommodation, some of the refugees were placed in tents. Considering the enormous number of immigrants arriving in Varna, there was no space for so many people to settle. It was then requested from the Porte to provide around 500 tents.¹⁵¹ However, the 500 tents needed in July 1860 could only be delivered to Constanta by British boat in mid-October.¹⁵² As the emigrants' settling issue became increasingly difficult, and with the possibility that more immigrants will arrive, the work will reach a level that local authorities will be unable to handle, special officers were appointed to the provinces. Accordingly, a special officer was requested from the center due to an increase in the number of migrants waiting in Varna.¹⁵³ As a consequence of the correspondences, Nusret Bey, one of the *Erkan-ı Harbiye* (General Staff) colonels, was assigned the job of settlement of the immigrants in Edirne, Vidin,

¹⁴⁸ İ.DH. 458-30413.

¹⁴⁹ A.MKT.UM. 415-64.

¹⁵⁰ A.MKT.UM. 416-30.

¹⁵¹ İ.DH. 458-30413.

¹⁵² A.MKT.NZD. 327-67.

¹⁵³ İ.DH. 460-30579. "... Varna ve Köstence ve Dobruca taraflarında tecemmu' itmiş ve bir taraftan dahi gelmekte bulunmuş olan muhâcirîniñ Edirne ve Silistre ve Vidin eyâletlerinde her nerede arâzi-i hâliyye bulunur ise orada kış gelmeksizin bir sâ'at evvel iskân ve tavnîleri lâzımeden olduğuna ve maslahatın cesâmeti ve mahalleri me'mûrlarının meşâgil-i kesîresi cihetiyle bu hûsusa müstakillen bir münâsib zâtın me'mûr ve ta'yîn buyurulması iktizâ-yı hâlden bulunduğuna mebnî ..."

and Silistra. Although it was planned to provide Nusret Bey ten thousand guruh¹⁵⁴ allowance to be paid from the treasury of Vidin and Silistra, this sum proved insufficient. Therefore, his allowance was increased to fifteen thousand.¹⁵⁵ Nusret Bey would carry out the settlement works in Rumelia in accordance with the government's instructions. Nusret Bey is required to complete the following tasks, according to an instruction dated August 16, 1860:

- The emigrants, who have congregated near the towns of Varna and Constanta and are anticipated to arrive later, will be resettled on state-owned vacant lands in the provinces of Edirne, Silistra, and Vidin.
- Since the Vidin governor has notified that there is a state-owned area suitable for the resettlement of five to ten thousand households within the Vidin province, the necessary number of emigrants will be transported and despatched. Ten thousand emigrant families will be transported to Vidin, where they will disembark at the proper Danube docks and placed aboard boats called “açık”. The *Tersane-i Amire* ferries on the Danube will pull these boats, and the immigrants will be transported to Vidin. Nusret Bey will work with the governors of Silistra and Vidin in this respect. The governor of Vidin, on the other hand, is going to settle as many emigrants as possible before winter arrives.
- - The officers of *Erkan-ı Harbiye*, who were sent to the region to examine the land, presented a petition and maps they had prepared to the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*. These works were handed over to Nusret Bey. As it is understood from their works, there are quite a few state-owned lands suitable for the settlement of immigrants on the sides of Dobruja. In addition, it has been observed that the majority of the people of the old villages seized more pasture than they needed, and they resigned from their money by renting these surplus areas to someone else. Immigrants will be settled appropriately as groups in the state lands, which are marked on the maps or can be found as a result of investigation. However, the land will be treated fairly, and no one will interfere with the real

¹⁵⁴ A.MKT.MHM. 190-11; A.MKT.NZD. 320-32.

¹⁵⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 322-23.

estate and land owned by anyone, the pasture that a village community really needs.

- Immigrants shall be settled within the provinces stated above, as much as feasible, in areas that have good weather, access to water, pasture, wooded, and appropriate for agriculture, depending on the condition of the land. Following the land allocation, an appropriate and sufficient amount of pasture will be allotted for the new village residents based on the population size of each house. According to the new system and precedent, care will be made to guarantee that the villages developed have regular streets.
- It is recognized that some of the old villages within the provinces have empty buildings and barren grounds without cultivation, with the approval of both sides, namely the local people and the immigrants to be relocated, the immigrants will be resettled in these villages. This will make it easier for both the government and the immigrants. Because circumstances such as not getting along well and frightening the Christian subjects may emerge when immigrants are settled near villages consisting entirely of Christian subjects, the immigrants will be settled in regions remote from these communities.
- - The bulk of the immigrants' financial status is favorable because they came by selling their real estate and goods in their homeland. For this reason, they can not be compared to previous immigrants. Because of the current situation and lack of economic opportunity, the former recipients will not be eligible for state assistance. Those with a good or moderate financial status will be able to build their own homes on the land to be presented and farm after supplying their own seeds, oxen, and agricultural tools. Those with physical strength but insufficient cash will make a life by serving and sharing with the affluent and locals. Those who are really impoverished and in need of assistance, on the other hand, will be given enough bread to live on from their adjacent land until they are resettled. It is Nusret Bey's obligation to discern between those who need assistance and those who do not. Nusret Bey's decision will be based on discussions with local officials and community heads. A predetermined quantity of assistance will be distributed on a regular basis to individuals in need.

- If the migrants' resettlement is not finished before the winter arrives, they will suffer and become a burden on the local population. Furthermore, because this scenario would require the state to spend more money and cause many more problems, the most crucial issue in this respect is the immediate relocation of the emigrants. An official document had been sent to the governors, *mutasarrifs*, and qaymaqams of the provinces in order to provide Nusret Bey with the required aid and convenience in every duty and to satisfy his demands swiftly. Nusret Bey was provided a copy of this edict. Contrary to the regulations of the edict, indifference and laxity should be reported to the center on the one hand. Nusret Bey is personally liable in the event of unforeseen carelessness or heavy-handed action by himself.
- Those who can not be relocated until the winter season will be provided a certain amount as guests to the people of Medgidia town and villages, who are their fellow countrymen, and some will be settled in tents and in the houses of those who wish from the local people. Furthermore, some of the immigrants will be put in madrasahs and other appropriate locations. Even if it is a sign of compassion for all officials, notables, and others to assist refugees in escaping the agony and brutality of winter, no one will be obliged to do so.
- With the consent of the Ministry of Finance, the immigrants' expenditures will be fulfilled by getting a reasonable amount of money from the assets of the provinces of Silistra and Vidin. Although Nusret Bey was paid 15.000 gurush for this duty, if his duty continues, the money will run out. For this reason, Nusret Bey will receive the necessary finances for supporting immigrants, as well as the police forces' and clerks' costs, with a deed and receipt from local treasury, but the problem of saving as much as possible will be addressed. An annotated log of costs will be made and turned over to the center at the end of the civil service.

The appointment of Nusret Bey to this post led to resettlement issues to take on a new dimension in the Balkans. Nusret Bey was in charge of the immigrants' settlement for around five years. First and foremost, Nusret Bey, who participated in the settling of Tatar and Nogay immigrants, contributed to the settlement of about seventy thousand Circassian immigrants in the Balkan region after 1864, amounting to over

twenty thousand families.¹⁵⁶ He performed his duty till his relationship with Midhat Pasha soured and he traveled to İstanbul. Nusret Bey, who began his service on August 16, 1860, contributed numerous immigrants settle in the Balkans during his term. In November 1862, he was promoted to the rank of *Mirliva* (general of brigade) for his great service. As of this day Nusret Bey is known as Nusret Pasha.¹⁵⁷ Accordingly, until 1862, his name will be written as Nusret Bey and thereafter as Nusret Pasha.

Although Nusret Bey took complete responsibility, it was decided to appoint a few army officials and a clerk to assist him. The clerks and officials under his supervision would help Nusret Bey in determining and measuring the land to be handed to the immigrants, as well as in other immigration-related tasks. Furthermore, because it was planned that the immigrants be fully settled during the summer season, all authorities were ordered to work as quickly as possible to accomplish the assignment. Nusret Bey would be accompanied by experts (*erbâb-ı vukûf*), a local clerk for registration, and a sufficient number of cavalry and infantry officers. These officers were to be recruited from the provinces and *livas* located around the places where Nusret Bey would travel.¹⁵⁸

With the influx of Crimean immigrants, particularly Taman and Bahçesaray, in Varna and Constanta in the middle of the summer of 1860, settlement work became more difficult. Dobrudja would be home to 900 Crimeans by the end of July.¹⁵⁹ For once it was agreed to allocate 150 gurush to immigrants above the age of fifteen, and 75 gurush to those under the age of fifteen. In addition, the refugees would be granted a reasonable quantity of land. They also would be excused from tithe and military duty, as well as other taxes, for ten years.¹⁶⁰

Despite the state's directive to ship captains to transport them directly to Varna and Constanta instead of İstanbul, the number of emigrants in İstanbul was growing day by day. Emigrants living in tents in Haydar Pasha had to be settled before winter.

¹⁵⁶ A.MKT.UM. 793-14.

¹⁵⁷ A.MKT.MHM. 265-76; İ.DH.507-34551.

¹⁵⁸ İ.DH. 460-30579.

¹⁵⁹ A.MKT.NZD. 316-30; A.MKT.UM. 417-30.

¹⁶⁰ A.MKT.UM. 417-30; A.MKT.UM. 417-37.

However, there was no time to construct a new village for them. When it became clear that the people of Medgidia could not afford to settle the immigrants due to the enormous number of emigrants transported there, it was decided to relocate the immigrants as two families to villages of twenty or thirty homes.¹⁶¹ The state's primary goal was to settle the immigrants who had congregated around Varna, Constanta, and Dobruja before the winter season, as well as those who were on their way, in the state-owned vacant lands in the provinces of Edirne, Silistra, and Vidin.¹⁶² In early September 1860, 202 emigrants from the Crimean town of Ak Mescid were transferred to Edirne to be settled. Those who have certificate of poor were given half a kilo of bread or bread price every day.¹⁶³ In addition to these emigrants, 1,269 persons from Crimea and Karasu were settled in Edirne.¹⁶⁴

The *Tersane-i Amire* Company ferryboats were transporting the immigrants from İstanbul to the coast of Rumelia for half the price.¹⁶⁵ Because their family were already situated in Dobruja, the emigrants insisted that they be settled there as well. Initially, 1,332¹⁶⁶ and then 900 Crimean immigrants wanted to be resettled in Dobrudja.¹⁶⁷ In September, 704 emigrants arrived from Crimea and Taman. As reported by Varna qaymaqam Aşir Bey, some of the Crimean immigrants who arrived at the Constanta Pier proceeded to Dobruja, while others from Taman went to their relatives in Dobrich. Nusret Bey was expected to arrive to take any action about the emigrants' settlement. It was determined that the emigrants should remain where they were until Nusret Bey arrived.¹⁶⁸ The relocation of the emigrants, who will be dispatched to Vidin in November, has been planned in advance, and the animals and carts required for their transportation have been purchased. When they arrived at the Vidin Pier, they were to

¹⁶¹ A.MKT.MHM. 191-81.

¹⁶² A.MKT.UM. 421-72; A.MKT.NZD. 321-66.

¹⁶³ A.MKT.UM. 425-6; A.MKT.UM. 425-3.

¹⁶⁴ A.MKT.NZD. 325-54.

¹⁶⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 324-3.

¹⁶⁶ A.MKT.NZD. 323-69.

¹⁶⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 425-26.

¹⁶⁸ A.MKT.NZD. 325-43; A.MKT. MHM. 196-9.

initially be placed into tents, the population and groups were to be registered by officials, and then they would be sent in the form of tribes to the prepared places by carts. The inhabitants of Vidin would welcome the diseased among the immigrants in their houses, and they would endeavour to treat them.¹⁶⁹

Constanta, Varna, Balchik and Tulcea were the port cities where most of the immigrants came because of their proximity to the Crimea. It was simpler for the state to deploy people to the interior regions from these cities, particularly from Constanta. Because on October 4, 1860, the first railway network in Ottoman Europe, Constanta-Boğazköy (Chernova) had been opened for use.¹⁷⁰ The immigrants who came to Constanta were transported to Vidin from here by the railway network. In places where there was no railway, emigrants and their belongings were transported by local people's carts. The work of transporting the emigrants by rail did not always end in the desired way. For example, the Ottoman authorities made an agreement with the Constanta Railway company to transport the refugees. According to the agreement, all kinds of facilities would be provided to the authorities for the transportation of immigrants. However, the company officer, French Monsieur Sanak, informed the Ottoman authorities that they would not be able to transport the emigrants unless the transportation fee was paid in advance. This issue resulted in lost of time and an unforeseen complication with the migrants' relocation. Authorities were compelled to procure carriages from local citizens.¹⁷¹

River vessels were also utilized to carry emigrants. The emigrants who arrived in Constanta were carried by train to Boğazköy, and from there they were transported to Vidin by river along the Danube by boats and freighters. Nusret Pasha traveled to Vienna to arrange for the requisite ships and freighters to transport the emigrants. The Austrian embassy in Ruse estimated the number of Tatars at 30.000 and stated that Nusret Bey had returned, but the problem could not be resolved. The company, which had some issues with the Ottoman Empire, did not believe Nusret Bey's word and

¹⁶⁹ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1015, 12 Cemaziyelevvel 1277 (26 November 1860).

¹⁷⁰ Ali Akyıldız, "Bir Teknolojik Transferin Değişim Boyutu: Köstence Demiryolu Örneği", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, V. XX, İstanbul 2000, p. 314-315.

¹⁷¹ A. MKT.UM. 433-8.

dispatched its own inspector to Dobruja to determine how many people would be transported and how much weight would be carried. Following the inspector's investigation, an agreement was reached between the Ottomans and the Austrian Company. Following the inspector's investigation, an agreement was reached between the Ottomans and the Austrian Company. According to the previous arrangement, the Austrian company would provide a fifty percent discount, 400 emigrants would be loaded into each freighter with their belongings, and the emigrants would be carried from Boğazköy to any dock in Vidin for 1,450 florins.¹⁷² Nusret Bey, on the other hand, was having serious financial problems. For this reason, he asked that 2.000 *kese*¹⁷³ *akçe* be transported from Tirnova and Vidin in exchange for only one-tenth of the shipping and other costs. However, due to the situation of the treasury, sending money to Nusret Bey was difficult. Therefore, it was commanded in a letter to the governor of Silistra that 1.000 *kese akçe* be prepared and sent to Nusret Bey.¹⁷⁴ But Governor Kamil Pasha stated to the Tirnova qaymaqam that it was not possible to obtain this money from Silistra and that the requested money be taken from the Tirnova treasury, and if money could not be acquired from there, a loan should be arranged from the merchant and others there and handed to Nusret Bey with a short delay.¹⁷⁵

Even though the money issue could not be resolved, the emigrants continued to arrive. Nusret Bey sent a letter to the Porte while he was in Ruse and informed that three or five ships of emigrants have been arriving daily in Constanta, Balchik, Varna, and Tulcea. In order to learn the situation in the departure place of the emigrants he summoned the ferry captains who had arrived in Constanta. When Nusret Bey asked the captains about the situation in Crimea, he was told that there were a hundred thousand people ready to migrate who had their passports issued on the coastlines of Evpatoria and Crimea. Because the high number of emigrants arriving could not be sent to Vidin, it was thought that those coming from Crimea to Varna, Balchik, and Constanta was to be despatched to the forests of Silistra and Shumen, those coming to

¹⁷² A.MKT.UM. 451-88.

¹⁷³ One kese is equal to 416,65 guruh. See. Baki Çakır, "Kese", DİA, Ankara 2019, V. appendix II, p. 42.

¹⁷⁴ A.MKT.UM. 433-59.

¹⁷⁵ A.MKT.MHM. 198-93.

Burgas in the forests of Fakihtađı, and Nogays coming from outside of Crimea in the forests of Babadag, Isaccea, and Macin. The migrants were to be accommodated on specially constructed shelters.¹⁷⁶

Due to the impending winter, it would be inappropriate for the emigrants to remain in tents in November 1860. For this reason, almost 2.000 emigrants in İstanbul were placed at Darulfünun. Even the emigrants were sent to the settlement areas, they were constantly replaced by new ones. Authorities anticipated that there would always be roughly 10.000 migrants in İstanbul. Darulfünun's capacity was set at two thousand emigrants. For the remaining 8.000 refugees, inns had to be leased. However, the cost of renting inns for migrants had reached 400.000 gurush last year, and even one-third of this sum could not be paid. Creditors have been demanding their money every day. In his paper to the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*, Hafız Pasha, the head of the Emigrant Commission, advised that wards from light and barracks covered with tarps be built for the emigrants. Accordingly, the wards would be separated into two sections for men and women, with separate access doors for each gender. By putting stoves in the wards, it would be feasible to temporarily house the refugees in the most cost-effective manner. When this matter was debated in the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*, it was agreed that building wards would be less expensive than renting an inn, and it was decided to built wards in the Yeni Bahçe and other suitable locations.¹⁷⁷ Existing refugees in the inns would also be evacuated and transferred to the wards to be built.¹⁷⁸ Normally, the destitute refugees in *Dersaadet* were given 10 gurush for bread and because of the winter the money was raised to twenty gurush each day.¹⁷⁹

While the Emigrant Commission was trying to solve the problems of the migrants in İstanbul, it was also interested in the affairs of the emigrants in Anatolia and the Balkans. At the beginning of November, 1.200 families and about 6.000 emigrants came to Vidin.¹⁸⁰ The majority of individuals who arrived settled in the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ İ.DH. 463-30915.

¹⁷⁸ A.MKT.NZD. 330-4.

¹⁷⁹ A.MKT.MHM. 205-45.

¹⁸⁰ Each household of migrants is calculated as five people.

town, with the rest in the Sahra and Belogradchik *kazas*. On the other side, 3.000 families and approximately 15.000 immigrants had set out by land towards Lofca sanjak. 2.000 of the 3.000 immigrant families was to be settled in Lom and Vratsa. On November 888 of these 2000 families reached to Lom by river. As informed by the Vidin governor Mehmed Said to Porte 10.000 families and probably 50.000 refugees was to arrive.¹⁸¹

The increasing number of emigrants had been making it impossible for the state to provide a home for them. That is why, the governor of Vidin proposed to the Sublime Porte that the immigrants be settled in the state-owned arable lands, called as *sivad*¹⁸², in Svishtov, Nikopol, and Rahova. The state, on the other hand, rented *sivad* lands to tenants for a price. The *kaza* of Rahova had no *sivad* tax, but Nikopol and Svishtov *sivads* had been rented for 269,925 gurush, for the year 1276. (1860). If the agreements between the tax farmers and the state was dissolved, the tax farmers would have numerous grievances. However, tax farmers had rented these properties for herd grazing, and when winter approached, the herds were unable to graze on these fields. In any case, since the treaty term would be completed once the emigrants were placed here, there would be no need for taxpayers to object. The state would also not incur any economic loss because the emigrants would bring these areas into cultivation. Many *sivad* lands would remain empty since the emigrants could not entirely populate them. For this reason, there would be little treasury loss. However, the priority for the resettlement of immigrants was the use of state-owned vacant lands, followed by the use of *sivad* lands. Furthermore, it was reported to the governors of Vidin and Nusret Bey that only what was absolutely essential should be granted to the emigrants, and that a record of the lands allotted to the emigrants be compiled and delivered to the Ministry of Finance.¹⁸³

In addition to the *sivads*, it was decided to use the state-owned but idle farms for the resettlement of emigrants. In line with this decision, 170 families of Nogay emigrants were settled in Börücek Farm, and it was planned to settle 110 more

¹⁸¹ A.MKT.UM. 435-36; A.MKT.UM. 436-9.

¹⁸² State owned empty and arable lands.

¹⁸³ A.MKT.NZD. 330-9.

households.¹⁸⁴ 53.405 decares of farmland in Dukakin Village, Ipsala *kaza* of Gallipoli Sanjak, comprising of farms, meadows, mountains, plains, pastures, and forests, had been allocated for emigrant resettlement.¹⁸⁵ However, emigrants settling at Dukakin Farm would not have the same entitlement to tax as other emigrants. While emigrants who settled on state-owned vacant lands were exempt from tithe and military service for twenty years, emigrants who settled in Dukakin Farm would be exempted from tithe for three years and tax for five years, similar to those who settled in Börücek Farm, because the land given to them was farmland rather than raw land like other lands.¹⁸⁶

After a while, the growth in the number of emigrants began to concern the Christian populace. On 3 December 1860 non-Muslims living in Nish, Leskofca, Pirot, Vranje, and Kuršumlja areas, known as Old Serbia, wrote a letter addressed to the consuls of major states resident in Belgrade. In the article, they described their situation, complained about the Ottoman government, and asked the European states to save them from the Ottomans. The Christians organized their requests into seven articles in their paper. They demanded costs of wheat, clarified butter, eggs, and other goods from each Christian home for the Crimean Tatars transferred to Vidin Province was one of them. Non-Muslim residents also stated that they were forced to give half of their houses to the refugees. Aside from that, they wrote that the entry of the emigrants in their sanjak would be detrimental to them. In the seventh article, non-Muslims demanded the removal of the Crimean Tatars those who had been resettled in their homes, their houses returned to them, and the Ottoman State paid for the food and other things given to the refugees.¹⁸⁷ When the petition sent by non-Muslims to the consuls fell into the hands of the Ottoman authorities, the government sent a telegram to the governor of Vidin. According to the telegram, non-Muslims were forcibly evicted from their homes in Vidin Province for the resettlement of Tatar emigrants, one hundred kilos of wheat was purchased for each farmer and given to

¹⁸⁴ A.MKT.NZD. 325-45.

¹⁸⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 327-71.

¹⁸⁶ İ.DH. 463-30903; A.MKT.UM. 473-38; A.MKT.MHM. 760-117.

¹⁸⁷ HR.SYS. 1487-61.

emigrants, the people were in a difficult situation because four of the five houses were allocated to Tatars, and similar immigrant resettlement would be attempted even in Nish Province. It was specified that it is never acceptable to treat someone unjustly or with force when it came to resettlement. In addition, it was ordered that what was mentioned in the telegram was to be banned immediately if it was true, and that no attempt should be made to take an improper action regarding the resettlement of emigrants in the Province of Nish.¹⁸⁸

Until November 1860, 421 families and 2,500 people were settled in Tekfurdağı Sanjak. In the same month, 672 people from the Crimean Abdülhakim tribe consisting of 185 families and 785 people wished to settle in *kazas* of Tekfurdağı and 113 people in Midye. However, because certain residents in Tekfurdağı took efforts to impede the resettlement of the emigrants, the Crimean refugees were moved to Gallipoli to be resettled in the Gallipoli villages and towns around Tekfurdağı.¹⁸⁹ Approximately 10.000 immigrants were dispatched to Thessaloniki in the same month to be settled in cities and villages throughout Thessaloniki, particularly in Syros and Drama.¹⁹⁰ One thousand emigrants were sent to Kavala Pier to be settled in Drama Sanjak, and 3,750 were sent to Karaağaç, where they were to be directed to the locations they would be dwelled.¹⁹¹

Kosovo was one of the locations considered for emigrant relocation. For this reason, the Porte asked Rumeli Province Governor İsmail Hakkı in a letter that how many immigrant households may be settled in Kosovo. The Grand Viziership was informed by İsmail Hakkı that five or six thousand families of emigrants may be settled on the vast territory on the road from Kurşumlija to Pristina.¹⁹² According to the governor's letter, the residents of Kosovo's villages could only cultivate one-third of the fertile ground. The remaining lands were deserted and obsolete. Because of this, the grounds had gotten overgrown with bushes and oaks. These lands, however, may

¹⁸⁸ HR.MKT. 358-7; A.MKT.UM. 444-2.

¹⁸⁹ A.MKT.MHM. 199-74.

¹⁹⁰ A.MKT.UM. 436-27.

¹⁹¹ A.MKT.UM. 438-94.

¹⁹² A.MKT.MHM. 202-10.

be converted to agriculture with minimal effort. These lands also have access to water, allowing for the cultivation of a variety of cereals. Therefore, up to 5.000 families might be relocated to Kosovo. The placement of so many emigrants in this location would have no negative impact on agricultural productivity and would help the local inhabitants. Furthermore, because the emigrants will be settling in the forest it will be simple to gather materials for the building's construction. Moreover, the Pristina and Vulchitrin *kaza* councils stated that 600 emigrant households would be housed as guests in the homes of the local community. As proposed by the assembly, the emigrants would stay in people's homes through the winter and then move into their own homes in the spring. Although the *kaza* councils made a commitment to the Sublime Porte regarding the emigrants' resettlement, the Grand Viziership believed that sending the emigrants to the region in the winter would cause difficulties and discomfort for both the emigrants and the locals, and that it would be more appropriate to send the immigrants in the spring of the following year.¹⁹³ In a formal letter submitted to the center in June 1861, the Governor of Skopje, Mustafa Pasha, stated that it would be impossible to relocate more than 600 refugees in the Kosovo region. For a while, no refugees were sent to Kosovo upon the governor's request. However, he was told that if a big number of refugees arrive, no more than 600 would be dispatched.¹⁹⁴ A month later, 100 families and 500 individuals from the tribes of Hodja Emin and Osman, who were refugees from Perekop, wanted to settle in Kosovo collectively. One of the emigrants, Şerefeddin Efendi, was sent to Kumanova to examine and check the locations where they would be settled, and an officer was assigned to him. The inhabitants of Vranje *kaza* also purchased the Peterce Farm in Vranje *kaza* and donated it to the emigrants in order to assist the state and settle the immigrants.¹⁹⁵

3.330 refugees settled as guests in the Sahara district were paid half a kilo of bread per day, one share of wheat and two share of indian corn, from 1860 November to the end of 1861 August. From the state treasury, the immigrants in Lom were paid

¹⁹³ A.MKT.NZD. 335-54.

¹⁹⁴ A.MKT.MHM. 226-43.

¹⁹⁵ A.MKT. NZD. 368-53.

333.000 kilograms indian corn and 166.550 kilograms of wheat. The people, on the other hand, provided wood, lentils, beans, salt, onions for immigrants and for animals fodder, bran and straw.¹⁹⁶ One hundred households of these immigrants in the city center were mostly settled in Muslim neighborhoods while some of them were temporarily settled in non-Muslim neighborhoods. Although the Christian people of Old Serbia had expressed their discomfort with the immigrants before, and therefore, orders were sent to the provincial governors not to force the non-Muslim people on this issue, the non-Muslim people in Vidin were willing to help the emigrants.¹⁹⁷

Until August 1860, a total of 89.190 people either came to Turkey or applied for a passport to come. According to sources, 28.000 Nogay Tatars and 57.000 Tatars migrated from the steppes and mountainous area to Turkey around the middle of November.¹⁹⁸ Nusret Bey informed in a letter to the Porte dated 9 June 1861 that the number of emigrants settled by him had reached 35,860 houses, or nearly 150.000, excluding those in Edirne, Tekfurdağı, Sliven, and Plovdiv.¹⁹⁹ The settlement places and the numbers of the settled emigrants were as in the table.

TABLE IV. The Places Nusret Bey Settled Immigrants in the Balkans and the Amount of Settled Population until 1861

Vidin Province			
Place	Household	Place	Household
Sahra	1.250	Belogradchik	110
Lom	1.500	Rahova	2.500
Nikopol	1.500	Lovech	700
Vratsa	600	Pleven	600
Berkovitsa	700		
Silistre Province			
In the Zıştovi <i>Kaza</i> of Tırnova <i>Sancak</i>	1.200	Ruse	500
Silistra	1.500	Shumen	1.500

¹⁹⁶ A.MKT.UM. 451-90; Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1033, 20 Ramazan 1277 (1 April 1861); Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 612, 23 Ramazan 1277 (4 April 1861).

¹⁹⁷ A.MKT.UM. 454-41.

¹⁹⁸ Kozelsky, *Tatar Exodus*, p. 178.

¹⁹⁹ A.MKT.UM. 481-55.

Table cont'd

Provadija	1.000	Hezargrad and Targovishte	700
Varna	2.000	Balchik	1.500
Dobrich	1.500	In the <i>kaza</i> of Misivri(Müsevri)	500
Constanta and Mangalia	2.000	Medgidia	3000
In the <i>qaymaqamlık</i> of Kabail	3.000		
In the <i>mutasarrıflık</i> of Tulcea			
Macin	500	Isaccea	500
Babadag	1.500	Tulcea	1.000
Mahmudiye	1.500		
Sofia			1.500

The approach of the winter season, as well as Russian authorities' efforts to discourage emigrants from departure, resulted in a fall in the number of migrants. Therefore, the state advised officials to settle the migrants who had been placed as guests in houses of locals or who had been left in the open as quickly as possible. New villages or shelters were erected for the refugees in some villages or nearby to protect them from the cold of the winter. In the villages, new neighborhoods were built for the emigrants, and the emigrants were divided into ten, fifteen, or twenty-five homes. The village residents provided the newcomers with enough land, and they also planted some summer crops.²⁰⁰ However, since many emigrants could not be properly resettled, local authorities sent telegrams to the Porte inquiring how to proceed with emigrant settlement. According to the *qaymaqam* of Silistra, 8.890 people had come to Shumen to reside in the Shumen sanjak within eight months. The emigrants received the required assistance in line with the instructions, and the *qaymaqam* personally went to the relevant locations to inspect. Furthermore, Nusret Bey, who was in command in Rumelia, was consulted concerning the emigrants' settlement.²⁰¹

Nusret Bey was working on that the immigrants could become producers the following year. It was determined to provide farm animals to the emigrants who would be settling in Vidin province for agricultural purposes. However, it was unclear how

²⁰⁰ İ.DH. 470-31466.

²⁰¹ A.MKT.NZD. 341-70.

and where a large number of animals would be supplied for the emigrants. On the other hand, the planting season was approaching, and the animals needed to be purchased and handed to the emigrants as soon as possible. Because if the emigrants missed the time for planting seeds, they would need governmental assistance because they would be unable to farm and reap the next year. This would harm both the public treasury and themselves.²⁰² With the passing of the winter season, the governor of Silistra stated in a letter to the Porte that he would travel the whole province beginning with the Ruse in order to appropriately settle the refugees. He further added that council members and some nobles were dispatched with instructions to inspect the situations in the villages. Following the talks in the provincial council, on 29 April 1862, a directive was prepared for officials to be deployed to the villages to assist with the settlement of the emigrants. The instruction was as follows:

- As previously stated, sufficient summer rations for refugees are being planted in each village; that is, provisions such as corn, millet, lentils, and beans are being planted, and if there are villages that have not planted, officials will gather the villagers and emigrants and plant them immediately. In order for the emigrants to hoe the land, the villagers will lend the emigrants hoes and will help with the hoe when necessary. Since the emigrants will be living with the summer rations that will be planted now until the threshing time next year in this summer and winter, it will be stated to the villagers that if they do not plant this, they will have to give food to the emigrants for another year and this will be a problem for them. The officials will explain in an appropriate language to the emigrants that they should no longer be lazy and should take care of themselves from now on, and that they should not be a burden to the people and work in agriculture, shepherding, and mairding.

- The decare of the lands to be cultivated in each village, the weight and type of grain to be planted will be recorded in the books by the officials.

- Until the summer grain to be planted is grown and threshed, half a kilo of flour will be given by the villagers to the poor and needy among the emigrants. Where it is not possible, it will be given from the grain that was previously stored in each village. If there is no grain left, the grain that will grow until threshing time will be

²⁰² A.MKT.UM. 453-99.

collected from the villagers and stored in the proper village locations. How much food will be given to the emigrants will be recorded in the book by the imam, headman and chiefs of the villages.

- Because the treasury pays the price of the grain that has been supplied and will be given in the future, how much food and flour has been given to the population in each village will be learnt from the locals and recorded in the book.

- The officers will inform the immigrants that the poor will be granted daily allowances until harvest time, but those in good financial situation will not be provided. After officials evaluate the situation of the immigrants, all of them will be summoned and notified to whom and how much food would be provided. The officials will also state that the provisions supplied to emigrants will be cut after the crops have grown and that they should not come to Ruse for daily allowance and disrupt the state. In the event of a petition, the rich and poor immigrants will be recorded in the book in order to be responded.

- Permanently settled immigrants in each village will be given land to begin cultivating this fall or earlier. The officials will summon the locals in order to decide the land, and their lands will be shown to the immigrants as a consequence of discussions with the locals. Even though the locals claim that a large amount of land was given to the emigrants, the authorities will see the area with their own eyes, and if it is not appropriate for cultivation, they will seek for another land and distribute it to the immigrants. The household numbers and populations of emigrants who will be permanently settled in a village will be recorded in the book, and numbers will be added to the books of the villages where they will be settled. Villages will be re-established on vacant land, and even families will be assigned numbers in order to be registered.

- After the civil servants have completed the aforementioned obligations, no family will be permitted to leave the area where they are settled. Officers who examine villages will remove emigrants from the towns with numerous immigrants but little land and relocate them to villages with lots of land and few immigrants.

- Although shelters and huts have almost been built for the refugees in the villages, if some have not yet been built, because some of the immigrants will have to live in the villagers' houses, causing discomfort to the people, the necessary

shelters and huts will be built immediately with the help of the villagers and emigrants' efforts.

- Some of the emigrants petition to go to the place where their tribe, and relatives dwell. It is evident that those who are very close to one another, such as mother, father, brother, sister, and son, should be settled in the same location. However, it would be inappropriate to gather them in places where there is insufficient land. For this reason, in the *kazas* or villages where there are abundant lands, the officials in these places will be asked if any further emigrants could be settled. The emigrants would be allowed to go to places where their family or relatives dwell if there is adequate land available in the areas where their relatives live. If there is no suitable land, the emigrants will be miserable if they go there. Therefore, anyone wishing to visit his family would be unable to do so. However, if a person's tribe or relatives are identified in other towns or villages and it is decided that there is enough land even there, there is no harm in allowing them to go. Those who are unable to pay will be reported here and given transportation.²⁰³

As it can be understood from the instructions, the Governor of Silistra Halil Kâmil intends to take all necessary efforts so that the emigrants may begin producing as soon as is feasible. The emigrants would start farming with the support of the locals, become productive within a year, and would not be a burden to the state or the local people. However, the emigrants' condition was deteriorating since the authorities deployed to the villages did not follow the instructions given to them and took things slowly. Following that, in a decree issued by the provincial council, *qaymaqams* and administrator were instructed to go to the *kazas*, sub-districts, and villages personally, while members of parliament and notables of the people were asked to be dispatched to regions where they could not reach. The goal here was to completely settle the emigrants all at once. The fact that the emigrants settled and became producers was the most essential problem for the state. However, once the locals ceased assisting the emigrants, the starving immigrants moved on, causing some challenges for the state in terms of resettlement. The authorities believed that if the migrants were given adequate assistance, they would be able to earn a livelihood on their own and no one would be

²⁰³ A.MKT.U.M. 473-26.

displaced. Therefore, the officers were instructed to prioritize the work of the emigrants over all other matters, rather than leaving such an important subject to the administration of the villagers and the gendarmerie.²⁰⁴

The heavy-handedness of the officials in the housing business increased the suffering of both the immigrants and the people. Since their arrival, the immigrants have been living with the assistance of the villagers. However, when the locals stopped providing food to them, the famished refugees were at a loss for what to do. When the emigrants learned that the situation of the emigrants in a town or village was slightly improved, they began to go there right away, stating, "My relatives are there." The state prevented the emigrants from moving, but some of them fled and went elsewhere. The emigrants' switching places significantly complicated the work of resettlement. Because the emigrants were unable to adapt to the water and air in their new home, they asked that they be relocated. Some emigrants, on the other hand, produced ineffective or fake justifications and headed directly to Dersaadet, keeping officials busy. To prohibit emigrants from fleeing or traveling to Dersaadet for different reasons, an official letter was sent to provincial officials stating that no one should be permitted to travel anywhere in Anatolia and Rumelia without an official permission document (*mürûr tezkiresi*)²⁰⁵. If any of the emigrants needed to come to Dersaadet for a genuine cause, their condition would be written to the commission or the Porte as needed, and they would be allowed to come based on the response.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, in order to discourage emigrants from relocating, it was determined not to fund the transportation costs of emigrants who did not like the place they were sent to and went elsewhere.²⁰⁷

A large number of emigrants were settled in the Balkans and especially in Bulgaria. This situation led to false allegations circulation that the Bulgarians would be replaced by emigrants once the refugees were moved to Shumen. Following that,

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ It is a permit document that should be obtained by everyone, domestic and foreign, who want to travel in the Ottoman lands.

²⁰⁶ A.MKT.UM. 479-8.

²⁰⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 358-6.

several Bulgarian notables were summoned, and it was said that the emigrants were transported and settled not only in Shumen, but across the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, it was stated that an agreement between Russia and the Ottoman Empire about the sending of Bulgarians in Rumelia to the places where the emigrants departed in Russia was not signed.²⁰⁸ When the Bulgarians were told that the state thought nothing but good about them, the Bulgarians said that they would never believe such false rumors.²⁰⁹ Despite stating that they would not listen to misleading rumors, around a thousand Bulgarian families residing in the Babadag region of Tulcea Sanjak opted not to produce their farms because they were considering migrating to Russia. The concept of relocating the Bulgarians sprang from the fact that there were too many emigrants in Tulcea Sanjak. The arrival of the emigrants had increased the burden on the locals, and carts were regularly requested from villages for the newcomers, while the state requested corn plantation and transportation of lumber and other goods. Some of the emigrants even threatened the locals with expulsion from the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the rigorous implementation of the land registration was one of the factors that irritated the inhabitants of the region.²¹⁰

The Ottoman secret agent in Bucharest wrote in a paper addressed to the Porte that about sixty Bulgarians from various sub-districts of Vratsa had come to Bucharest, and that they had to leave their homeland and their families and go to another safe place because the Tatar emigrants caused them discomfort. In accordance with the request conveyed to him, the Russian consul asked from his own government authorization from the Ottoman Empire to enable Bulgarians to relocate to Serbia or Russia. He also stated that the Bulgarians were told to proceed in this direction by a foreign state. Serbia might have been behind the event since some of the immigrants who came to Bucharest went to Serbia and lived there. It was rumored that the Bulgarians would travel to Russia since the people in Bucharest did not support them.²¹¹ To dissuade Bulgarians from migrating, the government agreed to decrease

²⁰⁸ A.MKT.UM. 513-88.

²⁰⁹ A.MKT.UM. 474-35; A.MKT.MHM. 220-68.

²¹⁰ A.MKT.UM. 514-20.

²¹¹ A.MKT.UM. 485-48.

the amount of support asked for the immigrants as much as possible and to postpone the land registry order for 2-3 years until the Tatar emigrants are settled. Furthermore, the government wrote an official letter in Bulgarian and distributed it to the villages so that the Bulgarians would not listen to the comments of the emigrants.²¹² Despite the Ottoman Empire's efforts to prevent immigration, many Bulgarians emigrated to Russia. As a result, the villages remained vacant as all of the residents of certain Bulgarian settlements migrated. The authorities allocated the unoccupied villages to the emigrants since it would be easier to settle them there than to build new houses and towns.²¹³ However, when the Bulgarians who had gone to Russia returned, the state faced with a fresh settlement crisis. This was the issue of where the Bulgarians would be relocated. The places abandoned by the Bulgarians had been given to the emigrants, who established their business there. As a result, it was impossible to remove refugees from their homes and sites and hand them over to Bulgarians. However, the Bulgarians could not be left out in the cold. In this circumstance, the state chose to place the Bulgarians as guests in their own villages and nearby villages, where they would stay until the building of their new homes is done.²¹⁴

On May 4, 1862, a letter was sent to the governors, *qaymaqams*, and *mutasarrifs* of Vidin informing them that some of the Bulgarian immigrants who had immigrated from Russia would return because they could not find the dignity and gratitude for the welfare and justice they had achieved in the Ottoman Empire, and that all kinds of convenience should be provided for the Bulgarians when they return.²¹⁵ The Bulgarians demanded that they all dwell in Dobruja together. The state had earlier sunk wells and begun to build residences in a vast portion of the Lom district for Bulgarians. However, because some of the Bulgarians migrated to Russia, the construction effort had been halted. In the existing scenario, it was determined to relocate the immigrants in Lom since there were enough lands for 700 immigrant

²¹² A.MKT.UM. 514-20; Ahmet İlker Baş, "Demographic Engineering: Bulgarian Migrations from the Ottoman Empire to Russia in the Nineteenth Century", MA. Thesis (Bilkent University, 2015), p. 127.

²¹³ A.MKT.UM. 502-83.

²¹⁴ Milen Velizarov Petrov, "Tanzimat for the Countryside: Midhat Paşa and The Vilayet of Danube 1864-1868", PhD. Diss., (Princeton University, 2008), p. 356.

²¹⁵ A.d. 598, p. 11.

families.²¹⁶ This was an excellent decision. Because if the Bulgarians were given back their homes and the Crimean exiles were kicked out, the Crimean emigrants could be upset by the state and seek to return to Russia. Another alternative was to offer settlement for the Bulgarians by building a new neighborhood or hamlet near to their existing villages. However, this may have resulted in confrontation between the two factions. As a result, the correct solution was to construct a new Bulgarian village elsewhere. In this way, the state would not have removed the Crimean emigrants, to please the Bulgarians. Though, Bulgarian migration from the Ottoman Empire to Russia had already begun prior to the Tatar migration in 1860. 900 families, 6,167 individuals who had fought on the same side with the Russians, had gone to Bessarabia with the Russian army during the Crimean War, as the Russian army was retreating from Ottoman territory in June 1854.²¹⁷

Russia was in search of a taxable population to compensate for the loss caused by Circassian, Nogay, and Tatar migrations. Newspapers reported that non-Muslims from Hungary and other countries may go to Russia and be awarded certain advantages.²¹⁸ Bulgarians were one of Russia's target audiences. M.A. Baikov, Russia's Vidin Consul, was charged with promoting immigration propaganda. Russian agents were dispatched to Vidin specifically to urge Bulgarians to relocate to Russia. The Bulgarian clergy, like the agents, took part in the propaganda. Priest promised to Bulgarians enough land, some cash, and the value of their remaining assets to be compensated in when they migrated to Russia.²¹⁹ Against Russian propaganda Bulgarians was informed that the Tatars did not come on Ottoman invitation, rather they came upon the permission of Russia. It was informed to the Bulgarians that the Tatars did not come on Ottoman invitation, rather they came upon the permission of Russia. Furthermore, Bulgarian notables were warned that if they had any complaints against officials, the state would be alerted as quickly as possible and

²¹⁶ MVL. 954-16.

²¹⁷ Baş, *op.cit.*, p. 111-112.

²¹⁸ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 985, 9 Şevval 1276 (30 April 1860); Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze*, p. 160-161.

²¹⁹ Hüdai Şentürk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bulgar Meselesi (1850-1875)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara 1992), p. 153-154.

appropriate action would be done against the officers. Moreover, among the Bulgarian religious leaders, those known to be loyal to the state were welcomed and rewarded. By doing these the state aimed to give the necessary advice to the people.²²⁰

Despite the Ottoman State's opposition to Bulgarian emigration, between 12.000 and 16.000 Bulgarians migrated to Russia in 1861.²²¹ The Bulgarians who went to Crimea, on the other hand, were unable to find what they were seeking for. When those who did not like the lands given to them sought to return, Russian officials tried to dissuade them by saying that if they return, the Ottoman authority would punish them and they would be ill-treated. They were even assured that if they did not attend and instead stayed, they would be paid. However, when Bulgarians who did not accept Russia's assurances began to return to their homeland, Russia only permitted selected Bulgarians to return, fearing that the country's prestige would suffer as a result.²²² When the Bulgarians' requests to return to the Sultan were granted, he dispatched five ships and sixteen sea vessels to transport them. Approximately 7.500 Bulgarians transported from Kefe and Evpatoriya to Northern Dobruja and Bulgarian territory.²²³

Although the return of the Bulgarian people to Ottoman territory was politically beneficial to the state, it also resulted in the formation of a new challenge. Because emigrants had took over the villages that the Bulgarians had abandoned. In the areas where they settled, the emigrants created separate areas for their animals and grew agricultural items such as maize and tobacco. They would be left in the open if they were evicted from their homes because there were no vacancies. It was unwise to leave the Bulgarians out in the open. As a result, the authorities decided to temporarily relocate the Bulgarians to their home villages and nearby villages. Because constructing dwellings for Tatar immigrants would result in the creation of new settlements. With the Tatars abandoning their homes, Bulgarians will be allowed to

²²⁰ A.MKT.UM. 571-86.

²²¹ Baş, *op.cit.*, p. 123; Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze*, p. 159; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 65; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 80;

²²² Şentürk, *op.cit.*, p. 156-157.

