AN ANALYSIS OF POLICIES TOWARDS THE BORN DISABLED, VICTIMS OF WORK ACCIDENTS AND NATURAL DISASTERS DURING THE HAMIDIAN ERA (1876-1909)

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The Born Disabled, Victims of Work Accidents and Natural Disasters

During the Hamidian Era (1876-1909)

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Thesis Abstract

İzi Harika Karakaş, "An Analysis of Policies towards the Born Disabled, Victims of Work Accidents and Natural Disasters during the Hamidian Era (1876-1909) "

This thesis is the first attempt in analyzing the various situations in which the born disabled, the victims of work accidents and the earthquake victims were protected within the institutional and personal networks of the Hamidian administration. Abdülhamid II invested in the institutionalization of education of the born disabled and the creation of pension funds, which created standardized rights and benefits for the victims of work accidents. Thus, one should evaluate the institutionalization efforts of Abdülhamid II in terms of their ability to create standardized services to the Ottoman public.

The charity, philanthropy and welfare projects of Abdülhamid II cannot be considered without taking the political sphere into account. After the constitutionalist opposition attained a political organization in 1890, Abdülhamid II began to pursue a policy that emphasized charity and welfare projects in order to increase his popularity. Abdülhamid II created an inclusive welfare system by financing philanthropic projects and modern social institutions. In conclusion, Abdülhamid II narrowed the gap that existed between him and the poor and the needy during the reign of his predecessors by responding to their needs immediately through organized practices. Through these practices and institutions, he presented himself as the protector of the poor and the needy and legitimized his rule, which was leaning on the autocratic.

Kısa Özet

İzi Harika Karakaş, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nin Fiziksel Engelli, Kazazede ve Felaketzedelere Yönelik Politikalarının Bir Analizi (1876–1909)"

Bu tez II. Abdülhamid yönetimi boyunca kurumsal ve kişisel ağlar çerçevesinde doğuştan engelli, kazazede ve felaketzedeleri korumaya yönelik farklı politikaların ve girişimlerin analiz edildiği ilk çalışmadır. II. Abdülhamid doğuştan engelliler için eğitimi kurumsallaştırma girişiminde bulunmuş, iş kazaları sonucu engelli konumuna düşenlere standart haklar ve imtiyazlar sağlayan emeklilik fonları oluşturmuştur. II. Abdülhamid'in doğuştan engellileri ve kazazedeleri kapsayan eğitim ve emeklilik alanlarındaki bu kurumsallaştırma çabaları Osmanlı'da kamuya yönelik standartlaştırılmış hizmet yaratma çerçevesinde değerlendirilmelidir.

Öte yandan, II. Abdülhamid'in hayırseverlik çerçevesindeki yardım ve refah projeleri politik alandan bağımsız olarak düşünülemez. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, özellikle Meşrutiyet taraftarlarının siyasi bir örgütlenmeye ulaştıkları 1890 yılından itibaren II. Abdülhamid'in kendi popülaritesini arttırmak amacıyla hayırseverlik ve refah projelerine ağırlık verdiği görülür. Yardım projelerini ve modern sosyal kurumları finanse eden II. Abdülhamid, böylelikle kapsayıcı bir sosyal refah sistemi yaratmaya çalışmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, II. Abdülhamid kendi iktidarı süresince bir takım örgütlü pratikler üzerinden ihtiyaçlara hemen cevap vermek suretiyle seleflerinin saltanatı boyunca süregelen Sultan ile *muhtacin* (muhtaç durumda olanlar) arasındaki mesafeyi önemli ölçüde kapatmıştır. Bu tip yardım pratikleri ve kurumlar aracılığıyla kendisini yoksul ve muhtaç durumda olanların koruyucusu olarak gösteren, ve yeniden tanımlayan II. Abdülhamid, bu yolla istibdata dayalı yönetimini meşrulaştırmıştır.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the social policies and political practices with regard to the born disabled, victims of work accidents and earthquake victims in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. During the nineteenth century, state structures began to change radically throughout the world. The Ottoman Empire could not withstand the trends of change in Europe. Not only did they considered the only way for the survival of the sick man was in modernization, but also the Ottoman Empire suffered from the rising nationalist movements within its territories. The reformation program of the *Tanzimat* bureaucrats, its critic by Young Ottomans and the agenda of Abdülhamid in terms of modernizing the empire in accordance with traditions old and invented rendered the Ottoman Empire a dynamic territory of reform and upheaval during the course of the nineteenth century.