²²³ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 64.

return to their own homes.²²⁴ Furthermore, a commission was created for the restitution of the goods of the Bulgarians who became guests by selling their goods and animals. The amount of the harm they experienced was estimated and handed to them through this commission.²²⁵ For example, the animals of twenty-two Bulgarian families who migrated to Russia and then returned to Vidin had been bought by Razarof, a Russian citizen, for a very cheap price. Razarof took the animals he had bought to the vicinity of Wallachia and Moldavia, but he could not be found there. Thereupon, the Ottoman officials contacted with Russian embassy and a request was made for the animals to be returned to the Bulgarians.²²⁶

Tatar migration restarted with the coming of spring. Many refugees, however, were already waiting to be relocated. With the arrival of additional groups of emigrants, life in Rumelia became far more difficult than a single individual could handle. Thus, the government sent new officials from the center to the region. Qaymaqam Osman Bey was tasked with settling the emigrants in Thessaloniki and its environs. With the resurgence of the migration wave, numerous immigrants from the Crimea and İstanbul arrived in Constanta. Some of them were settled in the cities and villages of Constanta, Mangalia, and Hirsova, while others were sent to Vidin and its environs. Toward the end of September, more than a hundred immigrants arrived in Constanta in two days, and those who arrived expressed a desire to be resettled in Dobruja. Even the locals in Dobruja were in a miserable situation because of the thirst. In a telegraph sent to İstanbul, the qaymaqam of Constanta asked for the appointment of an officer to deal with the issues of the immigrants in Constanta in order to control the situation, which was deteriorating by the day. The qaymaqam's telegraph was forwarded to the *Majlis-i Vala*. It was determined that the Commission's Secretary, Bahaeddin Efendi, would be dispatched to Constanta as a civil servant.²²⁷

Bahaeddin Efendi would be in charge of settling the immigrants in Constanta and relocating them in other areas like Tulcea and Sofia. For this work, Bahaeddin Bey

²²⁴ MVL. 954-16.

²²⁵ Şentürk, *op.cit*, p. 160; Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1074, 11 Receb 1278 (12 Ocak 1862).

²²⁶ A.d. 598, p. 37.

²²⁷ MVL. 936-57; A.MKT.MVL. 134-60.

would receive a subsistence stipend of 1.500 gurush. If he had to stay for an extended period of time, his allowance would be doubled to 3.000 gurush. Nusret Bey had been assigned the responsibility of resettling immigrants in the Balkan region. However, he could not stay in one spot for long since he had to go to the Danube coasts and other locations for inspection. Because Constanta was the initial destination for the refugees, an officer had to be stationed there to take care of the newcomers who would stay for a brief time before being transported to the areas where they would be relocated. Choosing Bahaeddin Efendi for this position unquestionably was the correct option. Because Bahaeddin Efendi was already a member of the commission, he was well-versed in the issue and the situation of the immigrants.²²⁸

Bahaeddin Efendi studied the area after arriving in Constanta and created a report on difficulties the emigrants faced, which he handed to the Emigrant Commission. The report emphasized three issues: first, the water in Karasu in Medgidia became a lake because the newly built railway prevented the water from flowing, causing various diseases among the emigrants in the summer; second, the land to be given to the emigrants had not yet been bordered or divided; and finally, the deficiencies of the mosque that was began to be built in Medgidia should be supplied as soon as possible. Upon Bahaeddin Efendi's report, steps were taken to clean the water in Karasu and make it drinkable as quickly as possible. Hurşid, one of the *Defterhane-i Amire's* (Imperial Archive) clerks, and Rıza Efendi, one of the *Erkan-ı Harbiye* captains were tasked with measuring and mapping the area. Hurşid and Rıza Efendis initially drew a plan of the town and delivered it to the Porte before beginning to measure the settlements. The emigrants were issued deeds that allowed them to participate in agriculture. More than 200.000 gurush had been spent on the mosque's construction. However, for the floors, windows, and woods an expenditure of 20.000 gurush was needed. These deficiencies were to be supplied as soon as possible and the mosque construction would be completed.²²⁹ The *mutasarrıf* of Tulcea reported to the Porte in a letter dated May 1, 1862, that the mosque's construction was completed, but

²²⁸ İ.MVL. 455-20407.

²²⁹ MVL. 941-4.

there were a few flaws, and it was asked that the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* (Ministry of Waqfs) supply the deficiencies.²³⁰

Due to an increase in the number of immigrants in Constanta and Austrian shepherds' entrance to Ottoman territory to graze cattle warmer some improper behavior occurred. For this reason, the Constanta Assembly delivered a paper to the *Majlis-i Vala*. In the paper, the number of engaged cavalry in Constanta was stated as eight cavalry and infantry, and with this force it would be nearly impossible to look after the affairs of both the inhabitants of Constanta and the emigrants who were and are being settled. Due to the scarcity of officials, it was requested that a police officer and eight cavalry officers be temporarily employed until winter to handle the problems of the emigrants and to tour the villages on a regular basis.²³¹

The situation was bad not only in the Balkans, but also in Anatolia. Settlement work in Anatolia was also becoming increasingly challenging. The number of officials in the field had to be raised to speed up the work. In this regard, the state dispatched officers to the provinces and sanjaks designated as resettlement zones to deal with the settling of immigrants. The settlement places of immigrants in the Anatolia were as follows: Hüdavendigâr, Kütahya, İzmit, Biga, Karesi, Karahisar-ı Sahip, Aydın, İzmir, Saruhan, Denizli, Ankara, Kangırı (Çankırı), Bozok, Kayseri, Kastamonu, Bolu, Sinop, Viranşehir, Trabzon, Canik, Adana, Konya, Amasya, Sivas, Erzurum, Harput and Aleppo and in the Balkans Edirne, Sliven, Gallipoli, Tekfurdağı, Plovdiv, Silivri, Kırkkilise, Vize, Thessaloniki, Syros, Drama, Silistra, Medgidia, Shumen, Tulcea, Constanta, Tirnova, Varna, Nish, Sophia and Vidin.²³²

The government was scattering the emigrants all around empire. As the number of emigrants grew, it became more difficult to find available land on which to place them. To provide a home for the emigrants, the government began sending telegrams to governors, asking them if there is vacant land appropriate for resettlement in their province, and if so, how many families are ideal for immigrant resettlement. Also, Colonel Nusret Bey was redrawing the map of the Balkans as the resettlement process

²³⁰ MVL. 949-29.

²³¹ MVL. 950-16.

²³² For the names and places of the officers charged for settlement see Table I.

continued. The *kazas* of Provadija, Svishtov, Pleven, and Vratsa were mapped, and population charts illustrating the number of immigrants and their families who had resided in newly built and old villages were made and sent to the center. The purpose of generating new maps was to correct various flaws in prior ones while also providing the most accurate maps possible by presenting places of newly established villages. In this line, in the leadership of Nusret Bey, maps of the region were prepared and conveyed to the center.²³³

Due to the fact that Constanta was located on the coast, many immigrants had settled there, and many more were on their way. The number of sick among the emigrants was high. The sick emigrants were in a bad situation since the three doctors in the Constante failed to do their duty. That is why, the Ministry of Medicine requested that two Turkish-speaking doctors be deployed to Constanta. The reason why the doctors needed to know Turkish was because foreign doctors working in the region struggled to communicate with the populace. The bulk of the newcomers spoke Turkish. For this reason, deploying doctors who speak Turkish would strengthen contact between the immigrants and doctor.²³⁴ In this regard, instead of Doctor Danyel Pladi, who was sent to the Lovech region, Mahmud Efendi, a doctor at Gureba Hospital, was temporarily appointed.²³⁵ Also, Doctor Viçoyano, who was bilingual was employed with a salary of 1.500 guruh.²³⁶

Due to the presence of numerous rich villages and fertile and large lands in the region, it was determined in June 1861 that 1.200 families of emigrants waiting to be relocated in Vidin Province would be resettled in the Sahra district. After the Sultan's visit to Rumelia geography, the Sahra district, which was formerly a township, was turned into a district and a council was constituted. Many areas of its vast plains had been left uncultivated since the locals were unable to farm them all. Therefore, it was seen proper for the immigrants to dwell in the vacant places. Accordingly, 200 families were settled in the district's center village of Kula, 200 families in Rakoviçe-i Kebir

²³³ A.MKT.NZD. 471-21329.

²³⁴ A.MKT.NZD. 441-88.

²³⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 444-70.

²³⁶ İ.DH. 496-33675.

(Big Rakoviche), and the remainder in neighboring villages. Considering Kula and Rakoviçe-i Kebir had a considerable population previously, it became a town with the settlement of immigrants. In the town of Kula, a mosque, a school, a madrasah, and a clock tower were erected. Rakoviçe-i Kebir was split into four neighbourhood, and construction of a modest mosque in each neighbourhood, a mosque in the center of town, and a school began. Because there were non-Muslim individuals living in the *kaza*, it was decided to build a church in a suitable location for non-Muslims as well.²³⁷

Until October 1861, 200.000 people emigrated from the Crimea alone. According to Russian statistics, 147.000 Nogay, Circassian, and Kumuk peoples migrated to Ottoman territory. As per this calculation, the total number of immigrants approached to 350.000, and some of the people had been cutting ties with their homeland and gathering on Crimean ports, waiting for a boat or a ship.²³⁸ According to a news published in *Ceride-i Havadis* on February 10, 1862, the Paris Agreement authorized the immigration of individuals who requested it between the two nations (Ottoman-Russian). The number of Tatar, Nogay and Circassian immigrants settled till this date was as follows:

Table V. Number of emigrants and their settlement places²³⁹

	Household	Population
In the Danubian coasts	34.344	142.852
In various provinces and <i>livas</i> of Rumelia	03.213	014.710
In Anatolia	14.346	094.505
Total	51.903	252.067

As the table shows, while some of the emigrants established in Anatolia, the majority of them settled in the Balkans, particularly along the Danube coasts. There

²³⁷ *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 1046, 22 Zilhicce 1277 (1 July 1861).

²³⁸ *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 1061, 8 Rebiülahir 1278 (13 October 1861).

²³⁹ *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 1078, 10 Şaban 1278 (10 February 1862); Ömer Karataş, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlarda Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2012, p. 363; In the news of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* newspaper dated February 15, 1862, it is reported that a total of 52,812 families and 255.414 people were settled in the Danube coasts, Anatolia and Rumelia. See. *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, no: 144, 14 Şaban 1278 (14 February 1278); *Ceride-i Havadis*, no: 1079, 17 Şaban 1278 (17 February 1862). For detailed information about the places where immigrants settled see. İ.DH. 486-32799; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 131.

are several factors behind this situation. First of all is the proximity of the Danube coastlines to Crimea. Thanks to geographical proximity it was simpler and cheaper to travel to this region than to Anatolia. Secondly, the fact that some Tatars had previously migrated and settled in the Dobrudja region was among the reasons why the Crimean people opted to settle in this region. Migrants having strong ties to their families were relocated in Balkans because they wanted to be close to their families.

Nusret Bey presented an activity report to the Porte on January 6, 1862. According to the report, 34.344 emigrant families were settled, their dwellings were constructed, land, grain seeds, agricultural tools and equipment, and animals were provided. Furthermore, the animal plague that began in Moldavia and Bessarabia had extended across the whole Rumelia continent. It had been reported that some of the animals bought for the emigrants are died owing to disease, and that the remaining animals are being distributed to emigrants. Though some animals were bought for emigrants and efforts have been made to supply the deficiencies next spring. Another point raised by Nusret Bey in the report was the cartography of Rumelia. Nusret Bey had gave the appropriate orders to civil servants on April 13, 1861, in order to register the newly created and planned immigrant settlements. The organization of the maps was due to the fact that precise maps of the region are not accessible, even in the Ottoman Empire and foreign states. The works and zoning operations for emigrants can not be visible on the maps due to insufficient information. The maps included demographic charts, Muslim and non-Muslim populations, and emigrant populations. The locations of newcomers on the map are highlighted in red. Rivers, monasteries, and mountain passes (*derbents*), as well as streams, are marked on the map. Only the mountains were not visible. The mountains were supposed to be added to the topography later. Nusret Bey requested that the military provide a sufficient number of officers who were skilled in geography and topography. However, three captains who were sent to region were unable to write their names. Thus, Nusret Bey requested that new ones be dispatched to replace them.²⁴⁰

It became harder to procure suitable lands for the settlement of emigrants as the numbers increased. Thus, the state decided to allot *sivad* lands to migrants. Only

²⁴⁰ MVL. 949-41.

sixty-three parcels of this land had left at the start of 1862. It was thought proper to allot these lands to the immigrants since it would be more profitable for the state to regenerate the *sivads* in the Nikopol *kaza* of Vidin Province. New villages were formed on vacant lands and twelve parcels of *sivad* lands, which were not used by the local population. In these lands around 1.000 emigrant families were settled. If new emigrants were to arrive from Crimea or İstanbul next year, there were sixty-four plots of *sivad* lands available for settlement. However, because water was scarce in twenty-four of these lands, fresh wells were required. Because of the scarcity of water sources, these lands were seen as idle lands by the people and the state. Nusret Bey had been traveling from village to village with the officers escorting him, determining the lands that were left, or unregistered and allotting them to the immigrants. According to his analysis, 2,511 immigrant families had been settled in the *sivad* lands just in the Rahova, and there was land available for the same number of people. Nusret Bey stated in his petition to the center that it was not necessary to allocate all of the *sivad* lands in Rumelia to the emigrants at once, also the lands could be rented to those who wanted to graze animals for a while, and then the land could be allocated to the immigrants after the lease commitment was fulfilled.²⁴¹

The number of emigrants reduced as the summer season progressed. Taking advantage of the circumstances the officials were endeavouring to arrange settlement work. At the request of the qaymaqam of Constanta, seventy-two villages in Constanta, as well as villages in Mangalia and Hirsova, were inspected in early 1862. According to the findings, more than 10.000 families and more than 37.000 immigrants could be placed in Constanta. Nusret Bey had traveled to Constanta to discuss the settling of the emigrants.²⁴² The Director of Agriculture of Constanta Hacı Ömer Ağa and by the order of Colonel Nusret Bey İsmail was appointed to take care of the affairs of the immigrants in Constanta. On March 6, 1862, these officers were given a nine-article directive.

- 1- Immigrants often send complaints because the land and pastures in the villages are insufficient. They are malnourished and sick. They have yet to

²⁴¹ MVL. 944-65.

²⁴² A.MKT.NZD. 410-32.

be settled. Officers will do the required study to obtain full information about these situations.

- 2- After their departure from Constanta, the officers will record in a book the number of immigrant families and persons in the first village they visit and they will create a commission comprised of the *imam*, *muhtar* (headman), and elders of that community, as well as three people from the magnates. Also, migrants living in the village will be invited to join the commission, and the quantity of land and pasture in the hamlet's borders will be registered in the book.
- 3- The officials will investigate how many more houses, other than the local people, can be settled in that village based on the width of the land and pasture, and if it is conceivable to drill water wells even in locations where there is no water.
- 4- The number of immigrant families in the inspected village will be checked, and if the village's facilities are enough based on the amount of land and pasture, both parties will be informed that immigrants will be permanently placed there. The book will be sealed once the comprehensive information about the immigrants has been recorded. The amount of those who are truly destitute and in need of assistance will be highlighted above their names.
- 5- Because the immigrants who will settle in the village will need to start farming as soon as possible, the book will show the number of families who cannot afford to supply seeds and oxen from by themselves, as well as how much seed grain will be necessary for each household to be adequate for one year's food. Even those whose houses and floors have yet to be built will be noted. Since field and pasture disputes arise on a daily basis between locals and immigrants, land division will be carried out in the future by an official appointed by the Porte. However, it will be emphasized to the public that the essential assistance should be supplied by local people so that in this year immigrants will not be deprived of agriculture, and their vow to help will be noted in the book.
- 6- After the immigrants are recorded in the book, some of them must be resettled in another village. Although the immigrants will not wish to be

separated from one another, the names, and populations of the families to be appointed by the commission, as well as the immigrants' magnets, will be included in the appendix of the books to in order too determine the immigrants who will remain in that village. The chiefs of the families who will be relocated from the one village to another location will be summoned to a commission and notified that the village's land would not be sufficient for the current families. After explaining to each of them that they will be transferred to another village by means of the government, and that they will have enough lands and pastures to allow their agriculture in the village they will be transferred to, those who have been called to the commission a signature or fingerprint will be taken immigrants on a piece of paper stating that they will not oppose when the government orders their transfer.

- 7- Because there is a continual dispute between the immigrants and the inhabitants, even if the number of immigrants in a village comprises of 8-10 families, a man chosen among themselves should be acknowledged as a headman. The *imam* and headman chosen by the immigrants will be recognized even by the local people. Even the imams and headmen in that community will be told not to oppose it. Since families of immigrants are leaving one village going to the village they want, the headmen will take care not to release a person from one village to another unless there is a government order. If it is learned that they acted irresponsibly, they will be held accountable to the imams and headmen of both sides. Those who go to a village for work, on the other hand, will be handed an allowance letter by the headmen.
- 8- Since the refugees will be unable to dwell in tents in this region owing to the cold, the officers will attempt to settle families living in tents in the villages. If they are unable to find a solution, they must immediately dispatch one of their officers to Constanta and should ask if there is a suitable village in which they could be settled.
- 9- Officers will visit the villages and towns within Constanta, and the liva council will act on the information that the officers will record. Thus, the

officers will immediately submit the books they will create in the villages to Constanta. It should be indicated which villages have enough land and pasture for the resettlement of immigrant families, and how many families should be sent to each village. It should also be reported in the appendix of the book that the kind and number of cereals planted by the locals for the immigrants last year, as well as the amount of grain available. They should inform Constanta as soon as possible about the works that are beyond the scope of the instruction, and after consulting with the government, they should state which villages they will visit every day.

A new article was added to the nine-article instruction. In the new article it is stated that officers are required to conduct investigation on the number of locals in the villages they will visit, as well as how many of them use plows alone and how many use plows with others. Following an investigation, they must report the total number of plows in the village as well as the amount of grain sown.²⁴³

The instruction handed to the officers requested that the fundamental requirements of immigrants, namely food and shelter, be addressed. It was urged that families residing in tents be put in more suitable places to avoid the cold of winter. It also aims to assess the number of miserable and unwell immigrants and to provide assistance to those in need. The local administration intends to engage directly with the immigrants by appointing imams and muhtars from among them. As a result, it is expected to hasten the process of harmonization and integration. The government's aim to determine how many immigrants require agricultural seeds and oxen is tied to its objective to have immigrants produce as quickly as feasible. The local government tried to estimate how many people are established in which village and how many more families can be settled. Because preparations would be made for the next year based on the information gathered at the end of the officers' work. By doing so, the local government would be better prepared for the next wave of migration.

Even after the state had settled the refugees, it continued to watch their status and did not abandon them in need. Due to the drought in 1862, immigrants and locals in many regions were unable to purchase goods. These immigrants included

²⁴³ Ibid.

individuals who had settled in the Kozluca *kaza* of Varna Sanjak. The majority of the immigrants were in need of assistance since they were unable to harvest the seeds they had sown owing to the dry weather. Therefore, they petitioned the government for a daily wage. It was noted in the response sent to the Varna qaymaqam that because the refugees had previously been aided, it would be a burden on the treasury to support them again. However, it would not be appropriate to leave the immigrants destitute. Thus, it was decided to assist them by documenting the cost of the daily wages and then take the money back when the immigrants had the harvest.²⁴⁴

With a general order sent to the qaymaqams in the places where immigrants are settled on April 18, 1862, it was requested to be supplied and distributed to the immigrants as soon as possible since the agricultural season has come and the seeds and oxen that should be given to the immigrants have not yet been given. It is also stated that immigrants should not be allowed to go to places other than where they are.²⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Nusret Bey was promoted to the rank of *Mirliva* (general of brigade) for his exceptional service.²⁴⁶ With this promotion, Nusret Bey was elevated to the rank of pasha. Nusret Pasha was performing something that deserved to be recognized. The emigrant resettlement work in Rumelia was more successful than in Anatolia. While there were numerous officers in Anatolia, Nusret Pasha had entire authority over the territory of Rumelia. Nusret Pasha was in charge of not only the settling of the immigrants, but also the security and surveying of the territory. Nusret Pasha, who was educated in Europe, has consistently outperformed his peers. He traveled all over the Balkans and inspected the immigrant settlements on the spot. Starting from Varna, he visited the villages and towns of Dobrich, Balchik, Mangalia, Constanta, Babadag, Tulcea, Isaccea, Macin, Hirsova, Silistra, Dobruja, and the Danube coasts in 1862. He inspected the situation of the emigrants and determined their deficiencies and instructed the officers to complete them. After discovering that oxens were not delivered to emigrants in Varna and Tulcea sanjaks, Nusret Bey

²⁴⁴ MVL. 962-51.

²⁴⁵ A.MKT.UM. 556-19.

²⁴⁶ i. DH. 507-34551; A.MKT.MHM. 265-76.

requested in a letter to the Porte that a special order be made to provide the requisite animals to the emigrants.²⁴⁷

The surge of migration to the empire decreased from the beginning of 1862 until the end of 1863. Almost no immigrants came to the Balkans. While the Ottoman Empire was struggling to settle the immigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus between 1860-1862, Russia embarked on an expansion movement in the Caucasus. Wanting to put an end to the long-standing Russian-Mountain struggles, Russia turned its direction to the east after the Crimean War. For a long time, the leader of the mountaineer's Sheikh Shamil resisted the Russian expansion. Though he had to surrender to the Russians in 1859. With this Russia gained strength in its struggle against the mountain people. The fight in Chechnya and Dagestan turned to Circassian after Shamil's capitulation.²⁴⁸

In 1862, two Circassians went to London and requested assistance from the Britain against Russia.²⁴⁹ A delegation from the Caucasus, including people from Shapsug, Ubykh, Natokay, and Abaza nations, also arrived in İstanbul and requested from Muhammed Emin, the former commander of the Caucasian resistance, to take over and lead the actions in the Kuban once more. Muhammed Emin rejected this request, stating that the Adyghes had no choice than to cooperate with the Russians.²⁵⁰ In 1863, Russian pressure turned to east on Ubykh, Abkhazia, Chechnya, and Dagestan. By directing its forces to Central Asia, Russia was attempting to protect its southern front by swiftly pacifying rebel fighters in newly gained territories. In the Russian mind, the security problems could be solved nothing but with the exodus of Muslims.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ A.MKT.MHM. 278-23.

²⁴⁸ Abdullah Saydam, "Emigrants of the Caucasus (1860-1870)", *Circassian Exile 21 May 1864*, Kafdav Yayınları, Ankara 2011, p. 225.

²⁴⁹ Tasvir-i Efkar, no:32, 22 Rebiülahir 1279 (17 October 1862).

²⁵⁰ İzzet Aydemir, *Göç Kuzey Kafkaslıların Göç Tarihi*, Gelişim Matbaası, Ankara 1988, p. 53; Çakmak, "Çerkez Göçü", p. 68.

²⁵¹ Cuthell, op.cit., p. 192.

After invading the Abaza tribes' places in Circassia, Russia gave the Abaza people the choice to live in the Kuban or go to Ottoman Empire.²⁵² Although some accepted the offer, others desired to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. Approximately 50.000 Abaza opted to go to the Ottoman Empire.²⁵³ Russia asked the Ottoman Empire if it would allow such a large influx of immigrants. After the *Majlis-i Vükela* debated Russia's question, it decided to accept the immigrants because not allowing the mountaineers to migrate to the Ottoman Empire would mean leaving them in the hands of Russia, and this would not fit the title of the caliphate.²⁵⁴

The Ottoman Empire and Russia agreed that 50.000 people would gradually migrate to the Ottoman territory. Despite the agreement stipulations the number of individuals in the following years was ten times more than anticipated. The number of emigrants in the Ottoman lands surpassed 300.000 in May 1864.²⁵⁵

In the winter of 1863, the Ottoman government demanded that migration from Russia be stopped until the spring of the next year, but this demand was not accepted.²⁵⁶ In the winter of 1863, a fresh wave of emigrants began to arrive in the Ottoman Black Sea port cities. Following the arrival of a large number of emigrants in Sinop, the local council met on October 7, 1863, and formed a program for the newcomers. It was determined to rent homes and other buildings for migrants' settlement, since there were insufficient accommodation facilities for them. Also, the expenditures for the deceased's funeral would be covered from the *mal sandığı* (subdivision of treasury), and the sick would be examined first by quarantine and *memleket* doctors. Moreover, as in line with the order received from İstanbul freight costs would be paid by the *mal sandığı* or the places emigrants would send. However,

²⁵² Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 755, 29 Muharrem 1281/ 4 Temmuz 1864; Peter Brock, "The Fall of Circassia: A Study in Private Diplomacy", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 71, No. 280(July, 1956), p. 390; Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 755, 29 Muharrem 1281 (4 July 1864).

²⁵³ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67; DüNDAR, op.cit., p. 115; Mahmut Turan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Çerkezler ve Ermeniler (1865-1923)*, Efe Akademi, İstanbul 2020, p. 51.

²⁵⁴ İ.MMS. 27-1189, p. 7; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 79.

²⁵⁵ Çakmak, "Çerkez Göçü", p. 71; Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser, (Tuesday, May 10, 1864); Liverpool Daily Post, (Monday, May 09, 1864).

²⁵⁶ Ayşe Pul, "The Settlement of Caucasian Emigrants via Samsun and Trabzon Ports", *Circassian Exile 21 May 1864*, Kafdav Yayınları, Ankara 2011, p. 403.

the refugees had to wait in Sinop for a while. The freight charge of those who wanted to go somewhere for their own personal business would not be paid. But it was decided that the freight charge of the very poor would be met from the *mal sandığı*. Although it was initially assumed that just half of the immigrants would be assisted since half of the emigrants were impoverished, later it was seen that more than half of them need assistance. The council discussed about whether to provide the required aid to the poor or to relocate them. Finally, it was agreed to designate an official to handle the emigrants' affairs. The population minister, Halil Efendi, was assigned to this mission.²⁵⁷ The arrival of numerous immigrants to Sinop, as well as the expectation of many more, compelled the Sinop assembly to take the aforementioned measures. The Assembly attempted to control the crisis by making preparations for the arrival of the immigrants. The appointment of a special officer for this task demonstrates how seriously the work is treated.

In December 1863 the number of immigrants in Trabzon was about four-five thousand. Trabzon had a population of 4.500 emigrants in December 1863. Yet, emigrants continued to pour in. There were not enough places for emigrants in Blacksea coasts. Because of the high number of the emigrants in Sinop and Samsun, three steamers had been ordered to carry them elsewhere. Those who desired to live on the Rumelia continent would take a separate steamer to the Varna, Ahyolu, and Bergos docks. Nusret Pasha had been informed about the provision of places in Vidin and its vicinity for the emigrants to be sent. Nusret Pasha had informed that the preparations were made for the settling of 2.500 households in the Vidin and its surroundings. Anyone wishing to settle in Anatolia would be transported by another steamer to the Samsun, Sinop, and Ereğli piers and settled in the Canik, Bolu, Kastamonu, Sinop, and Amasya sanjaks around these piers.²⁵⁸

On December 7, 1863, the head of the Emigrant Commission, Vecihi Pasha, stated in a letter to the Porte that while resettling the Reşvan and Avşar tribes, he made every five local families responsible for the settlement of placed one tribal family, and that this resettlement was quite successful. Accordingly, it would be appropriate to

²⁵⁷ MVL. 659-6.

²⁵⁸ İ.MMS. 27-1189.

make responsible every five local families for the settlement of one immigrant family. However, the separation of emigrant leaders and folks proved difficult. Because the chiefs did not want to lose their authority and wealth from their people. As a result, it was assumed that the chiefs would be sent to İstanbul, where they would be honored with rewards such as rank or medal, and then the matter would be dealt with. He also suggested that if the migrants are settled according to this strategy, the Ottoman Empire could accommodate a few hundred thousand people rather than 40-50 thousand. He said that widespread resettlement of immigrants would throw an additional burden on the state budget and that finding accommodation for the newcomers would be difficult. According to Vecihi Pasha, emigrants should not be paid more because of the economic deprivation. For this reason, he stated that if the immigrants' settlement coincides with the period of agriculture since they would be able to harvest crops in 7-8 months and finally in a year, they should be notified that they will be given eight months or one year's wages not more.²⁵⁹

In a document signed by the quarantine doctor Kavaras and the quarantine manager Halil in Trabzon on November 18, 1863, it was stated that it would be beneficial to send 5.000 Circassian emigrants in Trabzon to İstanbul or Samsun to another places as soon as possible, because the places where the emigrants reside are not very hygienic, and many diseases are likely to occur.²⁶⁰ Trabzon Governor Mehmed Emin, on the other hand, complained to the Porte on 3 December 1863 in a letter that there was not enough accommodation facilities for the emigrants arriving in Trabzon and immigrants stay in tents and wooden barracks to avoid cold of winter until they were sent to their final resettlement places. Some immigrants were housed in tents, while others were placed on empty lots. In the city, the number of emigrants, mostly youths and children, had reached 5.000. But the tents sent from the center were insufficient even for the present arrivals. Due to a shortage of available housing, many emigrants were left bare and destitute on street corners and alleys. According to immigration regulation, half of the emigrants would be deemed wealthy, while the other half would be given half a kilo of bread. However, due to the massive number of

²⁵⁹ i.MMS. 27-1189, lef. 1.

²⁶⁰ i.MMS. 27-1189, lef. 5.

emigrants arriving with boats, their registrations were nearly impossible. Therefore, the emigrants would be unable to obtain bread for a few days since it was not allowed to give bread to unregistered. A commission of prominent citizens was formed to rescue the emigrants from their difficult predicament, and an attempt was made to provide shelter for them from the rain and muck. A special officer, on the other hand, was recruited to register the refugees. Everyone was to be registered through the officer, and those in need would be given provisions. However, it was expected that the people's assistance would meet the emigrants' basic requirements, such as wood and coal. Yet, the governor stated that no matter what was done, it would be impossible to spare the refugees from misery owing to the high number of emigrants and the shortage of housing in Trabzon.²⁶¹

While Ottoman Empire was struggling with finding eligible places to settle immigrants, Russia was advancing by assaulting Circassia, clearing the woods in the highlands and erecting bastion-shaped fortresses throughout the region, approximately six hours from the coast. Russia offered the local people the option of subjecting themselves to her and settling in a different place within the empire or being exiled to the Ottoman Empire. However, some people accepted being subjected to Russia while others choosed to migrate to Turkey. Those who opted to migrate to the Ottoman Empire had their homes burnt down. Therefore, the immigrants were obliged to migrate to the Ottoman Empire by swiftly descending to the beaches. The Circassians were yearning to reach the Ottoman Empire. Although it was illegal for sea vehicles like boats and fishing boats to go Circassia, the Russian consul in Trabzon issued open passports to boat captains who were transporting Caucasus emigrants.²⁶² Also, on April 17, 1864, the Tsarist administration permitted Ottoman ships to enter Russian waterways to transport immigrants on the condition that they carry no firearms.²⁶³

Trabzon Governor Mehmed Emin claimed that three or four times the existing number of immigrants will arrive in a short period of time and that the majority of the

²⁶¹ İ.MMS. 27-1189, lef, 3; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 75.

²⁶² İ.MMS. 27-1189; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 75; Saydam, "Emigrants of the Caucasus", p. 234.

²⁶³ Avagyan, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

future migrants would face destitution since the immigrants' migration time will coincide with the winter season. In order to make place for new immigrants, those in Trabzon had to be resettled in other places as soon as feasible. But Trabzon was not the only dock that full of emigrants. Immigrants were also thronging the ports at Samsun, Sinop, and Giresun. Due to a lack of facilities in these places, immigrants were being sent to İstanbul. However, only a minority of the emigrants could be transported since it was urged not to overload the steamers. Due to a shortage of sea vehicles, the Trabzon Governor requested that two or three steamers be dispatched from the *Tersane-i Amire* steamers as soon as possible to be utilized in the transport of immigrants to İstanbul. The governor also warned that numerous fatalities had been occurring every due to the immigrants' inability to meet their basic necessities and that such conditions might lead to contagious diseases in the future. The calls of the Trabzon governor and the doctors were heard in İstanbul and the government dispatched Commission Chief Yaver Efendi to Trabzon with a 3.000 gurush salary and a 5.000 gurush subsistence to organize the Circassian exodus. Yaver Efendi, who arrived in Trabzon on December 9, 1863, was tasked with organizing the relocation of the immigrants, recording their names in the book, and resolving the difficulties of shelter and food for those who resided in Trabzon.²⁶⁴ Though, in mid-February 1864, 3.000 immigrants arrived in Trabzon in the previous three days. Approximately 40.000 individuals were preparing to migrate. However, the situation in the city was terrible. The refugees were suffering from starvation and misery. The infections were worsening day by day. Typhus mortality was on the rise. Between December and February, the death toll had surpassed 3.500.²⁶⁵ The government delivered used military uniforms and medicine to Trabzfon, Samsun, and Sinop to be distributed to refugees.²⁶⁶

Nusret Pasha would supervise the refugees being sent to Rumelia as before. Meanwhile, Nusret Pasha was serving as an inspector for the 2nd Army when he

²⁶⁴ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 111; Saydam, "Emigrants of the Caucasus", p. 237; Çakmak, "Çerkez Göçü", p. 117; Pul, op.cit., p. 409.

²⁶⁵ HR.İD. 1-45, lef 12, a telegram from Consul Steven to Earl Russel 17 February 1864; Çiçek, "İngiliz Peksimet'i", p. 65.

²⁶⁶ Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kafkas Göçleri II, p. 83.

received a telegram instructing him to leave his post and go to Varna. Mirliiva Salih Bey, who was in command in Konya, was tasked with looking after the immigrants who would arrive in Sivas and Samsun. In İstanbul, there were over a thousand emigrants. During the winter, it was expected that these emigrants would be temporarily placed in state-owned waqf inns and empty buildings.²⁶⁷ Some of them were staying in the Şekerci Inn and while some of them were living in tents. Malaria killed many emigrants, while smallpox killed many children. Since it would be impossible to dwell in tents during the winter, the government assigned Çukur Han to the emigrants and put them in tents here. However, being crammed in the inns increased the risk of disease transmission even further. Vecihi Pasha, the chief of the Emigrant Commission submitted a paper to the Government warned that the emigrants be moved to places of resettlement as quickly as feasible. Instead of paying 4.800 guruh a month to Şekerci Inn, Old Kılıçhane around Sultan Ahmet was restored with 29.000 guruh and converted into a guesthouse for 300 people in the spring.²⁶⁸

The *Majlis-i Sıhhiye* (Sanitation Council) delivered a report on the health of the emigrants to the *Tophane-i Amire Müşirliği* (Imperial Ordnance Directorate) in December 1863. *Tophane* forwarded the information to the *Majlis-i Vala*. According to the report, because of the enormous number of the emigrants, disease and mortality have grown, and hence seven-article measures should be taken. These were the identical measures adopted by the *Majlis-i Sıhhiye* on January 15, 1860.²⁶⁹ One of the measures outlined in the report was the eviction of migrants from İstanbul and the exclusion of future comers. To discuss this matter, the Chairman of the Emigrant Commission was summoned to the *Majlis-i Vala*. During the discussion with the president, it was stated that numerous emigrants would arrive in the Ottoman lands as a result of the Circassian crisis, and that some of those who arrived were being transferred from Trabzon to the ports on the coast of Varna and nearby Rumelia. The meeting concluded that the entrance of emigrants in İstanbul was an inescapable situation that could not be prevented. Due to the cold season, it was thought appropriate

²⁶⁷ İ. MMS. 27-1189; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 111.

²⁶⁸ İ.MVL. 510-23041.

²⁶⁹ For the precautions see chapter III, p. 48.

to treat sick immigrants in the Kavak quarantine and to house those who were not sick in barracks rather than tents. The report's recommendation that refugees in İstanbul be removed from the city was rejected by the *Majlis* since it would result in the deaths of the emigrants. The *Majlis* concluded that it would be preferable for the emigrants to remain in İstanbul until the essential preparations for the refugees were made. These measures were to be applied not just in İstanbul, but also in regions where migrants initially arrived, such as Varna, Constanta, and Trabzon.²⁷⁰ The situation in Varna was not very good. With the sending of numerous emigrants to Varna, a disease emerged in Varna. There weren't enough beds to accommodate ill immigrants. Thus, Nusret Pasha requested a hundred beds from İstanbul for the Varna immigrant hospital. The center responded positively to Nusret Pasha's request. 100 beds were, costed to 12.500 gurush, delivered to Varna.²⁷¹

While the Ottoman Empire was attempting to settle the new flood of refugees, Russia maintained its military presence in the Caucasus. On April 9, 1864, a petition signed by the Caucasian people was addressed to the king and queen of England, claiming that Russia was eager to invade Circassia and murdering children, women, and the elderly like lambs. The Circassians requested England's assistance in their fight against Russia.²⁷² However, by the end of the 8-year-long Circassian and Abaza fight, the forces against Russia lost power for a variety of reasons, including military and technological inadequacy, the inability to aid the region from outside, and fatigue from the lengthy warfare.²⁷³ At the end, with the defeat of the fight on the Kbaada plateau on May 21, 1864, the Caucasian peoples were forced into mass exile.²⁷⁴ Although it was anticipated that 50.000 emigrants will emigrate to the Ottoman Empire, the number of Caucasus emigrants surpassed 400.000 in the spring of 1864.²⁷⁵ Even

²⁷⁰ MVL. 859-53.

²⁷¹ A.MKT.MHM. 294-17.

²⁷² HR. İD. 1-45, lef 13, no: 3; Tasvir-i Efkâr, no: 32, 22 Rebiülahir 1279 (17 October 1862).

²⁷³ For more information about the resistance against Russia in the Caucasus see. Brock, op.cit., pp. 401-427.

²⁷⁴ Saydam, "Emigrants of the Caucasus", p. 225; Aydemir, op.cit., p. 55.

²⁷⁵ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67; Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskanı", p. 2.

though the decision to expel the mountaineers was made on May 21, they had begun to migrate to Ottoman territories much earlier. The number of emigrants waiting to be transported to their places of resettlement in Trabzon and Samsun had surpassed 100.000 two days before the deportation decision.²⁷⁶

In April 1864, the number of migrants in Trabzon had reached 25.000. However, there was no place to accommodate so many migrants in Trabzon and the basic needs of the migrants could not be met. Therefore, Trabzon Governor Emin Pasha sent his son-in-law Enis Bey to İstanbul to report the situation in Trabzon to the Porte. Enis Bey went to İstanbul and personally informed the Porte about the situation in Trabzon.²⁷⁷ Considering the high number of immigrants in Trabzon, the incompetence of officers to handle their issues, and the fact that 170.000 people more were on their way, the Porte decided to deploy former Gendarme undersecretary Tevfik Efendi to Trabzon with a 15.000 gurush salary. Tevfik Efendi was chosen for this job because he had previously dealt with immigration issues. Two accounting clerks from the finance department, 20-30 gendarmeries, and a few officers were dispatched to Trabzon with Tevfik Efendi. When Tevfik Efendi went to Trabzon, Yaver Efendi's role in Trabzon ended.²⁷⁸

Even though the officers in command were dispatching the emigrants by loading them onto the boats, more and more were arriving every day. Trabzon already had a large number of immigrants. Due to the enormous number of immigrants, finding a space for them proved problematic, as did keeping track of the expenditures incurred. The already tough procedure would be exacerbated by the arrival of 170.000 extra individuals. In a telegraph sent to the Porte on May 19, a month after taking office, Tevfik Efendi stated that the number of immigrants in Trabzon had risen to 40.000 in only two days, and that the vessels dispatched to Varna had not yet arrived and were delayed. One of the causes for the ships' delays was that they stopped in Ereğli to acquire coal. To save time, the government commissioned the Malakov ship to

²⁷⁶ İ.DH. 524-36128; Aydemir, op.cit., p. 134; Bedri Habıçoğlu, *Kafkasyadan Anadoluya Göçler*, Nart Yayıncılık, İstanbul 1993, p. 77, footnote, 2; Pul, op.cit., p. 405.

²⁷⁷ İ.DH. 524-36128.

²⁷⁸ İ.DH. 524-36128.

transport coal from Ereğli to Constanta for the emigrant-carrying ships. In this way, the ships would not stop in Ereğli to acquire coal, and no time would be wasted.²⁷⁹ Officers were trying to speed up the transportation process as feasible in order to prevent further problems. That is why they tried every possible means to accelerate up the process.

The departure ports of the Caucasian immigrants were Sukhum, Batumi, Poti, Adler, Psou, Tsandripsh, Tuapse, Novrossiysk, Anapa, Taman and Kerch.²⁸⁰ Apart from these ports, immigrants were transported by small boats from many coastal regions. However, due to the inability of boats and ships to carry a large number of immigrants, the immigrants were required to wait at the ports. While earlier Kerch, Constanta, Varna and Burgas earlier were the first stops of immigrants, in this new migration it changed as Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop and Ordu.²⁸¹ Because prior immigrants arrived from Crimea, the port cities in Rumeli were the initial stop sites because they were closer to the immigrants' exit point. However, as the immigrants' departure locations changed after 1863, so changed their destination points.²⁸² Though Balkans were among the places in which immigrants were settled. Immigrants in Trabzon were transported to Varna by ships. One of these ships was Hüma-yı Tevfik. The Hüma-yı Tevfik could sail once every fortnight. This was causing a delay in the resettlement of the Circassians. For this reason, Nusret Pasha asked the Porte to add a few more ships that would go directly from Trabzon to Constanta. The ships would bring the immigrants to Constanta and then the immigrants would be transported to Boğazköy by train and transferred from Boğazköy to the coasts of Vidin, Lom, Rahova and Nikopol with the freighters to be hired from the Danube company.²⁸³ In this regard, the Ottoman Empire and the Railway Company negotiated an arrangement for the

²⁷⁹ A.MKT.MHM. 302-11.

²⁸⁰ Nihat Berzeg, *Çerkesler Kafkas Sürgünü Vatansız Bırakılan Bir Halk*, Çivi Yazıları (İstanbul 2006), p. 220; Grassi, op.cit., p. 74.; Avagyan, op.cit., p. 51; Aydemir, op.cit., p. 95; Cahit Aslan, "The Tragedy of 1864", *Circassian Exile 21 May 1864*, Kafdav Yayınları, Ankara 2011, p. 304; Pul, op.cit., p. 406; Habiçoğlu, op.cit., p. 76.

²⁸¹ Aslan, op.cit., p. 304; Habiçoğlu, op.cit., p. 134.

²⁸² Cuthell, op.cit., p. 114; Aydemir, op.cit., p. 95.

²⁸³ İ.DH. 524-36153.

transportation of 20.000 Circassians. Children under the age of four would be transported for free, and nine gurush would be taken from the older ones, or 250 gurush would be taken from a group of thirty persons who boarded a wagon with the younger ones. If there are more than thirty persons in a carriage, the cost of transportation would rise. Passengers are permitted to take their personal belongings for free, but other goods would be charged based on their weight. Until 28 May 1864, the number of Circassian immigrants transported by rail reached 18.000. However during the transportation, it was difficult to ascertain the ages of the children. Thus, on May 28, 1864, the Constanta Railway Manager wrote a paper to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, notifying them that it was more reasonable to charge a price of 250 gurush for thirty individuals, because determining the ages of the children was difficult.²⁸⁴

Since Hūma-yı Tevfik alone was not able to transfer immigrants Ottoman government tried every means to fasten the transportation process. To transport the immigrants two ferryboats from the *Hazine-i Hassa*, two large ships from *Tersane-i Amire*, and ten commercial barques to be tied to these ships were chartered. Furthermore, the Russian embassy was contacted, and permission was taken to use Russian vessels operating in the Black Sea for transporting. Thus, the immigrants were transferred to Rumelia more quickly.²⁸⁵ *Tersane-i Amire*'s *Taif* and *Eser-i Cedid* ships had already been transporting the immigrants from Caucasus to Blacksea ports. However, because the transportation of immigrants was entrusted to the Ottoman Empire, the existing vessels were insufficient. That is why, Nusret Pasha asked authorization from the center to communicate to the consuls to employ foreign ships for this task. The ships, according to Nusret Pasha, would be attached to ferries and carried from Varna to Constanta. On June 16, 1864, applications were made to the British, French, Austrian, Italian, and Greek consuls after permission from the center. The British government agreed to deploy two or more ships to the Ottoman Empire.²⁸⁶

On June 8, 1864, the Emigrant Commission, Monsieur Nikola Preyobilicio, and his partners signed a contract for emigrant transport. According to the contract,

²⁸⁴ HR.TO. 446-1; HR.MKT. 485-76.

²⁸⁵ İ.DH. 524-36153.

²⁸⁶ Morning Post, 16 July 1864.