The period from the accession of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1876 to the Revolution of 1923 saw an important period of change in Ottoman history. By the imposition of Midhat Pasha and the Young Ottomans, the new Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) proclaimed the first M*eşrutiyet* (constitutional government) ever promulgated in the Empire. However, the new constitution was short-lived. After the abolishment of the 1876 constitution, Abdülhamid II gained absolute control over political issues, and the Yıldız Palace became the major executive office of the Ottoman Governmental system. In 1908, the *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks), who forced the restoration of constitutional government upon the new sultan; Sultan Reşat, overthrew the Hamidian regime.

Likewise the first M*eşrutiyet*, the second one also ended in failure and disappointment. Moreover, Ottoman Empire soon to find itself in a series of wars: Balkan, Russian and the First World War I.

The *Tanzimat* reforms legally transformed the subjects of the Sultan into the citizens of the Ottoman Empire. The agenda of *Tanzimat* was to create a modern legal framework for the Ottoman Empire. However the Young Ottomans highly criticized the *Tanzimat* Bureaucrats such as Ali Pasha and Resid Pasha since they limited the reforms to save the status quo. Ali and Resid Pasha thought the Ottoman Empire was not ready for a constitution, but the Young Ottomans convinced Abdülhamid II for accepting the constitution in 1876. However, this was a short-lived period, because Abdülhamid abolished on in order to create his own autocratic rule.[1]

Sultan Abdülhamid II can be considered the "Last Man of *Tanzimat*", as he brought its reform programs to fruition, which he achieved through autocracy and laid the seeds for his own deposition in 1909. He was the last Sultan to rule as well as reign, the only reforming Sultan after Mahmud II to actually lead the government and himself introduce reforms. Abdülhamid proposed a vast program of public works to open up the Empire's internal markets and improve the lives of all his subjects. He used his autocracy to successfully complete the reforms begun by the Men of *Tanzimat*. He had developed a highly centralized system of government to modernize the Empire.[2]

The centralized state apparatus took social welfare policies to its agenda. The charity, philanthropy and welfare projects of Abdülhamid cannot be considered independent from the political sphere.

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[1] Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), pp.17-34.
[2] Stanford Shaw, "Sultan Abdülhamid: Last Man of the Tanzimat", In *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Bildiriler)*, (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane, 1989), pp.179-180.

After the constitutionalist opposition attained a political organization in 1890, Abdülhamid II began to pursue a policy that emphasized charity and welfare projects in order to increase his popularity. Abdülhamid II created an inclusive welfare system by financing philanthropic projects and modern social institutions. Through these practices and institutions, he presented himself as the protector of the poor and the needy and legitimized his rule, which was leaning on the autocratic. At the same time, the charitable campaigns that were constructed to serve Abdülhamid II's power establishment strategies caused an expansion of the public sphere. Thus, Abdülhamid II narrowed the gap that existed between him and the poor and the needy during the reign of his predecessors by responding to their needs immediately through organized practices.

The main aim of social welfare policies is to ensure the social security of the less fortunate members of the society and cover their damage when the need may rise. Situations that take place outside the sphere of influence of individuals such as born disability, work accidents or natural disasters, e. g. earthquake, provide a solid context for the evaluation of the efficiency of the state in providing social welfare. Abdülhamid II invested in the institutionalization of education of the born disabled and the pension fund, which created standardized rights and benefits for the victims of work accidents. The modern concept of state is based on providing equal rights and duties to the body of citizens who are equal before the law. Standardization of education, public services and social organization lies at the basis of the modernization of state. Standardization of monetary unit, time and education create the sense of being a citizen vis-à-vis a centralized state, which is run by a faceless bureaucracy. Thus, one should evaluate the institutionalization efforts of Abdülhamid II in terms of their ability to create standardized services to the Ottoman public.