Caucasian immigrants would be brought from Samsun to İstanbul by four ships: Depsina Marya (220 horsepower, 250 tons), Ala (90 hp, 200 tons), Samsun (80 hp, 75 tons), and Bulduk (50 hp, 65 tons). For those up to six years old, transportation was free, while those up to six and ten years old would be charged as two people as one. The transportation fee for one person was 47 guruh. This fee was the cost of transportation from Samsun to İstanbul. If it is asked that the immigrants be transferred from İstanbul to another location, the commission was to pay the cost established by the wage mile formula. When the weather was good, ships and freighters would transport between 7.000 and 8.000 Circassians. The commission was supposed to handle the loading and unloading of migrants at the ports. The contract would be valid for two months, and the commission would pay 20.000 guruh for each vessel's departure, with the remainder paid when the Circassians were transferred.²⁸⁷

In June 1864, *Tophane-i Amire* was informed that the refugees would no longer be sent to Varna. Thus, Constanta became the central port.²⁸⁸ Following that, the immigrants would be transported to Constanta and then to their final destination. One of the causes for this was that Varna had too many immigrants, and typhoid disease spread among them. Previously, officials were warned about the expulsion of immigrants from the city. But despite the warnings, typhoid spread among immigrants because they were not relocated.²⁸⁹ When the immigrants' arrival destination changed from Varna to Constanta, the density shifted to Constanta.²⁹⁰ After a significant number of immigrants arrived in Constanta, the Qaymaqam Rüşdü Bey, concerned that a virus would spread to the city, refused to let them in. Immigrants were relocated outside of the city. When Nusret Pasha arrived in Constanta, he informed the center that the qaymaqam's actions were against to the orders, causing the transportation of refugees to be delayed.²⁹¹ Despite Nusret Pasha's objections about not allowing immigrants into the city, the same thing occurred in Varna. On 17 June 1864, Varna

²⁸⁷ HR.TO. 473-11.

²⁸⁸ Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskanı", p. 2; Berzeg, op.cit., p. 225.

²⁸⁹ A.MKT.MHM. 302-90.

²⁹⁰ Berzeg, op.cit., p. 225.

²⁹¹ MVL. 992-23.

Qaymaqam Mustafa sent a telegram to Porte informing him that 2.300 emigrants had arrived in two days with three sailing ships. The emigrants were weak from being at sea for twenty-four days and the others for eight to ten days or more, and thus they were not sent to Constanta rather they were disembarked. Furthermore, the quarantine doctor particularly advised the qaymaqam that no one should enter the city. In accordance with the doctor's advice, the immigrants were relocated to an open area half an hour outside of town. The immigrants were not permitted to the city due to the high frequency of typhoid and smallpox among them. The fact that they were brought to the city would transmit the sickness to the city's residents. For this reason, temporary shelters made of trees and shrubs were constructed outside the city for the refugees.²⁹² The death toll among immigrants was also quite high. Of the 7.000 immigrants hospitalized, 1.043 died. Of the 31.857 immigrants who came to Varna from 16 May to 7 June, 1.615 lost their lives during the journey. Antoine Fauvel, who worked as a health inspector in the French Consulate, states that 300.000 Circassians immigrated to the Ottoman Empire between November 1863 and August 1864, and two-thirds of them died at the end of the year.²⁹³ According to a news published in the Morning Post on July 16, 1864, 35.000 people were distributed Lom Palanka, Sofia, and Nish, and 664 individuals died and they spread typhus and chickenpox since their departure from Vidin.²⁹⁴

The migration of many mountain people to the Ottoman Empire added to the problems. Unlike the Crimean Tatars, the newcomers did not speak Turkish. This was making it impossible for them to communicate with the local people and the government. That is why, Nusret Pasha asked that 10 persons be dispatched to Rumelia to work in the translation service.²⁹⁵ The government has promised to pay 100 gurush to anyone who would work in the job. The translators, on the other hand, refused to work for 100 gurush each month. But, Nusret Pasha's demand could not be fully met. Instead of ten people, three translators were employed with a monthly salary

²⁹² MVL. 992-75.

²⁹³ Rosser-Owen, "Circassian Exodus", p. 33.

²⁹⁴ Morning Post, 16 July 1864.

²⁹⁵ A.MKT.MHM. 300-76.

of 300 gurush. However, Nusret Pasha was informed that those immigrants who learned Turkish and accepted to serve as translator for a monthly wage of 100 gurush might be hired.²⁹⁶

The Caucasian emigrants did not speak enough Turkish to ask for bread and water, they had difficulty communicating with the local people. Emigrants had difficulty expressing their wishes to the villagers as well as answering inquiries from the doctor assigned to care for the patients. Thus, in a proposal addressed to the Porte by the Silistra council, it was requested that a translator be employed until the Circassians could learn Turkish and express their problems. There was no need for such interpreters in Tatar migration because Tatars were Turkish and spoke a separate dialect of Turkish spoken in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, they had no linguistic challenges. However, because the Circassians came from a completely different culture, they struggled to communicate with the public and government officials. Language was a continual stumbling block.²⁹⁷

In June 1864, 12.000 immigrant families arrived in the Balkans. Freighters brought 6.000 of these families to Lom dock to be sent to Nish Province and an equal number to Vidin Province. When the immigrants landed at the pier, they were promptly transported by carts to inns and houses. The next day, after soups were cooked in cauldrons and distributed to the sick, they were transported to their places of dwellings.²⁹⁸ More than 300.000 people, primarily women, were expected to arrive within the next two months.²⁹⁹ The government instructed Trabzon Governor in July that emigrants should no longer be transferred to İstanbul since there is no place for immigrants in İstanbul.³⁰⁰

By mid-July 1864, around 60.000 immigrants in Constanta and Varna had been transferred to Vidin, Nish, Sofia, Kosovo, Vasovik, Stip, and Rahova. Nusret Pasha informed the center that those who will come after this date will be resettled in

²⁹⁶ A.MKT.MHM. 301-7.

²⁹⁷ MVL. 1002-37.

²⁹⁸ Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 752, 7 Muharrem 1281 (12 June 1864).

²⁹⁹ Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 753, 15 Muharrem 1281 (20 June 1864).

³⁰⁰ Berzeg, op.cit., p. 225.

Nikopol, Svishtov, Ruse, Silistra, Dobruja, Tulcea and Sliven.³⁰¹ By the end of the month, the total number of immigrants had risen to 70.000.³⁰² On August 2, 1864, a telegram sent from the center to Nusret Pasha stated that 9.000 additional families would be dispatched.³⁰³ When the emigrants were not dispatched until the end of the month, Nusret Pasha requested in a telegraph to the center that they be sent to Constanta as soon as possible. Otherwise, when the winter approaches, many immigrants would be in a difficult condition, and their resettlement would be impossible.³⁰⁴ In line with the Nusret Pasha's warnings, letters were sent to the governors of Trabzon and Samsun requesting that the immigrants be dispatched as rapidly as feasible. Trabzon Governor Mehmed Emin advised the Sublime Porte that if five vessels and ten ships were dispatched to Trabzon, a population of roughly 15.000 could be transferred to Constanta in 7-8 days.³⁰⁵ The number of emigrants settled in Rumelia until July was as follows: 6.000 families in Edirne and Sliven, 13.000 families Silistra and Vidin, 12.000 families in Nish, Sofia, Svishtov, Nikopol and 10.000 families Ruse and Dobruja.³⁰⁶

Caucasian emigrants had been settled almost everywhere in the empire. Until 24 August 1864 the settlement places of the emigrants in Balkans were as follows: Thessaloniki, Silistra, Vidin, Nish, Prezrin, Plovdiv, Sofia, Tulcea, Lovich, Constanta, Tırnova, Drama, Ohri, Shumen, Skopje, Sliven, Siroz, Silivri with Kaza-i Erbaa, Gallipoli, Biga and Tekfurdağı.³⁰⁷

³⁰¹ A.MKT. MHM. 305-94; A.MKT.UM. 792-56; Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 757, 12 Safer 1281 (17 July 1864).

³⁰² Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 759, 28 Safer 1281 (2 August 1864).

³⁰³ A.MKT.UM. 793-14.

³⁰⁴ A.MKT.UM. 310-35.

³⁰⁵ A.MKT.MHM. 312-56.

³⁰⁶ Berzeg, op.cit., p. 235 quoted from Kanitz, *Donau Bulgarien und der Balkan*, p. 313 .

³⁰⁷ In Anatolia the places were: Erzurum, Konya, Ankara, Kürdistan, Halep, Harput, İzmir, Sivas, Hüdavendigâr, Adana, Trabzon, Amasya, Kocaeli, Kastamonu, Kars, Lazistan, Canik, Van, Erzincan, Karesi, Urfa, Burdur, Kütahya, Denizli, Aydın, Kengiri (Çankırı), Kilis, Karahisar-ı Sahip, Tarsus, Giresun, Ayvalık, Teke, Saruhan, Mentеше, İçil, Mardin, Antakiye, Hamid, Bolu, Alanya, Aziziye, Karahisar-ı Şarkî, Viranşehir, Niğde, Erdek, Kayseri, Karaisalı, Çıldır, Gümüşhane, Bozok, Maraş and Sinop. See. A.MKT.UM. 798-57.

In September 1864, there were 3.000 families from the Natuhaç tribe who came to Rumelia, Samsun and Trabzon. Aside from this, about 70.000 people were waiting to emigrate at the Soğucak and Anapa ports. At the Soğucak dock, 3.000 families from the tribes of Zehu, Hatokay, and Şabsığ waited. More than 100.000 Kabardians desired to leave the country.³⁰⁸ Officers were sent to Russian docks, and they were charged with keeping records of Circassians at the docks, communicating with Russian officials, embarking emigrants on ships, and preventing Russian officials from acting inappropriately against emigrants.³⁰⁹ In addition, the Circassian Ersan, who resided in the Gölpınar village of Constanta, was sent to Circassia to investigate the people's situation. Many mountain inhabitants who came on Russian shores throughout the summer, according to Ersan, were waiting for a vessel. For more than three months, people had been waiting for the ships. Thus, Nusret Pasha requested from the Porte that a few ships such as Taif and Mecidiye, be dispatched to Soğucak as soon as possible. However, by the end of August, the number of waiting immigrants in Anatolia between Samsun and Trabzon had topped 100.000. Nusret Pasha's request was denied because the emigrants in Ottoman lands would not be relocated if the ships were sent to Circassia. The Grand Viziership responded to Nusret Pasha by stating that a meeting should be held between the two sides regarding the transportation of the emigrants and that if the winter season arrives before the emigrants have settled in the Ottoman lands, Russia should be held responsible for the misery of the people in the Ottoman Empire and Circassia. Furthermore, it was stated that because ships could not be sent to Circassia, Russia would be responsible for the transportation of those who would migrate.³¹⁰

The Governor of Trabzon told the center in August 1864 that 50.000 immigrants are expected to come. However, it was said that because Trabzon no longer had the accommodation or ability to accommodate immigrants, the immigrants would be sent to either Rumeli or Sivas, as there were no other options. Even if the vessels

³⁰⁸ A.MKT.UM. 797-39.

³⁰⁹ A.MKT.UM. 797-74.

³¹⁰ A.MKT.UM. 798-98.

arrive in Trabzon or Samsun, they would be refused and turned away.³¹¹ To carry the immigrants, ships were dispatched to Soğucak. However, prior to the arrival of the ships, eleven ships had already set sail, four of which had arrived in Trabzon and the rest in Samsun. 2.000 emigrants in Trabzon were moved by a steamer to Constanta. The Taif Steamer had landed in Balchik with 3.000 Circassian passengers in November. However, in a letter dated November 2, 1864, Russian commander General Palovich reported that 15.000 people were waiting at the Soğucak dock and that the immigrants would perish if a boat would not arrive till eight to ten days. Nusret Pasha asked in a telegraph to the Porte that no matter how many ferries there are in İstanbul, they be dispatched to Soucak as quickly as possible, and that the boats deliver the immigrants to Varna, Bergos, Balchik, and Constanta depending on the weather. Nusret Pasha asked in a telegraph to the Grand Viziership that no matter how many steamers there are in İstanbul, they be dispatched to Soğucak as quickly as possible, and that the steamers deliver the emigrants to Varna, Bergos, Balchik, and Constanta depending on the weather.³¹² In December steamers were prepared by *Tersane-i Amire* for the transportation of emigrants and the transportation of emigrants started.³¹³

Nusret Pasha was in charge of resettling and managing the emigrants from August 1860 until the start of 1865. The Danube province was founded in 1864, and it consisted of Ruse as the center of the province, Tırnova, Sofia, Varna, Vidin, Nish, and Tulcea sanjaks, as well as 45 *kazas* and 17 *nahiyes* (sub-districts). On October 13, 1864, Midhat Pasha was appointed as governor of the region.³¹⁴ Nusret Pasha had been the single and absolute authority in the Balkans until this time, but with the foundation of the Danube province, Midhat Pasha attempted to curtail Nusret Pasha's absolute powers, and a conflict emerged between them. Nusret Pasha clashed not only with Midhat Pasha, but also with the Medgidia administrator and the Constanta

³¹¹ A.MKT.UM. 809-81.

³¹² A.MKT.UM. 816-7.

³¹³ A.MKT.MHM. 319-80.

³¹⁴ Aşkın Koyuncu, "Tuna Vilâyeti'nde Nüfus ve Demografi (1864-1877) (Population And Demographics In The Danube Province (1864-1877))", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Spring 2014, p. 677.

qaymaqam.³¹⁵ Nusret Pasha asked from the Porte that qaymaqam of Constanta be dismissed because he caused a delay in the dispatch of refugees in Constanta and was unable to complete his responsibilities satisfactorily.³¹⁶ Qaymaqam Rüşdü also sent a telegram to the *Majlis-i Vala* stating that he had no faults in his duty as qaymaqam and that he worked as hard as he could in the settlement of 80.000 emigrants.³¹⁷ As Nusret Pasha's relationship with local authorities worsened, so did public sentiment against him.

Nusret Pasha had full authority in the Balkans, he could get money from the treasury whenever he pleased. However, the pasha's request for 5.000 guruh from the Constanta *mal sandığı* for personal costs was denied. In a telegram he sent to the Porte, he wrote that such an act meant humiliating him and that an order had been given from the Ministry of Finance not to pay him any money, which is equivalent to killing the officer with a bullet.³¹⁸ Nusret Pasha stated in another telegram sent from Ruse on January 21, 1865, that due to an order issued by the Governor of the Danube Province, no one recognize his influence and this is limiting his movement. Pasha further stated that a notification was sent to the governor's office in this matter, but there was no answer other than humiliation and rejection. So he had to resign and return to İstanbul, leaving Midhat Pasha responsible for the 400.000 people's misery and the repercussions that would follow.³¹⁹ Midhat Pasha, on the other hand, stated in a complaint telegram sent to the Grand Viziership on January 20, 1865, that Nusret Pasha abandoned his primary tasks to deal with administrative affairs, and that since his arrival in Ruse, he has kept the officials busy by sending letters day and night, leaving no time for the officers to do anything. He further asked that Nusret Pasha be summoned to İstanbul as soon as possible, that the officers be relieved of their duties, and that the immigration issues be temporarily entrusted to Kolağası Şakir Efendi.³²⁰

³¹⁵ MVL. 1006-2.

³¹⁶ MVL. 995-15; MVL. 993-29.

³¹⁷ MVL. 996-31.

³¹⁸ MVL. 1000-105.

³¹⁹ MVL. 1074-18.

³²⁰ MVL. 1074-17.

In his letter to Salih Efendi, who was in İstanbul, Şakir Efendi stated that he was summoned to İstanbul by Nusret Pasha, but that Midhat Pasha invited him to Ruse, wanted him to handle immigrant matters, and wrote to the Grand Vizier for his promotion to rank of major. Şakir Efendi noted that resettling immigrants was a large job, and he couldn't accept it since he didn't think he could be able to achieve it and would be held accountable in the future. Because, according to him, only Nusret Pasha knew the ins and outs of the work. Because there was no order, legislation, or expertise in the settlement industry, the job was done based on the needs of the moment. As a result, Şakir Efendi claimed that he believed it would be difficult for someone who made a little error to remedy his error.³²¹

The governorship and authorities of the Danube Province assumed the responsibility for resettling the refugees when Nusret Pasha left his post to go to İstanbul. The Danube province council developed a fourteen-article instruction for the settlement of Circassians in the province. On February 17, 1865, the officers received the directive produced in the Danube provincial printing house. The most essential needs of the Circassians were identified in the regulation as three items: housing, subsistence and agricultural and industrial tools required for their livelihood. In most places, houses were built with the assistance of the people.

The regulation classified the emigrants into four categories based on their economic circumstances. Individuals in the first class were those who were not in need of assistance and were in excellent economic status, while those in the second class were those who had organized their job since their arrival in the Ottoman Empire. While the third class included those who worked in agriculture or crafts or were physically fit for hard labor despite their poverty, the fourth class comprised children, widows, orphans, the old, the crippled, and the sick. While the locals provided the food needs of these four categories of immigrants for free in most locations, the sustenance fee was paid from the *mal sandığı* in other places. However, it was decided not to provide sustenance to those in the first and second classes who had their affairs in order

³²¹ TS.MA.e. 879-1.

as of March 13, 1865, and to continue to provide assistance exclusively to those in the third and fourth classes.³²²

Immigrants in third-class were divided into two groups as well. The first group included the individuals engaged in agriculture and craft while the second contained individuals who could not engage in craft or agriculture but could serve as servants, workers, and porters. Because people in the second group worked in servitude, shepherding, and other similar activities in their hometowns, they could earn a livelihood in their villages by working as guards, watchman, shepherds, herders, or servants. Therefore, this group was urged to look for work as quickly as possible. Furthermore, it was planned that they would be granted provisions through the end of May, but they would not be assisted after that date. The local government would provide the essential materials and tools to emigrants in the first category who needed agricultural and industrial tools. The regulation states that immigrants should not be idle until the materials they need are provided, and that those who are engaged in craft should find work in their profession, and that farmers should find work in the villages such as breeding maize, millet, and hoeing.

The fourth class was divided into two groups as well. There are motherless, fatherless, and orphaned boys and girls, as well as widowed women, in the first group. Aged, sick, or disabled women and men comprised the second group. First-group the girls and boys would be offered to anyone who desired to take them for a price, and the records of what was paid would be kept in the court books. Boys aged seven to thirteen who were not picked up and left unsupervised would be transported to the Ruse and Nish *islahhanes* (Orphanages). Orphan and widowed women, on the other hand, were either married or given to the harems of Muslim households in towns to work as maids. Once placed, no provisions would be given to anyone in this category. Food would, however, continue to be distributed to the elderly and the needy. Necessary materials have been provided to farmers and craftsmen from the very beginning. In most places, a pair of oxen were given to fifteen people, and this amount corresponded to three or four families. Due to the disagreements between the families, the oxen were either killed or were slaughtered and sold. As such, the ox given to the

³²² i.MMS. 133-5690.

immigrants was of no use. For this reason, it was decided that in the new regulation, it would be more suitable to distribute a pair of oxen to each family that is actually a farmer. However, the concept of family here does not mean only those in a house. A family can consist of one house or several houses. After determining how many families were among the immigrants, the local government would supply each family with the necessary oxen. Provision wages would continue to be provided to emigrants in the second group of the fourth class, which included the elderly, crippled, sick, and widowed women with small children. Some grains were planted by the help of local. However, because the people's assistance would not be constant, provisions would be purchased with the tithe income from the immigrants' crops. Furthermore, the assets left behind by immigrants who died without an heir would be auctioned through the government, with the proceeds going to those in need.³²³

The records of the immigrants who were dispatched to the villages but were unable to settle owing to the incomplete house construction will be kept. In some places, the refugees were given less land than they need, while in others, no land was provided. For this reason, it is asked that lands ranging from sixty acres to one hundred acres be distributed to each family as quickly as possible, and title deeds be issued to their owners. Regarding the settling of the immigrants, it is preferred that they do it collectively. Owing to the belief that it would be more helpful for the immigrants to be settled in a way that they could support each other due to the refugees' terrible economic position, it was determined that twenty-thirty families would be brought together and placed in regions with enough land. It is intended that emigrants will be settled together as much as possible by constructing new villages or creating new neighborhoods in old villages because it is feared that dispersing two or three families to villages and towns will result in their inability to put themselves together. Also, in the directive, it was requested that rich individuals and officers assist the state in covering the shoes and clothes needs of newcomers by establishing charity campaigns in cities since emigrants receive less assistance in cities than in villages.³²⁴

³²³ İ.MMS. 133-5690; A.d. 4; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 369-370.

³²⁴ Ibid.

In his petition to the Porte, Midhat Pasha stated that the emigrants had four categories of expenditures. The first of these expenditures was the freight cost, as well as the wages of officers, clerks, doctors, medicine, hospital, and clothing costs that would be incurred until the emigrants were able to go from their place of residence to the locations where they would be settled. The second category included costs such as housing, school, and water well. The third was the provision payments, which were agreed to be paid to all emigrants, lastly, the cost of a pair of oxen and agricultural tools.³²⁵ While the first and fourth groups of expenses were completely paid by the government, the cost of building the house in the second group was met with the help of the local people. The provisions were paid by both the people and the local treasury. The quantity of money donated by the people, on the other hand, was several times greater than the amount withdrawn from the treasury. Thus, Midhat Pasha emphasized the importance of resettling the emigrants as soon as possible and completing the housing construction. Kolağası Şakir Efendi, an army member, and a captain and two clerks from the Finance Treasury were dealing with the emigrants' issues. Şakir Efendi paid a monthly salary of 1.500 gurush, while the captain paid 1.000 gurush and clerks received 1.500 gurush. However, temporary state employees and interpreters had been hired in most districts of the province for 300-500 gurush per month. There were also roughly eight or ten doctors and pharmacists earning between 2.000 and 2.500 gurush.³²⁶

Midhat Pasha stated in his petition that there was medicine worth 100-200 thousand *liras* in Constanta and elsewhere. However, he noted that the doctors did not have the chance to go and examine the sick immigrants in the villages or in densely populated areas one by one, and even if they could, giving drugs to bare and vulnerable patients would be ineffective and harmful. Thus, he stated that the employment of so many doctors and pharmacists was no good but waste of money. Furthermore, some persons obtained the existing drugs and had been wasting them for nothing. Midhat Pasha thought that treating the migrants properly in one spot would be more useful than disorderly treatment. That is why, he argued that it would be more useful to utilize

³²⁵ İ.MMS. 133-5690; MVL. 1016-51; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 370-371.

³²⁶ İ.MMS. 133-5690.

the money spent on doctors and drugs to address the immigrants' first priority needs like clothes and shoes. According to him, employment of doctors and pharmacists who are truly needed should be maintained, but the remainder should be delicensed. For the emigrants, hospitals would be built in Pleven, Ruse, and, if required, Constanta, and patients would be treated there. The essential medicines would be sent to hospitals, and the remainder would be supplied to the locations where they were needed.³²⁷

Except for the sanjaks of Nish and Sofia, the northern Balkans were divided into six sections: Ruse, Varna, Medgidia, Pleven, Lom, and Tulcea, each with its own center. It was determined to construct a hospital in each of the centers and to employ current doctors. Rather of waiting for facilities to be established, doctors would travel to treat sick migrants and provide immunizations. Vaccination should have taken place in April and May, or in June, depending on the weather. Doctors would vaccinate both children of locals whose parents agreed and the children of emigrants who had not been immunized and had not had smallpox before the age of one. Civil, quarantine, and military doctors would all be employed in the vaccination. These doctors each would go to a different area and serve by communicating with the immigrant doctors.³²⁸ Doctors would carry a few drugs, such as *Molkato* and *Magreta*, in a chest to treat malaria and fever patients. A gendarmerie would accompany the the doctors. Migrant, *memleket*, and quarantine doctors would each be awarded two gurush, with a horse wage of seven gurush per hour. Military doctors' allowances would vary depending on their rank. Each doctor would report to the provincial center and the Emigrant Commission how many children he had vaccinated in each town he visited. Doctors would also keep a separate notebook with the names of individuals they had treated and supplied medicines to.³²⁹

In March 1865, some people at the Soğucak pier were waiting for a ferry to emigrate. In the negotiations between the Russian authorities and the Ottoman government, the Ottoman government requested that the transfer of emigrants be postponed until spring because of the cold winter season. However, this request was

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Danube Newspaper, no: 1, 21 Zilhicce 1281 (17 May 1865).

³²⁹ A.d. 4, p. 5.

not accepted by the Russians. It was so hard to find a place for emigrants. In the north of Sivas 11.000 and in the remaining places 26.700 emigrants could be settled. Furthermore, Midhat Pasha wanted no more emigrants to be sent to the Danube Province.³³⁰ In May, two steamers were commissioned to transport about 5.000 Circassian emigrants from Anapa to the Danube province. Half of the emigrants would be settled in Babadağı, Mangalia, and the other half in Hezargrad and Ruse.³³¹ From May 1864 to the 10th of July 1865, the number of registered emigrants came from Russia was as follows:³³²

Table VI. The number of registered emigrants migrated to the Ottoman Empire between May 1864-10 July 1865

Taman	27.337
Anapa	16.452
Novorossiysk	61.995
Tuapse	63.449
Sotcha	46.754
Adler, Hosta	20.731
On Turkish Ships	21.350 ³³³
Total	257.068

Although the *Takvim-i Vekayi* stated the number of immigrants as 250.000, the *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, in its news dated February 26, 1865, reported that the number of emigrants settled in Rumelia had reached 70.000 families in just one year. Five or six thousand of them were transferred from Burgas to Edirne, 14.000 from Varna to Ruse and other parts of the Danube province, 12.000 to the sanjaks of Nish and Sofia, 7.000-8.000 to Kosovo and Pristina. It was also stated in the news that the number of

³³⁰ A.MKT.MHM. 322-41.

³³¹ Danube Newspaper, no: 1, 21 Zilhicce 1281 (17 May 1865).

³³² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, no: 772, 30 Cemaziyelevvel 1282 (31 October 1865); Berzeg, op.cit., p. 234; Karpas, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67; Karpas, *Etnik Yapılandırma ve Göçler*, p. 166.

³³³ Karpas states that 20.350 people came with their own means. See. Karpas, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67.

emigrants who came via the Danube and settled on the Danube and Serbian border was between 150.000 and 250.000.³³⁴

With the end of the winter season, the government of the Danube Province needed to deal with the permanent settlement of emigrants. Since 1864, Ottoman Empire had seen a massive influx of emigrants. The priority of the local government was to complete the construction of the immigrants' homes, as before, to provide the necessary tools and equipment to the farmers, and to complete the resettlement work in a short time. On 6 July 1865, a printed instruction consisting of twelve articles was prepared about the animals and tools to be given to the emigrants. The highlights of the directive were as follows:

- Farmers whose houses were built did not receive oxen last year and could not afford to acquire animals will be given a pair of oxen and agricultural tools such as grubbers, plows, and carts for each pair of oxen.

- The distribution of ox is a complex work. Thus, the local government's focus on it will cause other projects to be delayed. For this reason, one of the administrative council members will be temporarily assigned as an officer for the distribution of the oxen. Translators would accompany the officers in the sanjaks and *kazas*. In addition, one or two literate gendarmeries would be assigned to the officers depending on the size of the events. Officers shall notify the *kaza* councils they are attached to, if they face any problems while doing their tasks. Temporary officers were recruited in certain regions to deal with the works related to the emigrants. Officers to be appointed from the members of the council administration to the *kazas* would work together with these temporary officers.

- The number of farmers in the villages to be visited and the number of persons in the houses would be determined, and the emigrants would be informed that ten pairs of animals will be provided to each village with thirty dwellings and one pair of animals to each village with three or four houses.

³³⁴ Tercüman-ı Ahval, Selh-i Ramazan 1281 (26 February 1865); Pinson states that until July 1864, 40.000, in 1864 70.000 families were resettled throughout Rumelia, and 150-200.000 people were settled between Serbia and Bulgaria and along the Danube. See. Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskanı", p. 3.

While the oxen purchased for the emigrants are kept in suitable pastures, all of the emigrants who will be given oxen in a place or in a village will be vouched for each other after the officers go to their places of duty and determine the families that oxen will be given. Families will be given a sealed licence (tezkire) for the ox, and they will go to the central *kaza* and get their animals after they have the scripts sealed.

Instead of the plow tree, a plow will be handed to each two households in *kazas* not to exceed the specified cost.

The cost of the agricultural tools to be distributed to the emigrants will not exceed 150 gurush. The tools will be provided after the oxen have been allocated or simultaneously with the oxen.

Those who utilize the tools and animals provided to them for purposes other than their intended ones and destroy them will be punished.

Because it will be required to construct a modest cover or shady spot so that animals do not perish in the open during the winter, rods, reeds, and a little amount of lumber will be provided, and the emigrants will construct a shady spot with the arrival of the autumn season.

The local governments will start taking necessary measures to ensure that the animals are not left in hunger, in the event that the emigrants do not have enough hay or fodder for their animals in winter. If such case happens, straw, grass or meadow will be bought and distributed to the emigrants with the income acquired by the sale of crops of the immigrants whose resettlement has exceeded three years, or from the places where they are not so emigrants, but there is extra fodders.

Those who have acquired animals but do not have land will be given with at least fifteen and twenty acres of land, and the amount of land will be increased to the appropriate level.

The directives are critical in demonstrating how much priority the governorship places on this task. Nusret Pasha had previously monopolized all power, he was managing all process. However, when he departed his office, this responsibility was delegated to the governorship. The Danube Council, led by a reformist leader like Midhat Pasha, tried to make the refugees useful as quickly as possible by adopting the required precautions. Due to the enormous number of emigrants, the local administration attempted to expedite the settlement work by utilizing council members

in this activity. The administration of the Danube Province attempted and succeeded in managing the settling of immigrants in an orderly manner. The migration trend slowed after 1865, and the number of coming immigrants reduced. The majority of contemporary immigrants had been resettled. Therefore, the Emigrant Commission's purpose was essentially completed. The Emigrant Commission was disbanded on November 27, 1865, due to a reduction in the number of emigrants and expensive expenditures.³³⁵

One of the issues on which there are many different opinions in the current literature is the number of emigrants who came to the Ottoman Empire. It is known that 13.000 people were settled in the Dobrudja region after the Crimean War. After 1859, with the intensification of the migration movement, a remarkable increase was observed in the number of emigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus. Kozelsky states that until August 1860, a total of 89.190 people, 28.000 Nogays and 57.000 Tatars, came to the Ottoman lands or applied to come.³³⁶ Considering that more than half of the incoming population was settled in the Balkans, approximately 50.000 people were settled there until Nusret Bey started his duty. In the activity report that Nusret Bey presented to the Sublime Porte on June 9, 1861, he stated that as of his start in his duty, 35.860 families, that is, a population of more than 150.000 people, had been settled by him, even though Edirne, Tekfurdağı, Sliven, and Plovdiv were excluded from the number of emigrants. In the *Ceride-i Havadis* newspaper dated February 10, 1862, it was reported that the number emigrants who came to the Ottoman Empire was 252.067, and 157.562 of this people were settled in the Balkan geography. According to the news of the *Takvim-i Vekayi* dated 8 August 1864, from 1272 to 1280 (13.9.1855-17.6.1863), 311.333 emigrants came to the Ottoman Empire. The number of emigrants who came in 1280 (18.6.1863-5.6.1864) exceeded 283.000. In 1281 (6.6.1864-26.5.1865), more than 87.000 refugees came. According to this calculation, the number of people who migrated from the Crimea and the Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire in ten years exceeds 682.000, except for those who lost their lives

³³⁵ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 113.

³³⁶ Kozelsky, *Tatar Exodus*, p. 178

due to various reasons.³³⁷ When Nusret Pasha left his post in the Balkans in February 1865 and went to İstanbul, he had stated that the responsibility of 400.000 emigrants would be on Midhat Pasha. Considering the words of Nusret Pasha, it can be said that the number of emigrants settled in the Balkans within ten years is close to 500.000. According to the news in the *Tercüman-ı Ahval* newspaper dated February 25, 1866, the number of Tatar and Circassian immigrants in Ottoman Empire reached one million.³³⁸

III.II. Ottoman Settlement Policy

Many wars decimated the Ottoman Empire's population during the nineteenth century. Because the Rumeli area was a battleground throughout the Russian wars, its population had declined. Thereof many agricultural areas throughout the empire were idle and unproductive. There was insufficient labor in the empire to develop the uncultivated plains. However, the empire required a workable workforce. This population could only be met through from the outside.³³⁹ That is why, the Ottoman Empire set the essential criterias for the immigrants who pleased to migrate to the empire. The Tavattun Nizamnamesi (Refuge Regulation) was drafted as 14 articles by the *Majlis-i Mahsus* (Council of Ministers) on 13 January 1856. According to the regulation, those who have adequate money and desired to emigrate to the Ottoman lands would be granted a sufficient number of vacant, fertile, and with good weather state-owned lands (*miri*) in provinces chosen by the state. It was promised that stores would be set up for artisans to perform their crafts, and that farmers would be given land to cultivate.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Koyuncu, op. cit., p. 684; Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 760, 15 Rebiülevvel 1280 (8 August 1864); Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 804, 20 Muharrem 1282 (15 June 1865).

³³⁸ Tercüman-ı Ahval, no: 780, 9 Şevval 1282 (25 February 1866).

³³⁹ Ufuk Gülsoy, "Osmanlı Topraklarına Avrupa'dan Muhacir İskanı (1856-1859)", *İlmi Araştırmalar*, 1996 (3), p. 56; Karpát, *Ottoman Population*, p. 61.

³⁴⁰ İ. MMS. 10-408, p. 2; Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 562, 29 Ramazan 1274 (13 May 1858); Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1274, 11 Şevval 1274 (25 May 1858); Troyansky, op. cit., p. 64; Karpát, *Ottoman Population*, p. 62.

The regulation was designed to attract foreign wealth and labor to Ottoman territory. However, following the Crimean War, the capital issue was neglected in the migrations of Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire. The Tatars who do not comply with the terms of the regulation and are in poor economic condition were settled in the Dobrudja Plain. Because, due to the Ottoman-Russian wars, the region's people fled Dobruja, leaving the fertile fields of the geography desolate. Tatars were settled in the Dobrudja Plain, both because of its geographical similarity due to its proximity to the Crimea and because the region had a large empty and fertile land. Although the state supported immigration to boost the population, a high number of people migrating to Ottoman territory was not desirable. Even though the arrival of foreigners with adequate wealth was welcomed, the bulk of Crimean and Caucasian immigrants were people without money. Therefore, these emigrants were not the type of emigrants that empire desired. Despite the fact that the Ottomans did not want to welcome further emigrants owing to the large number of arrivals, it was forced to do so because Russia proclaimed that those who wished to emigrate to the Turkey would be allowed or blood would be spilt. Similarly, the sultan's position of caliph compelled him not to turn away people seeking shelter.³⁴¹

The government made several demands from the administrators in the *kazas* where emigrants were dispatched for the settlement policy to be implemented successfully. The followings were the requests:

- Emigrants should be settled as soon as feasible.
- Emigrants should be made productive as soon as possible, and the people should not be left bare.
- Those who could not be settled despite the administrators' attempts should be settled as quickly as possible.
- The completed works should be informed to the government as soon as immediately.³⁴²

The state's first objective was to settle the migrants before winter. Diseases or fatalities were happening among the migrants living in tents or inns due to the severe

³⁴¹ İ.MMS. 27-1189; Saydam, "İskân Siyaseti", p. 679.

³⁴² A.MKT.MHM. 215-15; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 360.

winter circumstances. The state paid expenses like lodging, food, and heating for the refugees over the winter. However, after emigrants were settled, the costs could decrease or be absorbed by the local population. Therefore, the state desired that the emigrants be resettled as soon as possible. The fact that the emigrants were not settled necessitated assistance from the state and the people. With the settlement of emigrants and making them produce as quickly as feasible, the people and the state could be relieved of a financial burden.³⁴³ Furthermore, when the emigrants could not be settled in a timely manner, they had to live in deplorable conditions. Accordingly, several immigrants had attempted to return to their homeland. It was a matter of prestige for the state to prevent refugees from returning. The government was concerned that if the refugees returned, the situation would shift in favor of Russia, prompting Russia to develop political rhetoric that might be used against the Muslim population. There was also the possibility that returnees may alter the minds of those waiting for migration in Russia. For this reason, the state rejected the demands of individuals who wanted to return to their country and told local officials that it was not permitted to enable the return of emigrants who wanted to return to their homeland.³⁴⁴

In August 1861, a notice was delivered to the districts where immigrants had dwelled in Rumelia and Anatolia, stating that the immigrants were returning to their ancestral motherland. According to the notification, the immigrants were traveling to İstanbul and coastal cities from their resettlement locations to return to their homeland because their demands had not been adequately met, they had been resettled apart from their clans, and their needs such as house, land, and agricultural tools were not met. In this circumstance, a particular directive was issued, and the required funds were provided to the immigrants to build dwellings and purchase agricultural instruments such as plows and seeds. The immigrants were sent back to their regions of settlement. Some immigrants, however, stated that they would come again to İstanbul and go to their native country. When questioned why they desire to return to their country, the

³⁴³ İ.DH. 460/30579; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 367.

³⁴⁴ In a document it is stated that approximately 5.000 Nogay immigrants settled in Adana wanted to go to Trabzon via the Black Sea coast by leaving Adana with the desire to return to their hometowns. But the government had informed the officers that "it is not permissible to give a license to the return of the immigrants who wish to go to their hometowns". See. A.MKT.NZD. 362-15; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 98.

immigrants said they could not settle in the regions they were sent to and that the items specified in the instructions were not supplied. They expressed that they had to return since they were impoverished due to wasting their belongings.

The notification declared that because the refugees had sought shelter in the Ottoman Empire, they should be released from guest position and placed in the position of taxpaying citizens. Furthermore, it was warned that winter was approaching, and that the cost of the house would double, and that if the refugees got homeless, they would have to return. Finally, the local authorities urged that the immigrants be resettled as quickly as possible, and that those who were traveling in Anatolia without a permission document (*mürûr tezkiresi*) be asked for one, and those who did not have one should not be permitted to go. Because some of the immigrants did not like where they settled and roamed the Anatolian land as they pleased, demanded carts and animals from the residents. The people were suffering as a result of this. The state was requesting that local officials take the appropriate measures to protect individuals and avoid ambiguity in the housing work.³⁴⁵

Increasing the Muslim population in the Balkans has long been a goal of the state. In Rumelia, the aid of the people to the emigrants was more than in Anatolia. For these reasons, stated desired the settle emigrants mostly in Rumelia.³⁴⁶ But the settlement policy goal in Anatolia was different. However, the settlement policy in Anatolia differed from that in Rumelia in some respects. One goal of settlement policies undertaken in Anatolia was to encourage the nomadic Kurdish, Arab, and nomad(*yörük*) tribes to settle down and become used to state order and law, as well as to contribute to the nomads' civilization. Furthermore, in order to provide a balancing element against Armenians., Circassian immigrants had been settled in the provinces of Samsun, Muş, Van, and Erzurum, where Armenians are numerous. This decision was made since it was realized that using Circassians against the Zeytun Armenians was more successful than using the army.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ A.MKT.MHM.231-60.

³⁴⁶ İ.MMS. 16-649; Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Muhaciri İskân Politikası", p. 588.

³⁴⁷ Turan, *Çerkezler ve Ermeniler*, p. 56.

In times when the number of immigrants was low, newcomers were granted the right to choose where they would settle. The government provided them with a gendarmerie and permitted them to visit the areas in Anatolia or Rumelia where they planned to settle. Initially, immigrants were established in areas that they preferred together. However, because of the growing number of immigrants and the scarcity of land, immigrants were separated and settled separately. Because the leaders of the tribes utilized the people in the collective resettlement of Circassian immigrants, it was decided that the immigrants would be resettled in villages in Anatolia in three or five households and finally in ten-fifteen households.³⁴⁸ While immigrants in Rumelia were established jointly, those in Anatolia were mostly settled separately, with the exception of Konya and Sivas. The reason for this was the fear that settling the immigrants as tribes would jeopardize the country's internal security.³⁴⁹

One of the most significant aspects of the settlement strategy was that the immigrants' families were not separated. Families had been sometimes split up because members of the same family had moved to various locations. Therefore, in the instructions given to officers in 1865, the government asked the officers that in the areas where the immigrants were settled, those who were separated from their family and relatives such as mother, father, sister, elder brother, daughter, and son, appropriate research be conducted.³⁵⁰

New villages had been established for the settlement of emigrants. However, attention was paid to the fact that the emigrants were not resettled in each other's villages and that each group of immigrants was settled separately. For example, it was requested that the Circassian Bizeduh tribe with a population of 365 to be settled in Dobrija should not be mixed with the Tatar villages there. Likewise, a total of 500 immigrant families, 200 Nogay and 300 Crimean families, were settled in Teliş hamlet in the Lovich. Two separate villages were established for the emigrants and each group was settled with its own people.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ İ.MVL. 505-22848; Karpat, *Etnik Yapılandırma ve Göçler*, p. 21.

³⁴⁹ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 144.

³⁵⁰ İ.MVL. 541-24269.

³⁵¹ İ.DH. 474-31977; İ.MVL. 453-20252; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 166.

Circassians were settled along the frontiers, particularly surrounding Kosovo, to provide security in Rumelian territory. Nusret Pasha's resettlement scheme along the Danube was questioned in an article published in the *Hürriyet* Newspaper in 1868. According to the article, it was reported that it was sought to establish the Circassians along the Danube in such a way that they might serve as a barrier to Russia, and accordingly, Nusret Pasha attempted to create a Circassian settlement as a castle and fortification stones in the necessary places.³⁵² According to Pinson, an authority on the subject, the Circassians were settled in pairs along the lower Danube, up to the Serbian border, to both divide Bulgaria from its neighbors and to aid in fighting against a future Russian invasion.³⁵³ However Saydam claims that Circassians were not utilized as a counterbalance to Rumelia's Christian population.³⁵⁴ This claim is partially right, but not entirely correct. Because the Ottomans could employ Tatar forces against Russia, yet Tatar resettlement was not only for this purpose. The closer proximity of Dobrudja and the Balkans to the emigrants' place of departure was more important reason for Tatar settlement in Dobrudja. The closest region to Crimea was the Balkans. Therefore, the Danube and its surrounds were ideal for Tatar settlement. The Dobrudja plain had lush and vast fields. Accordingly, Dobruja was chosen as a Tatar colony thanks to its land availability. The population in the geography was not inadequate to convert the uncultivated fields to agriculture. Therefore, the state wished to convert these lands to agricultural usage and established Tatars in these regions.

The Danube area was one of the regions where emigrants settled due to investments made in the region. The Boğazköy (Cernovada)-Constanta railway line construction was completed in October 1860. Thus, the railway could be utilized to transfer immigrants. Furthermore, because the Danube is a river that is used for traffic, it was conceivable to transport immigrants by sea vessels. The increased demand for

³⁵² *Hürriyet*, 2 Recep 1285 (19 October 1868).

³⁵³ Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskânı", p. 64.

³⁵⁴ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 100; Aydemir, on the other hand, interprets the reason why the Ottomans settled the Circassians in Rumelia politically, stating that the increase in the empire's Muslim population against the separatist non-Muslim elements in the region appears to be a manifestation of the balance policy against the separatists. See. Aydemir, *Göç Tarihi*, p. 135.

Ottoman agricultural goods in Europe, as well as the Danube valley's closeness to Europe, contributed to the settlement of immigrants in this region.³⁵⁵

In Anatolia, care was taken to place the emigrants in the inner regions, not the borders. Because there was a possibility that the emigrants did not like their place after being settled and fled to Russia. For this reason, the government was paying attention to the settle the emigrants in areas far from the border. Emigrants' leaving the Ottoman lands and returning to Russia was undesirable and unwelcome. In such cases, new places were shown to the emigrants, and they were offered daily allowance. The Ottoman government tried every means to persuade the emigrants by telling them that they would not be welcomed by Russia when they returned. When persuasion proved futile, the mediation of a respected person was used.³⁵⁶ Furthermore, one of the causes for the resettlement of the immigrants beyond the Ottoman Empire's eastern frontiers was the Russian administration's emphasis on relocating the Circassians further away from the border, beyond the Erzincan, Tokat, Amasya, and Samsun lines. Following the conclusion of discussions with Russia in 1865, it was determined to relocate 5.000 families and around 30.000 Chechens to the Ottoman Empire. However, Russia does not want Chechens to be settled in the border region. As a result, immigrants settled in Erzincan and Diyarbakir sanjaks, despite the fact that land appropriate for immigrant settlement existed in Çıldır and Erzurum.³⁵⁷

The great powers also participated in the Ottoman Empire's relocation activities. For example, on May 3, 1864, the British Ambassador in İstanbul Bulwer stated in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Earl Russell, that resettling Circassian immigrants in territories extending from the Black Sea to Erzurum would benefit both the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The Ambassador also underlined the need of building a road connecting Trabzon and Erzurum, noting that emigrants may be employed in road construction if permanent villages of Circassian immigrants are

³⁵⁵ Dündar, op. cit., p. 156.

³⁵⁶ Dündar, op.cit., p. 127.

³⁵⁷ İ.MMS. 30-1264; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 101; Dündar, *op.cit.*, p. 162-163. Georgi Chochiev and Bekir Koç "Some Notes on the Settlement of Northern Caucasians in Eastern Anatolia and Their Adaptation Problems (the Second Half of the XIXth Century - the Beginning of the XXth Century)", *Journal of Asian History*, No. 40/1, 2006, 81-83; Avagyan, *op.cit.*, p. 47; Aydemir, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

constructed around it. England opposes the separate resettlement of Circassians, fearing that they may lose their military character. She believes that the European allies and the Ottoman Empire would be better off settling the Circassians as a military colony.³⁵⁸

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire pursued a strategy that changed depending on the conditions of the moment. The emigrants were first settled together, but due to a lack of land and other factors, they were finally placed separately. For a variety of reasons, refugees' desire to return to their home countries was not always treated favorably by the state. The state aimed to keep individuals who had migrated to her country and prevent them from returning to their home countries. With the settlement of immigrants in Anatolia, nomadic tribes were urged to civilize, while Circassians were stationed on the frontier lines of Rumelia as border guards.

³⁵⁸ HR.İD. 44-4; Dündar, op. cit., p. 162; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 101.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES

IV.I. Land Allocation in Emigrant Settlement

The distribution of land to immigrants had been one of the most important concerns of the state in the settling of immigrants. In allocating land to emigrants, the state employed three categories of land. The first are the state owned (*miri*) lands, the second are the state-owned farmlands and waqf lands, and the third are the *sivad* lands, which are used for animal grazing and are leased to tax farmers. This chapter will explore the state's policy of allocating land to immigrants and how that policy has changed throughout examined time.

The Refugee Regulation, promulgated as 14 articles by the *Majlis-i Mahsus* on January 13, 1856, established a standard for the emigrants who would come to the Ottoman Empire for the first time. The land problem is expressed as follows in this specification: The state-owned lands with a suitable number of empty, fertile, and pleasant air will be allotted to the emigrants based on their strength and economy in the provinces to be chosen by the state.³⁵⁹ After the Crimean War the requirements for the land to be handed to the Crimean emigrants who settled in the Dobrudja Plain were defined by an instruction addressed to the governor of Silistra on May 3, 1856. It was stated in the instruction that settling immigrants in separate villages and towns would not be beneficial to them or the state, thus it was asked from the governor to construct separate villages adjacent to each other by allocating empty, fertile, watery places where the land is extremely close to the river or the sea.³⁶⁰ The instruction sent to the governor was almost the same as the Refugee Regulation.

³⁵⁹ The second chapter goes into further detail on the Refugee Regulation. To avoid repetition, the same elements are not repeated here. For more information about land matter see. Chapter two.

³⁶⁰ İ.DH. 343-22622; *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı*, p. 290-295; Kırımlı, *Emigrations from the Crimea*, p. 762; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 120-122.

Emigrants who came after 1860 were settled in Anatolia and Rumelia, and Mediterranean ports close to the Black Sea coasts, and in cities that have vast lands such as Konya and Sivas. The places where the emigrants would be dispatched was chosen with two factors in mind. The first was that the proximity. Emigrants arrived by sea, therefore the settlement area had to be close to port towns, and the second was that it had to have vast lands. Because Konya and Sivas had empty and vast fields, these territories were at the forefront of where emigrants settled in Anatolia while the Dobruja region in the Balkans was one of the areas where the majority of emigrants settled.³⁶¹

In 1861 officers from *Erkan-ı Harbiye* (General Staff) were dispatched to Rumelia to inspect the immigrants' situation and supervise the settlement operation. They would travel from village to village, settle emigrants and inspect the events on the spot. For this they were given directives that would guide them in the work. In the directives, officers were warned to be cautious about the land and not be satisfied with the words of the villagers such as "so many acres of land were given to the emigrants in such and such places," but rather to see the land given to the emigrants with their own eyes and to look for another place if it was not suitable for agriculture. The officers were supposed to register the emigrants in the demography books in the localities they would visit. In addition to this, they would write a book that comprises informations about the number of emigrant families and population in each district, amount of land that can be distributed to emigrants, amount of the acres of lands and seeds that were planted by the residents for the emigrants, economic conditions of emigrants and assistance emigrants by locals if there were any.³⁶² After their examination, the officers delivered reports and maps to the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*. According to their assessment, Dobruja had many state-owned lands ideal for the settlement of emigrants. However, the majority of the locals had seized more pasture than they needed and made money by renting out these lands. Nusret Bey, who was in charge of the settlement in Rumelia, did the required studies to reveal the lands seized by the locals unnecessarily. Officers were appointed to him to help him measure and allocate the lands. However, during

³⁶¹ MVL. 1001-44.

³⁶² A.MKT.UM. 473-26.

the miri land survey, officials are requested to behave honestly and appropriately by avoiding interfering with anyone's real estate and property and the pasture that a village desperately needed.³⁶³ The amount of land given to immigrants was determined according to the population of each household. The newly created villages were allotted a pasture and care was made to guarantee that the new villages had regular streets and bazaars in line with the new model. Furthermore, with the cooperation of both the emigrants and the locals, the state settled the five or ten families in abandoned houses and non-cultivated lands in the old villages.³⁶⁴

Ranch land is one of the lands used by the state to settle immigrants. Ranch land is separated into two parts. The first is the lands owned by the state treasury, whereas the second is owned by the Sultan's own treasury. It was easier for the state to settle emigrants on ranch lands because established emigrants in other land types often did not have houses on their land. The funds for the new homes for the immigrants came from the state's coffers or were paid for by the locals. But, facilities were already in existence on the ranch lands. Some emigrants were accommodated in existing structures, while others were settled in newly built houses. The money from the sale of the animals on the ranch and grains was used to pay for the construction of the buildings. Furthermore, the farm warehouses supplied the emigrants with the seeds and agricultural products they needed for farming. One of the ranch lands belonging to the Treasury was the Börücek Ranch in Tekfurdağı. 170 families of Crimean Nogay and Circassian emigrants were settled on this land.³⁶⁵ Osman Bey and Hafız Efendi, members of the Erkan-ı Harp, were tasked with measuring and allocating the farm land to be distributed to the emigrants. After examining and measuring the area, the officers would create a map and present it to the *Majlis-i Tanzimat*. They would also record in a book that how much land was handed and to whom it was handed. By recruiting emigrants to work as farmers and other professions, the cost of the necessary buildings for the immigrants would be minimized. The malsandığı would pay for the stone,

³⁶³ A.MKT.UM. 421-72; Saydam, *ibid*, p. 129.

³⁶⁴ İ.DH. 460-30579; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 128-19; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 366-367.

³⁶⁵ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 168.

lumber, and labor wages needed to build houses for the emigrants.³⁶⁶ However, the land was too large for 170 emigrant households. For this reason, the officers would map the farm, allocate land and pastures to the emigrants, and then inform the center of how much area remained for emigrant settlement.³⁶⁷ Later, 110 Nogay emigrant families settled on this land. Dukakin Farm in the Gallipoli Sanjak's Ipsala *kaza* was another ranch land allotted to the emigrants. Despite the fact that Dukakin Farm had been for sale for several years in 1860, it could not be sold. That is why, it was agreed to allocate the lands to the emigrants in Gallipoli. The ranch consisted of fields, meadows, mountains, plains, pasture, and forests were 53,405 decares.³⁶⁸ Circassian emigrants were to be settled in this farm. However, since the ranch land was not from raw lands like others, it was decided by the *Majlis-i Tanzimat* that emigrants settled in Börücek and Dukakin ranches would be exempted from tithe for three years and other taxes for five years.³⁶⁹

Emigrants were also settled on farms owned by the Sultan's Treasury. For example, 550 emigrant families from Crimea were given lands with title deeds in eight farms surrounding Silivri, and the farm's fixtures and tools were sold to the emigrants. The annual rent for eight farms was 287.000 guruh. Because the Yapağca Farm was a waqf land, it was administered by the Evkâf-ı Hümayun. Therefore, the emigrants would acquire this farm for free. This farm's annual rental fee was 112.000 guruh. After deducting this sum from the total rent of 287.000 guruh, the amount owed to the Sultan's Treasury was 175.000 guruh. Every year, the local administration was to collect this sum from the emigrants who were to be settled on eight farms and hand it to the state Treasury. It would then be delivered to the Sultan's Treasury. The land that the emigrants would be awarded with the title deed could not be sold to anyone else. However, the emigrants were permitted to sell the houses they constructed among themselves. The farms would take the properties of people who died without an heir. If anyone among the emigrants desired to buy the properties, he could pay the fee.

³⁶⁶ A.MKT.NZD. 325-45.

³⁶⁷ A.MKT.MHM. 196-101.

³⁶⁸ A.MKT.NZD. 327-71.

³⁶⁹ A.MKT.MHM. 760-117; A.MKT.UM. 743-38.

Every two emigrant families established on the farms would get a pair of animals and five-kilogram seeds, with the cost paid to the Sultan's Treasury from the state Treasury. Migrants were exempt from tithe for three years, as in other farmlands. The officials would auction and sell surplus animals and commodities on the farms, with the proceeds going to the Treasury. The rich emigrants were permitted to attend the auction and purchase the auctioned product for a charge.³⁷⁰

Sometimes problems occurred in the farmlands allocated to the emigrants. For example, a farmland in Balchik was a suitable place for the settlement of emigrants, as there was a water well, a grove and rivers around it. The farm's owner, however, was Aziz Pasha, the Governor of Plovdiv. Despite this, 50 Crimean emigrant families settled on the farmland. Aziz Pasha indicated that if the property's price is paid to him, he would be willing to relinquish the land to the emigrants. But, because it would be inappropriate to offer the immigrants owned property, the governor of Varna, Aşir Efendi, informed the choice of state lands for the emigrant' settlement. Due to the ownership of the land, it was decided to resettle the emigrants in another place.³⁷¹ Sometimes the emigrants lost the fields they cultivated because they lacked title deeds and due to the cooperation of malevolent locals and state authorities. That is why Circassian emigrants stated in their complaint petition that the fact that the boundaries of the lands given to them are not specified problems have been occurring among the emigrants. They asked the government to send officials to determine the boundaries of the fields and pastures owned by each village and, if they were given as possessions, give the title deeds.³⁷²

Before the emigrants were dispatched to a region, information about the existing lands in the region was acquired from local officials. For example, the Emigrant Commission asked the governor of Edirne in August 1861 if there was adequate land for the settlement of emigrants in Edirne, and if so, how many families and people would be able to accommodate. The governor noted in his response to the commission that the majority of the emigrants who arrived to Edirne were established

³⁷⁰ A.MKT.MVL. 134-21; İ.MVL. 455-20370.

³⁷¹ A.MKT.NZD. 328-3.

³⁷² A.DVN. 166-52.

in the city, around the district, in towns and villages. While some of them settled in villages individually and others established by constructing new villages. The governor stated that there was no vacant place in Edirne for the new emigrants to be sent from the center, but the rental period of a grove, which is three hours away from Edirne and is connected to the Edirne Palace ranch, which was rented by the treasury to tax farmers for five years at a fee of 350.000 gurush per year, would expire in November. Up to 600 households could be settled on the farmland whose lease would end. With the arrival of the immigrants, both of the empty lands on the Islimiye road would be zoned, and the route's safety would be secured. Governor stated that it would be preferable to send the emigrants from Crimea here for settlement since Nogay emigrants can not get along with the locals.³⁷³

Another type of land allocated for the settlement of immigrants was *sivad* lands. *Sivad* lands are lands whose usage rights belong to the state and are used as pasture. In this regard, they lands are similar to the classical period mukataa lands, as they are leased to tax farmers for a certain annual fee by the state. *Sivad* land is a form of land that, like mukataa land, is not in the ownership of peasants through the title deed, rather it is a type of land auctioned by the state to persons in exchange for a set price. Before the 19th century there were not any *sivad* lands in Balkans. These lands emerged as a consequence of the fleeing of Muslim population in the area due to the Russian army's assault of the Danube shore during the Ottoman-Russian conflict of 1806-1812. In the summer, some of the villagers utilized these empty lands left by the Muslims to graze aged animals. After grazing on these lands, the animals were exported to Wallachia, Austria, Hungary, and Albania. Tallow was made from unsold animals and sold on the open market. When the demand for these lands, which were a source of wealth, rose, the state confiscated them during the Tanzimat's first stage. Nevertheless, because the *sivad* lands were not widely known, the residents of the village around these lands kept the *sivad* lands for themselves, and the number of this land type was progressively reduced because no one questioned about the amount, acreage, or breadth of the *sivad* land.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ MVL. 935-4.

³⁷⁴ MVL.935-47.

In his petition to the Council, Nusret Bey recommended that all of the *sivad* lands be utilized for the resettlement of immigrants and that no *sivad* land be left. According to Nusret Bey, with the settlement of migrants, the number of animals on the *sivad* land would rise, and excellent butter and other dairy products would be produced as a result of the grazing of these animals.³⁷⁵ *Sivad* lands were exclusively found in the Balkans and did not exist in Anatolia. Miri(state-owned) lands were often the favored land type for immigrant settlement. However, if miri land was insufficient, *sivad* lands were assigned to emigrants.³⁷⁶ For example, 67 families 700 Circassian refugees who had been settled separately in Nevrekop *kaza* in Siroz Sanjak wished to resettle in Tulcea. Hasan Tahsin, the Governor of Sofia, was asked if there was an empty spot for emigrant resettlement in Sofia. Hasan Tahsin informed the *Majlis-i Ali* (Supreme Council) in a telegram that there was no state-owned vacant land suitable for the settlement of emigrants in Sofia other than the *sivad* land, and that there was no derelict land on which a village could be established other than the pasturelands used by the villagers for grazing animals. 500 families could be established if the emigrants were allocated among the villages in groups of three or five families, depending on the circumstances of the villages. But emigrants wanted to be settled together. Thus, they chose a representative and sent him to İstanbul to inform the government. The representative was summoned to the *Majlis-i Ali*, where he was informed that the location where they want to be settled had *sivad* land. So that they could be settled there. With the approval of the majlis an order was sent to the Thessaloniki governor to settle the emigrants in the region.³⁷⁷

The state had several difficulties in allocating land to emigrants. Determining the borders of the lands granted to emigrants in an area was at the center of these issues. Due to the land boundaries, there were clashes between locals and migrants, as well as among the emigrants themselves. Therefore, the state dispatched engineers to the areas where emigrants would be settled, had them measure the land, and learned how many immigrants could be settled. However, conflicts emerged between the local people and

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ A.MKT.NZD. 330-9.

³⁷⁷ İ.DH. 474-31827.

the immigrants since the land limitation procedure was not completed, even though the emigrants had been settled for a long period.

In 1860, military officers had been assigned to Nusret Bey's entourage for land measurement and distribution. Later, Namık Efendi, the Ruse land officer, was tasked with this work. Throughout 1864, Haşim, Necib, Muhtar Efendis, and Hasan Bey were entrusted with the job of allocating land in Anatolia. The officers were ordered to investigate the reasons for emigrants abandoning their lands after their settlement and report if it was because the land was unsuitable for agriculture or whether the government did not provide the land. Emigrants mainly were established in state-owned empty and abandoned lands, old, ruined villages, waqf, and *sivad* lands. When these lands proved insufficient, the plateaus and meadows were allocated for the settlement of emigrants. However, the pastures to be assigned to the emigrants had to be state-owned and uninhabited. Because when they were placed in a village's pasture, land disputes occurred between the emigrants and the locals. Therefore, before their settlement, it was reported to the qaymaqams and directors to set the borders of the pasture, which was required for the ten thousand emigrant families to be settled in the province of Vidin between 1860-1861.³⁷⁸

Access to resources was also a significant factor in choosing land for the settlement. For instance, local residents were cultivating just one-third of the land in Kosovo. Although the remaining lands had become overgrown with bushes and oaks owing to inactivity, they could easily be cleaned and converted into farmland on which various agricultural goods could be cultivated. Furthermore, gathering building materials would be simple because forests and mountains surround the location. This location was expected to house 5.000 to 6.000 immigrants.³⁷⁹

One of the factors that the government took into account during the land selection was to choose lands that emigrants could use for security. For example, due to the departure of its residents, a few villages in Thessaloniki's Karaferya *kaza* had been left uninhabited, and the surrounding territories became forested. The uninhabited villages were ideal for settling 200 emigrant families. Since many parts of

³⁷⁸ A.MKT.MVL. 144-39.

³⁷⁹ A.MKT.NZD. 335-54.

the area are wooded, the supply of lumber for home construction was relatively easier than in other regions. This woodland, however, had long ago become a home for bandits. If the emigrants were settled here, the land would be revitalized, and the bandits would be stopped from hiding. Thus, the security of the region would be ensured.³⁸⁰

According to the land measuring officers dispatched to Constanta and Tulcea in 1865, the land to be provided to the emigrants might range from 60 acres to 120 acres, depending on the richness of the soil. If adequate arable land remained after giving agricultural land and pasture to the emigrants in a village, 100 acres would be given to the locals before the excess land, and another 100 acres would be given to those who had more oxen than the other emigrants. If no more emigrants were to be settled on the empty lands, and if the additional place was available, these lands would be sold to their suitors for a charge.³⁸¹ One of the factors considered when granting land to emigrants was the potential of the land to be plowed with a pair of oxen. Therefore, the *çift hane* system, which was utilized as a production unit throughout the classical Ottoman period, may be considered to have been used during land distribution. A pair of oxen and as much land as it could plow formed an agricultural output unit under this method.³⁸²

Following the Circassian exile, many immigrants were settled in the Balkans. Nusret Bey, who was in charge of the region, was dismissed and went to İstanbul, making it difficult to settle in the Balkans. As a result, the Danube Provincial Administration Council drafted an ordinance consisting of twenty paragraphs regulating the determination of the land to be provided to immigrants. The 1865 ordinance was as follows:

A team of 10 literate officers will be formed under the leadership of Namık Efendi, the land officer of the Province of Silistra. By staying in Constanta with two clerks, Namık Efendi will be the initial authority of the proceedings. The government

³⁸⁰ MVL. 1005-88.

³⁸¹ İ.MMS. 133-5690.

³⁸² Halil İnalçık, "Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul Eren Yayıncılık 1996, p. 6-7.

will assign a soldier to each of the land officers, and the officials will travel separately to the locations where they would register and distribute the land and issue everyone temporary title papers stamped with the district stamp. The immigrants will be allocated a minimum of 60 acres for a pair of animals, 100 acres at a moderate level, and a maximum of 130 acres. Regardless of how many people live in a family or how many pairs of animals they have, each couple will receive a minimum of 60 decares of land. Even if the property is not in a single piece and will be divided into sections, care will be taken to ensure that the land granted does not exceed 60 decares.

The immigrants' land will be distributed in three times. If there is not enough land for the refugees in a village for the first time, if the minimal quantity of land has been awarded to emigrants in the surrounding the village where they are located, and if there is more space remaining, lands will be allocated to the emigrants from these villages. The land to be handed to emigrants will not be increased to the middle (evsat) level until a minimum amount of land is allocated in a village and the adjacent hamlets. If there is still land after the initial distribution of land to everyone, the land to be allocated will be increased to the middle level for the second time. Similarly, if there is still land available after the second land allocation, the amount of land to be allocated for the third time will be increased to the maximum level. If there is still land after providing the immigrants 130 decares of land, which is the maximum amount per couple, the land will be sold to locals and aspirants of the emigrants for the price, and the new owner will be issued the title deed.

During the implementation of the land registration in the villages where locals and immigrants coexisted, everyone from the locals strove to acquire as much land as they could. However, because this cannot be tolerated, the lands claimed by the locals in the villages would be examined. Although they cultivated their lands fallow in one-year intervals, the land that the people could cultivate in a year with a pair of animals is 60 decares. Because people every three years changed the part of the land, a maximum of 180 decares of land will suffice. Accordingly, a farmer could own 60, 80, or at most 130 acres of land. But, if there is excess land that is not assigned to anybody and a local wishes to have more land on the condition that he has more than a couple of oxen, officers will grant him 180 acres of land for every couple of oxen. After the

land is allocated on this method, the rest of the lands would be allocated to the emigrants and if there is excess, it would be sold for a price.

A rope would be used to measure the size of the land to be allocated. Because a minimum of 60 acres of land plowed by a couple of oxen cannot be found in one location, it will be divided into three or four pieces. Each parcel of land will be no larger than 15, 20, or 25 acres. Following the land division, the title deeds will be sealed with the officials' and district's seals and distributed to the landowner after approval by the district administrative council.

Namık Efendi, government engineers, and officers from Constanta will go to a village together to create an example registration procedure in order to better comprehend land division, and once all officers have mastered the registration process, the officers will disperse one by one.

The officers will not be paid per diem, but according to the bills that will be certified by the custodian month by month, each will be paid 500 gurush salaries, and the stationery expenses will be covered from the tithe proceeds of the immigrants whose resettlement has passed more than three years, depending on the size of the book they will make.

Lands with stone mines, groves, and non-agricultural lands such as lands with bushes, marshes, swamps and lakes will not be given to anyone for the time being.

The directors of waqfs will allocate land in the waqf villages in the Varna sanjak and around Dobruja.

Since the agricultural production of the emigrants who arrived in Dobruja has improved, and the bulk of them have advanced in agriculture, the land they were provided will no longer be enough. Thus, those who have advanced in such agriculture will be given extra land, as long as the amount of land does not exceed the maximum level.

The regulation emphasizes that emigrants receive at least 60 and no more than 130 decares of land with title deeds for each pair of oxen. The instruction's purpose is to minimize issues experienced during land distribution and to ensure that the operation is accomplished as efficiently as feasible. It is also believed that this directive would put an end to land disputes between emigrants and locals. The officers were divided into two groups and sent to the Mangalia and Hırsova *kazas*. They organized

the registrations of approximately thirty villages in two districts till November. Because it would be impossible to divide the land during the winter season, public officials' tasks were temporarily postponed.³⁸³

According to ten of the thirty registration books compiled by the officials, the land granted to 1011 emigrant households totaled 110,080 decares. This demonstrates that each family is given approximately 60 to 100 acres of land per pair of oxen.³⁸⁴

IV.II. Tax and Military Service Exemption

With the 1856 Tavattun Regulation, the Ottoman Empire proclaimed that it would grant tax and military service exemptions to people who migrate to its territory after the Crimean War in order to recruit labor and raise its population. Those who settle in Rumelia are excused from military duty and other taxes for six years, while those who settle in Anatolia are exempt for twelve years, according to the regulation. However, in an instruction delivered to the governor of Silistra on May 3, 1856, it was specified that the emigrants who came from the Crimea to the Dobruja region after the war would be excused from tax for ten years and from military duty for twenty years.³⁸⁵ Future immigrants were likewise offered this exemption right. They, like their compatriots who arrived from Crimea in 1860 and were transported to Dobruja to be settled, were exempted from taxation for 10 years and from military duty for twenty.³⁸⁶ This exemption was in existence until July 28, 1860. However, the government reassessed the issue of exemption on this day because the number of emigrants was more than anticipated. The government determined that granting earlier exemptions to more recent arrivals would significantly strain the treasury. As a result, it was decided to reconsider the exemption matter. Accordingly, the state had three possibilities. The first is to change the exemption period for all refugees already; the second is to

³⁸³ Margarita Dobрева, "Circassian Colonization in the Danube Vilayet and Social Integration (Preliminary Notes)", *OTAM*, Spring 2013, p. 15.

³⁸⁴ Danube Newspaper, no: 35, 19 Cemadiyelahir 1282 (9 October 1865).

³⁸⁵ İ.DH. 343- 22622; A.MKT.MHM. 88-64; Eren, *op.cit.*, p. 41-42; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 62.

³⁸⁶ A.MKT.MHM. 188-90; A.MKT.MHM. 188-90; A.MKT.MHM. 188-95; A.MKT.MHM. 185-45.

maintain the privileges accorded to prior arrivals while altering the exemption period for new arrivals, and the third is to remain silent for the time being and act according to the need of time in the future. The first option was to change the exemption period granted to all emigrants, but it was not implemented because the exemption was announced in the official letter sent to the emigrants and what was given could not be taken back. In the second article, if the exemption granted to former immigrants was not extended to new arrivals, the new arrivals would be disappointed. For this reason, this idea also had not been implemented. Instead, the third choice was considered appropriate. Accordingly, the government may reconsider and amend the exemption in the future. Thus, it was thought suitable not to mention the exemption in the official letters to be sent in the future.³⁸⁷

In practice, this decision was implemented following the Great Circassian Migration of 1864. Tithe tax was collected from all those since whose settlement three years past, and from the Ottoman lands except the provinces of Jeddah, Yemen, Baghdad, and Arabia, where no immigrants were settled. Although the tax on grains was explained, no justification was provided for the levy on tobacco. According to notifications, the tobacco tax would be implemented in accordance with the notification that will be issued later.³⁸⁸ Later, with the order sent from the Ministry of Finance to the Varna qaymaqam, it was ordered that tax should be taken from the tobacco. In his letter to the center, Nusret Pasha argued that collecting tobacco taxes from emigrants would have a negative impact on them. He also stated that there had previously been no such production in Dobruja and many other areas, and that the produced tobacco was completely the result of the efforts of the Crimean emigrants. In the telegram he sent to the Porte, the Pasha demanded the prohibition of collecting tobacco tax from the immigrants. In the answer given to Nusret Pasha, it was stated that although it was decided not to collect a tithe from the vegetables, fruits, and other crops that the emigrants planted for their own needs, it was stated that tax should be taken only from the tobacco produced for trade and that this practice was due to the treasury's reimbursement of the expenses incurred for the settlement of the

³⁸⁷ İ.MMS. 19-838; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 167-168.

³⁸⁸ A.MKT.MHM.343-67.

emigrants.³⁸⁹ However, no tax was levied on the tobacco that the locals and emigrants planted up to one acre around their homes.³⁹⁰

Similarly, in 1862 with the order of Nusret Pasha, officers tried to collect taxes, even though the exemption period for Tatar immigrants in Dobrich had not expired. It was planned to use the money earned by selling the grain received from the emigrants in exchange for the tithe tax on the new arrivals. Since the emigrants were free from paying taxes, they protested the collection of taxes and petitioned İstanbul. One of the emigrants Abdülhadis sent a telegraph to İstanbul stating that despite the sultan's promise of exemption from taxation, the officers collected taxes by claiming that it would be spent on the needy, and they did not acquiesce to this condition in any manner. Abdülhadi received a response that they were free from tax. Thus, the government notified local officials that it would be illegal to collect taxes before the exemption period expired, even if the emigrants consent, doing so would incite hate of the emigrants. Upon this situation, Nusret Pasha went to the commission and emphasized in the meeting that tax collection was for the good and welfare of the emigrants and that when he got there, he would persuade the emigrants and take the situation under control. Following Nusret Pasha's visit to Dobrich, qaymaqam of Varna was informed that if Nusret Pasha could persuade the emigrants and make them agree to collect taxes, the tax should be collected, and if he could not consent, the immigrants should not be forced.³⁹¹

Even though the officers were expressly advised not to create difficulties with taxes against emigrants, when Nusret Pasha went to Dobrich, he called the emigrants Abdullah, Selim, Abdülhamid, and Abdülkadir and reprimanded and humiliated them. He stated that the tithe would be collected and stored in warehouses and that the proceeds from their sale would be used to purchase oxen and other products. The qaymaqam of Varna stated in a telegram he sent to İstanbul that collecting a tithe from the profits of the seeds emigrants planted by borrowing money would do nothing but

³⁸⁹ MVL. 1000-67.

³⁹⁰ Danube Newspaper, no:17, 17 Safer 1282 (6 July 1865); Danube Newspaper, no:20, 2 Rebiülevvel 1282 (13 August 1865).

³⁹¹ MVL. 968-13.

irritate them and increase their animosity against the state. The qaymaqam informed the Grand Vizier that the tithe collected from the emigrants was not worth such trouble and violence because nothing would benefit anyone, and he did not comprehend Nusret Pasha's attitude. After the Emigrant Commission considered the qaymaqam's advice, an order was delivered to the Danube region's province governors, qaymaqams, and Nusret Pasha declaring that taxes should not be collected from emigrants unless they consent.³⁹²

Although emigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus were granted tax exemption for ten years during the first phase, the *Majlis-i Ahkam-i Adliye* issued a new decision on exemption on May 24, 1864, as a consequence of discussions in the *Majlis-i Ahkam-i Adliye*. The decision stated that collecting tithes and other taxes from Circassian immigrants was allowed after the three-year settlement period ended. It was anticipated that the taxes collected from emigrants would be spent on them. The Sultan finally confirmed the verdict, and it became official.³⁹³

In 1867, a regulation was drafted about the immigrants from the Crimea, Nogay, and Circassians who had settled in the Danube region in order to establish the principles of the tax to be levied once the majority of the immigrants had settled and became productive. The emigrants were separated into three categories in the regulation: those three years passed after their arrival and whose exemption time had expired, those three years passed after their arrival but whose exemption period had not expired, and those who had not passed three years since their arrival.

Accordingly, since the emigrants in the first part became local people, their taxes would be collected by the district and sanjak administrative councils, as long as the emigrants' exemption period expired. The state would employ special officers to collect the tithe tax, and after expenditures were removed, the remaining money would be remitted to the treasury. Those who are in the second part, that is, those whose exemption period did not expire despite the passage of three years after their

³⁹² MVL. 969-14.

³⁹³ İ.MMS. 28-1220; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 168; Koyuncu, op.cit., p. 688; Ömer Karataş, "Çerkeslerin Sivas Uzunyayla'ya İskânları ve Karşılaştıkları Sorunlar (H.1277-1287/1860-1870)", PhD. diss., (Ege Üniversitesi 2012), p. 90.

settlement, would be recorded and taxed by officers. Because collecting taxes on grass, beehives, and orchards would be difficult; a tithe fee would be collected from them. The tithe was supposed to be exacted from the grains in kind. The harvested grain would be transferred to the sanjak or district centers. The revenues from these taxes would be used to pay the wages for officers who work for emigrants, as well as for the construction of schools, mosques, hospitals and borstal that would be built for emigrants. To handle the issues of the immigrants, a commission was formed in the center of the Danube province. The money left over after paying for the immigrants' expenditures would be transferred to this commission. If the collected income was insufficient to pay costs, the shortfall would be reported to the Sublime Porte. Even though it had not been three years since their arrival, nothing would be expected as a tithe from those included in the third groups, that is, those who had advanced in agriculture, unless they freely offered their tithes.³⁹⁴

İsmail and Hacı İsmail Efendi were tasked with collecting the emigrants' taxes. These two officers were dispatched to the area with a directive in hand. According to the directive, they were required to collect tithe tax from people whose settlements had lasted more than three years, to determine the amount and value of grain obtained in exchange for tithe tax the previous year and investigate where the grain was located. From the collected grain, seed grain for the following year, daily wages for newly arriving emigrants and the destitutes, grain required by school instructors and imams for a year would be separated and the remaining grain would be auctioned, with the proceeds going to the center with a registration book. The remainder of the annual income would be invested in *Menaifi Sandığı* (Public Benefit Funds).³⁹⁵

İsmail Efendi was going to collect taxes starting from the villages of the Constanta and Boğazköy, Hırsova, Macin, Isaccea, Tulcea, Mahmudiye, Babadag, Medgidia and Hacı İsmail would collect taxes from the villages of Varna, Balchik, Dobrich, Mangalia, Kozluca and Silistra. Officers would travel from village to village and record the type and amount of grain in the hands of the emigrants and their estimated cost. Officers were responsible for drawing up tables containing this

³⁹⁴ A.d. 4, p. 20; Dobрева, "Circassian Colonization", p. 18.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

information. The amount, type, and tithe of the grains that were acquired last year and that would be obtained this year would be written in books. If it was discovered that the grain was in the hands of the immigrants when collecting the tithe, it would be quickly collected and sent to warehouses to be rented at existing ports or central kazas. However, there was a taxation issue; emigrants were mixed in certain locations. To put it another way, a village and a neighborhood were intermingled with emigrants from the first, second, and third classes. Thus, there would be significant challenges and uncertainty in determining how and from whom the tax would be collected. That is why, the former was regarded as subordinate to the latter. As a result, if the majority of emigrants in an area were of the first class, and second- and third-class emigrants had been also settled there, they would be taxed in the same manner as the first class. If the majority belonged to the third class and the minority to the first, there would be a distinction between the emigrants, and only those in the first class would be taxed.³⁹⁶

For emigrants settled in farms, the exemption period was also varied. migrants who established in Gallipoli's Börücek and Dukakin farms, for example, were exempted from tithe and other taxes for three years. These exemption periods were shorter since the places where they were placed were more productive than the vacant and abandoned areas. Those settled in farms were given tools and equipment to begin cultivating immediately. They were provided with fixtures and tools available on the farms. As a result, the immigrants were able to produce in a shorter period of time. Emigrants who settled on abandoned or deserted property, on the other hand, had to work harder to make the land arable.

Military service was one of the major issues that emigrants were granted exemption. E migrants were excused from military duty for twenty or twenty-five years on paper. However, once they arrived in Ottoman territory, the immigrants were encouraged to join the army. Military service was one of the easiest jobs for the strong. As a result, some of the emigrants applied for military service on their own.³⁹⁷ In 1861, three immigrants from Varna and four from Constanta petitioned Nusret Bey for military service. In a telegram, Nusret Bey questioned the Grand

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 331-54; A.MKT.NZD. 384-42.

Vizierate about what type of treatment these immigrants should get. In the Grand Viziership's response to Nusret Bey, it was stated that eligible immigrants would be permitted to enlist in the military after producing a guarantor that they would fulfill their military service for five years and would not run away during their military service. It was suggested, however, that the immigrants join the *Dersaadet*, and Rumelian army infantry, cavalry, and artillery divisions positioned on the Shumen, Tirnova, Nish, and Danube coasts, rather than travel to İstanbul. It was suggested that the emigrants could join battalions in or near the areas where they were settled, or the existing troops in the forts. On May 26, 1864, the Grand Viziership wrote to *Tophane-i Amire* that it would be legitimate to recruit volunteer soldiers among the emigrants if necessary for Varna and other castles, but that military recruitment should be based on voluntarism rather than compulsion.³⁹⁸

The Ottoman Empire provided several incentives to emigrants who desired to join the military. Many Meskhetian, Circassian, Dagestani, and Nogay emigrants applied to join the army because of official incentives. Circassian volunteer cavalry battalions were formed.³⁹⁹ Two Circassian cavalry regiments were organized in the Danube area in 1864, and several thousand volunteers gathered in the Danube Province in 1867 to join the army.⁴⁰⁰ However, the documents in the Ottoman archives do not provide much information regarding the immigrants' military service. Due to a lack of data, it is unknown if the reduction of tax periods also applies to military duty. However, Saydam believes that this time frame has also been shortened.⁴⁰¹

IV.III. Passport and Legal Procedure

The citizenship and passport dilemma were one of the issues that arose during the post-Crimean War migrant flows. E migrants from various Russian-ruled

³⁹⁸ A.MKT.MHM. 301-21.

³⁹⁹ Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskanı", p. 7.

⁴⁰⁰ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 174.

⁴⁰¹ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 168.

territories often traveled to the Ottoman Empire without passports. Under the guise of traveling on pilgrimage, Caucasian immigrants appealed to Russian officials for passports and resided in the Ottoman Empire after getting their passports. To avoid this predicament, the Russian authorities, although unable to cease providing passports to Caucasians, only issued passports to tribes that obeyed them and assured their loyalty. Passport applications were refused for persons who did not have reasonable justifications and did not apply for genuine religious reasons.⁴⁰² However, the difficulty of acquiring a passport and migrating to the Ottoman Empire under the guise of going on pilgrimage persisted throughout the 1860s. For example, Gazi Bey, a Circassian prominent, had obtained a passport and traveled to Kars under the guise of a pilgrimage with 76 people following him. Gazi Bey left his family in Kars and traveled to İstanbul with four others. He stated his desire for the government to be relocated by indicating a potential location. The government agreed to the immigrants' demands, and Gazi Bey and his colleagues were dispatched to Sivas for resettlement.⁴⁰³

When Caucasian and Crimean immigrants arrived in the Ottoman Empire, their Russian passports were confiscated, and they were forced to sign a deed in which they relinquished their Russian citizenship and became Ottoman citizens.⁴⁰⁴ They needed a passport to relinquish their Russian citizenship. Because their passports were collected and given to the Russian embassy following their migration to the Ottoman Empire, and it was stated that the emigrants had gained Ottoman citizenship. In fact, the practice of granting citizenship to foreigners was performed not only by the Ottoman Empire, but also by the major powers, particularly Russia. Following the Crimean War, many Ottoman nationals, notably Christians, were eager to get Russian passports. Russia quickly accommodated the requests of individuals seeking citizenship or safety from it in order to draw Ottoman nationals to its own country. In 1860, approximately 50.000 Ottoman subjects were under the protection of foreign states in İstanbul. The

⁴⁰² Murat Topçu, "Arşiv Belgeleri", *Kafkasya Çalışmaları Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, May 2018, V. 3, no. 6, p. 249.

⁴⁰³ A.MKT.UM. 417-66.

⁴⁰⁴ Sağlam, "İstanbul'a Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri", p. 1540.

Ottoman State had repeatedly sent warning letters to foreign embassies in order to prevent this situation.⁴⁰⁵ On April 19, 1858, one of them was written in French and forwarded to the embassies in İstanbul. According to the letter, some Ottoman nationals traveled overseas to get documents from authorities there. When they returned, they were handed protection papers or passports by consuls, and the Ottoman citizens were therefore asked to be withdrawn from their citizenship. According to the letter sent to the embassies, an Ottoman citizen may be allowed to abandon his citizenship by choosing the administration of a state and go elsewhere, but those who do not want Ottoman citizenship and claim foreignness to avoid fulfilling their legal obligations would not be allowed. Furthermore, anyone who relinquished Ottoman citizenship was banished from the Ottoman borders, never to return, and compelled to depart the Ottoman lands.⁴⁰⁶

The Ottomans paid attention to the fact that those who would immigrate to Ottoman lands also needed to have passports. Because emigrants with passports could be registered formally and the Empire would have a response to any future protection claim about Russian nationals who landed in Ottoman territory. Since some of the emigrants did not have passports, Ottoman authorities contacted the Russian Embassy in İstanbul regarding the nationality of the Circassian and Nogay immigrants in order to avoid problems such as Russia's protection claim on the emigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus. However, due to the increased number of immigrants in İstanbul, the immigrants were dispatched to areas where they would be settled before the embassy answered. Following the meeting between the Russian ambassador and the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Russian embassy officially reported to the ministry that Russia did not have the right to protect the immigrants because they relinquished their passports by obtaining a deed stating that they would not renounce their Ottoman nationality.⁴⁰⁷ In addition, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

⁴⁰⁵ Salâhi R. Sonyel, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Koruma (Protege) Sistemi ve Kötüye Kullanılışı", *Bellekten*, V. 55, no: 213, 1991, p. 365-367; İbrahim Serbestoğlu, "Zorunlu Bir Modernleşme Örneği Olarak Osmanlı Tabiiyet Kanunu", *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no: 29, 2011, p. 204.

⁴⁰⁶ HR.İD. 125-3.

⁴⁰⁷ İ.HR. 173-9438; Kafkas Göçleri I, p. 37-38; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 98-99.

through its ambassador in Turkey, Lobanov-Rostovski, on January 26, 1860, gave the following reply to the Porte:

1. We have never, and do not object to, the right of other states to subjugate immigrants from us without the consent of our government.

2. Our Muslims want to be allowed to go to Turkey for pilgrimage, not for settlement. We do not want and cannot oppose the fulfillment of a request based on religious beliefs.

3. Immigration, regardless of state, is prohibited unless approved by the state's government. In this case, there is no need to explain international law.

4. Immigration approval is usually granted in the form of a special written document.⁴⁰⁸

Following the establishment of Russian rule in Crimea in 1856, the majority of emigrants had passports certified by Russian officials. The Russian Pomeschchiks, who initially supported and even promoted Crimean migration, advised Petersburg that passports should not be issued to migrants in order to halt migration owing to a surge in the number of emigrants. As a result of the call of the Pomeschchik, some difficulties were raised in issuing passports to the Tatars.⁴⁰⁹ In March 1860, the Russian government declared that only one-tenth of the population might depart. Tatars were also prohibited from selling their houses until their passports were issued. Many Tatars, however, had ceased cultivating or sold their farms with in expectation of emigrating before receiving their passports. Meanwhile, Russian authorities took unjustly money from migrants in the form of tax debt or charge expense.⁴¹⁰

The provincial administrators submitted the immigrants' passports to the center after obtaining the deed stating that they accepted Ottoman nationality. The passports of the immigrants were confiscated in order to prevent them from subsequently relinquishing their Ottoman citizenship and returning to Russia. Despite the fact that the passports had been seized by the Ottoman authorities, some immigrants attempted

⁴⁰⁸ Topçu, *op.cit.*, p. 252; Arsen Avagyan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kemalist Türkiye'nin Devlet-İktidar Sisteminde Çerkesler*, çev. Ludmilla Denisenko, Belge Yayınları 2004, p. 41-42.

⁴⁰⁹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration", p. 101.

⁴¹⁰ Pinson, "Russian Policy", p. 101; Meyer, *op.cit.*, p. 19; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 85.

to return. Crimean Tatars applied to Russian consulates throughout the empire to return to Russia. The Russian government permitted consulates to grant passports to people desiring to return. However, only passport applications of immigrants who own land in Crimea were approved. The decision on the demands of people who wished to return despite having no land was left to the local officials. Russia gave passports to around 10.000 Tatars between 1861 and 1863 in order for them to return.⁴¹¹

Following the Circassian migration, some Circassians returned to Russia because they did not find what they were looking for in Ottoman lands, while others returned to their own country to bring their relatives in the Caucasus or to take care of personal matters. Those who secretly fled Russian territory without getting a passport, on the other hand, were deemed fugitives by the Russian authorities. When they returned, they were either punished or sent to Siberia. When they returned, they were either punished or sent to Siberia. On January 26, 1865, the Tbilisi Consulate General stated in a letter sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that some of the immigrants had been punished for returning to the Caucasus without having their Ottoman passports issued by Russian officials, and that the Tbilisi Consulate lacked the authority to attempt to deliver them to the Ottoman Empire. He argued that assisting individuals who did not have a visa through unofficial ways would damage both the reputation of the Ottoman Empire and the interests of those who traveled legally, therefore they avoided assisting those who arrived without a visa. Furthermore, he stated that the Consulate will bear no responsibility for the arrest of people who arrive with a visa-free passport. Consul stated that those who attempted to return to their homeland by relying on the Ottoman passport would be subjected to Ottoman moral responsibility due to the harsh treatment they would face. It was stated that such persons should not be given passports unless they do not show proof for the purpose of their travel and that it would be appropriate to advise them not to return to their original homeland. According to the response given to the Consulate General, officers were instructed not to issue passports to persons who did not produce a document regarding their migration, and authorities had been warned.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Meyer, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

⁴¹² HR.TO. 324-29.

When emigrants desired to return to their home country to settle personal matters or bring relatives, they had to apply to the Ottoman authorities for a passport. The applications of those who wanted to temporarily return to their old homeland with their families, on the other hand, were rejected since the houses and lands of those who went with their families would be ruined because they were in another place, and they would face difficulties on their return. Those obtaining a passport were also obliged to provide a guarantee of their return. For example, Es-seyyid Ahmed and Alican, two Crimean emigrants living in Tekfurdağı, asked for permission to travel to Crimea with their families and return within ninety-one days. However, their request to go with their families was refused since it would not comply with the law. Only the immigrants were issued passports and were required to provide a guarantor.⁴¹³

In 1865, rumors circulated that some Tatars were detained when they returned to Crimea to settle their affairs and that other Tatars in Crimea were not given passports. In this case, the Russian embassy was asked why Tatars were jailed, and passports were not provided. The Russian embassy responded that Crimean Tatars are free to request a passport to travel to the Ottoman Empire on the condition that they do not have tax debt; anybody could obtain a passport. Porte was informed that there is no need to prove that the allegations that people went to Crimea to settle their own affairs and were arrested are false because Tatars who came to Crimea would be considered foreign citizens because they had Ottoman passports, and they would not be arrested unless there was an accusation, or they owed money to a Russian citizen.⁴¹⁴

As a result, while there was no agreement on population exchange between the two states, population change could be considered to have occurred in mutual understanding. Russia mostly allowed those who would immigrate to the Ottoman Empire to leave the country by having their passports made, and granted the right of citizenship to the non-Muslim people in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire immediately granted citizenship to citizens who arrived with their passports. However, Russian passports were taken from the immigrants, and those who desired to return to their country to settle unresolved personal matters were granted an Ottoman passport

⁴¹³ A.MKT.MHM. 361-18.