Was the main motivation behind the investment in social welfare policies and practices the exaltation of his own benevolence and the consequent legitimization of his autocratic rule or did these investments result in long-lived institutional networks?

In this thesis, I will focus on the attempts of modernizing social aids and benefits for the born disabled, victims of work accidents and earthquake victims. These three separate groups of individuals were considered within different contexts by the state apparatus. The educational reform program of Abdülhamid II envisaged the creation of a special education institution for the born disabled. I will try to contextualize this school within the general education reforms and the newly created public education system. Was this institution was efficient in providing a special education for the born disabled? Was the institution able to attract public attention and students? Were the students of this institution provided with the necessary skills, knowledge and occupational formations that rendered them functional individuals within the society? These are among the questions raised in the first chapter, which deals with the education of the born disabled.

The modernization of the pension funds in the Ottoman Empire took place in mid nineteenth century, more or less at the same with Europe. The Ottoman bureaucracy took French pension system as the modal for the Retirement Bill in 1870. This Bill served as the foundation of all the pension funds that were established in the Ottoman Empire. The establishment of modern pension funds for different sectors resulted in an institutionalized structure for covering the loss of employment due to work accidents. The work accident victims who became disabled began to enjoy pension wages in accordance with the legal definitions of employment and work laws.

In addition to the emergence of modern pension funds, since Abdülhamid wanted to continue the traditions of his predecessors, he extended his personal generosity to victims of work accidents thought imperial gifts. The imperial gift giving was an age-old tradition, but Abdülhamid attributed a new meaning to imperial gift giving in order to create a political discourse that portrayed Abdülhamid as a benevolent protector of the poor and the needy. Thus, the victims of work accidents benefited from both institutionalized pension and personal favors from the sultan upon petition. I will ask questions regarding the efficiency of both institutional benefits and the personal favors for the victims of work accidents.

An earthquake caused havoc in İstanbul in 1894. Abdülhamid II took fast action in for mitigating the damage caused by the earthquake. The earthquake left so many buildings wrecked or uninhabitable, and the casualties were high. Thus it resulted in a heightened state of panic of the residents of İstanbul. Abdülhamid II established the Earthquake Relief Commission within hours after the earthquake and began collecting and distributing foodstuff, temporary shelter, clothing and financial aids. Philanthropic organizations in Europe, USA and throughout the Ottoman Empire contributed to the cause. The entire populations of İstanbul and of the provinces were mobilized for raising funds for earthquake victims. Abdülhamid II made generous donations to the Earthquake Relief Commission, possibly with the intention of setting an example for the Ottoman public.

This thesis represents an attempt to address systematically a set of important, yet inadequately explored issues in the discipline of Ottoman studies. Social history of Ottoman Empire is becoming the subject of important researched in the lastly 30-40 years.

This thesis specifically takes up the issue of social aids and benefit offered to the born disabled, the victims of work accidents and the earthquake victims during the reign of Abdülhamid II. By focusing on these three groups who inevitably suffered from birth, accidents or a natural disaster, we will be able to see how the Ottoman modernization dealt with the less fortunate individuals of the society.

This thesis is the first attempt in analyzing the various situations in which the born disabled, the victims of work accidents and the earthquake victims were protected within the institutional and personal networks during the Hamidian era. Thus, the lack of availability of a secondary literature that deals with these less fortunate Ottoman citizens from the viewpoint of modernizing social security, I had to conduct an expansive research in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* and peruse a large collection of books and articles that deal with disability, work accidents and earthquake victims in a scattered manner.