⁴¹⁴ HR.TO.289-22.

by the Ottoman authorities. Russia, on the other hand, treated anyone who returned after leaving their country without a passport or authorization as fugitives and punished them. Those who returned to their home country after receiving an Ottoman passport, on the other hand, were considered foreign nationals.

IV.IV. Assistance to Migrants

Aid to migrants began with the first migration movement following the Crimean War, and both the state and the people shared the responsibility for it. After the war, first assistance was administered in accordance with orders delivered to the Governor of Silistra in 1856. While the state offered land help to the first immigrants, due to budgetary constraints, the responsibility of building dwellings for the newcomers was allocated to the regions surrounding Silistra. Post-war immigrants were not in a strong financial situation because they had to leave their property and livestock behind owing to poor conditions in their homeland. Therefore, the government provided them with food assistance until they could earn a living. Previously, emigrants were given soup, rusks, rice, beans, and meat as nourishment, but after 1859, the help was limited to only bread and soup, and other meals were tried to be delivered to patients.⁴¹⁵ The emigrants who came later are relatively wealthier than the earlier ones since they came by selling their commodities and possessions in their homeland. This decision was reversed following the Circassian mass immigration movement. Again, it was thought appropriate to offer sick immigrants rice for making soup and daily 50 *vukıyye*⁴¹⁶ steaks.⁴¹⁷

With the increase in the number of immigrants and their settlement around the empire, the Emigrant Commission initiated a statewide aid campaign to collect help for immigrants.⁴¹⁸ Citizens of all classes, from peasants to politicians, donated to the

⁴¹⁵ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 156-157.

⁴¹⁶ 1 vukiye = 400 dirhem= 1,2828 kg. See. Walter Hinz, *İslâmda Ölçü Sistemleri*, trans. Acar Sevim, Marmara Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul 1990, p. 30.

⁴¹⁷ A.MKT.MHM. 289-67; A.MKT.MHM. 289-52.

⁴¹⁸ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 969, 17 Cemaziyelahir 1276 (11 January 1860).

Emigrant Commission's countrywide aid campaign.⁴¹⁹ The names of individuals who contributed were published in newspapers to urge others to help. People's donations were used to pay for the emigrants' expenses, such as food, drink, clothes, and shelter.

Many aids were supplied by the local people and the state to address the needs of the emigrants in matters such as of food, housing, agriculture, and animal husbandry. However, the assistance provided to emigrants differed depending on the time, the emigrants' socioeconomic level, and the state's economic conditions. The government had informed the governors and qaymaqams at the start of the migration process that from the time the emigrants entered Ottoman lands until they settled down, two guruh would be given to those over the age of fifteen, and one guruh to those under the age of fifteen as a daily allowance.⁴²⁰ Additionally, it was determined to pay 150 guruh to emigrants above the age of fifteen, and 75 guruh to those under the age of fifteen for once.⁴²¹ While some of this money was given to immigrants before they left for their new homes, others were paid once when they arrived.⁴²²

One-third of the immigrants who arrived in İstanbul were considered destitute, and they were given one gursuh daily wage for ten days as food assistance. The ten-day period was chosen because it was anticipated that they would be dispatched to the provinces within ten days. This period was then extended to twenty days as a result of the immigrants' complaints and Hafız Pasha's wish to avert these complaints. Food aid supplied to emigrants for an average of 8-10 months since the end of 1860.⁴²³

On 13 July 1860, the *Majlis-i Mahsus* decided to make a change in the aid given to the emigrants. The reason for this shift was that the number of immigrants was rising daily, and the treasury was not able to support new arrivals as previously due to the precarious situation. The emigrants would no longer be granted daily allowance, one

⁴¹⁹ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 971, 2 Receb 1276 (25 January 1860; According to the newspapers, many statesmen and non-Muslims contributed to the aid campaign. See. Ceride-i Havadis, 10 Receb 1276 (2 February 1860; Ceride-i Havadis, 10 Zilhicce 1276 (29 June 1860).

⁴²⁰ Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, "XIX. Yüzyılda Konya Eyaleti'nde Nogay Muhaciri İskânı", *Konya Kitabı XVII Geçmişten Günümüze Göçler*, ed. Alaattin Aköz, Doğan Yörük ve Haşim Karpuz, V. II, Konya Ticaret Odası, p. 74.

⁴²¹ A.MKT. 185-45; A.MKT.MHM. 188-90; A.MKT.UM. 389-70; A.MKT.UM. 417-30.

⁴²² A.MKT.UM. 417-37.

⁴²³ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 157.

yoke of oxen for each family, or assistance in building a house, as was the case last year, but merely enough land and for the poor grain would be given. Within a week in July, the number of emigrants who arrived in Varna and Vidin had reached 10.000, and 30.000 more were expected to come. Most of the emigrants were relatively affluent individuals who could sell their lands in Crimea. As a result, it was decided that the assistance provided to other emigrants should not be extended to them.⁴²⁴

Because the state only assisted the poor among the emigrants, some people asked assistance by presenting themselves as needy in order to benefit from the aid even if they did not need it economically, and these people exploited the state's goodwill. For example, all of the immigrants settled in the Lom region asked that they be given assistance since they were in need. The governor of Vidin notified the Porte that a headmen had been selected and required investigation had been conducted to determine who truly needed assistance, although everyone declared that they did.⁴²⁵ Upon this situation, the notables, teachers, and chiefs of the immigrants were summoned to the Assembly and they were informed of the events in an appropriate language. A clerk was also dispatched to the district to inspect the immigrant settlements. When the clerk arrived at their village, he wanted to discern between those in good condition and those who were not, as instructed, and he wanted to register the emigrants. When emigrants responded to clerk as *“When we left the Crimea and came to Deraliyye, rich men among us were placed in Dobruja and other areas, and the poor were told that they should go to the Vidin Sanjak. Because we are poor people, and none of us has economic wellness, we can not afford to buy anything to maintain our own and our animals' lives. Since we do not have the power to buy anything, we are people in need of charity and benevolence from our sultan, if no feed is given for our animals, we will sell our clothes and spend them”*, the clerk went to the Assembly and expressed the situation. The notables of the emigrants were summoned to the Assembly once more, and, when asked to inform about who was economically powerful. However, a right answer could not be acquired. Although it was believed that there were about twenty or thirty wealthy families among the

⁴²⁴ İ.MMS. 19-838; Dündar, op.cit., p. 143-144.

⁴²⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 411-9.

emigrants, it was nearly impossible to distinguish between the rich and the poor. Thus the case was presented to the Sultan for a decision.⁴²⁶

When the emigrants were sent to their settlement areas, they stayed with their fellow countrymen, with the locals in the village or town, or temporarily at inns and stores until their dwellings are erected. Some of the immigrants were housed in tents, madrasas, and other suitable locations provided by the center.⁴²⁷ Local residents occasionally paid for the expenditures of emigrants staying at inns and stores. For example, the cost of the rented places for the emigrants sent to Edirne was 101,590 gurush. The people of Edirne had paid this fee voluntarily.⁴²⁸

In 1861, 31,977 gurush of charity were collected from local officials and the public for the Circassian and Nogay emigrants who had settled in the Nish sanjak. On the other hand, Thessalonians took the emigrants from the pier and carried them to their destinations for free, hosting them in their homes until the building of their houses in the villages of Karaca Ağaç and Göl Pınar was built.⁴²⁹ Also, wood, lentils, beans, salt, and onions, were given to 3,955 emigrants who were sent to be resettled in the province of Vidin, and feed, bran, straw, and other materials were given to emigrants who own animals.⁴³⁰

The emigrants' housing needs were largely satisfied with the help of the people and the authorities. Occasionally the state and sometimes the people paid the emigrants' rent or hosted them in their own houses. However, the task and expense of constructing housing for the emigrants was shared mostly by the people. While the government provided the land for the home, the people paid for its construction. For example, in Vidin's Vratsa *kaza*, locals built 532 houses for emigrant settlement. The state appreciated this action of the local people, and it was deemed appropriate to be

⁴²⁶ A.MKT.UM. 553-34.

⁴²⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 325-26.

⁴²⁸ Ceride-i Havadis, no 1021, 25 Cemaziyelahir 1277 (8 January 1861).

⁴²⁹ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1025, 23 Receb 1277 (4 February 1861); For more examples of aid to migrants by residents and officials see. Tiryaki, "Muhacir İskânı", p. 117-120.

⁴³⁰ Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 610, 23 Ramazan 1277 (4 April 1861).

publish and announce it in the newspapers.⁴³¹ Also, in the sanjak of Sofia, 1.200 houses were built free of charge for the refugees of Crimea.⁴³²

Locals constructed 1.071 houses for the 4.294 individuals who settled in Shumen Sanjak, and some grain was sown to feed the emigrants. 185 of the 280 pairs of oxen necessary for the emigrants were purchased, with the remainder supplied from somewhere.⁴³³ 10.000 dwellings were erected in Tirnova and Svishtov for the emigrants, and 6.000 acres of various grains were planted by the locals to meet the needs of the newcomers. Furthermore, the people took on the transportation of the goods of the emigrants who arrived from Varna, Balchik, and Constanta and were transferred to Nikopol, Pleven, Servi, Rahova, and Sofia kazas. The locals paid the sum of all these expenses, 1.063.892 gurush.⁴³⁴ These supports to emigrants were at such a high level that inhabitants of Vranje *kaza* had purchased the Peterce Farm and donated it to the roughly 500 emigrants from the Perekop.⁴³⁵

The region's prominent families also helped the refugees. For example, house construction was needed for the 2.500 people who had settled in Vidin's Rahova *kaza*. However, due to a shortage of lumber in the area, construction of buildings was difficult. Genç Osman Ağa, a descendant of one of Rahova's old dynasties, had pledged to finance the cost of building and other essential supplies for 150 houses. Similarly, İskender Ağa, Ferhad Ağa, Mehmed Bey, and Hacı Osman Ağa, who were among the *kaza*'s notables, promised to build twenty-one dwellings.⁴³⁶ The houses built for the emigrants are generally planned to have two rooms and a sofa or enough rooms for the household and animal barns on the ground floor of the houses. It was

⁴³¹ İ.DH. 473-31709.

⁴³² Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1058, 17 Rebiülevvel 1278 (22 September 1861); Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 622, 23 Rebiülahir 1278 (28 October 1861).

⁴³³ A.MKT.UM. 503-57.

⁴³⁴ A.MKT.UM. 491-29.

⁴³⁵ A.MKT.NZD. 363-55; A.MKT.NZD. 368-53. For more examples of public assistance, see: A.MKT.NZD. 365-3; A.MKT.NZD. 371-32; A.MKT.UM. 495-36; A.MKT.UM. 497-97; İ.DH. 478-32144.

⁴³⁶ A.MKT.UM. 492-53; A.MKT.UM. 495-36.

allowed to build rooms adjacent to or separate from the house for slaves and concubines who were with the emigrants.⁴³⁷

The government took three distinct stances on the construction of house for emigrants. The first is that dwellings be built for emigrants between 1856 and 1859, the second that emigrants build their own houses between 1860 and 1861, and the third that the expense of building a house, at least in the form of a hut, be paid, albeit on a modest scale, beginning in the middle of 1861.⁴³⁸

The emigrants were given between 60 and 120 acres of land to plow with a couple of oxen, depending on the fertility of the soil, according to the 1856 regulation. After the land distribution was finished, the state's next responsibility was to make the newcomers productive. It was critical to provide oxen to the emigrants together with the land as quickly as feasible.⁴³⁹ In the instruction, it had been stated that each family should receive one yoke of oxen. However, the authorities changed their minds about the oxen to be given to the emigrants later on. On July 13, 1860, the *Majlis-i Mahsus* decided not to distribute oxen to the Crimean emigrants since they were not in the same economic circumstances as the previous ones.⁴⁴⁰ But, on June 16, 1861, a new regulation establishing the principles to be applied to emigrants was released. This new regulation changed the idea about the oxen given to emigrants. It was specified in the regulation that one yoke of oxen would be supplied to every two families.⁴⁴¹ Although the directive specified that a pair of oxen would be distributed to two families, this was not the case in reality. For example, Ahmed Fehim, qaymaqam of Tırnova, had informed the Porte that since the houses of 1.000 emigrants who settled in Tırnova were built by the locals, it would be more appropriate to give one yoke of oxen to every five families because the locals helped the emigrants in all matters and it would not cost the treasury too much.⁴⁴² In a letter sent to Vidin Governor Said Pasha, Silistra

⁴³⁷ Paşaoğlu, "Nogay Muhaciri İskânı", p. 80.

⁴³⁸ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 164.

⁴³⁹ A.MKT.UM. 453-99.

⁴⁴⁰ İ.MMS: 19-838; İ.DH. 406-30579.

⁴⁴¹ İ.MVL. 457-10507; A.MKT.UM. 509-91.

⁴⁴² MVL. 934-26; A.MKT.UM 496-12.

Governor Arif Pasha, Tirnova qaymaqam Fehim Pasha and Tulcea governor on 16 July 1861, it was requested that one of every four emigrant families, whose settlements were decided in the sanjaks of Vidin, Silistra, Tulcea, Tirnova, Sofia, Varna, Shumen, Constanta, Medgidia and Hezargrad, should be given a pair of oxen and that necessary actions be taken about the supply of these oxen.⁴⁴³

The state was quite sensitive to the issue of ox supplies. On April 18, 1862, a letter was sent to all the sanjaks and provinces with emigrants, stating that due to the time of agriculture approached, the seeds and oxen to be given to the emigrants had to be given as soon as possible, or the situation would harm the treasury because the emigrants would ask for provisions.⁴⁴⁴ However, the state was having trouble procuring oxen. The governor of Vidin notified the Governor of Varna, Mehmed, in a letter dated September 23, 1861, that pairs of oxen were sold from 500 to 600 gurush in Vidin and that if a man was sent, a large number of oxen might be purchased.⁴⁴⁵ A year later, on July 4, 1862, it was reported in a document that the number of emigrants that could be settled in Sofia was close to 1.200 households with a population of 6.000, and that the oxen required for emigrants could be acquired for between 850 and 1.000 gurush.⁴⁴⁶ Oxen prices have risen by over 70%. This explains why the state reduced the number of oxen provided to emigrants from one pair for every two families to one pair for every four families. Also, the state ordered that animals whose owners could not be found be given to emigrants rather than sold.⁴⁴⁷

In some places, emigrants asked that the state supply them with new pair of oxen since their animals perished. However, the state feared that if she accepts this demand, some emigrants will chop or sell their animals which would cause them to want animals again. In that situation, the state would have to give animals to everyone again. Therefore, authorities did not accept emigrants' requests. But it was notified to the authorities in the places where migrants were settled that those who were deprived

⁴⁴³ A.MKT.MHM. 226-25.

⁴⁴⁴ A.MKT.UM. 556-19.

⁴⁴⁵ MVL. 936-31.

⁴⁴⁶ A.MKT.UM. 485-33.

⁴⁴⁷ A.MKT.UM. 522-20.

of agriculture because his animal had died and could not afford to buy a new ox because he was impoverished, should be assisted as much as possible.⁴⁴⁸

Farmers were not the only ones who benefited from government assistance; craftsmen also were assisted. For example, it was ordered to Varna Qaymaqam Aşir Bey to supply necessary aid to a person called Hacı Derviş, who had arrived in Varna from the Crimean town Karasu, as well as other craftsmen who wanted to rent a shop and a house in the city. The aid to the craftsmen was 150 guruh, the equivalent of the seeds and oxen given to the farmer.⁴⁴⁹

After the settlement of emigrants, the state continued to care about the emigrants' well-being. For instance, due to the dry weather in 1863, the emigrants in the Kozluca area of the Varna sanjak could not harvest the seed they sowed. For this reason, they alerted the state that they needed aid and requested assistance. Considering the emigrants' conditions, the authorities decided to offer them provisions and seed assistance. However, the amount in return for this aid would be taken from them later, when their crops are plentiful.⁴⁵⁰ A similar thing happened in 1866 when Circassian emigrants settled in the Gilan, Pristina, and Vulchitrin areas. Due to the drought, the emigrants were destitute since they were unable to grow enough crops for themselves. Upon this situation, the government documented the amount of grain produced by the emigrants and supplied enough grain seeds to each family. Animals were also provided to people whose animals died due to animal illness. Following correspondence between the Prizren Assembly and the Ministry of Finance, it was determined to provide half a daily allowance until the next harvest for individuals who were unable to get a crop. Furthermore, it was decided to purchase oxen through municipal councils for individuals whose animals died and to recover the expenditures from the emigrants in stages once they were registered in the book.⁴⁵¹

Following the massive Circassian migrations in 1863-1864, a study was conducted in the Danube region under the leadership of Midhat Pasha to determine the

⁴⁴⁸ A.MKT.UM. 809-31; A.MKT.UM. 809-32; A.MKT.UM. 810-16.

⁴⁴⁹ A.MKT.DV. 199-79.

⁴⁵⁰ MVL. 962-51.

⁴⁵¹ Tiryaki, "Muhacirlerin İskânı", p. 101.

processes to be followed regarding the emigrants. On February 12, 1865, a draft was transmitted to the Porte with the signature of Midhat Pasha, stating that a new instruction should be drafted for the emigrants. This subject was debated in the *Majlis-i Mahsus*, and a fourteen-article ordinance was drafted.⁴⁵² The first article of the ordinance identifies the three most urgent requirements of emigrants: shelter, food and agricultural tools, and craft equipment for their livelihood. Although the buildings necessary for the immigrants had been erected with the cooperation of the people in most locations, the houses of the emigrants who arrived later were incomplete or could not be built. That is why it was asked from the officers that construction of newly arriving immigrants' dwellings and incomplete homes be completed as of March and not leave emigrants on the streets.⁴⁵³ The ordinance divided emigrants into four categories depending on their economic conditions and determined the amount of assistance to be supplied. The matters such as to whom and how the state would help also was stated in the ordinance.⁴⁵⁴

Not only the local Muslim people but also the non-Muslim people are also involved in helping the emigrants. For example, on July 20, 1864, the Tirnova Assembly had promised to build 1.100 houses for Circassian emigrants, and it was stated that both Muslim and non-Muslim individuals would contribute.⁴⁵⁵ Similarly, the Muslim and non-Muslim residents of Servi *kaza* left 292.000 gurush to the treasury, which was the cost of the lumber needed for the construction of houses for the emigrants.⁴⁵⁶ 52 houses were erected in various villages for 191 emigrant families staying as guests in Plovdiv Sanjak's Çırpan *kaza*. The locals donated wheat, grain, and barley to the emigrants. Also, enough wood was given to the emigrants to build houses in non-forested areas. For each emigrant household, a land that is eligible to plow twenty kilos of seed was separated and the land was plowed for free.

⁴⁵² İ.MMS. 133-5690.

⁴⁵³ İ.MMS. 133-5690; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 370.

⁴⁵⁴ For the details of the ordinance see chapter III, p. 89-91.

⁴⁵⁵ İ.DH. 528-36490.

⁴⁵⁶ MVL. 999-10.

Furthermore, it was agreed to purchase a pair of oxen for future emigrants who would not afford to buy. Despite the fact that the entire cost of all these expenditures for the emigrants was anticipated to be 284.200 gurush, locals delivered a letter to the center that they wish to pay for this expense. Except for the Muslim seals, the letter contains the seals of delegates from the Greek, Jewish, Armenian, and Bulgarian nations. As evidenced by the seals and the text of the paper, non-Muslims and Muslims worked together to assist the emigrants.⁴⁵⁷

In addition to accommodation, health, and agricultural assistance, emigrants were also given clothes. The government and the people purchased shoes and clothes for the emigrants. Nusret Pasha asked from the Porte for several thousand sets of clothes for the almost 3.000 migrants who arrived in Constanta on May 25, 1864.⁴⁵⁸ The Porte provided old military clothing to be distributed to Circassians who arrived in Trabzon.⁴⁵⁹ The emigrants received clothes from Constanta, Varna, Trabzon, and Samsun warehouses.⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, in a letter written by the Tekfurdağı *Majlis* to the Emigrant Commission on 14 November 1864, it was stated that the majority of the Circassian refugees who arrived in Tekfurdağı to be settled were needy and sick, and it was requested that enough winter clothes be provided for them. According to the previously accepted procedure by the commission, just a quarter of the emigrants were deemed poor, and necessary garments were sent to them. The number of emigrants in Tekfurdağı was 6.741. Although the commission suggested sending just a quarter of the emigrants' clothing, Kazım Bey, the qaymaqam of Tekfurdağı, remarked that all of the emigrants were destitute and in need of assistance and that at least adequate clothing should be supplied.⁴⁶¹ Similarly, Midhat Pasha requested in a letter to the Porte in 1865 that garments be provided from İstanbul to the emigrants, and if this was

⁴⁵⁷ İ.DH. 504-34308.

⁴⁵⁸ A.MKT.MHM. 301-16.

⁴⁵⁹ Çiçek, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁶⁰ Cuthell, *op.cit.*, p. 207.

⁴⁶¹ MVL. 1005-72.

not feasible, permission should be given to manufacturing the clothes in the Danube province.⁴⁶²

Unlike previous emigrants, aid to Circassians reached worldwide levels. In London, a charity council was formed to address the needs of Circassians.⁴⁶³ England declared that it may help the Ottoman Empire by providing biscuits (peksimet) to the Circassians if they were overwhelmed by starvation. England sent 4.960 sacks of biscuits worth 5.000 *sterling* to İstanbul for delivery to Circassians.⁴⁶⁴ Also, the Circassians were also assisted by the American Women's Association in İstanbul.⁴⁶⁵

In 1863, the Ottoman Empire held a grand exhibition. Agricultural and craft implements from England and France were displayed in this exhibition. Following the exhibition, the materials were transported to İstanbul and tested in the Sultan's presence before being purchased and placed at Darülfünun. Vidin Governor Mehmed Raşid urged the Porte that it would be beneficial for each of these tools to be used in front of the farmer immigrants and on the land allotted to the emigrants. The center was informed that, in addition to the tools, a man would have to be sent to instruct them how to use them and that the expense of this may be deducted from the funds put aside for the purchase of animals and agricultural implements. The following items were dispatched from the center:⁴⁶⁶

Table VII. Tools sent to the Governor of Vidin for the emigrants

Tool	Amount	Price	Number
Tool for reaping wheat, barley and aleph	1	3300	391
Another type	2	0000	002
For splitting barley and other grains fed to animals	1	0690	004
To thresh	2	5500	005
To winnow grain	2	1430	006

⁴⁶² İ.MMS. 133-5690.

⁴⁶³ HR.MKT. 488-47; Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 753, 15 Muharrem 1281 (20 June 1864); Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 755, 29 Muharrem 1281 (4 July 1864)

⁴⁶⁴ Çiçek, *op.cit.*, p. 74-75.

⁴⁶⁵ Cuthell, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

⁴⁶⁶ A.MKT.MHM. 313-54.

Table cont'd

Plough	1	0000	007
Another type of plough	1		008
Another type of plough	1	000	009
Plow wheel	1	000	010
Harrow	2	000	011
Grubber	2	000	012
Seed sowing device	1	000	014
Cotton machine from Heslam Factory			
Big	1		
Small	1		
Hand sieve	1		
Sample cantilevered pivot bearing	1		
Cotton machine	6		
Propeller for motion transmission	1		
Meat grinder	1		

The government swiftly developed answers to the issues the emigrants had faced while traveling to the areas where they would be settled. In November 1864, 1,500 Circassian emigrants crossed the Danube to settle between Svistov and Tırnova. However, due to transportation and settlement issues caused by weather conditions, the emigrants were taken off the ferries and placed in state-owned empty barracks for temporary residency. Qaymaqam İbrahim Bey aided the emigrants by delivering soup and other foods from his own home twice a day, in the evening and in the morning. Four days later, with the weather change good, the Circassians set out again for their resettlement place.⁴⁶⁷

Although the state had changed its mind about building houses for emigrants, dwellings were also constructed for Abaza emigrants who arrived after 1865 and were also assigned daily allowance. According to a letter sent from the Sofia council to the Viziership, 8,820 Abaza emigrants had been sent to the region. Among the emigrants, 545 families were sent to the center of Sofia, 127 families to the Radomir *kaza*, 151 to the Breznik *kaza*, 190 families to the Zlatitsa *kaza*, 192 families to Kyustendil *kaza*, 334 families to the Samakov *kaza*, and 106 families sent to the Dobnice *kaza*. According to the letter, 175 households were placed in dwellings built in the *kaza* of

⁴⁶⁷ Tercüman-ı Ahval, no: 569, 22 Cemaziyevvel 1281 (23 October 1864; Tiryaki, "Muhacirlerin İskânı", p. 90.

Ihtiman, and the families received food due to the poor economic situation of the emigrants.⁴⁶⁸

In conclusion, it is observed that the Ottoman Empire provided help from the first wave of migration to the final wave, although the amount of aid granted varied depending on the financial circumstances and economic conditions of the emigrants. In terms of help, the commission has ensured collaboration and coordination between the state and the public, making it simpler for emigrants to get assistance. The state did not sever ties with the emigrants after they were settled, and when help was required, it was offered to the emigrants after they were placed. During the Circassian exodus, aid campaigns organized by the Emigrant Commission reached an international level, and the emigrants received numerous helps.

IV.V. Problems Encountered

IV.V.I. Slavery Among the Emigrants

Slavery was a common practice in Ottoman society, although Islam highly recommends the manumission of slaves. Slavery and the slave trade were legal terms approved by Ottoman laws.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, we can see black and white slaves in Ottoman society used for different services. While girls were taken to the imperial harem and educated in there and then married off to high officials, boys were taken for the Ottoman household or army. African slaves were used for domestic and agricultural services.⁴⁷⁰ For a long-time source of the slaves was wars. When the expansion of the state halted, the procurement source of the slave had changed from war to trade. In this chapter, after explaining the change in perception of slavery during the *Tanzimat*

⁴⁶⁸ MVL. 999-8.

⁴⁶⁹ Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 94

⁴⁷⁰ For more information see Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Köle Emeği", *Doğu Batı: Makaleler II* (Ankara: Doğu Batı, 2009), p. 123-153.

Period, it will be dwelled on slavery and slave trade among emigrants settled in Ottoman Europe between the years of 1860-1865.⁴⁷¹

Until at the turn of the 19th century the idea of limiting slavery or abolishing the slave trade was never thought by statesmen, but in the *Tanzimat* period, the perception of slavery started to change thanks to the British efforts. Efforts of British forced Ottoman statesmen to reconsider the situation in the 1840s. Thus, in the *Tanzimat* period, the perception of the slavery and the slave trade started to change.⁴⁷² At the end of 1846, two significant steps against slavery were taken by Sultan Abdülmecit. First was the prohibition of the African slave trade in the Persian Gulf and second, was the abolition of the slave market in İstanbul. The first was the result of British efforts and the second was the initiative of the sultan.⁴⁷³ These steps were significant for the dissatisfaction against slave institution in the empire since they show us a change in mind about slavery. On December 11, 1846, the Sultan accepted the Council's recommendations and sent order to the governor of Baghdad prohibiting slave traffic into Ottoman ports in the Persian Gulf. The firman issued to Hacı Mehmet Necip Pasha, the Governor of Baghdad, is significant because it is the first to forbid the slave trade of Africans to an Ottoman province in any way. In the firman it is stated that under the Ottoman banner, there will be no slave trade, and the Imperial Navy will send ships to the Bay of Basra to enforce this prohibition. Slave-trading vessels will be seized by the Ottoman Navy or British warships sailing in the area, and will be handed over to Ottoman port authorities.⁴⁷⁴

In August 1854, the British Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in collaboration with the French Embassy, requested that the Porte outlaw the slave traffic from the Georgian and Circassian shores, as well as the sale of these slaves across the Empire. He claimed that the trading in both groups was utterly unjustified. The enslavement of Christian Georgians was insulting to the Sultan's Christian allies,

⁴⁷¹ David Cameron Cuthell Jr, *The Muhacirin Komisyonu: An Agent in the Transformation of Ottoman Anatolia 1860-1866*, PhD. Thesis, (Columbia University, 2005), p. 231-232.

⁴⁷² Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression: 1840-1890*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 92.

⁴⁷³ Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 99.

⁴⁷⁴ Toledano, op. cit., p. 101-102.

without whose support the Turkish Empire's very survival would be jeopardized, while the enslavement of Muslim Circassians was not legal from an Islamic perspective.⁴⁷⁵ The request of the allies was discussed in the Ottoman *Majlis-i Mahsus* on 18 September 1854. Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha represented a report to the sultan according to which white slave trade in the Black Sea had risen to a higher level compared to pre-war level, and something must be done to restrict it. It was essential in two ways. First, it was crucial to appease the Allies, who had long advocated for abolishing slavery. Second, both the Georgian and Circassian branches of the white slave trade in the Black Sea, according to the Grand Vezir, should be considered unlawful. He noted that the Georgian slave trade had long since died out. The Georgians had not been enslaved or brought in as slaves for a long time. Those Georgians who did make it to the Ottoman marketplaces were kidnapped, unlike the Circassians, who had the abnormal habit of selling their relatives as slaves. He said it was not appropriate to sell believers of other religions, let alone Circassians who were members of the Muslim people.⁴⁷⁶

In line with the opinions of the Mehmed Pasha, the *Majlis-i Mahsus* proposed that two firmans should be sent to Mustafa Pasha, Commander of the Imperial Army in Batum. First, firman stated that the slave trade in Georgia is illegal, and there will be harsh penalties for both the seller and the buyer. The other instructed the Commander to inform the Circassians that selling their children and relatives was immoral and should be avoided.⁴⁷⁷ During the Crimean War, the white slave trade diminished thanks to the British and French efforts. But, Porte could not dare to abolish or ban the slave trade all around the empire.

In 1857, black slavery was prohibited in the Empire, and the Empire officially abandoned its previous policy of providing African slaves.⁴⁷⁸ While black slavery was abolished by the Porte, Circassian slavery and slave trade gradually increased due to weak control and the unwillingness of Ottoman authorities to suppress it. Massive

⁴⁷⁵ Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 102.

⁴⁷⁶ Toledano, *op.cit*, p. 118-119; Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 103.

⁴⁷⁷ Toledano, *ibid*, p. 119; Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 103-104.

⁴⁷⁸ Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 112.

emigration wave started just after the Crimean War reached its peak between 1860-1862 and 1863-1865 caused the slavery to flourish in the Ottoman market since slaves were a part of emigrants' household.

Tatar, Nogay, Circassian, and Dagestani people from the Crimea and the Caucasus had slaves in their homeland and brought their slaves with them when they immigrated to the Ottoman Empire. There was a class society structure among the Circassians and Dagestanis. Also, the slave trade had an important place in the socio-economic structure of both the Crimea and the Caucasus. First, the Crimean Tatars, Nogays, and later the Circassian and Dagestani people emigrated to the empire. Hence the first incidents faced by the Emigrant Commission regarding the slaves were among the Nogays. However, since the population of Circassians, who migrated to the empire, was higher than the others and the number of slaves was a sign of prosperity in Circassian society,⁴⁷⁹ the incidents faced by the state regarding slavery were mostly about Circassian slaves.

With the establishment of the Emigrant Commission in 1860, commission took over the duty of handling the problems of the emigrants. One of these problems was the slavery among the emigrants. According to Toledano the Emigration Commission principally dealt with four sorts of slavery and slave trade issues in the early 1860s:

A-The Commission's primary responsibility was to oversee and aid the settling of immigrants and supply them with the resources they needed to cultivate the land and establish their homes.

B- Then, there was the settling of disputes between master and slave that had developed among the immigrants. Many of these disagreements centered on the slave's claim that he was free and not a member of the slave class. Slave owners also reported cases of runaway slaves to the commission. In other instances, emigrants petitioned the Commission to issue orders compelling slaves to obey their masters (*itaat*). Slave crimes, particularly murder and robbery, were brought before the Commission, and its assistance was requested. Slaves, on the other hand, sought recourse for their grievances by petitioning the commission when they were mistreated.

⁴⁷⁹ Ömer Karataş, "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'ne İskân Olunan Çerkes Toplumunda Sosyal Sınıflaşma ve Kölelik," *Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (March 1, 2013), p. 408.

C-Sensing the Ottoman government's inability to enforce the law strictly during that period of transition, powerful and privileged immigrants committed excesses and abuses against their weaker and nonprivileged kin. Individuals who belonged to the free classes and were not strong enough to defend themselves sold to slave dealers.

D-Aside from these three types of activity, the commission dealt with issues relating to the slave trade in individual immigrants, which slave dealers pursued.⁴⁸⁰

Circassians had a custom of selling their relatives and daughters as slaves. Especially destitute families were selling their children to pay transportation fees at the ports in Russia.⁴⁸¹ Slave-dealers were accosting families as they entered Ottoman territory and offering money or food in exchange for the emigrants' children, mainly their young women. Deprived of any subsistence, emigrants were obliged to sell their children to live on. In their mind, their children were already in a miserable situation, and by chance, if bought by a conscientious man their life could be better than their current situation and the need for money to provide for the necessary stuff can be solved in this way. Also, the government was compelled to tolerate the selling of those who are content to be sold and bought. Because in this way indigent emigrants could meet their needs. However, the sale of those who are freestock (*hür al-asl*) and abducted from somewhere had banned.⁴⁸² Because it was against the religious laws and humanity.

On 24 June 1860, an official letter was sent to provinces where emigrants are settled. It is stated that cases of slavery and freedom of slaves are to be discussed in the center of the province and the *sancak* councils. After the investigation of the situation by the council, the final decision would be given. Also, it was requested officials not to say anything to sale of those who were previously slaves and under someone's command but prevent the openly trading of slaves.⁴⁸³ In these kinds of incidents, the commission did not play a part. Instead, it acted in support of the courts by executing court orders or intervening when and where the courts failed.

⁴⁸⁰ Toledano, op. cit., p. 153-155.

⁴⁸¹ MVL. 861-69.

⁴⁸² A.MKT.MHM. 309-25.

⁴⁸³ A.MKT.MHM. 186-34; A.MKT.UM. 422-43.

The Emigrant Commission and its officers are involved in matters such as sheltering, settling, provisioning of basic needs of emigrants and their slaves while local officers handled cases between slaves and their owners, which arose through slave disobedience and abuse. Such an incident occurred in the Tekke village of Varna, where twenty-one slaves live. The masters of slaves named Hacı Batık, Hacı Basic, and İshak came to the village and beat some of the slaves and threatened them by saying, “*I am going to sell your children.*” Two Circassian slaves, named Mehmed and Abdullah⁴⁸⁴ went to İstanbul as the attorneys of their relatives. They presented a petition to Porte in which they were complaining about the pounding and humiliation of their masters against them. They asked that an order be written to the governor of Varna for their salvation from slavery with the blessing of Porte. Also, they wanted their masters to be banned from selling their daughters since she was engaged to someone. The petition was forwarded to the Emigrant Commission. The president of the commission wrote a letter to Aşır Bey, qaymaqam of Varna, for the reconciliation of the sides.⁴⁸⁵

The authority to make all decisions regarding the status of Circassian slaves belonged to the Circassian *Bey*, who was the slave owner. *Beys* who owned slaves and concubines in Circassian tribes could free or sell the slaves if they wished. But sometimes this situation was prevented by the state. Especially if the slaves were married or old enough the sales were rendered invalid.

Circassian emigrants sent a petition consisted of twenty-six articles to Porte on 31 January 1861. In the petition, seven articles, from nineteenth to twenty-six, are related to the slavery. As understood from the petition, foreign interference on the slavery and their dissatisfaction about the ownership of slavery among the Circassian emigrants disturbed emigrants. Hence, they were trying to justify their ownership of slaves and explaining the slaves’ situation in their society. In the petition they wrote that:

⁴⁸⁴ The first document shows that Mehmed bin Mustafa and Abdullah wrote the letter. However, in the letter sent to Varna qaymakam erroneously, names were written as Köle(slave) Mehmed and Mustafa.

⁴⁸⁵ A.MKT.DV.181-59.

“Circassian people owned slaves since the old times and this slavery is in no way comparable to the slavery in America, Europe and far regions of Africa. We don’t treat slaves in a way against humanity. Instead, we treat them delicately as it is permitted and restrained by the Sharî Laws (religious laws). Also, we give our slaves so many permissions. Slavery in our society is not the kind that foreigners object. Since the past, we employ slaves in agricultural production and supply them necessary tools as oxen, seed drills and other agricultural equipments to plough according to the modus among us. In conformity with result of yields, we take out the tithe and the fee of the seed. The rest of the money is divided equally between us.

Besides that, after supplying basic needs for us, we give tools and equipments to slaves to use for their own benefit, and whatever they earn with these tools, they use it their own benefit. Even some of the slaves, with the permission and help of their master, have become more prosperous than their masters.

Unmarried ones among our slaves, if both parties agree, are married to the daughters of other slave families. In accordance with our customs, the price of the girl is paid by slaveholder with his own possession.

Except for these slave families, we also have domestic concubines in our language called “*donaşse-i vet.*” These are excluded from the aforementioned conditions, and they are in a position similar to the Ottoman concubines and *gulams*. This is the slavery that we have, and we want to live in this way in the Ottoman Empire. We abandoned all of our money and properties to leave for the empire, and we believed that during the refuge government accepted our old customs and would let us maintain them.

Some foreign and local officers, who have no discernment and have factious thoughts, and know no codes, and order, urge slaves to rise against their master. By chasing them, we become vagabonds, and because of this, we have been caught to detriment and devastation. Also, a considerable shortage has occurred to the tithe of the state.

We also dare to say that: even though we hear that for a long time, slavery is abolished, and the sale of a slave is prohibited, we see no prohibition of the sale of slaves. Even last year, old commander in chief (*sâbık ser-asker*) Hüseyin Avni Pasha gave Şuluğ, who is a member of Circassian emigrants, a commandment for not to be opposed to

the sale of slaves. He also sent him to *Aziziye Sancak* to bring five concubines for his household.⁴⁸⁶

As it is understood from the petition, Circassians were not happy about the ban on sale of slaves. Rather, they were complaining about the situation since it was contradictory to what was pledged to them during their refugee to empire. Also, as they claimed, even the officers were buying concubines for themselves, which was totally contradictory.

Not only the destitute people were selling their daughters, but also the slaveowners were selling their slaves and concubines. Officials in provinces were unsure how to act against the slave trade and asked Porte how to react against this kind of situation. Questions were directed to *Majlis-i Vala* to find a solution. In an official document dated 3 February 1862, it is stated that transportation of the black slaves from Africa and selling of the slaves who arrived earlier were banned. It is heard that Circassian emigrants have been selling their slaves aged 50-60 and their slave's children. Also, they have been selling their own children and relatives. However, this is against both the humanity and the civilization that emigrants had attained in the empire. Since this kind of slave sale was never heard in the empire before, the sale of those who are over twenty or twenty-five and those who have children is banned. When the slaveholders wanted to sell their slaves or relatives, they must be urged for the manumission of their slaves with the execution of necessary countenance and frightening. If slaver-holders persist in sale, they should never be allowed to sell. Also, those who are aiming to sell their own daughter and relatives should never be permitted. Only the sale of concubines and slaves who confess their slavery and aged up to twenty-five or thirty can be neglected. This notification was sent to officials wherever Circassian emigrants are settled.⁴⁸⁷

Despite early official notification of the Porte about the sale of slaves, Mustafa Arif Bey, the qaymaqam of Varna, sent a letter to Porte on 24 May 1864. He stated that in an official decree dated 11 February 1862, the sale of slaves aged between twenty-five or thirty and confess their slavery was permitted, and Circassian emigrants

⁴⁸⁶ A.DVN.166-52

⁴⁸⁷ A.MKT.NZD. 396-97; A.MKT.UM. 561-49.

in Varna are selling slaves to local people. In the letter, he asked if this permission encapsulates the emigrants aged between eight to twenty-five and, if so, how to treat about this. The question of the Mustafa Arif Bey was forwarded to the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances. The response was that age of thirty is the maximum limit, and the sale of slaves over age thirty should not be allowed, and under the thirty can be tolerable.⁴⁸⁸

One example of the prevention of sale of slaves over twenty-five took place in Sliven. Kaspolat Bey, one of the Circassian lords, bought five male and female slaves from his son-in-law living in Yambol *kaza*. Although slaves and concubines confessed to their servitude, they refused to be sold because they were over thirty-five years old and had children. The slaves stated that they lived in their villages with their brothers and relatives and would not leave them. They said that they would kill themselves if they were forced to leave their families. Thereupon, the situation was referred to the *Majlis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye* (Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances) by the *kaza* council. On the other hand, the Council stated that the age of the slaves was above twenty-five, did not approve the sale of slaves in accordance with the previous order. However, Kaspolat Bey stated that he paid 700 *mecidiyes* for the slaves and demanded that the amount he paid be returned to him. Thereupon, the Council, in the order written to the qaymakam of Sliven, demanded that if it was revealed that Kaspolat Bey paid 700 *mecidiyes* to Hangiray Bey, this money should be taken from Hangiray Bey and given to Kaspolat Bey.⁴⁸⁹

Emigrants were selling their slaves before and during their migration to final settlement places. Those who wished to sell their slaves and concubines are told that the sale can not happen during the transfer, and after their settlement, the situation will be sorted out. Emigrants who settled in Vidin, Belogradchik, and Lom requested permission to sell their slaves. Not knowing how to respond to emigrants' request on 8 Temmuz 1864, Nusret Pasha sent a letter to Porte asking how he should act. In the

⁴⁸⁸ MVL. 991-39.

⁴⁸⁹ MVL. 991-62.

answer, it is said that “until the settling of emigrants, sale of slaves is not licit (*caiz*), and the prevention of the sale is the necessity of the matter.”⁴⁹⁰

On 11 May 1864, the *Majlis-i Vala* sent an affidavit to the officials on the beach stating that if it is acknowledged that the profiteers and whoever has someone else's free-born child or relative as a slave, the individuals who were sold as slaves to these persons should be returned to their families or relatives free of charge. According to another affidavit written to the governor of Trabzon, the Circassians were forced to sell their daughters in order to afford the freight fee, and the ruthless people who traveled to the coasts of Circassia from Lazistan and Trabzon took advantage of the situation and bought the daughters from their parents for 10 to 15 *carbons*.⁴⁹¹

With the exodus of Circassian in 1864, the boom in slavery led the government to issue an instruction on 24 July 1864. The government restated that impoverished immigrants were compelled to sell their children. Those who were slave-owners also sell their slaves and concubines to the profiteers who opportunistically bought a great number of male and female slaves and concubines of free stock. After a proper investigation, if it is found out that individuals are of free stock, they will be returned to their relatives for free. Contrary to the earlier warnings, the news of the sale of free emigrants had increased, and the slaves were being separated from their families and sold to others. Even enslavement of the children of belligerents who give in is against humanity. Subjecting these unfortunate slave women and children who refuged to the empire for compassion and protection to humiliation suits neither Islam nor humanity. Especially, those who are unsatisfied with the emigration of this much population and want to emigrants to be regretted from the emigration to empire lead them to a miserable life to give Islam a bad name. Therefore, the sale of the free stock is no further allowed, and the buyers would be punished severely. Also, if there are foreigners (*ecânib*) among the buyers, their names will be written to Porte.

⁴⁹⁰ A.MKT.UM. 787-31.

⁴⁹¹ MVL. 861-69.

Furthermore, since there was no way of knowing who was a free man and who was a slave sale of all slaves was suspended.⁴⁹²

The sale of the free-stock Muslims to foreigners, especially to non-muslims, had prohibited in the instruction mentioned above. It is asked from the Trabzon governor to inform the Porte about the situation of those sold to the foreigners.⁴⁹³ Esseyid Mehmed, governor of Trabzon, sent a letter to Porte stating that “until now non-muslims and foreigners in Trabzon have not bought any slave let alone the free persons. If this kind of sale occurred, it would have been heard, and it would have been prohibited. Even it is heard that some Iranian citizens attempted to buy slaves, they were prevented”. Nevertheless, the sale of slaves who confess their slavery could not be prevented. Even though the local government took harsh precautions to ban the sale of slaves and free individuals, local people and emigrants shared the same idea about the sale. When the officers interfered, they started to complain about it. Thus, the sale of those who were sold by their own will was neglected. However, if it was understood that the person is abducted from somewhere, the sale was rendered invalid.

Moreover, the governor informed the Porte that many profiteers and others came to the Trabzon with steamboats for purchasing female slaves (*cevari*). The precautions of local government were not adequate. The Porte responded that while neglecting the sale of those whose slavery is real were prevalent, this was prohibited lately, and it would not be licit to allow free-borns to become slaves. Also, Porte ordered the governor to maintain the ban on the sale of free persons and children since no one could dare to say anything to something that the state has forbidden.⁴⁹⁴

Circassian emigrants mostly were arriving to the port cities such as Trabzon, Samsun and İstanbul. These cities became the centers of the slave market. Not only the local people, but also the officers and foreigners were buying slaves. Orphaned girls and boys and husbandless women were sold by their relatives or other people. Concubines were sold at prices ranging from two hundred gurush to three thousand

⁴⁹² A. MKT.UM. 790-97, 24 July 1864 (19 Safer 1281); Toledo, *ibid*, p. 157-158; Erdem, *ibid*, p. 115; The archival document which Toledo and Erdem quote is dated 11 March 1867 (5 Zilkade 1283).

⁴⁹³ A.MKT.UM. 789-39.

⁴⁹⁴ A.MKT.MHM. 309-25.

gurush. From İstanbul and other places profiteers flocked to the Trabzon and Samsun. The prices of the concubines increased accordingly.⁴⁹⁵ Trabzon governor was ordered not to transfer any further refugees to the capital in July 1864. The Commission also sought to ban the admission of slaves into İstanbul and strengthen its control over their mobility in general around the same period.⁴⁹⁶ Also government officials and the head of the Slave Dealers' Guild were informed that no slave would be allowed to enter the city unless it was for an essential personal reason. Slaves traveling for such reasons needed to carry documentation attesting to this reality, which should be signed by government officials. Slaves seeking to leave İstanbul would not be granted *mürur tezkeresi* (travel permission) unless they had identification papers issued by the Emigrant Commission.

To prevent the sale of freestock Circassians a letter was written by the government to the necessary places. In the letter, it is stated that from now on, the sale of the freestock is not valid and those who buy freestock will be punished harshly and if there are foreigners among the buyers their names will be informed to Porte. Also, since it is nearly impossible to distinguish the slaves and freestock, the sale of the slaves of emigrants is postponed until the complete settling of the emigrants. Moreover, those who wish to sell their children should be warned in a nice way that they will incur the wrath of God both in this world and in the afterlife.⁴⁹⁷

Circassians were bringing not only the slave of their households but also the Russian slaves, especially the ones taken captive in the fightings with Russia. Forced captivity of Russian citizens and soldiers by Circassians created political problems between the two states. Russia demanded the return of the slaves who are citizens of their state or a member of their army. After such incidents occurred, on 11 June 1864, an official letter was sent to qaymaqams of Varna, Tekfurdağı, Silivri and Constanta. In the letter it is stated that, Russian soldiers or citizens captured by the Circassians and brought to the empire by force were sent to İstanbul and delivered to the Russian embassy. If there are people like this among the emigrants who are on their way there

⁴⁹⁵ Hürriyet, 19 October 1868, "Circassian Emigrants".

⁴⁹⁶ Toledano, op. cit., p. 156.

⁴⁹⁷ A.MKT.UM. 790-97.

and the returning of the captives requested by the Russian consulate; after the investigation of the situation and the captivity is proven, they must be delivered to the Russian consulate, and their name, and fame must be informed to the center.⁴⁹⁸

Circassians bought and sold their slaves in the empire as well as in the Caucasus. When one of the Circassian lords died, all the property belonging to the deceased lord was inherited by his children or relatives. Likewise, when the owners of Circassian slaves and concubines died, these slaves and concubines were also inherited to the children or siblings of the deceased like other property. If there was no heir, the properties of the deceased were confiscated by state treasury (Beyt al-mal) and sent to the center of the sancaks or provinces. Confiscated properties were sold to the others by state treasury. Revenues derived from the sale of the property, if sufficient amount, were spent to meet the the basic needs of the refugees such as construction of water well, mosques, school and etc. If the amount obtained from the sale was not sufficient, proceeds of the sale was sent to the Danube Province Emigrants Commission and were accumulated by the commission. Later, these revenues were being spent to nourishment of emigrants.⁴⁹⁹

Except for the properties, there were also slaves among the inheritance of the deceased. They were inherited by the children⁵⁰⁰ or relatives⁵⁰¹ of the deceased in accordance with Circassian customs. However, the slaves of those who died without an inheritor were appropriated by the state treasury. On account of the ban on the sale of slaves, slaves were not sold by the state. Instead, they were manumitted from slavery and were given the certificate of freedom. Even though their emancipation, rüesâ (headmen) employed some slave-born people and, by preventing them from complaining to the government, used them as they wished. The commission tried to prevent these kinds of incidents because the goal of slaves' emancipation was to save them from slavery, not others to use them.

⁴⁹⁸ HR.MKT. 484-75; HR.MKT.497-22.

⁴⁹⁹ MVL. 1071-64.

⁵⁰⁰ MVL: 537-63; This document shows that with the death of their father, slaves were inherited by the deceased person's children.

⁵⁰¹ ŞD. 1903-15; With the death of Kule Giray and Hacı İslam Giray *Beys* their slaves were inherited by their cousins.

As a result of the corresponding between Supreme Council and Danube Province Emigrants Commission, it is decided that those under the age of puberty will be taken to a workhouse. Those who are old enough will be encouraged to enroll in the army, and the women will be given as maids to the men who wanted them with a suitable amount of wages through the government of the *kaza* they were in.⁵⁰² It can be said that these decisions stemmed from the destitute and miserable situation of slaves they fell into when they obtained the certificate of freedom.

There were also clashes between the Circassian slaves and their masters. For example, an armed conflict occurred between slaves and their owners because of the slaves' disobedience in Mandıra Village of Tekfurdağı. A few army officers were dispatched to put an end to the fighting, but they were not able to enter the settlement because of the high number of emigrants. When the authorities learnt of this, additional ten army officers were deployed under the direction of a major. The army officers were able to maintain control and put a stop to the conflict this time, but the disagreement that had sparked it remained unsolved. Since the problem between the two parties could not be resolved despite being warned in an appropriate language, notables of the both parties were brought to the *kaza* center and before the court. However, even in the court parties could not agree on the solution of the matter.⁵⁰³

Not only the Circassians but also Nogays were slave-owners. A dispute over the disobedience of the slaves occurred among the Canpolat Bey and his slaves. Canpolat Bey applied to state and wanted his slaves to be brought before the court. An order was sent from the Grand Vizier's office to the Governor of Constanta, Süleyman Bey, to arrange the court and confront the parties.⁵⁰⁴

To prevent any clash and dispute among the slaves and masters, *Majlis-i Vala* decided to settle them separately. In the instructions given to Haşim, Necib, Muhtar, and Hasan Beys⁵⁰⁵, on 16 April 1864, it is stated that since *umera* (lords) of emigrants

⁵⁰² İ.MVL. 533-23910.

⁵⁰³ MVL.1047-79; İ.MMS.34-1407; Erdem, p. 162-163.

⁵⁰⁴ A.MKT.UM. 507-61

⁵⁰⁵ They were responsible for the settlement of emigrants in the Ankara, Konya, Hüdavendigâr provinces and Karesi, İzmid, Kastamonu, and Bolu sancaks.

are used to use their slaves and tribes oppressively, and this is against both the practice in empire and laws, the slaves, tribes and their umera will be settled in different places. Also, misuse of slaves by their masters was tried to be prevented by the council. In the same instruction, we see that councils in the state was to punish those who beat and torture their slaves. If it is understood slaveholder made his slave a 'limb crippled and disabled' by beating and torture, it will be made clear that apart from the legal punishment, he will no longer have anything to do with his slave, and the slave will be accepted as free.⁵⁰⁶

Another problem faced by the state was the escape of slaves and their settlement in another place away from their masters. For instance, Süleyman, who was the younger son of a deceased person named Haşacak, from the Abaza tribe of the Circassians, was settled in the *kaza* of Terme in the *sancak* of Canik. He claimed that five people, whom he claimed to be his father's slaves and concubines, had fled to Russia from Circassia, and later when they emigrate to the empire, they were settled in the Gölpınar village of Silistra as freestock emigrants. Süleyman went to the place where his father's slaves were, and he applied to the court to have the slaves handed over to him. However, the slaves wanted to buy their freedom for a low price. He rejected their offer to buy their freedom and wanted slaves to be sent to his settlement place. He also wrote a letter to the Supreme Council, demanding that a letter be written to the Danube Council for the slaves to be handed over to him. Supreme Council sent a letter to Danube Province to have the slaves handed over to Süleyman after the investigation of the incident. If it is understood that the people are really slaves, then they were to be given Süleyman, and the properties given to them would be possessed by the state and would be given to other emigrants in need.⁵⁰⁷

When a plaintiff came before a sharî court, attempts would be made to ascertain if he was a free person or a slave. If he failed to produce satisfactory proof of his freedom but claimed to have relatives in his original residence who could attest to it, he would be taken back to that place and the investigation would begin again. This complex method was frequently misunderstood or ignored by the courts. The

⁵⁰⁶ İ.MVL. 505-22848.

⁵⁰⁷ MVL. 541-13

following test-case was used to change it in 1867.⁵⁰⁸ The Council determined in a report dated March 30, 1867, that personal status testimony may be provided by relatives at their homes and transmitted to the court via the local authorities. This was clearly done in order to aid the slaves, and some authorities were willing to go even farther. In September 1866, Osman Paşa, a member of the High Council for Judicial Ordinances, said that persons kept as slaves by immigrant slave holders or slave traders would be considered free if their relatives were free, based on the July 1864 ban.⁵⁰⁹

After the completion of the migration process and the settlement of the immigrants, the state began to promote the emancipation of slaves. Although the signals of this were given at the beginning of the migration, it had to wait until the end of the migration as the process could not be completed. *Majlis-i Mahsus* (Privy Council) applied to old custom of emancipation called as mukatebe. *Mukatebe* was a contract between the slaves and their owners according to which slave was freed by the owner after serving for a certain year or after providing a certain amount of income to the owner. Also, the slave could pay for his or her own liberation.⁵¹⁰

According to the Council, all Circassians were Muslims who had become Ottoman subjects. It was only fitting that they be accorded the same legal and civil status as the rest of the Ottoman subjects, with freedom as their most prized asset. As a result, it is conceivable to claim that Circassians who had obtained Ottoman citizenship were not subject to slavery. The Ottomans, on the other hand, were unable to intervene in the Circassian slaves' status at the time of their exodus because slavery had been lawful among them from ancient times thanks to slaves' confessions and acceptance of their slave status by the slaves themselves. In this context, the Council advocated the *mukatebe*.⁵¹¹

Since the slaves could not pay their manumission fee, it is decided that the state should pay it. However, for the manumission of slaves, the government could only provide land since the treasury was in chronic deficit and deeply in debt to foreign

⁵⁰⁸ Toledano, op. cit., p. 158.

⁵⁰⁹ Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 117.

⁵¹⁰ Halil İnalçık, op. cit., p. 129.

⁵¹¹ Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 118

creditors. The ministers suggested that slaves be allowed to utilize government lands as their manumission price. To make this easier, a system of determining the worth of the land and slaves would be created. According to the *mukatebe*, the land would then be handed to the slave owner as a whole or partial compensation, after which manumission would be allowed. Slaves who gained their freedom in this way may stay on the property and continue to work it with the permission of their previous lords. The emancipated slaves, on the other hand, were free to leave the estate. The ministers noted that in this way, the land would be farmed and utilized, many slaves would be freed, and slave owners would be happy. However, it was pointed out that the *mukatebe* was to base on the consent of the slaveholders and masters would not be forced for it.⁵¹²

There were five main reasons for the emancipation of the slaves via *mukatabe*. First of all, it was to prevent the sale of children and women by preventing the purchase and sale of slaves due to the fact that Circassians were Muslims. Secondly, the attitude of the state on slavery since the mid-1850s was influential in this decision. The state had already outlawed black slavery in 1857. Although the Nogays and Crimean Tatars brought slaves with them, especially after 1864, the number of slaves brought by the Circassian emigrants had increased, and number of slaves in empire reached 150.000 in 1867.⁵¹³ The state had already banned the buying and selling of slaves many times during immigration. With this decision, it now aimed to manumit them. Another reason behind this decision was the deterioration of public order due to clashes between slaves and their masters. The state aimed to minimize conflicts with the emancipation of the slaves. In addition, the lands the state would give to the slave owners were empty lands belonging to the state, no money would come out of the state treasury. On the contrary, it would be ensured that vacant lands were brought into agriculture and with this increase in agricultural output would be achieved. Last but not least was the desire of the state to enroll slaves in the army. Slaves could not be drafted because they were subject to their masters and were not free. However, after

⁵¹² İ.MMS. 34-1407; Toledano, op. cit., p. 165; Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman*, p. 118.

⁵¹³ İ.MMS. 34-1407.

being emancipated, the state could also benefit from the recruitment of soldiers from slaves.

As a result, as evidenced by archival documents, slaves in Ottoman Europe were fewer than in Anatolia. Most of the cases of Circassian slaves belong to the population in Anatolia. This was due to the fact that the number of Circassian immigrants was higher than the others and they mostly were settled in Anatolia. Nonetheless, many emigrants came to Ottoman Europe with slaves and the state found practical solutions to the problems it faced. Although the sale of slaves was partially ignored, sale of slaves in a certain age range and those who have a family had prohibited. State aimed to reduce the number of slaves through the *mukatebe* but still it could not put an end to slavery. On the contrary, slavery, which was revived with the arrival of many emigrants to the Ottoman Empire, continued until the last years of the state.

IV.V.II. Health problems

Health issues are one of the difficulties the state faced in the post-Crimean War migrant flows. The health problems of emigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus may be examined at three stages: before their arrival to the Ottoman Empire, during migration, and after settlement. The rate of sickness and disease among emigrants does not usually follow the same pattern. The patient rate among immigrants was lower, especially during the years 1859-1862, when Tatar emigrants and a limited number of Circassian and Dagestan emigrants arrived. The rate of illness among emigrants grew due to Russia's decision to exile the Circassians in 1864 and the increased number of emigrants.

Emigrants were waiting for a ferry along the coasts for a long time before landing in the Ottoman territories after a long sea trip. Even before the voyage began, the emigrants were dying of starvation and cold, and diseases were spreading. In November 1864, there were 2.000 refugees ready to go from Kerch to Constanta. The emigrants stayed in tents until the vessels that would transport them arrived. However, because the vessels did not come in a timely manner and it rained excessively while

they were waiting for the vessel, thus sickness broke out among them, and the number of sufferers grew by the day.⁵¹⁴

One of the primary reasons why emigrants had health difficulties was because many were put on a ship and traveled for a long time. Emigrants had to travel up to a week and ten days due to long sea voyages. Because of this, the emigrants could not do personal cleansing on the ships. Due to a lack of sanitation and hot temperatures, contagious infections were spreading among the emigrants. To avoid a catastrophe, the *Majlis-i Sıhhiye* decided to take some measures consisting of seven articles for those who would arrive by sea from Russia on January 15, 1860, in order to preserve the health of both the emigrants and the residents of İstanbul. Accordingly, in all port cities, quarantine procedures were put into practice.⁵¹⁵ With these measures, the government aimed to minimize the number of sick emigrants and protect the city's residents from sickness. A few sites in İstanbul were rented and converted into refugee hospitals for the same reason. For example, Ali Pasha Mansion was hired for men's treatment, while Haydar Pasha Hospital in Üsküdar provided two wards for males. Women were treated in Gureba Hospital and Toptaş Hospital.⁵¹⁶

Another factor that caused health issues was the influx of emigrants in the port cities. For a time, the emigrants stayed in inns, barracks, tents, and mosque courtyards until they were sent to cities where they would be permanently placed.⁵¹⁷ Many illnesses spread among the migrants in these places because they had limited access to hygiene and did not live in healthy conditions. İstanbul was one of the first stops for the migrants. In 1859, there were over 20.000 migrants in İstanbul. According to the records, smallpox was the first sickness experienced by the emigrants.⁵¹⁸ Also, there was a problem finding a place for the emigrants as the number of emigrants increased day by day. Due to a shortage of shelter, the cohabitation of numerous emigrants led

⁵¹⁴ A.MKT.UM. 816-5.

⁵¹⁵ For the measures see the chapter third, p. 40.

⁵¹⁶ A.MKT.NZD. 304-19.

⁵¹⁷ Tuğba Erdem, "1864 Kafkas Göçü Öncesinde ve Göç Sırasında Yaşanan Salgın Hastalıklar", *1864 Kafkas Tehciri Kafkasya'da Rus Kolonizasyonu, Savaş ve Sürgün*, Ed. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, p. 190.

⁵¹⁸ BEOAYN, D., 1720, no. 623.

to the illness to arise. When the sickness first appeared, the Porte promptly called the Ministry of Medicine to prevent its spread and advised the Ministry that the emigrants should be vaccinated as soon as possible. Despite the precautions, in 1860, İstanbul had a cholera pandemic. Tatar and Circassian emigrants have been blamed for the outbreak. According to Grassi, the authorities decided not to accept refugees in İstanbul after this date, and only orphans and slave children might be brought to the capital.⁵¹⁹ This, however, is not accurate. Many Tatar and Caucasian emigrants arrived in İstanbul after this date.⁵²⁰ Only those who came to İstanbul unnecessarily from their place of residence were barred from traveling.⁵²¹

While some of the emigrants were already sick when they arrived in Ottoman territory, others became ill after they came. For instance, in November 1860, typhus spread among Nogay refugees in Constanta and Karasu. The sickness was caused by the fact that the water known as Karasu coincided with the railway on the Bosphorus side, and the water became contaminated due to its inability to recirculate. The state took urgent steps to halt the spread of the sickness, and the quarantine administration dispatched Doctor Yanko to the region to examine the issue and take necessary measures. Additionally, the Emigrant Commission's Chief, Baha Efendi, was dispatched to the region to investigate the situation in Karasu. When Baha Efendi came to Karasu, he saw that many emigrants were sick, so he wrote a report and submitted it to the center. According to Baha Efendi's assessment, the water in Karasu should be cleansed and rendered drinkable as soon as feasible.⁵²²

One of the most serious issues concerning the health of emigrants was the scarcity of doctors to treat them. In most places, the number of doctors was not enough to treat the emigrants. That is why sick were treated by doctors from the *memleket*, military (etibbâ-i askerî), and foreign doctors. Military doctors took on the responsibility of treating emigrants in areas with no doctors in the region. For example,

⁵¹⁹ Grassi, *Yeni Bir Vatan*, p. 91.

⁵²⁰ MVL. 386-19; A.MKT.NZD. 471-84.

⁵²¹ A.MKT.UM.490-31.

⁵²² MVL. 941-4.

since there was no local doctor in Varna, those who became sick were treated at the *Asakir-i Şahane* (Military) Hospital by military doctors.⁵²³

Similarly, when an illness sprung out among emigrant families from Perekop who wanted to settle in the Kumanovo area, military doctors in Kosovo were called in. Besides the military doctors, *memleket* doctors also were employed. For the refugees in Kumanovo, the *memleket* doctor of the Skopje Sanjak was assigned to treat them.⁵²⁴

In some regions where emigrants settled, there were no local doctors or anybody who understood anything about medicine. Varna's Kozluca township was one of these. A disease sprang up among the Kozluca emigrants in October 1861. The issue was reported to the Varna quarantine manager, and it was requested that a quarantine doctor be sent to treat the sick emigrants. After examining the sick emigrants, the doctor who traveled to Kozluca concluded that the sickness was malaria. The sickness was exclusively diagnosed among emigrants, not in the native population. According to the doctor, this disease was caused by the emigrants' inability to adjust to the environment of their new home and the challenges they encountered throughout their migration voyages. Furthermore, the doctor indicated that this disease is not his area of expertise and that patients require the services of a specialist in this field. However, neither a *memleket* doctor nor any other helpful doctor was present in the *kaza*. Already, quarantine and military doctors could not stay in one spot for an extended period since they could not abandon their duty. For this reason, on October 22, 1861, the Varna Assembly petitioned the Porte that a doctor be sent from *Dersaadet* to treat the sick refugees in the cities and villages. The treasury would fund the doctor's salary and medicine costs, and the selected doctor would be referred to other *kazas* as needed.⁵²⁵ Doctor Viniço, an Italian citizen, was assigned to this task at the request of the Varna Assembly, as a result of correspondence between the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* and the Porte, with the consent of the Sultan.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ A.MKT.UM. 501-34.

⁵²⁴ A.MKT. NZD. 369-16; A.MKT.UM. 504-77; MVL. 936-26.

⁵²⁵ İ.DH. 482-32442.

⁵²⁶ İ.DH. 482-32442, lef. 7.

In 1861 more than 32.000 families of emigrants had been settled in three provinces and forty-five kazas along the Danube coasts from Vidin to Tulcea via Nusret Bey. Typhus had epidemic spread among the emigrants and locals. Three doctors were charged with the care of the patients. Monsieur Palatini, an Italian, was dispatched to treat the emigrants, but he was requested to be repatriated since he did not speak Turkish. Again, Monsieur Toros, who had been sent from İstanbul to assist the emigrants, had not yet arrived in the region, and the *Memleket* Doctor Dimitri Istefanovic, who was in Ruse, was unable to travel since he was caring for patients in Ruse. Therefore, there was no doctor to treat the sick emigrants in the Danube region. Nusret Bey sent a petition to Emigrant Commission asking for the appointment of nine doctors to the emigrants' settlement places.⁵²⁷ At the request of Nusret Bey it was decided to send the Italian Viniço to Kozluca, Doctor Yanko Todori to Tulcea Sanjak, Italian Doctor Danyel Paladini, Greek Doctor Todoros Georgi and Ruse *Memleket* Doctor Istançovic and Vidin quarantine doctor Frangol Oseb to Lovech, Pleven, Nikopol and Svishtov kazas. However, because Frangol Oseb was Vidin's quarantine doctor, appointing him to this duty would be improper. Thus, Oseb's assignment did not take place, and it was asked to dismiss Paladini since he did not speak Turkish. However, there were no Turkish or foreign doctors who speak Turkish that the state could employ. Therefore, it was agreed that Paladini should remain in his position. The four remaining doctors were to be outsourced and dispatched to the region.⁵²⁸ Due to the doctors' inability to speak Turkish, the assignment of foreign doctors to treat emigrants proved inefficient. Therefore, it was asked from the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* that a doctor who speaks Turkish be sent, specifically for the emigrants living in Constanta. Doctor Danyel Piladini, who was working in Constanta, was replaced by Kolağası Mahmud Efendi.⁵²⁹

Medgidia was one of the places where there were not enough doctors. In April 1862, there were 800 patients in the town of Medgidia. Even though the number of patients was reduced by the arrival of Doctor Yanko, who had been in Constanta

⁵²⁷ İ.DH. 486-32801.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ A.MKT. NZD. 444-70.

before, to Medgidia, one doctor was insufficient to treat emigrants due to the enormous number of patients. When the situation was reported to the *Majlis-i Vala*, it was decided that another doctor should be sent. The *Majlis-i Vala* ordered that one of the doctors in Nusret Bey's retinue be sent to Medgidia. Furthermore, it was determined to plant trees and construct a bath to fight off the sickness that had grown in the town.⁵³⁰

Another problem in the care of emigrants was that doctors had not always carried out their responsibilities appropriately. For example, three doctors in Constanta had not performed their duties appropriately. Therefore qaymaqam of Constanta had asked from the center to dispatch two new doctors who could speak Turkish.⁵³¹ Similarly, in August 1864, Doctor Viniço, who resided in Constanta, had been sent to Vidin due to a lack of doctors, he had to visit the villages in Vidin to treat the sick refugees. But with the expulsion of the Greek metropolitan, he made some propaganda and tried to put the idea in the Bulgarian minds that emigrants should not be accepted.⁵³²

One of the major issues concerning the emigrants' health was a lack of adequate facilities. Eventhough many doctors were employed; the expected outcomes could not be obtained due to a lack of facilities. For example, in 1864, approximately eight or ten doctors were working in and around Constanta with a salary of 2.500 gurush. However, because the emigrants were scattered across the villages and other areas, it was almost impossible to see each patient individually. Even if it were conceivable, providing medicine to hungry and weak emigrants had little effect. Midhat Pasha, the Governor of the Danube Province, reported in a letter to the Porte that the doctors and pharmacists in Constanta were unemployed and did nothing. He suggested that hospitals be built in Pleven, Ruse, and, if required, Constanta, rather than doctors going from village to village, and that sick people be treated in these hospitals. Furthermore, some of the medicines assigned to the refugees were being destroyed. With the building of the hospitals, the necessary medicines would be supplied to the hospitals,

⁵³⁰ A.MKT.UM. 557-64.

⁵³¹ A.MKT. NZD. 441-88.

⁵³² MVL. 996-53.

and any surplus would be distributed to other locations to be determined.⁵³³ On the recommendation of Midhat Pasha, the construction of these hospitals started in 1865. During the governorship of Midhat Pasha, Gureba hospitals were built in the Danube region and in these hospitals, everyone, including immigrants, guests, and the destitute, local and foreign people were taken care of.⁵³⁴

The problem of contagious illnesses and death among serious issues the state confronted. Contagious illnesses that arose as a result of the migration of predominantly Crimean Tatars, Nogay, and Circassian emigrants between 1860 and 1862 peaked with the big Circassian exodus that began after 1863. The number of Circassian emigrants who arrived in the Ottoman territory in the spring of 1864 surpassed 400.000 as a consequence of the big migration wave.⁵³⁵ The fatality rate among newcomers was quite high. According to a document presented to the *Majlis-i Ali-i Tanzimat* dated May 2, 1861, the number of emigrants who arrived in the Ottoman lands, settled or not, reached 150.000, with an estimated 50.000 fatalities.⁵³⁶

Towards the end of December 1863, the state, wondering the cause of the diseases and deaths among the immigrants in İstanbul, appointed Doctor Rıfat Efendi to examine the emigrants. In the report he prepared, Rıfat Efendi stated that the diseases were caused by the difficulties experienced by the emigrants during their migration to the Ottoman Empire and malaria while child deaths were caused by smallpox. Also, the hard winter conditions and the settlement problem of emigrants were also among the reasons that lead to the deaths. That is why, Vecihi Pasha informed the Porte that the emigrants would continue to get sick as long as they stayed in the inns, so the emigrants should be sent to the settlement places as soon as possible.

⁵³³ İ.MMS. 133-5690; Danube, no: 10, 21 Zilhicce 1281 (17 May 1865).

⁵³⁴ A.d. 4, p. 23; Bekir Koç, "Tuna Vilayeti Göçmenleri ve Midhat Paşa", *Kafkasya Çalışmaları - Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi / Journal of Caucasian Studies (JOCAS)*, March 2017, Vol. 2, no. 4, p. 65.

⁵³⁵ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 67; Ömer Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları (1998 Ankara), p. 28.

⁵³⁶ İ.MMS. 22-961; Nevzat Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul'a Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1858-1864)", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (Journal of Histroy School)*, Haziran 2010, Issue: XLVI, p. 1530.

According to Vecihi Pasha, the local people would help the emigrants and provide their protection.⁵³⁷

As a natural result of this large-scale migration, many diseases have occurred in Trabzon, which is one of the first stopping points of immigrants. Stevens, the British Consul in Trabzon, reported in a telegram he sent to the British Foreign Minister Earl Russell in February 1864 that typhus disease had emerged among the Circassians in Trabzon and that the disease had also spread to the local people. Although Trabzon Governor Emin Pasha was doing his best to prevent the situation, this was not enough. The French doctor, one of the three European doctors in Trabzon, had died of typhus. British doctor, who was a member of quarantine department, could not spare time for the patients as his office took up all of his time. The third doctor was the quarantine specialist, Doctor Barozzi.⁵³⁸ Because of the irresponsible burial of the deceased, neighborhoods near the city's cemetery have become uninhabitable. In December, the death toll surpassed 3,500. 3.000 were refugees, 470 Turks, 36 Greeks, 17 Armenians, 9 Catholics, and 6 Europeans.⁵³⁹ Many diseases, including smallpox, erupted in Trabzon, particularly in 1864, when Caucasian refugees fleeing Russian oppression poured there.⁵⁴⁰

According to Ottoman sources, smallpox, diarrhea, and black fever diseases were widespread among the emigrants at Trabzon in February 1864, with around 20 deaths per day. The city doctors, the military doctors in Trabzon, and the *memleket* doctors were all assigned to treat the refugees there. It has been reported to Trabzon's governor that if the medicine needed for the patients' treatment is not found in Trabzon, it would be supplied from İstanbul upon notice of its kind and quantity, as well as to Yaver Efendi, who was in Trabzon to oversee the emigrants' affairs.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁷ MVL. 858-79.

⁵³⁸ Cuthell, op. cit., p. 195; Nazan Çiçek, "Talihsiz Çerkeslere İngiliz Peksimetisi: İngiliz Arşiv Belgelerinde Büyük Çerkes Göçü (Şubat 1864-Mayıs 1865)", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 64-1, p. 65.

⁵³⁹ HR. İD. 45-5, p. 2, no 1; Çiçek, op.cit., p. 65.

⁵⁴⁰ Koğ, op.cit., p. 63.

⁵⁴¹ A.MKT.MHM 393-25; Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, "Kırım Savaşı'ndan Sonra (1856-1877) Karadeniz'in Kuzeyinden Türkiye'ye Yapılan Göçlerde Trabzon (1856-1877)", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, vol. 114, no. 224, 2016, p. 16-17.

As the number of migrants arriving in Trabzon increased from December 1863, the newcomers needed to be relocated as soon as possible to avoid infections. According to Vecihi Pasha, the head of the Emigrant Commission, those emigrants who arrived in Trabzon and wished to go to Rumelia would be transferred immediately to the Varna, Ahyolu, and Bergos piers and suitable places in Vidin, and those who wanted to go to Anatolia could be settled around Canik, Bolu, Kastamonu, Sinop and Amasya, which were close to the ports of Samsun, Sinop, Ereğli.⁵⁴² Accordingly, in the early summer of 1864, Constanta was declared a central port and Circassians first began to land in Constanta or Varna. Some Caucasus immigrants arrived directly at these ports without stopping at Trabzon. The railway firm constructed extra piers to enable the land on Constanta. As a result, the number of Circassians in Constanta surpassed 35.000 in mid-June 1864.⁵⁴³ The state revised the seven-article quarantine measures taken for Tatar emigrants in 1860 to include Circassians as well. The quarantine application was implemented in the places where the emigrants landed, such as İstanbul, Varna, Constanta and Trabzon.⁵⁴⁴ However, smallpox was still quite common among the emigrants. According to Vecihi Pasha, the reason for the diseases was that the emigrants were displaced during the winter season. Emigrants waited bare on the piers of their hometowns for a time before boarding the boats and smallboats that they could supply. However, they were unable to arrive in time and they were spending some time at sea. As a result of the cold and starvation, various illnesses afflicted children, women, and the impoverished.⁵⁴⁵ However, smallpox was scarce in their country. This sickness spread among them as they set out and came to Ottoman lands.

Like the emigrants in Varna, the emigrants in Trabzon were also provided half a kilo of meat every day. However, the patients were given half of it, the rest were given as soup. The soup contained bulgur, beans, and red pepper was prepared in large cauldrons and was supplied as a mug in the morning and evening. According to the

⁵⁴² İ.MMS. 27-1189; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasya*, p. 137.

⁵⁴³ Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'de İskanı", p. 2.

⁵⁴⁴ MVL. 859-53.

⁵⁴⁵ Avagyan, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

doctors' advice on which patients should eat what, some patients were given simply rice soup or the essential food and water. The İane Sandığı (Help Chest), and the treasury covered the expenses.⁵⁴⁶ The situation among the emigrants was deteriorating day by day due to the heat of the weather and the fact that the emigrants lived together owing to the lack of space. The doctors in the cities were not enough to treat the refugees. For this reason, the emigrants had to be sent to either Rumelia or Anatolia as soon as possible. However, the movement of immigrants increased the proliferation of illnesses.⁵⁴⁷

Typhoid fever broke out among the emigrants that came to Varna in June 1864. State made some efforts made to preserve the health of the local population, such as emigrants to come would go to Constanta and refugees in Varna would be detained outside the city and not permitted within.⁵⁴⁸ In this direction, although 2.300 immigrants who came to Varna on 6 June 1864 were given licenses from quarantine, not even a single person was allowed into the city by the quarantine doctor. This decision was made because typhoid and smallpox were prevalent among the newcomers. Fearing that the sickness might infect the city's residents if the emigrants were relocated there, the quarantine doctor took this decision to safeguard both the emigrant's and the locals' health.⁵⁴⁹ This practice was also applied in Biga. While some of the emigrants who came to Biga were resettled, the sick ones were quarantined outside the city.⁵⁵⁰

Until early July 1864, the number of Circassian immigrants who arrived solely to Varna from Trabzon and other areas exceeded 30.000. However, there were roughly 2.500 refugees in Varna at the start of the month. In Çatalçeşme, barracks were established to shelter the sick among these immigrants from the heat and rain. Tents were also set up to fulfill the refugees' temporary shelter needs.⁵⁵¹ By the end of July,

⁵⁴⁶ A.MKT.MHM 393-25, Paşaoğlu, "Göçlerde Trabzon", p. 17.

⁵⁴⁷ Cuthell, op.cit., p. 194.

⁵⁴⁸ A.MKT. MHM. 302-90.

⁵⁴⁹ MVL. 992-75.

⁵⁵⁰ A.MKT.UM. 794-80.

⁵⁵¹ Takvim-i Vekayi, no: 755, 29 Muharrem 1281 (4 July 1864).

the number of emigrants arriving at Varna and Constanta ports had surpassed 60.000. Those that arrived at these two ports were sent to Vidin, Nish, Sofia, Kosovo, Vasovik, Stip, and Rahova. Those who arrive after this date was sent to Zistovi, Ruse, Silistra, Tulcea, Sliven, and other places.⁵⁵²

Sick emigrants who arrived in Varna were given 50 *vukiyyes* of beef⁵⁵³ and rice for soup each day.⁵⁵⁴ The sick emigrants in Shumen were treated in *Ordu-yı Hümayun* Hospital, and the women at Şerif Pasha Mosque Madrasa had been converted into a hospital. Circassians in Varna were treated in Varna hospital. However, because there were not enough beds in the hospital for the patients, many patients died. That is why in February 1864 Nusret Pasha requested that 100 beds be delivered from İstanbul to Varna. Upon the request of Nusret Pasha, the beds were made by 12.510,5 gurush and sent to Varna.⁵⁵⁵ There were not also enough hospitals to treat the patients among the refugees that arrived in the Danube Province. A number of doctors had been employed to treat the refugees. However, because they were continuously on the move, the doctors were unable to complete their tasks on a regular basis. For this reason, the northern part of the Balkans was separated into six areas, each with its own center. A hospital would be built in each of the centers, as well as a facility where refugees may stay overnight and be treated on a regular basis. Until the hospital constructions were completed, the doctors would travel *kaza* by *kaza* and vaccinate the children of locals and emigrants who had not been vaccinated over the age of one and did not have smallpox, with the approval of their parents. The doctors would first go to areas where there were a large number of refugees. Military, *memleket*, or quarantine doctors that would visit these locations was assigned a government police officer. Doctors would keep a notebook in which they recorded how many children they had vaccinated, the names of the patients they treated, and the names of the medicines they used, and then send the book to the Emigrant Commission.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkasya*, p. 138.

⁵⁵³ A.MKT.MHM. 289-67.

⁵⁵⁴ A.MKT.MHM. 289-52.

⁵⁵⁵ A.MKT. MHM. 294-17; A.MKT.MHM. 293-60.

⁵⁵⁶ A.d. 4.

More than 11.000 Circassian immigrants were transferred to Kosovo to be resettled in 1864. However, around a thousand of these immigrants were sick. Sick refugees were accommodated at inns in Nish until they recovered, and the refugees were transferred to the settlement regions once their treatment was done.⁵⁵⁷

Migrants sometimes fell ill and died because they could not adapt to the climate of the region where they were settled. For example, more than 500 deaths occurred among the 7,500 emigrants who went to Novi Pazar, one of the places where Circassian emigrants were sent to be settled because they were not used to the weather of the place. There were also six or seven hundred patients among them. The acquaintances of the emigrants who came to Novi Pazar were settled in Vulçitrin and Mitroviçe districts, and they were all healthy. Due to health issues and Circassian chiefs' refusal to accept relocation due to the region's proximity to Montenegro, it was decided to relocate the emigrants to Vulchitrin and Mitroviçe.⁵⁵⁸

Diseases spread among the emigrants even after they had settled. The diseases were caused by both the epidemic and the recklessness of the newcomers. For example, every day, there were too many deaths among the refugees sent to Edirne. The refugees' bodies were buried in old cemeteries near the city and the telegraph center. However, because the graves were not dug deep and the deceased died due to contagious disease, putrefaction occurred. The center urged in a letter to the governor of Edirne that the essential actions to protect the health of both emigrants and locals be taken as quickly as possible to avoid a situation that would cause disease and harm.⁵⁵⁹

As a result, it can be said that many diseases such as smallpox, typhus, malaria and cholera occurred among the emigrants between 1860-1865. The time when the migrants' arrival to the Ottoman lands as sick usually coincides with the great Circassian migration. The low number of emigrants arriving before this date and the fact that the emigrants were not obliged to travel for a long time did not cause many

⁵⁵⁷ Ceride-i Havadis, no: 1200, 29 Muharrem 1281 (4 July 1864). For more information about the Circassian settlement in Kosovo see. Vahit Cemil Urhan, "Kosovo'ya Yapılan Çerkes Göçü ve İskanı (1864-1865)", *Bellekten*, V. 85/304, pp. 991-1024.

⁵⁵⁸ TŞRBNM. 29-18; A.MKT.UM. 806-39.

⁵⁵⁹ HR.MKT. 495-47.

diseases among the emigrants. Furthermore, due to the modest number of patients, the treatment of sick emigrants during the first time was made easier. However, due to the rapid influx of numerous emigrants during the Circassian exile, the number of doctors employed by the state became insufficient to treat the newcomers. The state profited from both local and foreign doctors to handle the refugees' health issues. Vaccination was used to help avert epidemics when required. The state has quarantined the refugees to avoid diseases. Sick emigrants were isolated and quarantined by *Majlis-i Sıhhiye's* quarantine measures in 1860. Furthermore, migrants were not permitted to enter the city at Varna, Biga, and other areas, and steps were taken to keep the emigrants waiting outside the city. The precautions implemented were insufficient, and pandemic illnesses spread among migrants and locals. The state vaccinated the migrants and locals to prevent future pandemics. Vaccines, however, have not been able to stop the spread of diseases. Emigrants in some places led to the spread of diseases despite the measures.

IV.V.III. Public Order Problems

The Ottoman State faced several public order problems during and after the resettlement of the emigrants. These problems may be divided into three categories: disobedience against government orders, problems with the local populace, and clashes between the owner-slave.

One of the most serious public order issues encountered during the settlement of emigrants was that they defied official directives and traveled without a *mürur tezkeresi*. Despite the fact that the state imposed movement restrictions inside the country, many emigrants without a *mürur* certificate were traveling and especially going to *Dersaadet*. To avoid this problem, the government frequently had sent directives to places where there were emigrants not to allow emigrants to go İstanbul. The order specified that the refugees were going to İstanbul in vain to deliver petitions, that certain abettors were inciting and enticing others, and that this was owing to a lack of respect to the *mürur* directive.⁵⁶⁰ Some emigrants sought to be relocated to other

⁵⁶⁰ A.MKT.UM. 479-8; A.MKT.NZD. 358-52; A.MKT.MHM. 226-29.

places, and thus, they came to İstanbul to present a petition to Porte or the Emigrant Commission while some emigrants came to İstanbul for no apparent purpose and occupied the government and the commission in vain. For this reason, in a letter addressed to officers, it had been stated that if any refugees needed to travel to İstanbul for a justifiable cause, the situation needed to be reported to the Commission first, if necessary, then to the Porte, and to act in accordance with the answer.⁵⁶¹ Furthermore, to prevent emigrants from going unnecessary distances, ferry captains were warned that people without a *mürur tezkire* would not be accepted aboard the ships. Emigrants who attempted to board the boats without authorization were unwilling to present a permit when asked for one and showed a gun. The order sent to the regions where the emigrants were settled said that anyone who dared to show such weapons would be punished, and those who came without permission would not be admitted on the ferries and would be sent back home.⁵⁶²

Another problem that state faced regarding the public order was that the emigrants were walking with guns in the bazaars. This situation was leading to confrontations between the emigrants and the locals.⁵⁶³ Although the emigrants were unable to abandon their old practices, it was anticipated that they would walk unarmed, as Ottoman residents were prohibited from carrying weapons in the bazaars and markets.⁵⁶⁴ For this reason, the weapons brought by emigrants from their hometowns were occasionally gathered.⁵⁶⁵

On several occasions, emigrants were either perpetrators or victims of public order violations. The theft was one of the crimes in which emigrants took part as perpetrators. Some of these crimes were recorded in the *Danube* Newspaper. According to news in the *Danube* Newspaper, Timurcan, a Tatar emigrant, was sentenced to four months in prison for stealing one ox from Abdullah's patio in the

⁵⁶¹ A.MKT.UM. 479-8.

⁵⁶² A.MKT.UM. 500-2.

⁵⁶³ Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p .375.

⁵⁶⁴ A.MKT.UM. 511-22; A.MKT.UM. 514-46; A.MKT.UM. 518-3; A.MKT.UM. 511-7; A.MKT.NZD. 383-25; A.MKT.NZD. 82-36; A.MKT.NZD. 413-99.

⁵⁶⁵ Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 191.

town of Medgidia. Tatar Hayri, an emigrant from Belasi village of Constanta, had stolen two mares of Bulgarian Yovan at night; for this crime, he was prisoned for five months. Tatar Bay Bori, an emigrant who lives in Constanta, had stolen a pair of oxen from Moldovian Mihaliço from the *kaza* of Hirsova. He was sentenced to one year in prison since he had committed a crime earlier.⁵⁶⁶

An example of the public order problems caused by the emigrants happened among the Circassian emigrants settled in Ferecik and Ipsala *kazas*. Emigrants had refused to be settled in these regions since they preferred to be resettled in the İnöz grove. Mehmed Bey, the chief of the emigrants, had gone to the *liva* council to discuss this matter. The emigrants expected an order to be issued for their resettlement in the grove. However, when Mehmed Bey walked out of the council, emigrants asked him if he could get an order for their settlement. In his response, Mehmed Bey said that the *qaymaqam* took it and hid it again. We would go to the İnöz grove, cut the grove, and build our own houses to be inhabited. Following this response, the emigrants took their axes and headed to the grove the following day. One hundred and sixty families and a population of around a thousand people had gone to the grove, which is about an hour away from the town of İnöz. When the locals learned of this, they summoned the head of the emigrants, Mehmed Bey, before the council and questioned whether they had authorization. Mehmed Bey replied that he had no orders but that the grove belonged to the Sultan and that they had come with the idea of constructing a home and resettling it. On the other hand, the locals did not welcome the immigrants with similar enthusiasm. The people did not want the migrants to settle here because they would destroy the animals grazing in the countryside and the vineyards surrounding the grove. They would also cause significant damage, including extortion and looting against the people engaged in agriculture and trade, and no safe environment would be created.⁵⁶⁷ Although the emigrants were told to leave the grove and return to where they came from, the emigrants did not accept it. Upon this situation, two hundred soldiers from the artillery soldiers were sent to the region.⁵⁶⁸ The locals joined the

⁵⁶⁶ Danube Newspaper, no: 50, 6 Şevval 1282 (22 February 1866).

⁵⁶⁷ MVL. 1017-38.

⁵⁶⁸ A.MKT.MHM. 341-7.

soldiers, and they all proceeded to the grove to try to calm the situation caused by the refugees. However, when the emigrants opened fire on the troops from among the trees, the event escalated into a conflict; three emigrants were killed, and five others were injured. Mehmed Bey, the leader of the emigrants, fled when the event was suppressed. The *Majlis-i Vala* sent an order to the governor of Biga stating that Mehmed Bey and all who assisted him be apprehended, prosecuted in court, and be punished.⁵⁶⁹ The people paid 13.500 gurush, which is the salary of the troops, the food allowance and feed purchased for their animals, and the expense charge, as a thank you for maintaining public order.⁵⁷⁰

There were also incidents in which refugees were both culprits and victims. One of these instances occurred in the Dobrich district's Durbalı village. Abdulgaffar, one of the Nogay emigrants who had settled in the village, was murdered by Hodja Isa, a villager. Around 300 Nogay emigrants who heard the incident banded together, and when Abdulgaffar's son revealed who the killer was, they burnt Isa Hodja behind his back. Isa Hodja died five days later as a result of burns. The Nogays concealed the culprit and did not want to hand him to the state.⁵⁷¹ State officials went to the village and summoned emigrants' leaders and elders, and trials were held for those responsible for the event. The governor of Varna, Mustafa Arif, sent a telegram to the Grand Viziership stating that since the emigrants did not have a proper law until they migrated to the Ottoman Empire, they remained behind from civilization and followed the path of nomadic life until now, and also followed the way that everyone knows and is capable of, and that is why such evils occurred.⁵⁷² Because emigrants had become Ottoman subjects, they had to obey the laws just like Ottoman citizens. For this reason, the qaymaqam requested from the Porte that a guidebook containing several items such

⁵⁶⁹ MVL. 1017-82; Danube, no: 21, Cemaziyelevvel (12 October 1865).