For last two decades there has been an increasingly emerging interest, both popular and academic, on "poor history" there located popular books on the book selves or many pieces of writings in semi-academic and popular magazines about the "poor and needy" but most of them are based on anecdotal evidences. However there are only a few preliminary works that deal with the disabled, victims of work accidents and earthquake victims in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the secondary literature about the history of disability and victims of work accidents in the Ottoman Empire is restricted due to the fact that disability mainly absconds under the words poor or needy.

Most probably, the first scholarly work about the education of deaf-mutes and blinds is an article written by Nuran Yıldırım who is not a professional historian but a historian of medicine who works under the branch of deontology.

I benefited from her research in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* and her bibliography; however her main focus is on the medical history. Rather then contextualizing the efforts of providing education for the born disabled within the political context of the Hamidian era, she presents empirical data.

Another source is a master's thesis written in the Atatürk Institute for studies in Modern Turkey at Boğaziçi University by the title of "Disability History in Turkey". His study attempted to find out the historical background of the disability in Turkish society mainly focused on the republican era. He argued that the perception of disability in Turkey is still dominated by medical model of disability, and talks about the continuing exclusion of disabled individuals from the society.

The work of Nadir Özbek on the other hand, perhaps the most valuable study on this topic, especially in terms of sources and methodology. His main concern is the analysis of the meaning attributed to the social welfare policies by the political elite of the Ottoman Empire. From a sociological point of view, he studied the emergence of the social state within the Ottoman geography. By focusing on social welfare policies and philanthropic works, he tried to underpin the various implications of power and politics within the realm of the social.

Özbek studied the policies towards the poor in the Ottoman Empire from the pre-Hamidian era into 1914s by undertaking an extensive archival research. The social policies that were adopted during the reign of Abdülhamid II is the main focus of this study, which are contextualized within the political setting created by Abdülhamid II by the diligent use of primary and secondary sources. The conclusive argument of the book is that the investment steered towards the poor (in terms creating institutions such as *Darülaceze, Hamidiye Etfal Hastanesi,* etc.) are presented as the personal charity of the Sultan, not as the creations of the modern

state. Thus by presenting these institutions as the personal favor of the Sultan, the aim was to legitimize the power and the autocratic and monarchic rule of Abdülhamid II. Özbek considers these policies "as the monarchic representation of the Ottoman welfare system".

Fatma Ürekli's study of the 1984 İstanbul earthquake is the leading work on the subject. She has done an extensive archival research and recounted the various aspects of the earthquake. However the book consists of the presentation of empirical data, without much attempt of analyzing or contextualizing the earthquake. The book is invaluable for making available the documents and the newspaper coverage concerning the earthquake, but she did not try to ask the question of whether Abdülhamid II's diligent efforts in mitigating the damage caused by the earthquake was connected to his populist policy and his aim of clothing the Ottoman welfare system with a monarchic garb.

Around the multifaceted issue, this thesis necessitates a comprehensive study that touches on different angles. Thus in constructing a text about this multi-dimensional subject requires the use of different types of sources. Hence this thesis is not based on a particular source. The bulk of the material needed to address the issues raised in the thesis is drawn from both primary and secondary literature. Since we don't have at hand a sufficient number of comparable studies or frame-building attempts on this topic, I have undertaken a survey research which overall encompasses the archival work. The archival documents were mainly accumulated from the catalogues in the prime ministry archives, such as "*İrade*", "*Arzuhal, Jurnal*" and "*Nizamname*" etc.

Firstly, I used first hand archival documents while writing the history of "1889 Mutes and Deaf School in İstanbul". I used the code of regulations (*Nizamnameler*) as the main primarily source for the first chapter. The 1915 Code of Regulations was translated from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish and is placed at the end of the Appendix. It would allow us to understand "*nizamname*" (Code of regulations) that defines the structure of the 1880 Deaf Mutes-Blinds School in detail. Moreover, I researched various newspapers such as *Serve-i Fünun* and *Muallimler Mecmuasi,* so as to find some articles about the opening of the school.

Secondly, some aspects of Military and Civil Servant Retirement Funds are supported by first hand archival documents showing disability cases clearly in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. I use their codes of rules in order to understand the legal relationship between authorities and the victims of work related accidents. Unfortunately, as the material belonging to the second chapter has not been studied before, there is currently not enough secondary literature except the works of *Abdullah Martal* and *Hüseyin Özdemir*. However, their studies aim to evaluate the labor relations, so it benefited from them especially in terms of bibliography.

Moreover I draw some concrete examples that are documented in the Ottoman Archives in the form of " *İradeler* " (imperial orders) pertaining to retirement (by petition) of disabled military and civil servant officials. In a similar manner, some imperial orders contain information about the specific cases of the awarding of imperial gifts or rights of retirement by the Sultan.

For the third chapter of my thesis, I used the newspaper coverage of the earthquake and some articles published in Ottoman Turkish in addition to archival documents.

The newspaper of the period was conducive for my understanding of the representation of the earthquake relief efforts under the heavy press control by Abdülhamid II. The imperial orders and petitions helped me see clearly how the earthquake affected the Ottoman public and how quickly the Hamidian regime determined the needs of earthquake victims and helped them. The code of regulations for the earthquake relief commission helped me understand the organization of the commission and its activities.

This thesis consists of three chapters, each one dealing with a particular aspect of the issues concerned and leading to a conclusion each. First chapter examines the first special education attempt toward the born-disabled in the Hamidian Era. It evaluates the 1889 Deaf- Mutes and Blind School historical continuity in detail by using the code of rules of the school (*Nizamname*) and some articles published in newspapers about the school. Since the interest of creating a school for the disabled in the Ottoman Empire resulted directly from the developments in this vein in Europe, an overview of special education for the disabled in 19th century Europe is of special interest. It is seen that the creation of education programs for the born disabled children in the Ottoman Empire took place a century later than those that appeared in Europe.

Second chapter addresses the social security measures aimed to support people who became disabled during military posts or work accidents. With the beginning of modernization policies in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, the disabled victims of work accidents and military turn began to enjoy standardized and institutionalized pension schemes; as well as imperial gifts (*atiyye*) given by the Sultan upon petition.

In this chapter, I will focus on the establishment of retirement funds as an example of the modernization of social security policies in the late Ottoman Empire. In addition to this institutionalization attempt, Abdülhamid II granted gifts, *atiyyes*, in a perfunctory and careless manner, to accident victims, who individually asked for his help (the awarding of Imperial Gifts was not related to belonging to a retirement fund). It is important to note here that Abdülhamid II granted those *atiyyes* to individual accident victims only as a part of his self-projection as a benevolent sultan, so his behavior reflected a self-consolidation of his power and sovereign benevolence in the eyes of his subjects.

The aim of the third chapter is to show how a natural disaster, which traumatized the entire society in the capital of the Ottoman Empire and its vicinities, lent itself to the legitimating discourse and populist policies of Abdülhamid II. He smoothed things over instead of alienating the public who suffered from the earthquake acutely. The discourse of compassion and protection of the Sultan over his citizens was employed at a time when he resorted to organized action for providing relief for the earthquake victims instead of his previous practices of direct patron-client relationships of the *atiyye*.

CHAPTER II: EDUCATING THE BORN DISABLED

In this chapter, I shall first look at how education of the disabled was developed in Europe and which institutions offered special education for the blind, the mutes and the deaf in nineteenth century Europe. Since the interest in creating a school for the disabled in the Ottoman Empire resulted directly from the developments in this vein in Europe, an overview of special education for the disabled in nineteenth century Europe will of special interest. Then, I will look at the ways of incorporating the disabled into educational institutions, and thus to public life to the pre-modern period in the Ottoman Empire. To contextualize the Deaf and Mute School established in İstanbul in 1889, I will look at the educational reform program of the period, to see where this school fits into the scheme of creating loyal subjects for the Sultan.