⁵⁷⁰ İ.MVL. 542-24351; MVL. 712-83; Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri*, p. 191.

⁵⁷¹ A.MKT.MHM. 259-33.

⁵⁷² MVL. 960-39: "...kendüleri Osmanlıya dehalet ve muhaceret etdikleri tarihe kadar bir hey'et-i müstakile ve zabita-i tebe'iyetde bulunamadıkları cihetle medeniyetden beri olarak şimdiye kadar bedeviyet yolunda bulunarak ve herkes bildiği ve muktedir olduğu yola gitmek ve bundan dolayı böyle fenalıklar zuhur etmekte olduğundan..."

as murder, assault, and theft be sent to them, as they would not understand if a copy of the penal code was given to them.⁵⁷³

Refusing the banditry and theft crimes, Circassian emigrants sent a petition to the Porte on 8 July 1861, stating that they never accepted these crimes and that they tried to deal with the enemies who haunted them as much as they could while they were in their original homeland, and that they punished those who stole in accordance with the Shari'a rules without tolerance. They also complained that many of their men were killed while passing through forests and mountain places due to the ban on carrying weapons. They regretfully expressed that the ban on carrying a gun would cause everyone from seven to seventy to forget their long-honored ability to use weapons in a society that is ready to give their lives and sacrifices for the sake of religion and the state.⁵⁷⁴

In the incidents where emigrants were victims, they were beaten, murdered, and robbed by the bandits. For example, a bandit group of thirty persons usurped the emigrants and slaughtered eight to ten people in Islimiye, around Bergos, Ahyolu, and Aydos. Fifteen members of this bandit organization were apprehended, along with their chiefs, and necessary action was taken against them.⁵⁷⁵ Because of such incidents, the government had sent guns to refugees in the Sahara region to protect themselves against bandits.⁵⁷⁶ Also, in 1861 Porte sent an order to the Silistra governor to prevent the banditry incident and to ensure the peace in the region as soon as possible. In accordance with the order, the governor began forming a reserve army to ensure regional security. Thanks to the governor's efforts, the number of reserve soldiers in the province of Silistra had reached 13.000.⁵⁷⁷

Despite the state's attempts to ensure security in the region, the issues of killing, raiding, and robbery were at the top of the fifteen-article complaint letters written to the government by emigrants established in the Balkans in 1863. It was stated in the

⁵⁷³ MVL. 960-39.

⁵⁷⁴ A.DVN. 166-52.

⁵⁷⁵ MVL. 396-96.

⁵⁷⁶ A.MKT.NZD. 442-87.

⁵⁷⁷ A.MKT.UM. 486-57.

letter containing the seals of fifty emigrants in the Varna Sanjak that a few bandits had broken emigrant Young Ahmed Efendi's door at night and broke into his house. The bandits had stoled his belongings and money, fried the iron in the fire, and injured Ahmed Efendi in five or six places. Ahmed Efendi died a week later due to his wound. One week after Ahmed Efendi's death, his wife, son, and daughter also died of fear. Likewise, in the town of Hacıođlupazarı, one of the notables of the emigrant merchants, Mustafa's door had also been broken, and his 10.000 gurush were stolen. A few people had broken into the house of Benli Gazi, who was settled in Osmancık village, one of the Mangalia villages of the Constanta Sanjak, at night and killed him and stole 10.500 gurush cash. Emigrants stated that such incidents mostly happen to themselves, that this situation upsets them, and that everyone's liver is burning like a kebab due to the fire of cruelty and insult.⁵⁷⁸

Indeed, the threat of bandits and highjackers was at the forefront of the security problem in the Balkans. When the complacency of the officers was added to this situation, the security problem worsened. In a letter Nusret Bey sent to Porte in 1862 stated that when he set out from Edirne to go to Dobruja in 1862, he stopped by the Sliven Sanjak on the route, and he realized that people were in a miserable situation because of usurpation and plundering, that many robberies and plundering events have been taking place. Therefore, he said he should stay in Sliven for a while. Nusret Bey also stated that the majority of the emigrants sent to Sliven had not yet been settled, that their safety had not been secured and eight or ten emigrants had been killed or injured by bandits, and the rest had their possessions stolen and robbed. He also notified the Porte that the refugees in the Bergos village of Cankarındaş and the Ahmediye in the Maraş Strait, which is subordinate to Yambol, had been dispersed for security reasons, and that a portion of them was attempting to disperse and travel to Dobruja. Nusret Bey said that the reason for these incidents was that the local authorities did not take the appropriate precautions. According to him, the fact that the people employed by the Sliven governorship under the name of *zaptiye*(gendarmerie) and rural division chief and reliable person were Albanians from outside of the sanjak, about whom little was known, and that they tormented the people by wandering,

⁵⁷⁸ MVL. 963-78.

eating, and drinking as they pleased in the villages during the summer, caused these security problems. Nusret Bey had told Pleven's qaymaqam that the region's security forces should comprise individuals the public could trust. However, the qaymaqam did not comply with Nusret Bey's request because he did not agree with Nusret Bey on this issue. For this reason, Nusret Bey then urged that the Porte replace the qaymaqam with a competent and rational individual.⁵⁷⁹ While this was evident in the Balkans, conflicts between emigrants and tribes also occurred in Anatolia. Tribes around Konya, Adana, and Yozgat had attempted to prevent Nogay refugees from settling.⁵⁸⁰ The Afşar and Kırıntılı tribes were at the head of these tribes. Following a discussion in the *Majlis-i Vala*, it was resolved that the perpetrators would be apprehended, questioned, and the expenditures would be reimbursed.⁵⁸¹

Circassian emigrants in Anatolia were involved in a variety of crimes and offenses. For example, on 4 September 1864 the *mutasarrıf* of Amasya stated in a letter to the Porte that Circassian emigrants who had settled in Amasya and were about to be transported to Sivas and Harput regarded theft, beating, and showing weapons as courage due to their nature.⁵⁸² *Mutasarrıf* also stated that sometimes emigrants dare to show a gun. In this case, although they should be punished with imprisonment or a fine according to the law, these punishments would be inappropriate. Because they were just settled, if they were imprisoned or detained because of their crime, it would harm their children, and the land given to them would stay raw. Emigrants who committed the crimes mentioned above had to be punished as well. However, perpetrators on the road to their destinations had to be separated from their relatives and families, or their relatives must be detained alongside them. Those freed after completing their sentences would be miserable since they would have no idea where their relatives and families were. Other prisons for women and children would have to

⁵⁷⁹ MVL. 957-64.

⁵⁸⁰ Karataş, "Çerkeslerin Sivas Uzunyayla'ya İskânları", p. 122-123; Tiryaki, "Muhacirlerin İskânı", p. 73-74.

⁵⁸¹ Paşaoğlu, "Nogay Muhaciri İskânı", p. 80-82.

⁵⁸² MVL. 687-16: "... muhâcirler sirkat ve darb ve teşhîr-i silâh gibi cinayâtı terbiye-i aslıyyeleri icâbınca âdet-i şecâ'at zannetdiklerinden ahâl-i kadîmeniñ hayvânât ve eşyâsını sirkat ve darb ve ba'zı vakitler dahi teşhîr-i silâha mücâseret eylemekde olduklarından...".

be established if they were incarcerated with their families. For that many criminals, one or two jails would be insufficient. The *mutasarrıf* took his words about the refugees further and stated that they would not even realize that being imprisoned in a place was a punishment because they were almost like wild animals, deprived of civilization and that maybe when they finished their sentence and were released, they would commit another misdemeanor to feed themselves by being imprisoned.⁵⁸³ Pecuniary punishment was not on the table because of the emigrants' economic situation. For this reason, the majority of criminals went unpunished. Although the refugees were treated as guests, they refused to give up their customs, no matter how many times they were informed that they would be punished if they committed a crime again. On the other side, native people continuously presented grievances to local administrations. For this reason, the *mutasarrıf* stated that emigrants should not be imprisoned or detained until they were accustomed to civilization. Instead, they should be beaten with sticks ranging from twenty to one hundred sticks depending on their misdemeanors, and a precedent would be set for others. This would be a temporary solution that would be kept secret among the officers.⁵⁸⁴

Another security problem involving the emigrants was between the slave owners and the slaves. For example, in their petition to the Porte, Circassian emigrants residing in Nevrekop *kaza* claimed that they had slaves among the families in Drama and requested that their slaves be handed to them. However, the Porte informed them that such inhumane claims would not be accepted. Upon this answer, the emigrants armed themselves and headed to Kalambak village in Drama to take their slaves. But, when they arrived at Drama, they were told that the subject would be discussed with Porte and that they would have to be patient during this period. The refugees, however, refused to accept this and asked that their slaves be given them.⁵⁸⁵ After a proper investigation, Porte sent a letter to the governor of Thessaloniki stating that the

⁵⁸³ MVL. 687-16: "...bu adamlar adeta yaban hayvânı gibi aliyye-i medeniyetden ari olduklarından bir mahalde mevkûf durmak ceza olduğunu bile anlamamakda ve belki mahbesde buldukları etmeğe şükrederek itmam-ı müddetle salıverildiklerinde yine mahbese konulub razıca kendini beslemek için aher cünhayı dahi irtikab etmekte..."

⁵⁸⁴ MVL.687-16.

⁵⁸⁵ A.MKT.UM. 459-64.

people whom the emigrants called slaves were Osman, sixty years old, and his wife, forty years old, and that this situation was not suitable for either humanity or Islam. Thus, it was notified that the governor should warn the emigrants that they could not take back their slaves since they were old and the slavery of old people is against Islam and humanity.⁵⁸⁶

Social classification problem between the slaves and their owners occurred in the Mandıra village of Tekfudağı due to the disobedience of the slaves against their owners. The slave owners were claiming that their slaves did not obey them, while the slaves were stating that they did not obey their lords since they took refuge in the Ottoman Empire on the grounds that everyone had equal citizenship rights. Because of the disagreement among them, an armed conflict occurred between the slaves and their lords. During the conflict, a few of the emigrants died. For this reason, the government collected the weapons of the emigrants. Later, the case was tried to be closed with state mediation.⁵⁸⁷

The state used the surety (kefalet) system to solve the public order issue among the migrants and locals in the Balkans that it used in neighborhoods in classical times. In Ruse, for example, emigrants and locals vouched for each other.⁵⁸⁸ With the surety system, both emigrants and locals became guarantors for one another. As a result, a self-control mechanism was established between the locals and the emigrants to protect each other from banditry and strife.

Finally, there were undesired interactions between the Crimean, Nogay, and Circassian refugees and the local Christian community. The state issued warnings to local officials, requesting that the emigrants refrain from harassing non-Muslims. However, especially following the Circassian colonization in Rumelia, Bulgarians and Greeks had several grievances. Circassian refugees were involved in theft and plundering in Rumelia. When Bulgarians applied to the court, they had to bring two Muslim witnesses. However, since no Muslims were living in Bulgarian villages, it was almost impossible to find witnesses for these people. Therefore, impunity for

⁵⁸⁶ A.MKT.UM. 462-62.

⁵⁸⁷ İ.MMS.34-1407; MVL. 1047-79; Karataş, "Kafkas Muhacirlerinin İskânı", p. 375.

⁵⁸⁸ A.MKT.MHM. 228-82.

crimes such as theft created hostility among the Bulgarian, Turkish and Tatar peoples against the Circassians.⁵⁸⁹

IV.V.IV. Settlement Problems

One of the main problems faced by the state was the problem of settlement. In the period when the number of emigrants was low, it gave the emigrants the right to choose the place where they would be resettled. Once the emigrants went and saw their settlement places and accepted to be settled there, their resettlement was completed. However, sometimes even though the place where the emigrants would be settled was determined, the emigrants did not consent to settle there and did not go to the places specified by the state for various excuses. For example, in 1860, 704 Taman and Crimean migrants were sent to the Dobrudja to be settled. However, some of the emigrants went to Dobruja, and some went to the Dobrich, where their fellow citizens live.⁵⁹⁰ Sometimes, emigrants left the houses built for them without notifying the state. For instance, 210 migrants had disembarked at the Varna pier to be sent to Sofia. Houses had been built for the refugees. But the emigrants left the houses and went to Dobrich. However, there was not enough land in Dobrich to settle them. In fact, there were four or five hundred families, more than the land's capacity in the *kaza*.⁵⁹¹ The fact that the emigrants left one place for their own pleasure and went to another place both hardened and delayed the settlement.

The issue of emigrant transportation was one of the obstacles experienced in the settlement process. Emigrants had been arriving in port cities along the Black Sea coast at indeterminate intervals. From here, they had been carried to ports where they would be settled by land or water. However, because of the increased number of emigrants, the passengers could not be transported on time because there were not enough sea vehicles to carry Circassian emigrants. Several small-scale vehicles such as small boats and boats were employed. But, such small vessels sank in the Black

⁵⁸⁹ Pinson, "Çerkeslerin Rumeli'ne İskânı", p. 6.

⁵⁹⁰ A.MKT.NZD. 325-43.

⁵⁹¹ A.MKT.UM. 514-81.

Sea, causing many people to die. It was decided to use the railway during the resettlement of Circassian emigrants in order to expedite the transportation of emigrants to the Balkans. However, the work of transporting migrants by train did not always go as planned. The Ottoman authorities, for example, had reached an agreement with the Constanta railway firm to transport the refugees. According to the agreement, the company would provide all kinds of convenience to the authorities for the transportation of emigrants. However, the firm officer, French Monsieur Sanak, had notified the Ottoman authorities that unless the transportation price was paid in advance, they would be unable to convey the emigrants. Due to the state's inability to provide cash, this situation led to wasted time and unexpected difficulty in setting the refugees. Authorities desperately had to procure cats from the locals.⁵⁹²

Another problem faced during settlement was the settlement of family or emigrant communities from the same group in various locations. In such circumstances, the emigrants petitioned the state for their resettlement. In 1860, for example, sixty Nogay refugees from the Yedsan tribe came from Crimea to İstanbul. From here, the refugees had been transported to the Dobrudja Plain. When 180 families from their tribe arrived to İstanbul, they were settled in the Hayrabolu *kaza* of Tekfurdağı Sanjak, despite their request to be relocated next to their relatives. A petition signed by the emigrants Mirza, Isa Ghazi, and Ebubekir was submitted to the authorities. In the petition emigrants informed the authorities that some of their tribes were already established in Tekfurdağı, and before their arrival they were assured that they would be settled adjacent to each other before. Since the emigrants had sisters, aunts, and cousins in Hayrabolu, they requested that they be settled to place where their relatives live. Similarly, 19 families 74 people from the Yedsan tribe and the Hodja Hüseyin group had been settled in the Nallı *kaza* of Izmit. But their relatives had settled in Tekfurdağı. For this reason, they desired to be established near their families. The refugees' wishes were met since there was adequate lands in Tekfurdağı, and the migrants were placed adjacent to their families.⁵⁹³ This situation occurred when many emigrants arrived in the Ottoman Empire in a short time, particularly

⁵⁹² A. MKT.UM. 433-8.

⁵⁹³ A.MKT.NZD. 314-59; For more examples see. A.MKT.MHM. 219-91.

during the Circassian exodus. The *Majlis-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye* delivered a fifteen-article instruction in 1865 to the governors, *mutasarrıfs*, and *qaymaqams* of the provinces and *kazas* where emigrants live. According to the fourteenth article of this instruction, the newcomers who came to İstanbul and other places would be sent as groups to whichever province and *kaza* their tribe is settled. Those who are settled in a separate place from their families would be sent to the places where their families are for resettlement. This also would apply to the slave and the slave owner.⁵⁹⁴

Another settling issue the state faced was that some emigrants wished to return to their native country. Those who wanted to return to their motherland went to İstanbul and other coastal cities. This drive was because they couldn't find what they were looking for in Ottoman, and some didn't want to be separated from each other, while others couldn't provide houses, land, or agricultural tools. Since the state did not allow returns, the immigrants were sent to the place they came from by the officials. But some of them persisted on their return. Upon this, the authorities asked the emigrants what caused their desire to return. Emigrants replied that they could not be settled in the places they went to, that they were not given the things written in the instructions, that they sold their possessions, and that they were suffering from financial difficulties. Upon the answer of the emigrants, the government emphasized to the governors and *qaymaqams* that the immigrants took refuge in the Ottoman Empire and informed them that the demands of the emigrants would be met by taking the necessary measures as soon as possible.⁵⁹⁵

Following the Crimean War, in order to revitalize the region, building plots for shops, inns, coffee houses, and other facilities were handed free of charge to Muslim or non-Muslim people who desired to build one. Due to the abundance of land, the locals began to encircle the vacant areas and claim them as their own. Transylvanian shepherds used to come to Dobruja plain to feed their sheep since the plain had an abundance of grass. Landowners were generating money by renting their land to shepherds rather than cultivating it. However, they were, sowing enough grain for themselves. However, when the population of the region rose owing to the

⁵⁹⁴ İ.MVL. 541-24269; MVL. 711-5.

⁵⁹⁵ A.MKT.MHM. 231-60.

resettlement of emigrants, the sites surrounded and utilized by the locals began to be allotted to the emigrants in 1859. This circumstance created tensions between the locals and the newcomers. Field and meadow battles between immigrants and locals in Dobruja intensified, particularly between 1863 and 1865.⁵⁹⁶

The situation in Anatolia was almost the same. For various causes, the population of several villages had decreased, and the vacant properties were seized by rapacious or notables. With the arrival of the migrants, everyone attempted to capture such vast expanses of territory. The situation in Anatolia was almost the same. For various causes, the population of several villages had decreased, and the vacant properties were seized by rapacious or notables. With the arrival of the migrants, everyone attempted to capture vast expanses of land. The state, which was having problems owing to a scarcity of land, informed the officers sent to Anatolia to supervise the settlement process with instructions that the land confiscated by others be taken back from those who seized it. Furthermore, when the locals wanted to have the empty lands in areas where emigrants settled, government employees gave the land to the people with a promissory note which led to an increase in the need for the land. That is why officers were banned from giving individuals land until the emigrants had settled in Anatolia. The regulation would also be implemented in Rumelia until the completion of the emigrants' settlement.⁵⁹⁷

The land allocated to the emigrants was not always suitable for plowing. The emigrants settled in Varna and Constanta reported in their appeal to the *Majlis-i Vala* in 1863 that the majority of the emigrants were farmers and complained that the locals did not provide appropriate soil for plowing. According to the petition, even though there was adequate land in the villages for both the emigrants and locals, the land deed was not handed to them when the land title was provided, which caused some emigrants to have money difficulties.⁵⁹⁸ Emigrants were sometimes settled on privately owned property. For example, Circassian refugees settled in Sliven on the estate of Aziz Ahmed Giray, a member of the Genghis dynasty. For this reason, Aziz

⁵⁹⁶ MVL. 1001-44.

⁵⁹⁷ i.MVL.505-22848.

⁵⁹⁸ MVL. 963-78.

Ahmed Giray, who was called to the Sliven Council, was ordered to give up his property rights. Ahmed Giray, on the other side, indicated that he would be willing to give the land to the emigrants for free in exchange for a monthly compensation of 500 *gurush* for the rest of his life. He remarked that if his land was seized from him free of charge and without compensation, he would stay impoverished. Upon this, Nusret Pasha sent a letter to the Porte and stated that it would be more beneficial for the state to allocate this land as Osmaniye village to the refugees and that, if necessary, a monthly salary of 400-500 *gurush* should be paid to Ahmed Giray.⁵⁹⁹ As a result of the investigation conducted upon Nusret Pasha's letter and Ahmed Giray's answer, it was determined that the property truly belonged to Ahmed Giray. Rather than providing him a pension, the government decided to purchase the land from him for 60.000 *gurush* and allotted the land to the emigrants.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ MVL. 958-6.

⁶⁰⁰ MVL. 1032-72.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis answered the questions of how Crimean and Caucasian emigrants were settled in the Balkans from the Crimean War until 1865, how the state managed migrations in the Balkans, and what challenges the state and emigrants encountered during and after the migration. The study's main focus is the period 1860-1865, when the Emigrant Commission was functioning. There are studies in the literature on the settlement of Crimean and Caucasian emigrants to the Balkan region following the Crimean War. However, these studies cannot provide a comprehensive framework since they span very short or very long periods and only depict migration movement superficially. This thesis is written with the notion that migration is a process and that the migrations that occur should be studied as a whole since they are consecutive. The reasons behind the migrations from the Crimea and the Caucasus to the Balkans were studied in the thesis, and how the migration process developed was examined.

One of the most notable differences between the migration movement during the studied period and earlier migrations is the development of mass media during this time. Thanks to the development of communication instruments such as the telegraph and newspaper, an event that occurred in one place could be heard by the government and the public in a short time. The development of telegraph lines made it possible to receive news about difficulties that happened in Russia or settlement regions on time. Thus, the Ottoman State performed better in terms of migration management. Similarly, the public was made aware of the predicament of emigrants through the media. On this occasion, the whole people contributed to the accumulation of help for migrants. Particularly the news of Circassian emigrants found its way into the international press, and international help campaigns were organized for emigrants. It has been determined that the state has adopted diverse policies on aiding emigrants. While aid to migrants who arrived after the Crimean War was substantial, the quantity of assistance given to them was lowered since the emigrants who came between 1859 and 1862 were wealthier than the preceding ones. Because the Caucasian emigrants

who arrived after 1864 were in poorer economic condition, the state altered its mind about the help given to the emigrants and raised the quantity of aid. Aid to emigrants had reached both national and international dimensions. With the cooperation of the state and the people, the needs of the emigrants were tried to be met.

Another point that increases the thesis's significance is that, for the first time in Ottoman history, an institution related to migration was founded during the studied period. The first step toward centralized institutionalization was taken. Until this time, various migrations to the Ottoman Empire occurred, but no particular commission was created to handle the issues of the emigrants. Moreover, the establishment of such a commission created a precedent for subsequent migratory movements, and commissions with similar structures and other names are established in the future. The studied period and region are critical in determining the identity of the emigrants who migrated from the Balkans to the Ottoman Empire following the 1877 Ottoman-Russian War. Because the Crimean and Caucasian emigrants who had settled in the Balkans were forced to re-migrate following the 1877 war.

The period when the migration movement started is quite remarkable in that it coincided with a period when the state was in the process of transformation. The Ottoman Empire, which was at the transition stage to the modern state with the Tanzimat and Islahat edicts, published the Refugee Code in 1856. Following the code, the declaration of the land registry regulation of 1858 also manifests a centralized state while modernizing. Giving title deeds to emigrants during land allocation resulted from this centralization. Since the implementation of the land registry regulation coincides with the migration process, it brought the people and the state face to face. Therefore, problems occurred between the state and the people. However, it can be said that the fact that the lands distributed to the emigrants were deedless forced the local people to register their lands. In addition, immigrants witnessed a new administrative structure in the Balkans as a result of the establishment of the Danube province in 1864. During the governorship of Midhat Pasha, *islahhanes* were opened in the Balkans, and orphaned children besides the local population were taken under protection and given education. Also, *Gureba* hospitals were used for the treatment of sick refugees. As a result, during the governorship of an experienced statesman like

Midhat Pasha, immigrants settled in the Balkans were treated differently than in Anatolia.

It has been observed that the majority of the emigrants who came until 1861 were settled around the Danube River and especially in Bulgaria. It can be said that the reason for this was that there were many vacant lands in the Dobrudja region, Tatars had been settled in the region before, the Danube River was suitable for use in transportation, and it was easy to transport emigrants from port cities to places around the Danube, and the riverside that had fertile lands. Compared to Anatolia, the transportation of emigrants in the Balkans was easier because, besides the Danube River, the Cernovoda-Constanta railway, which was opened in 1861, was also used for the transportation of the emigrants. Accordingly, emigrants were settled in Tulcea, Isaccea, Macin, Babadag, Mahmudiye, Medgidia, Constanta, Mangalia, Silistra, Balchik, Varna, Provadija, Shumen, Hezargrad, Vratsa, and Ruse.

It has been noticed that *sivad* lands were the most used land type in the Balkans, after *miri* lands for the emigrants' settlement. In addition, it was revealed that the state applied the *çift-hane* system policy, which was used in the Classical Ottoman period, during the settlement of the emigrants. In line with this policy, the aim of the state was to make the emigrants productive as soon as possible. For this purpose, as in the Classical period, a pair of oxen and arable land it could plow were distributed to the emigrants.

It has been revealed that during the settlement of emigrants in the Balkans, the state faced many problems, especially health, public order, settlement, and slavery. Local administrators, Porte and Nusret Pasha, worked together to solve these problems. The biggest problem encountered in health problems was that emigrants settled in the Balkans caused the spread of typhus, malaria, typhoid, and smallpox diseases in the region. In order to prevent the spread of epidemics, quarantine was implemented for ships that would carry passengers in accordance with the decision taken by *the Majlis-i Sihhiye* in 1860. However, although quarantine has been implemented, it has not been possible to prevent the spread of epidemics. Many challenges have been seen in treating sick emigrants due to the state's lack of adequate infrastructure. One of the difficulties encountered was the lack of a sufficient number of doctors in the Balkans. To meet the need for doctors, the state benefited from

memleket, military and foreign doctors. However, because foreign doctors did not know Turkish, a language barrier had developed between doctors and patients. For this reason, local authorities asked that Turkish-speaking doctors be sent instead of foreign doctors. In addition, due to the lack of adequate hospitals in the region, it was difficult to treat patients. Although doctors went village by village and treated the emigrants, the desired outcome could not be obtained. Therefore, after the establishment of the Danube Province, the northern section of the Balkans was split into six *kazas*, with a center assigned to each *kaza*. In these centers, hospitals for the treatment of migrants were constructed. The state also attempted to prevent the spread of disease in the Balkans by implementing vaccination.

The most difficult problem for the state in terms of settlement had been the separation of emigrants from their families or relatives, or the lack of sufficient land. When immigrants from the same family, community or relatives were separated and settled in different locations, they petitioned the government to be reunited with their families. If there was enough land available, the government accepted requests for resettlement with their families or relatives. However, in some cases, immigrants returning to their families or going elsewhere without informing the government caused problems for the state. Furthermore, it has been observed that the state sometimes finds it difficult to allocate land to emigrants because the locals owned lands that do not belong to them. In such cases, state officials were dispatched to reclaim the lands from those who had unlawfully owned them and distribute them to the immigrants.

On the subject of slavery, it is observed that the state adopted various attitudes. Although the state tolerated the first emigrant group regarding slave ownership, the state's stance on slavery shifted with the increase in the number of slaves following the Circassian migration in 1864. Until 1864, the state permitted the sale of those aged twenty-five or thirty who confessed their slavery. In February 1864, it was decided that immigrants under the age of thirty could be sold, but those over the age of thirty could not. However, following the exile decision for Russia's Caucasian peoples, when it was discovered that the daughters of the immigrants were selling to pay the freight fees, the sale of free-born people was prohibited. Since then, the state has used the *mukataba* method, an old method for emancipating slaves. Slave owners were offered

a certain amount of land in exchange for freeing their slaves. However, the *mukatebe* method was unable to abolish slavery.

Another problem that the state and emigrants faced was a language barrier. Because of their ties to the Ottomans and their common historical background, Tatars had almost no difficulty integrating into society. On the other hand, people from the Caucasus had many difficulties because they had a different cultural structure and did not speak Turkish. In the Balkans, translators were used to solving the language barrier between Caucasian emigrants and the state and people. For this reason, it can be said that Crimean emigrants are more easily adapted to society than Caucasian emigrants. In addition, the fact that the Caucasian peoples were more vulgar than the Tatars prevented them from integrating into the society.

It can be said that the Ottoman Empire adopted various settlement policies during the ten-year period between 1856-1865. Since it was desired to increase the Muslim population in the Balkans, emigrants settled in this region were settled together, while in Anatolia, excluding some places, emigrants were settled separately. The state did not randomly settle the emigrants. Tatars were settled in places suitable for agriculture because they were farmers, while Circassians were settled in places where security problem experienced. The reason for this was the state's desire to increase the efficiency obtained from vacant lands, as well as to ensure the safety of borders and roads. But foreign powers such as England and Russia had also an impact on the state's resettlement policy. Therefore, while Caucasian emigrants in Anatolia were resettled in places far from the border, in the Balkans, especially Circassian emigrants were settled in places close to the borders.

While the reasons for the migration of the Crimean and Caucasian peoples, who migrated in three waves over ten years, converge at many points, the reasons for the migration of migrants differ. People who came after the Crimean War began to migrate with the Ottoman soldiers who had withdrawn from the Crimea, believing that they would be punished for assisting the Ottomans during the war. Russia's aggressive policy in the Caucasus was the primary motivation for both groups in the Crimea and the Caucasus in 1859. Due to Russia's mass exile decision for Caucasian people in 1864, these people were forced to emigrate. Accordingly, the primary motivation for migrations after 1864 differs from previous migrations. Before 1864, it was preferable

for people to migrate to the Ottoman Empire, but after 1864, migration to the Ottoman Empire became a necessity.

It has been revealed that the tax and military service exemptions granted by the state to the emigrants differed at various times. While the first comers were exempted from paying taxes for ten years and from military service for twenty-five years, those who arrived between 1859 and 1862 received a shorter period of tax exemption. The exemption was reduced once again during the Circassian exodus, and it became three years. The state's changing attitude can be attributed to the dire economic situation and the state's inability to cope with the financial burden of many emigrants.

It was determined that the settlement organization worked better in the Balkan geography than in Anatolia, thanks to the efforts of Nusret Pasha. Although the reasons for the migration of the Crimean and Caucasian peoples, who migrated in three waves over a ten-year period, were united in many points, it was understood that there were differences between the migration reasons of the emigrants.

As a result, migrations to the Balkans have had a sociological and cultural impact, as well as political and economic consequences. Emigrants, more than 10% of the Balkans' population, had been settled in the region. The establishment of new neighborhoods, villages, and towns for emigrants had an impact on both administrative and demographic structures. Similarly, social buildings such as mosques, schools, and hospitals built to meet the needs of emigrants contributed to the region's development. With the settlement of the emigrants in the region, agricultural production increased, and the state gained an important military resource.

Finally, this thesis scrutinized migrations from Crimea and the Caucasus to the Balkans between 1860 and 1865. The results reached in this context can be listed as follows: The Ottoman Empire established an institution to organize migration for the first time in its history. This institution settled over 400.000 individuals in the Balkans in six years. The Ottoman territory was split into settlement areas, and local officials were charged with the settlement. The Balkan settlement program worked more successfully than in Anatolia. The Ottoman Empire had three different policies about the aid to emigrants. The state faced land, security and health problems during the resettlement of the emigrants. The land problem was solved by putting *sivad* and farmlands into use as well as *miri* lands and taking back the vacant land from the

people who owned them before or after the arrival of the emigrants and handing it to the emigrants. The health problems were solved by employing military, *memleket* and foreign doctors, opening hospitals for emigrants, applying quarantine to emigrants and vaccinating them. Despite this, many people died either during or after migration.

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APPENDICES

A. MAPS

Appendix. 1. A map depicting the settlement places of the emigrants in the Balkans between 1860-1865



Appendix. 2. Turkey in Europe in 1860



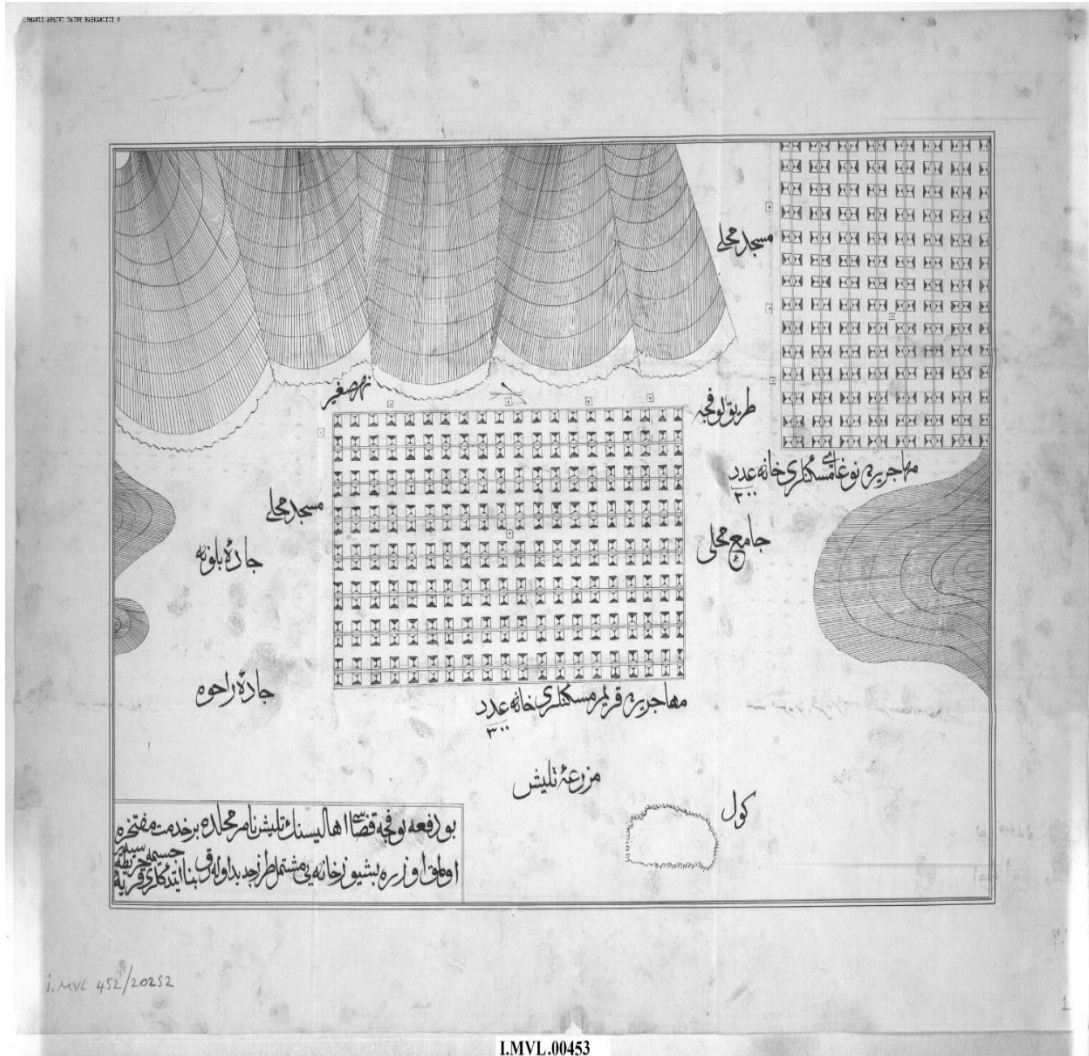
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries.

Appendix. 3. A map depicting the Danube Province



Source: BOA, HRT.h. 201-1.

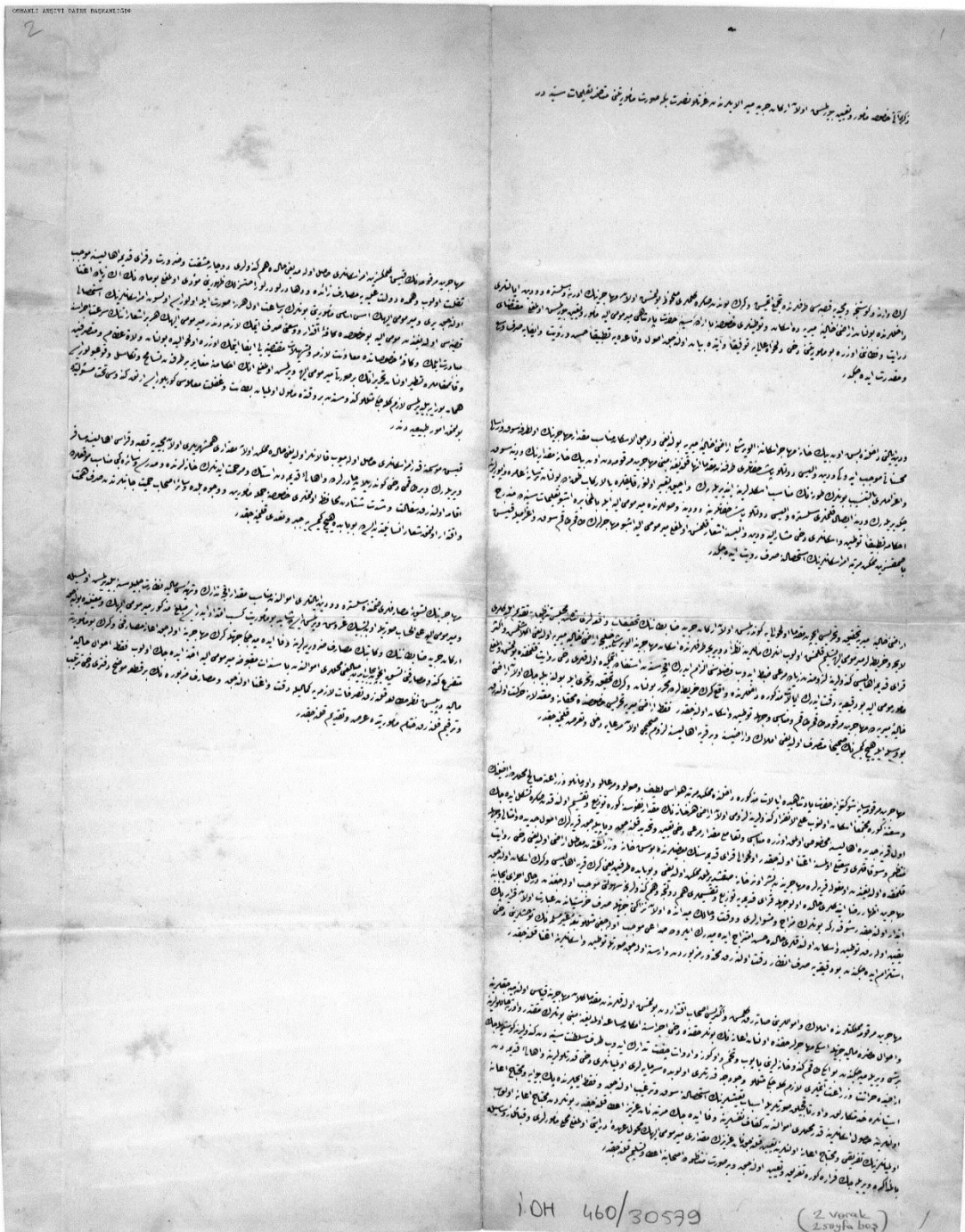
Appendix.4. A map depicting the settlements of Nogay and Tatar emigrants in Lovich



Source: I.MVL. 0453.

B. ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Appendix. 5. The instructions given to Nusret Bey about his duty on 9 August 1860



i.DH.00460

Zikr-i âfî husûsa me'mur ve ta'yîn buyurulmuş olan erkân-ı harbiye Mir alaylarından izzetlü Nusret Bey'e sûret-i me'mûriyetini mutazammın ta'lîmât-ı seniyyedir.

Gerek Varna ve Köstence ve Mecidiye kasabası taraflarında tecemmu' etmiş ve gerek bundan sonra gelmeleri melhûz bulunmuş olan muhâcirînin Edirne ve Silistre ve Vidin eyâletleri dâhilinde bulunan arâzî-i hâliyye-i mîriyyede iskân ve tavfînleri husûsuna bâ irâde-i seniyye-i hazret-i pâdişâhî mîr-i mûmâ ileyh me'mûr ve ta'yîn buyurulmuş olmağla muktezâ-yı dirâyet ve fetâneti üzere bu me'mûriyetini dil-hâh-ı 'âlîye tevfikân ve âfîde beyân olunacak usûl ve kâ'ideye tatbîkân hüsn-i ru'yet ve îfâya sarf-ı vüs' ü makderet idecektir.

Vidin eyâleti dâhilinde beş on bin hâne muhâcir iskânına elverişli arâzî-i hâliyye-i miriyye bulunduğu ve li-ecli'l-iskân münâsib mikdâr muhâcirînin ol tarafa sevk ve irsâli muhsinâtı mûcib idüğü Vidin vâlisi devletlü paşa hazretleri tarafından mukaddemâ inhâ kılındığına mebnî muhâcirîn-i merkûmeden on bin hâne mikdârının Vidin'e sevk ve i'zâmları bi't-tensîb bunların Tuna'nın münâsib iskelelerine indirilerek ve açık ta'bîr olunur kayıklara bi'l-irkâb Tuna'da bulunan Tersâne-i 'âmire vapurlarına çekdirilerek Vidin'e îsâl kılınmaları Silistre vâlisi devletlü paşa hazretlerine ve Vidine vusûllerinde mîr-i mûmâ ileyh ile bi'l-muhâbere işbu ta'lîmât-ı seniyyede mûnderic ahkâma tatbîkân tavfîn ve iskânları dahi müşârun ileyh Vidin vâlisine iş'âr kılınmış olmağla mîr-i mûmâ ileyh işbu muhâcirlerin tâkım tâkım sevk ve i'zâmıyla kış basmaksızın mümkün mertebe emr-i iskânlarının istihsâline sarf-ı ru'yet idecektir.

Arâzî-i hâliyye-i mîriyye tahkîk ve taharrîsi için mukaddemâ ol havâliye gönderilmiş olan erkân-ı harbiye zâbitânının tahkîkât-ı vâkı'alarını mutazammın Meclis-i Tanzimât'a takdîm eyledikleri lâyiha ve harîtalar mîr-i mûmâ ileyhe teslîm kılınmış olub anların me'allerine nazaran Dobruja taraflarında iskân-ı muhâcirîne el verişli haylice arâzî-i hâliyye-i mîriyye olduğu anlaşılmiş ve ekser kurâ-yı kadîme ahâlîsi kendülerine lüzûmundan ziyâde mer'â zabt idüb fazlâsını ilzâm iderek akçasından istifâde itmekde oldukları dahi rivâyet kılınmakda bulunmuş olmağla me'mûr-ı mûmâ ileyh bu dakîkaya dikkat iderek eyâlât-ı mezkûre dâhilinde vâkı' gerek harîtalarda muharrer bulunan ve gerek tahkîk ve taharrî ile bulunabilecek olan arâzî-i hâliyye-i mîriyyede muhâcirîn-i merkûme tâkım tâkım ve münâsibi vech ile

tavtîn ve iskân olunacaktır. Fakat arâzî-i mîriyye taharrîsi husûsunda muhikkâne ve mu'tedilâne hareket olunarak bu vesîle ile hiç kimsenin sahîhan mutasarrîf olduđu emlâk ve arâzîsine ve bir karye ahâlîsine lüzûm-ı sahîhi olan mer'aya dahl u ta'arruz kılınmayacaktır.

Muhâcirîn-i merkûme sâye-i şevket-vâye-i hazret-i pâdişâhîde eyâlât-i mezkûre dâhilinde mümkün mertebe havâsı latîf ve sulu ve mer'alu ve ormanlı ve zirâ'ate sâlih mahallerde arâzînin vüs'atine göre müctemi'an iskân olunub ale'l-infirâd kendülerine lüzûmu olan arâzî her hânenin mikdâr-ı nüfûsuna göre tevzî' ve taksîm olunduktan sonra teşekkül idecek ol karye-i cedîde ahâlîsine mahsûs olmak üzere münâsibi ve te'âmülü mikdâr mer'a dahi ta'yîn ve tahdîd kılınacak ve yapılacak karyelerin usûl-ı cedîde ve emsâli vech ile muntazam ve sokakları vüs'atli olmasına i'tinâ olunacaktır. Ol havâlî kurâ-yı kadîmesinin ba'zılarında boş hâne ve zirâ'atden mu'âttal arâzî olduđu dahi rivâyet kılınmakta olduğundan o makûle karyelere muhâcirînden beşer onar hâne sıkışdırılmak mümkün olduđu ve bu bâbda tarafeyn ya'ni gerek karye ahâlîsi ve gerek iskân olunacak muhâcirîn izhâr-ı rızâ itdikleri hâlde ol vechle kurâ-yı kadîmeye tevzî' ve taksîmleri hem devletce ve hem kendülerince suhûleti mûceb olacağından derhâl icrâ-yı icâbına ibtidâr olunacaktır. Şu kadar ki bunların mizâc ve mişvârları ve vakt ü hâlin meydânda olan nezâketi cihetiyle sırf hıristiyandan ibâret olan kurâyaya pek yakın olarak tavtîn ve iskân olundukları hâlde hüsn-i imtizâc idemeyerek ilerüde sudâ'ı mûcib olacağı misüllü teba'a-i gayr-i müslimenin tevahhuşlarını dahi istilzâm ideceğinden bu dakîkaya sarf-ı enzâr-ı dikkat olunarak mahzûr-ı mezbûrdan vâreste olacak sûretle tavtîn ve iskânlarına i'tinâ kılınacaktır.