Afterwards I will scrutinize the establishment of the school and its curriculum; and the changes the school underwent during a few decades before closing down in 1911. Before commenting on the failure to institutionalize the education of the disabled by the Sultan Abdülhamid II, I will look at his grander project for the education of deaf-mutes and the blind, which failed before actualization. Unfortunately, the code of regulations that was in effect in the Deaf and Mute School opened by Abdülhamid II cannot be located in the archives. For the sake of seeing the course of development of the disabled after the Hamidian Era, I shall look at the code of regulations on the education of the disabled promulgated by Mehmet Reşat, but there's no evidence that suggests that schools were opened where this code of regulations were put in effect.

Finally, I will focus on the Regulation for the education of the disabled in detail, and try to reflect on why institutionalization and sustaining of providing education for the disabled failed during the Hamidian Era.

In primitive societies, survival of individuals was tied strictly to their power of production and ability to wage war. Therefore, the disabled were perceived as burdens on their societies. For instance, in Egypt and Israel, disability was accepted as a divine punishment on the disabled individuals or of their parents.[3] In ancient Rome, the disabled were mostly used as galley slaves and beggars. After the emergence of Christianity and Islam, the attitude towards disabled people took a positive turn, because the Koran and the Bible demanded that people should be merciful towards the disabled, the old and the sick. However, throughout the medieval ages, the disabled were still mostly associated with sin and divine punishment. For example, in Europe, the disabled were related with the negative concepts of evil and witchcraft.[4]

Having a short overview of the history of disability education over the world and in the pre-modern Ottoman periods, it will be valuable for having a clear conception of disability in the time of Abdülhamid II and for making a solid evaluation of the adequateness or inadequateness of policies towards the disabled.

[3] Emel Pamir Orhon, *Sakatların Rehabilitasyon ve Eğitimi*, (Ankara: T.C Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1981), p.138.
[4] Halil İnalcık, Şevket Pamuk, ed. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayınları 2001), p. 35.

Education of the Deaf, Mute and the Blind in the World

It was in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries that individual attempts towards the education of the deaf and dumb started to occur thanks to the studies of some scientists. For instance, in 1570, Leon de Ponce Pedro Dom, a Spanish archbishop took an interest in deaf and mute people and conducted some experiments on their speech. Another Spanish archbishop named Juan Pablo Benet wrote a book in 1620 about the education of the mute and the deaf. Following these individual attempts, some scientists in Europe; Lana Terzi in Italy, Doctor Bulwer and Wallis in England, Agricola, Arnoldi and Lassies in Germany, Deschamps and Pereira in France began to study the education of deaf and mute people.[5] Specifically, Johan Amens' book written in 1692 made a great impact on German methods of teaching for the deaf and the mute.

It is important to note that institutionalization of education of the deaf and the mute emerged in the eighteenth century, with the establishment of the first deaf and mute school by Abbe de L'epee in Paris in 1755. During his observation of deaf and mute children in this school, L'epee noticed that the children were communicating through their hands by using hand signs. He later succeeded in developing a sign language. After the invention of the sign language, the school started to draw attention and the number of students began to increase. There were 30 students registered in 1781, 60 in 1784 and 72 in 1785.[6] The school in Paris was not the only example. A school for the deaf and the mute had already been opened by Thomas Braidwood in Scotland in 1760 after the establishment of another one by

[5] Süleyman Gök, *Dünyada ve Türkiyde Sağır, Dilsiz Okulları Tarihçesi ve Eğitim Sistemi*, (İstanbul: Hüsnütabiat Matbaası, 1958), pp. 3-9.
[6] Ali Haydar, ''Sağır ve Dilsizler'', *Muallimler Mecmuası*, vol.3, no.29, (İstanbul: 1925), p. 1249.

Samuel Heinecke, a supporter of the oral method for the education of the deaf and the mute, in Germany in 1755.