Muhâcirîn-i merkûme memleketlerinde emlâk ve emvâllerini satarak gelmiş ve ekserisi ashâb-ı iktidârdan bulunmuş olduklarından mukaddemâ gelen muhâcirîne kıyâs olunamayacaklarına ve ahvâl-i hâzîre-i mâliye cihetiyle eski muhâcirler hakkında olunan i'ânenin bunlar hakkında dahi icrâsına imkân müsâ'id olmadığına mebnî bunların muktedir ve orta hallülerine bir şey verilemeyeceğinden bu iki tâkım kendü hânelerini yapup ve tohum ve öküz ve edevât-ı çift tedârük idüb taraf-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeden kendülerine gösterilecek arâzîde harâset ve zirâ'at itmeleri lâzım geleceği misüllü vücûdca kudretleri olub da sermâyeleri olmayanları dahi kudretlülerine ve ahâlî-i kadîmeden isteyenlere hizmetkârlık ve ortaklık sûretleriyle esbâb-ı ta'yişlerinin istihsâline sevk ve tergîb olunacak ve fakat içlerinde pek bî-vâye ve

muhtâc-ı i'âne olanlarına husûl-ı iskânlarına kadar mahalleri emvâlinden kefâf-ı nefslerine vefâ idecek mertebe nân-ı azîz i'tâ kılınacaktır. Bunlardan muhtâc-ı i'âne olup olmayanlarının tefrîki ve muhtâc-ı i'âne olanlarına ta'yîn kılınacak nân-ı azîzin mikdârı mîr-i mûmâ ileyhın muhavvel-i uhde-i dirâyeti olmağla mahallî me'mûrları ve kabâ'il rû'esâsıyla bi'l-müzâkere virilecek karâra göre tefrîk ve ta'yîn olunacak ve bir sûret-i muntazamada ashâbına i'tâ ve teslîm kılınacaktır.

Muhâcirîn-i merkûmenin kış gelmeksizin emr-i iskânları hâsıl olamadığı hâlde hem kendüleri dûçâr-ı meşakkat ve zarûret ve kurâ-yı kadîme ahâlisine mûceb-i sıklet olup ve hem de Devlet-i aliyye'ye masârıf-ı zâ'ide ve daha dürlü dürlü rahatsızlık zuhûrunu mü'eddi olmağla bu mâddenin en ziyâde i'tinâ olunacak yeri ve mîr-i mûmâ ileyhın es esâs me'mûriyeti bunların bir sâ'at evvel her ne sûret ile olur ise olsun emr-i iskânlarının istihsâli kazıyesi olduğundan mûmâ ileyh bu husûsda kâffe-i iktidâr ve vüs'ati sarf etmek lâzımedendir mîr-i mûmâ ileyhın her bir iş'ârâtının sür'at-ı icrâsına mübâderet eylemek ve kaffe-i husûsâtta mu'âvenet-i lâzıme ve teshîlât-ı mukteziyeyi îfâ itmek üzere ol havâlide bulunan vulât-ı izâm ve mutasarrıfın ve kâ'immakâmlara tastîr olunan tahrîrâtın bir sûreti mîr-i mûmâ ileyhe virilmiş olmağla anın ahkâmına mugayyir bir taraftan tesâmuh ve tekâsül vukû' bulur ise hemân buraya bildirilmesi lâzım geleceği misüllü kendüsünden bir vakitte me'mûl olmayan betâ'et ve gaflet mu'âmelesi görülür ise artık kendüsü taht-ı mes'ûliyetde bulunmak umûr-ı tabî'iyedendir.

Kış mevsimine kadar emr-i iskânları hâsıl olamayub kalanlar olduğu hâlde mümkün olan mikdârı hemşehrileri olan Mecidiye kasaba ve kurâsı ahâlisine müsâfir virilerek ve bir tákımı dahi gönderilen çadırlarda ve ahâli-i kadîmeden istek ve merhamet edenlerin hânelerinde ve medrese ve sâ'ire gibi münâsib mevki'lerde ikâme olunarak sefâlet ve şiddet-i şitâdan muhâfaza olunmaları husûsuna cümle me'mûrîn ve vücûh-ı belde ve sâ'ir ashâb-ı hamıyyet câniblerinden sarf-ı himmet ve iktidâr olunmak şî'âr-ı insâniyetden ise de bu bâbda hiç kimseye cebr ü ta'addi kılınmayacaktır.

Muhâcirînın tesviye-i masârıfları zımnında Silistre ve Vidin eyâletleri emvâlinden münâsib mikdâr akça tedârük ve tehyiesi Mâliye nezâret-i celîlesine bildirilmiş olmasıyla ve mîr-i mûmâileyh 'ale'l-hesâb sûretiyle on beş bin gurus virilmiş ise de şâyed bu me'mûriyet kesb-i imtidâd ider ise meblağ-ı mezkûr mîr-i mûmâ ileyhın ve

ma'iyyetinde bulunacak erkân-ı harbiyye zâbıtânının ve kâtibin masârif-ı zarûriyelerine vefâ idemeyeceği cihetle gerek muhâcirîne olacak i'âne masârifini ve gerek bu me'mûriyete müteferri' kendü masârifini tesviye için icâb iden mebâligi mahalleri emvâlinden bâ-senedat-ı makbûza mîr-i mûmâ ileyh ahz idecek olub fakat ahvâl-i hâliye-i mâliyye derpiş-i nazar mütâla'a kılınarak tasarrufât-ı lâzıme kemâliyle dikkat ve i'tinâ olunacak ve masârif-ı mezbûrenin bir kıt'a muvazzah defteri dahi tertîb ve terkîm kılınarak hitâm-ı me'mûriyetde arz ve takdîm kılınacaktır.

Appendix. 6. The directive given to the officers sent to the villages for the settlement of the emigrants on 10 May 1860

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الحکومت مطهریه اجدید کوپاره تسمیه واعلام و نظیر تصور لره تعالیا

اول دفعه اولیاً درین ملاحظه که هر کس که در این مملکت کسب کرده باشد باید در این مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت
 طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 و چونکه مطهریه بویزد و تسمیه تا کسب در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 در مملکت کسب نماید و در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 اداره اولیاً مطهریه کوپاره با اولیای مطهریه در مملکت کسب نماید و در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت

هر کس که استواید که از این قریه در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 بدینجهت باید از قریه تسمیه یعنی هر وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 ایستاد و در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت

هر کس که در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت
 در وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت بماند و اگر در خارج مملکت طویلی در حال کسب باشد و وقتاً مساوی در خارج مملکت

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İskân-ı muhâcirin için köylere ta'yîn ve i'zâm olunan me'mûrlara ta'limâtıdır.

Evvelce vukû' bulan tenbîhât üzerine muhâcirler için her köyde yetişecek kadar yazlık ya'ni mısır darı mercimek fasulye gibi zahire ekilmekte olup şâyed henüz ekmemiş köyler var ise me'mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim köylüyü ve muhâcirleri toplayup derhâl ekdirecek ve evkât-ı ma'lûmesinde çapalayub tüccâr etmek üzere muhâcirlere köylü tarafından çapa gibi alât-ı çiftin ödünç olarak verilmesini ve hîn-i iktizâda çapaca dahi mu'âvenet eylemelerini ve çünkü muhâcirler bu yaz ve bu kış ta gelecek sene harman vaktine kadar şimdi ekilecek mezkûr yazlık zahire ile geçineceklerinden eğer bunu köylüler ekmeyecek olsalar muhâcirler daha bir sene ta'yîn vermeleri iktizâ idüb bu dahi kendülerine sıkıntı olacağından ana göre çalışmalarını köylüye ve artık tenbellik etmeyüb bundan sonra başlarının çâresini arayarak zirâ'at ve hırâsetle çobanlık ve hizmetkârlıkla idare olub fîmâ ba'd köylüye bâr olmamalarını dahi muhâcirler me'mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim anlayacakları lisân ile anlatacaktır.

Her köyde işbu ekilecek arâzî kaç dönüm ve kaç keyl ve ne cins zahîredir me'mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim tarafından kayd-ı defter olunacaktır.

Bu ekilecek yazlık zahîre yetişinceye ya'ni harman vaktine kadar muhâcirlerin fukarâ ve muhtâc olanlarına yine köylü tarafından yarımşar kıyye dakîk ta'yîn verilecek ve mümkün olamayan yerlerde evvelce her köyde iddihâr edilmiş olan zahîreden verdirilecek ve bu zahîre dahi kalmamış ise vakt-i harmana kadar yetişecek zahîreyi köylüden alub köyün münâsib mahallinde cem' itdirecek ve mikdârını ve ne kadar nüfûs-ı muhâcirîne yevmiye verileceğini köyün imâm ve muhtâr ve rû'esâsına anlatacak ve mikdâr-ı zehâyiri dahi kayd-ı defter idecektir.

Şimdiye kadar verilen ve bundan sonra verilecek olan zahîrenin akçası sâye-i hazret-i şâhânede cânib-i mîrîden tesviye olunacağı cihetle her köyde şimdiye değin ne mikdâr nüfûsa ne kadar zahîre ve dakîk verildiği köylüden sorulub kayd-ı defter olunacaktır.

Muhâcirlerin pek fakîr ve kudretsiz olanlarına vakt-i harmana kadar daha yevmiye verilecek ve kudretli olanlara verilmek iktizâ etmeyüb şu kadar ki bunların hâllerini me'mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim tahkîk etdikden sonra cümlesini cem' idüb işte falan falan şu kadar nüfûsa yevmiye verilecek ve filan filanın vakt ü zamânı hoş olduğundan verilmeyecek ve yevmiye verileceklerin dahi mahsûl yetiştiğinde yevmiyeleri kesileceğini ve artık yevmiye için Rusçuk'a gelüb ta'cîze hâcet

kalmayacağını cümlesine anlatacak ve istid‘a vukû‘unda cevâb verilmek için kudretli ve kudretsiz takımını defterinde gösterecektir.

Her köyde kadîmi sûretiyle iskân olunacak muhâcirlerle bu güz esnâsında ve daha evvel zirâ‘ata başlamak üzere me‘mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim tarafından köylünün celbiyle ve müzâkere icrâsıyla lüzûmu mikdâr arâzî gösterilecek ve meselâ filan yere şu kadar dönüm arâzî muhâcirlere verildi deyü köylüler tarafından ifâde olursa bile kanâ‘at itmeyüb me‘mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim arâzîyi gözüyle görecek ve kâbil-i zirâ‘at değilse başka yer arayub muhâcirlerle tahsîs edecektir.

Kadîmî sûretle bir köyde iskân olunacak muhâcirlerin aded-i hâne ve nüfûsları ol karyenin nüfûs defterine zeyl olmak için sebt-i defter edilecek ve numaralar konulacaktır ve hâli arâzîde yeniden köy teşkîl olunacak hâneler dahi nüfûsa kaydolmak üzere kezâlik numaralar vaz‘ edilecektir.

Me‘mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhimin bâlâda muharrer mevâdi icrâlarından sonra hiçbir hâne muhâcir olduğu yerden mahal-i ahire hareket edemeyeceğinden gezecek me‘mûrlar bir köyde ziyâde muhâcir bulunur da arâzîsi az olur ise oradan muhâcir kaldırub arâzîsi çok muhâciri az olan karyeye oturacaktır.

Muhâcirîn için köylerde zeminlik ve kulubeler kâmilen inşâ kılınmış ise de şâyed henüz yapılamayan bulunur ise çünkü bunlar köylünün hânesinde oturmak lâzım gelüb bu da ahâliye sıkıntı olacağından lüzûmu olan zeminlik ve kulubeler köylünün i‘ânesi ve muhâcirlerin sa‘y ü gayreti ile derhâl yapılacaktır.

Muhâcirlerden ba‘zıları da kavim ve kabîle ve akraba ve ta‘allukâtı olduğundan bahisle oraya gitmek emeliyle arz-ı istid‘adan hâlî olmadıkları aşikârdır. Ana ve baba ve karındaş ve kız karındaş ve oğlu gibi râbita-i nesebiyyede yekdiğere pek yakın olanların birbirlerinden infikâkları muvâfık-ı rikkat ve şefkat olmadığından bu misüllülerin bir yerde bulunmaları lâzım olacağı bedîhi olup şu kadar ki arâzî-i kâfiye olmayan mahalde bunların ictimâ‘ı uyamayacağından kangı tarafda arâzî çok ise bunların orada yerleşdirilmesi için kangı kazâ ve kurâda ne makûle ta‘allukâtı var ise ol mahal me‘mûrlarından sû‘âl olunub sahîh olduğu hâlde icâbına bakılmak üzere me‘mûrîn-i mûmâ ileyhim tarafından isim ve şöretleriyle sebt-i defter edilecek ve yalnız kavim ve kabîle ve cemâ‘atleri sâ‘ir mahallerde olanların oraya gitmelerine ruhsat virse belki orada arâzî bulunamaz ve bunlar dahi gitmiş bulunurlar da bir derece daha sefil olurlar ve husûsuyla birçok halkın bir mahalde tecemmu‘u lâzım gelerek ol

hâlde hiçbir arâzî buna mütehammil olamaz bu cihetle öyle cemâ'atinin olduğu mahallere gitmek isteyenleri azîmetden men' edecek ve fakat müsâfet sûretiyle olanlardan kavim ve kabîle ve akraba ve ta'allukâtı kazâ ve kurâ-yı diğerde bulunur ve orada dahi arâzî-i kâfiye olduğu tahkîk anlaşılır ise o takımların azimetlerinde be'is olmadığından iktidârsız olanlarına usûlu vech ile araba verdirilerek nakl etdirilmek üzere buraya bildirilecektir. Fi 29 Şevval sene 77 (10 May 1860)

Meclis-i sıhhiyenin fi 22 Mayıs sene 1860 târihiyle müverrah bir kıt'a mazbatasının sûret-i tercümesidir.

Derûnlarında muhâcir olduğu hâlde tevârüd itmekde olan sefâyin fasl-ı sayf olduğu cihetle behemehâl tezâyüd ideceğine ve mevsim-i germâ ise ilel-i sâriyenin zuhûr ve intişârına müsâ'id olduğuna ve hüdâ göstermesün tifüs denilen hummâ illetinin zuhûru hâlinde Darü's-saltana sekenesinin dûçâr olacakları muhâterât hakkında saltanat-ı seniyyenin dikkat-i 'âliyyesini celb itmek karantina idâresinin vezâ'if-i müterettibesinden bulunarak Tatar muhâcirleri haklarında meclis-i sıhhiye tarafından mukaddemâ karâr verilen tedâbirin icrâsını her vech ile iltizâm ve ikdâm buyuracaklarını dahi devletlü re'is paşa hazretleri beyân buyurmuş olmalarına binâ'en meclis-i mezkûr fi 3 Kanûn-ı Sâni sene 1860 târihinde dermeyân eylediği tedâbirin bu kere dahi re'is-i müşârun ileyh hazretlerine ber vech-i âtî arz ve beyânına ibtidâr ider.

Evvelen: Derûnunda muhâcir bulunan bi'l-cümle vapur ve yâhûd yelken sefâyininin Kavak'da tevkîf olunması

Sâniyen: Bu maslahat için mahsûsen karantina tarafından ta'yîn olunacak bir tabîb ma'rifetiyle sefâyin-i mezkûrenin mu'âyene itdirilmesi

Sâlisen: muhâcirîn hastalarının hâl-ı sıhhatde bulunan refiklerinden bi't-tefrik vaz' ve müdâvât olunmalarıçün kavak tahaffuzhânesiyle orada kâ'in kışlanın hastahâne ittihâz kılınması

Râbi'an işbu hastahânelere lüzûmuna göre bir veyâhûd bir kaç tabîb ve eczacı ta'yîn olunarak bunlara dahi bu iş için iktizâ idecek adem ve eşyânın i'tâ buyurulması

Hâmisen bunlardan hâl-ı sıhhatde bulunanlar Kavak tarafında yâhûd Selvi burnunda veya Haydar Paşa'da çadırlar ile ikâme olunarak havâyic-i zarûriyeden olunan şeylerin kendülere i'tâsıyla ba'dehu gönderilecekleri mahallere oradan ba's ve i'zâm olunmaları

Sâdisen muhâcir getürecek sefâyin haklarında karantina usûlunun icrâ olunması

Sâbi'an el-yevm derûnlarında muhâcirler bulunan hânların tahliyeleriyle merkûmların hâric-i beldede çadırlar ile ikâme etdirilmesi

İşbu tedâbirden başka ilel-i sâriyeyi mü'eddi ve müntehic olan izdihâmdan liecli't-tevakki bir gemiye vaz' olunacak muhâcirînin mikdârı sefînenin ve husûsuyla

seyâhati zahmetlü ve müttehid olan yelken gemisinin cesâmet ve tahammülüne göre olmasıçün Bâb-1 ‘âlî ile Rusya sefâreti beyninde bir karâr verilmek üzere re’is-i müşârun ileyh hazretleri taraflarından iltimâs buyurulması husûsunu dahi meclis-i mezkûr arz ve ihtâr eyler.

C. TABLES

Appendix. 7. The Other Versions of Place Names

Present	Ottoman	English
Айтос	Aydos	Aytos
Баба Планина	Baba Dağ	Baba Mountain
Bâlți	Balçık	Balchik
Белоградчик	Belgradcık	Belogradchik
Берковица	Berkofça	Berkovitsa
Добруджа	Dobruja	Dobruja
Търговище	Eski Cuma	Targovishte
Пловдив	Filibe	Plovdiv
Добрич	Hacıoğlu Pazarcığı	Dobrich
Разград	Hazergrad	Razgrad
Hârşova	Hırsova	Hârşova
Isaccea	İsakçı/ İshakçı	Isaccea
Сливен	İslimye	Sliven
Враца	İvraca	Vratsa
Врање	İvranye	Vranje
Златица	İzladi	Zlatitsa
Казанлък	Kızanlık	Kazanlak
Кюстенджа	Köstence	Constanta
Кюстендил	Köstendil	Kyustendil
Куршумлија	Kurşunlu	Kurşumlija
Лесковац	Leskofça	Leskovac
Ловеч	Lofça	Lovech
Mâcin	Maçın	Mâcin
Medgidia	Mecidiye	Medgidia
Несебър	Misivri	Nesebar
Mıstrâç	Mizistre	Mistras
Никопол	Niğbolu	Nikopol
Нишки	Niş	Nish
Перекоп	Orkapı	Perekop
Плѐвен	Plevne	Pleven
Провадия	Prevadi	Provadija
Оряхово	Rahova	Oryahovo
Русе	Ruçuk	Ruse
Ρουσόκαστρο	Ruskasrı	Rusokastro
Пирот	Şehirköy	Pirot
Θεσσαλονίκη	Selanik	Thessaloniki
Севлиево	Selvi (Servi)	Sevlievo
Силистра	Silistre	Silistra
София	Sofya	Sophia (Sofia)
Шумен	Şumnu	Shumen
Велико Търново	Tırnova	Tırnova
Tulcea	Tulça	Tulcea
Ямбол	Yanbolu	Yambol
Свищов	Ziştovi	Svishtov

Appendix. 8. Administrative units in the Balkans in 1860

Edirne Eyaleti					
Kazâ-i Edirne	Kazâ-i Baba-yı Atfık	Kazâ-i Havsa	Kazâ-i Cisir-i Ergene	Kazâ-i Yeñice-i Kızılağaç ma'a Hatunili	Kazâ-i Dimetoka
Kazâ-i Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa	Kazâ-i Çirmen	Kazâ-i Piñar Hisarı	Kazâ-i Kırk Kilise		
Filibe Eyaleti					
Kazâ-i Filibe	Kazâ-i Tatar Pazarı nâm-ı diğ̈er Pazarcık	Kazâ-i Ahi Çelebi	Kazâ-i Sultanyeri	Kazâ-i Uzuncaabad-ı Hasköy	
Kazâ-i Kazanlık	Kazâ-i Çirpan				
Tekfurdağı					
Kazâ-i Tekfurdağı	Kazâ-i İncecik	Kazâ-i Hayrabolu	Kazâ-i Vize	Kazâ-i Midye	
Kazâ-i Bergos	Kazâ-i Ereğli	Kazâ-i Saray	Kazâ-i Çorlu	Kazâ-i Silivri	
Gelibolu Sancağı					
Kazâ-i Gelibolu	Kazâ-i Karecik	Kazâ-i Şarköy	Kazâ-i Evreşe	Kazâ-i Mekri	
Kazâ-i Keşan	Kazâ-i Malkara	Kazâ-i İnöz	Kazâ-i İpsala		
Silivri Kaimmakamlığı					
Kazâ-i Çatalca	Kazâ-i Çekmece-i Kebir	Kazâ-i Çekmece-i Sağır	Kazâ-i Terkos	Kazâ-i Silivri	
Vidin Eyaleti					
Kazâ-i Vidin	Kazâ-i Niğbolu	Kazâ-i Zıştovi	Kazâ-i Lofça	Kazâ-i Rahova	
Kazâ-i Plevne	Kazâ-i İvraca	Kazâ-i Servi	Kazâ-i Polomiye		
Kaimmakamlık-ı Lofça					
Kazâ-i Lofça	Kazâ-i Servi	Kazâ-i Plevne	Kazâ-i Niğbolu	Kazâ-i Etrepol	
Sahra Kaimmakamlığı					
Kazâ-i Sahra	Kazâ-i Belgradcık	Kazâ-i Lom			
Tırnovi Sancağı					
Kazâ-i Tırnovi	karye-i Abrova	Karye-i Viranova	Karye-i Taravne	Karye-i Elne	Karye-i Pirova
Karye-i Kelfar	Karye-i Leskofça	Karye-i İblakova	Karye-i Rahovice-i Bala	Karye-i Rahovice-i Zir	Karye-i Arnabud
Karye-i Pele	Karye-i Dirağan	Karye-i Mihalce	Karye-i Kadı	Kazâ-i Zıştovi	
İslimiye Sancağı					
Kazâ-i İslimiye	Kazâ-i Yanbolu	Kazâ-i Nevâhî-i Yanbolu	Kazâ-i Zağra-i Cedfid	Kazâ-i Ahyolu	
Kazâ-i Aydos	Kazâ-i Ruskasrı				
Silistre Eyaleti					
Kazâ-i Ruscuk	Kazâ-i Silistre ma'a Tolci(Tulca)	Kazâ-i Hezargrad	Kazâ-i Cuma-i Atik	Kazâ-i Hırsova	

Kazâ-i Umur Fakih	Nâhiye-i Karalar	Nâhiye-i	nâhiye-i	Kazâ-i Çardak
Kazâ-i Mecidiye				
Kaimmakamlık-ı Şumnu				
Kazâ-i Osman Pazarı	Karye-i Kazgan Osman Pınarı	Pınarı tâbi'-i Kaza-i	Kazâ-i Prevadi	
Tulca kâimmakâmlığı				
Kazâ-i Tulca	Kazâ-i İsakca	Kazâ-i Maçın	Kazâ-i Babadağı	
Varna Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Varna	Kazâ-i Balçık	Kazâ-i Mankalya	Kazâ-i Köstence	Kazâ-i Pazarcık
Kazâ-i Prevadi	Kazâ-i Yeñi Pazar	Kazâ-i Misivri (Misevri)	Kazâ-i Kozlıca	Kazâ-i Ahyolu
Selânik Eyaleti				
Kazâ-i Selanik	Kazâ-i Karaferye	Kazâ-i Vodina	Kazâ-i Yeñice-i Vardar	Kazâ-i Usturumca ve Doyran
Kazâ-i Kavala	Kazâ-i Avrethisarı	Kazâ-i Karadağ	Kazâ-i Ağustos	
Siroz Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Siroz	Kazâ-i Timur Hisarı	Kazâ-i Petriç	Kazâ-i Melnik	
Kazâ-i Nevrekob	Kazâ-i Razlık	Kazâ-i Zihne		
Dirama Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Dirama	Kazâ-i Gümülcine	Kazâ-i Yeñice-i Karasu	Kazâ-i Pravişte	Kazâ-i Çağlayık ma'a Sarışabanâ
Kazâ-i Kavala				
Niş Eyaleti				
Kazâ-i Niş	Kazâ-i Şehirköy	Kazâ-i Berkofca	Kazâ-i Leskofca	Kazâ-i Ürgüb
				Kazâ-i Kurşunlu

Sofya Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Sofya	Kazâ-i Radomir	Kazâ-i Prizren	Kazâ-i İzladi	Kazâ-i Virebol
Samakov Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Samakov	Kazâ-i İhtiman	Kazâ-i İznebol	Kazâ-i Dubnice	
Köstendil Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Köstendil	Kazâ-i İşteb	Kazâ-i Radoşte		
Prizren Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Prizren	Kazâ-i İpek	Kazâ-i Kalkandelen	Kazâ-i Kumanova	Kazâ-i İvranya
				Kazâ-i Yakova ma'a Altunili
Priştine Sancağı				
Kazâ-i Priştine	Kazâ-i Vulçitrin	Kazâ-i Novabırda	nâm-ı diğeri Gilan	

Source: BOA. A.d. 2919

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Bu çalıřma Kırım Savařından bařlayarak 1865 yılına kadar geçen süre zarfında Balkanlar'da yerleřtirilen Kırım ve Kafkas göçmenlerinin iskân sürecinin nasıl gerçekteřtiđi, devletin Balkanlardaki göç yönetiminin nasıl olduđu, göç sırasında ve sonrasında devletin ve göçmenlerin ne gibi problemlerle karřılařtıđı sorularına cevap vermektedir. Çalıřmanın asıl odak noktasını Muhacirin Komisyonu'nun faaliyet gösterdiđi 1860-1865 yılları oluřturmaktadır. Literatürde Kırım Savařı sonrasında Kırım ve Kafkasyalı göçmenlerin Balkan cođrafyasına iskanına dair çalıřmalar bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu çalıřmalar zaman aralıđı olarak ya çok kısa süreleri ya da çok uzun süreleri kapsamaları ve göçü yüzeysel anlatmaları nedeniyle ortaya büyük çerçeveyi koyamamaktadır. Bu tez göç hareketinin bir süreç olduđu ve meydana gelen göçlerin birbirinin ardılı olması hasebiyle bir bütünlük içerisinde incelenmesi gerektiđi düşünceyle hazırlanmıřtır. Ayrıca tez bir soru üzerinden deđil bir olgu üzerine inřa edilmiřtir. Tezde Kırım ve Kafkasyadan Balkanlara dođru meydana gelen göç olgusunun sebepleri ortaya konmuř ve ardından göç sürecinin nasıl geliřtiđi incelenmiřtir.

Tezin ana kaynaklarını Osmanlı arřivinde yer alan padiřah iradeleri, talimatnameler, yetkililer arası yazıřmalar ve muhacirlerin yetkililere sunduđu arzlar ve dönemin gazeteleri oluřturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla göçmenlerin, memurların ve de devletin göçe ve göçmenlere yaklařımı ortaya konulmuřtur. Kullanılan belgelerde literatürde mevcut olmayan birçok yeni bilgi literatüre kazandırılmıřtır. Örneđin daha önce hiçbir çalıřmada rastlanılmayan sivad arazisi kavramı literatüre kazandırılmıřtır. Bu arazilerin Balkanlarda devletin muhacir iskanında miri arazilerden sonra en çok kullandıđı arazi türü olduđu saptanmıřtır.

Çalıřılan dönemdeki göç hareketini diđer göçlerden ayıran en büyük özelliklerden birisi kitle iletiřim araçlarının bu dönemde geliřmeye bařlamıř olmasıdır. Telgraf ve gazete gibi iletiřim araçlarının bu dönemde geliřme göstermesi dolayısıyla bir yerde meydana gelen bir olay kısa sürede hükümet ve halk tarafından haber alınabilmıřtir. Kırım Savařı ile bařlayan göç hareketi Kafkasya'ya sıçramıř ve oradan tekrar Kırım'a geçmiřtir. Telgraf hatlarının geliřmiř olması Rusya'da veya iskân bölgelerinde meydana gelen problemlerin kısa sürede haber alınmasını sađlamıřtır. Osmanlı Devleti

böylelikle süreci yönetme konusunda daha başarılı bir performans sergilemiştir. Keza yine kitle iletişim araçları (gazeteler) vasıtasıyla göçmenlerin durumları halkla paylaşılmıştır. Bu vesileyle göçmenler için halktan yardım toplanılmıştır. Özellikle Çerkes göçmenlerin haberleri yabancı basında da kendine yer bulmuş ve göçmenler için yardım kumpanyaları başlatılmıştır. Göçmenlere yardım konusunda ise devletin farklı görüşler benimsediği gözlenmiştir. Kırım savaşı sonrasında gelen göçmenlere yapılan yardım oldukça yüksekken, 1859-1862 yılları arasında gelen göçmenlerin öncekilere göre daha varlıklı kimseler olması sebebiyle bunlara yapılan yardım miktarı daha azdır. 1864 sonrasında gelen Kafkas muhacirlerinin ise ekonomik olarak iyi durumda olmamaları nedeniyle göçmenlere yapılan yardım konusunda devlet görüş değiştirerek yardım miktarını artırmıştır. Göçmenlere yapılan yardımlar hem ulusal hem de uluslararası boyutlara ulaşmıştır. Devlet ve halk iş birliğiyle muhacirlerin ihtiyaçları karşılanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Tezi ön plana çıkaran diğer bir husus ise Osmanlı Devleti tarihinde ilk kez muhacirlerle alakalı bir kurum incelediğimiz dönemde kurulmuştur. Kırım Savaşı sonrasında yerleştirilen göçmenlerin iskân işiyle Silistre valisi ilgilenirken, 1859'den itibaren devletin kontrolünün dışında göçmenlerin Osmanlı topraklarına akın etmesi üzerine İstanbul'daki muhacirlerin sorunlarıyla Ticaret Nezareti ve Şehremaneti ilgilenmiştir. Ancak 1859 yılında göçmen sayısının 100.000'i bulması ve bu iki kurumun muhacirlerin işlerini halletmede yetersiz kalması nedeniyle 5 Ocak 1860'ta Hafız Paşa başkanlığında Muhacirin Komisyonu kurulmuştur. Komisyondaki işlerle ilgilenmek üzere Babıali'de ve Şehremaneti'nde çalışan katipler ve memurlar maaşları yükseltilerek komisyonda görevlendirilmiştir. Komisyonun görevi göçmenlerin kayıt, iskân ve iaşeyle ilgilenmek ve halk tarafından yapılan yardımların yerine ulaşmasını sağlamaktır. Kısıtlı bir kadro ile çalışmaya başlayan Muhacirin Komisyonundaki çalışan sayısı göçmen sayısının artması üzerine artırılmıştır.

Göçmenlerin Kafkasya'da veya Kırım'da bulabildikleri gemilerle, kayıklarla ve takalarla Osmanlı topraklarına gelmekteydi. Kırım ve civarından gelen göçmenlerin ilk durağı genellikle Balkanlardaki tarafındaki liman şehirleri olan Tulca, Varna, Köstence ve İstanbul olurken, Kafkasya'dan gelenlerin ise Trabzon, Sinop ve Samsun'dur. Göçmenleri taşıma işini daha sonra Osmanlı Devleti üstlenmiştir. Tersane-i Amire vapurlarının yanısıra tüccar vapurları ve yabancı devlet gemileri de

göçmen taşınmasında kullanılmıştır. Trabzon, Samsun ve İstanbul'a gelen göçmenler gemilerle Köstence, Varna ve Mangalya'ya getirilmiş ve buradan açık tabir olunan kayıklara bindirilmiştir. Kayıklar Tuna nehrinde Tersane-i Amire vapurları tarafından çektirilmiş ve muhacirler iç bölgelere taşınmıştır. Göçmenlerin taşınması işinde ayrıca yeni kurulan Boğazköy-Köstence demir yolu da kullanılmıştır.

1860 senesinin yaz aylarının ortalarında muhacir sayısının artması üzerine iskân işi giderek zorlaşmıştır. Bu nedenle Osmanlı toprakları iskân bölgelerine bölündü ve her bölgeye bir görevli atanmıştır. Nusret Bey ise 1860 senesi ağustos ayında Varna ve Köstence kasabası civarında yığılmış ve bundan sonra gelmeleri düşünülen muhacirleri Edirne, Silistre ve Vidin eyaletleri dahilinde devlete ait boş arazilerde iskân etmek üzere görevlendirildi. Nusret Bey'in görev süresinin ilk başta kısa süre olacağı zannedildiyse de göçmen sayısının artması nedeniyle Nusret Bey bu görevi yaklaşık beş sene sürdürdü. 1865 yılında Midhat Paşa ile araları bozulunca görevini terkederek İstanbul'a geldi. Nusret Bey'in görevi bırakmasından sonra ise iskân işi Tuna Valiliği tarafından devralındı.

Göçmenlerin iskânındaki en önemli meselelerden birisi de arazi konusudur. Devlet muhacirlere arazinin verimine göre 60 dönümden 120 dönüme kadar değişen miktarda arazi tahsis etmiştir. Verilen araziler devlete ait miri arazilerdi. Bu arazilerin tarıma kazandırılması ve muhacirlerin bir an önce üretir hale getirilmesi devletin arzu ettiği bir durumdur. Göçmenlere miri, sivad ve devlete veya vakıflara ait çiftlik arazileri olmak üç tip arazi verildiği ortaya konmuştur. Ayrıca devletin muhacirleri iskân sırasında Klasik Osmanlı dönemindeki çift hane sistemi politikasını uyguladığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu politika doğrultusunda devletin amacı muhacirlerin bir an önce üretir hale getirilmesidir. Bu nedenle Klasik dönemde olduğu gibi göçmenlere bir çift öküz ve bu öküzle sürülebilecek miktarda arazi dağıtımını gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Yapılan çalışma sonucunda Balkanlara yerleştirilen göçmenlerin bölgede tifüs, sıtma, tifo ve çiçek hastalıklarının yayılmasına yol açtığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Salgın hastalıkların yayılmasını önlemek amacıyla 1860 yılında Meclis-i Sıhhiye tarafından alınan karar gereğince yolcu taşıyacak gemiler için karantina uygulamasına gidilmiştir. Ancak her ne kadar karantina uygulaması yapıldıysa da göçmenlerin salgın hastalıklara sebep olmasının önüne geçilememiştir. Hasta muhacirlerin tedavisinde devletin yeterli alt yapısı olmaması nedeniyle birçok zorlukla karşılaşıldığı

gözenmiştir. Karşılaşılan zorlukların başında Balkanlar'da yeterli sayıda doktor bulunmaması gelmektedir. Doktor ihtiyacını karşılamak için devlet memleket doktorları, askeri doktorlar ve yabancı doktorlardan yararlanmıştır. Ancak yabancı doktorların Türkçe bilmemesi nedeniyle doktorlarla hastalar arasında dil bariyeri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle yabancı doktorların yerine Türkçe bilen doktorların gönderilmesi talep edilmiştir. Ayrıca bölgede yeterli hastane bulunmaması sebebiyle hastaların tedavisinde de zorluk çekilmiştir. Doktorların köy köy dolaşarak hastaları tedavi etme çabaları bir fayda vermediği için Tuna Vilayetinin kurulmasından sonra Balkanların kuzeyi altı bölgeye ayrılarak her bir bölgeye bir merkez tayin edilmiştir. Bu merkezlerde göçmenlerin tedavileri için hastaneler kurulmuştur. Devlet ayrıca Balkanlarda aşılama uygulamasına giderek hastalıkların yayılmasını önlemeye çalışmıştır.

Devletin muhacirleri iskân sırasında asayiş, iskân ve kölelik problemleriyle karşılaştığı görülmektedir. Asayiş probleminin başında muhacirlerin silahlı olarak gezmesi ve mürur tezkeresi almadan bir yerden bir yere gitmesi sorunları gelmektedir. Ayrıca Balkanlara yerleştirilen göçmenlerin asayiş olaylarında fail veya mağdur olarak yer aldığı durumlar mevcuttur. Muhacirlerin fail oldukları durumlar çoğunlukla hırsızlık suçuyla alakalıdır. Mağdur olarak yer aldıkları olaylarda ise muhacirler genellikle eşkıyalar tarafından gasp veya katl edilmişlerdir. Öte yandan Tatar muhacirlerin Kafkasyalı muhacirlere kıyasla daha az suça bulaştığı, devlet yetkililerinin Kafkasyalı halkı Tatar muhacirlere kıyasla daha kaba ve eğitimsiz olarak gördüğü anlaşılmaktadır.

Devletin muhacirlerin ayrı ayrı iskân edilmesi veya muhacirler için yeterli arazi bulunamaması sorunu iskân problemlerinin başlıcaları arasındadır. Aynı aileden veya akraba topluluğundan muhacirler farklı yerlere yerleştirildiklerinde hükümetten ailelerinin yanında iskân edilme talebinde bulunmuşlardır. Hükümet arazinin mevcudiyeti yeterli ise göçmenlerin ailelerinin veya akrabalarının yanında yeniden iskân edilme talepleri kabul etmiştir. Ancak bazı durumlarda göçmenlerin hükümete haber vermeksizin ailelerinin yanına gitmeleri devletin birtakım problemlerle karşılaşmasına yol açmıştır. Ayrıca yerli halkın kendilerine ait olmayan arazileri sahiplenmesi nedeniyle de kimi zaman muhacirlere arazi tahsisinde devletin zorlandığı

gözlemlenmiştir. Bu gibi durumlarda devlet memurlar gönderilerek haksız yere arazi sahiplenenden arazileri geri alarak bu arazileri muhacirlere tahsis etmiştir.

Osmanlı'da köleliğin yeni yasaklanmasının hemen ardından Osmanlı topraklarına göç eden muhacirlerin yanlarında kölelerini getirmeleri kölelik problemine yol açmıştır. Köleler hakkında ne yapacağını bilmeyen yerel yetkililer bu hususta takip edilecek süreç için merkeze başvurularda bulunmuştur. Devlet bir süre göçmenlerin yanlarında köle getirmelerine göz yumduysa da daha sonra görüş değiştirerek bu durumun insanlığa ve İslam'a aykırı olması nedeniyle bir şekilde ortadan kaldırılması gerektiğini savunmuştur. Bu nedenle otuz yaşın üzerindeki kişilerin köle olarak alınıp satılması yasaklanmış ve köle sahiplerine kölelerini azat etmeleri karşılığın toprak verilmesi teklif edilmiştir. Daha sonrasında ise devlet klasik döneminde kullanılan bir metod olan mukatebe usulünü kullanmıştır. Buna göre köle sahiplerine kölelerini azat etmeleri karşılığında toprak teklif edilmiştir.

Osmanlı Devleti 1856-1865 seneleri arasında on senelik süre zarfında muhtelif iskân politikaları benimsemiştir. Balkanlarda Müslüman nüfusun artırılması arzulandığından bu bölgeye iskân edilen göçmenler birlikte iskân edilirken Anadolu'da, bazı yerler hariç tutulursa, göçmenler ayrı ayrı iskân edilmiştir. Devletin iskân politikasında İngiltere ve Rusya gibi yabancı devletlerin etkisi olduğu görülmektedir. Bu nedenle Anadolu'ya giden göçmenlerin sınıra uzak yerlere iskân edilmeye çalışırken Balkanlar'da ise Çerkes göçmenler özellikle Bosnahersek bölgesinde sınıra yakın yerlere iskân edilmiştir.

Devletin muhacirlere tanıdığı vergi ve askerlik muafiyeti de muhtelif zamanlarda farklılık göstermiştir. 1856 Tavattun nizamnamesine göre Anadolu'da yerleşenlere on iki yıl Balkanlar'da yerleşenlere ise altı yıl vergi ve askerlik muafiyeti tanınacaktı ancak savaş sonrasında Dobruca bölgesine iskân edilenlere on sene vergi ve yirmi sene askerlik muafiyeti tanınmıştı. 1860 senesinde muafiyet sürelerinin değiştirilmesi düşünüldüyse de bu hususun gelecek olanlara üzecek olması nedeniyle muhacirlere verilen senetlerde muafiyetten bahsedilmemesine karar verilmişti. Ancak 1864 senesinde iskân tarihinden itibaren üç sene geçenlerden vergi alınması kararlaştırıldı. Böylelikle vergi ve muafiyet konusunda hükümet zamanın ve ekonomik şartların durumuna göre hareket ederek her muhacir grubuna aynı imtiyazları tanımadığı gözlenmiştir.

Balkan coğrafyasında Nusret Paşa'nın çabaları sayesinde Anadolu'ya göre daha düzgün bir şekilde işlemiştir. Balkanlarda iskân işlerinin daha düzgün işlemesinin sebebi iskân faaliyetinin Nusret Paşa gibi tecrübeli bir devlet adamının tekelinde olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

On senelik süre zarfında üç dalga halinde göç eden Tatar ve Kafkasyalı halkların göç sebepleri birçok noktada birleşmekle birlikte muhacirlerin göç sebepleri arasında farklılıklar da bulunmaktadır. Kırım Savaşı sonrasında gelen halk savaş sırasında kendilerinin Osmanlı'ya yardım etmeleri dolayısıyla savaş sonrasında kendilerinin cezalandıracağı düşüncesiyle Kırım'dan çekilen Osmanlı askerleriyle birlikte göç etmiştir. 1859 yılında Kırım ve Kafkasya her iki grubun da temel motivasyonu Rusya'nın Kafkasya'da uyguladığı saldırgan politikadır. 1864 yılında Rusya'nın Çerkesler için toplu sürgün kararı nedeniyle Çerkesler zorunlu olarak göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Dolayısıyla 1864 sonrasında meydana gelen göçlerdeki temel motivasyon öncekilerden farklıdır. 1864 öncesinde meydana gelen göçlerde muhacirlerin Osmanlı'ya göç etmeleri daha çok tercih sebebiyken 1864 sonrasında ise bir zorunluluktur.

Kırım Tatarlarının ilk iskân yeri Dobruca bölgesidir. 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Rus savaşlarına sahne olan bölge, Kırım Savaşı sonrasındaki ilk göç hareketi sonrasında gelen muhacirlerin iskân mahalli olmuştur. Takip eden yıllarda göçmenlerin iskân edildiği yerlerin başında yine Dobruca bölgesi ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu bölgede Tulca, İsakça, Maçın, Babadağ, Mahmudiye, Mecidiye, Köstence, Mangalya, Silistre, Balçık, Varna, Prevadi, Şumnu, Hezargrad, İvraca ve Rusçuk göçmenlerin iskân edildiği yerlerin başında gelmektedir. Ayrıca, hükümetin 1861 yılına kadar gelen göçmenlerin büyük çoğunluğunun Tuna nehri civarında ve özellikle Bulgaristan bölgesinde iskân edildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bunun sebebinin ise Dobruca bölgesinde çok sayıda boş arazi olması, bölgeye daha önce Tatarların yerleştirilmiş olması, Tuna nehrinin taşımacılıkta kullanılmaya müsait olması, göçmenlerin liman kentlerinden Tuna nehri civarındaki yerlere taşımının kolay olması ve nehir kenarının verimli arazileri sahip olması ile ilgili olduğu düşünülebilir.

Sonuç olarak bu tez 1860-1865 yılları arasında Kırım ve Kafkasya'dan Balkanlara gerçekleştirilen göç hareketlerini incelemiştir. Bu kapsamda ulaşılan sonuçlar şöyle sıralanabilir: Osmanlı Devleti tarihinde ilk kez göç sürecini organize etmek amacıyla

bir kurum oluřturmuřtur. Bu kurum aracılıęıyla altı senelik sre zarfında 400.000'den fazla kiři yalnızca Balkan coęrafyasına iskân edilmiřtir. Osmanlı toprakları iskân blgelerine blnmř ve iskân iřleri yereldeki memurlar tarafından yrtlmřtir. İskân programın Balkanlar'da Anadolu'dan daha dzgn bir řekilde iřlemiřtir. Osmanlı Devleti gelen muhacirler iin  farklı politika yardım politikasına sahiptir. Balkanlarda yerleřtirilen muhacirlere miri araziyle birlikte sivad arazisi ve iftlik arazileri tahsis edilmiřtir. Devlet muhacir iskânı sırasında arazi, asayiř ve saęlık sorunlarıyla karřılařmıřtır. Arazi sorunu miri arazilerin yanı sıra sivad ve iftlik arazilerinin kullanıma sunulması ve gmenlerin geliřinden nce veya sonra boř arazileri sahiplenenden arazinin geri alınarak gmenlere verilmesiyle zlmřtir. Devlet saęlık sorunlarını ise askeri, memleket ve yabancı doktoraları istihdam ederek, muhacirler iin hastaneler aarak, muhacirlere karantina uygulayarak ve ařlamaya yaparak zmeye alıřmıřtır. Buna raęmen birok kiři ya g sırasında ya da g sonrasında hayatını kaybetmiřtir.

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