In sum, the number of deaf and mute schools throughout the Europe reached 320 in 1901. The number of students in these schools was 1265 in Belgium, 348 in Denmark, 7059 in Germany, 4098 in France, 4222 in England, and 2242 in Italy while the total number of teachers in them was 1569.[7] In the United States, however, it is remarkable that the first attempts at educating the disabled took place half a century later than in Europe. Thanks to the founders of America who had experiences on disability education, the first special school for the disabled, '*The American School of the Deaf*' was founded in Connecticut in 1817.[8] Also, the first school for the blind was established in Boston in 1832. 1n 1864, President Lincoln signed a decree declaring the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb and the Blind as the first college for the disabled. In 1880, deaf individuals came together under the title of National Convention of Deaf-Mutes to support the use of American Sign Language in their education.

The Disabled in Pre-Modern Ottoman Empire

In the range of our knowledge, the existence of institutions for the disabled in Turkish history dates back to the fourteenth century. The earliest institution recorded for the care of blind individuals in Turkish history was established upon the order of Saruhan Bey, the leader of one of the frontier principalities established by Turkish clans after the decline of the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate, in *Manisa.*

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 1246.
[8] Enver Ertürk,''Disability in Turkey'', (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003), p. 65.

The institution was called *Körhane*, literally translated as the 'house for the blind', and its aim was to help blind individuals so that they did not suffer in economic terms and it continued to function until the late seventeenth century.[9] However, if we look at the period between the fourteenth and the nineteenth century in Turkish history, we, unfortunately, cannot see any institutions for the education of the disabled other than the *Körhane*. Thus, it is possible to say that it was a unique case.

It should be pointed out that, in Ottoman society, *fitre* and *zekat* and similar religious practices along with the countrywide system of foundations constituted to a larger extent the early forms of covering disability cases in the society for wealthy Muslims. Since the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, apart from the individual alms (*Fitre & Zekat)*, requirements of the disabled and poor people in the society were met within the institutional framework of *waqfs*, especially in *Bimarhane, Şifahane* and *Tekke-Zaviye*.[10]

Throughout Ottoman History, apart from individual alms giving all forms of help (*Zekat & Fitre*) for the poor and needy were carried by charitable foundations (*Waqfs*). According to Ottoman definition, the word "*Waqf"* means to prevent the giving and taking possession of a thing so that the substance belongs to God, while its benefits pertain to mankind.[11] In other words, the property is said to belong to God, and its revenue is assigned for some religious or charitable purpose.

Apart from institutional help in the form of *waqf* and individual alms and charities that helped relieve the disabled, there were some tax advantages for the disabled.

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[9] Süheyl Ünver, ''Amalar ve Körhaneler; Manisa'da Saruhan Bey Körhanesi'', *Göz Kliniği Dergisi*, vol.1, n. 6, (İstanbul: 1944), pp. 3-7.
[10] Nil Sarı, ''Cumhuriyet Dönemine kadar Türk Tarihinde acizlerin korunmasına kısa bir bakış'', *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol.5, (İstanbul: 1993), pp. 23.
[11] Halil İnalcık, Şevket Pamuk, ed. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayınları, (Ankara: 2001), p. 35.

It is important to note that, from the beginning of the Classical Age to the late Ottoman period; children, women, poor, the aged and the disabled were all exempted from the *cizye* and *avarız* taxes. Therefore, taxes paid by the disabled from early on.[12]

Sultans distributed justice and provided welfare to their subjects in return for taxes and obedience. And one form the symbolic relationship of the Sultan with subject took was the *atiyyes* (Imperial gift). The needy petitioned the Sultan, upon which the Sultan provided financial help as he saw fit. This direct, personalized patronage relationship was random at best, as opposed to institutional relief or social security measures. There are many examples of imperial gifts giving to the disabled. To mention but one, a native of İstanbul was given with 10 *akçe* per month because of his newborn disabled child in 1777.[13]

While some developments in the education of the disabled started to take off in early modern Europe, the situation of the disabled in terms of education or social adaptability remained the same in the Ottoman Empire. The individual alms and the *Waqf* institution, which was still providing their functions effectively while new developments in the education of the disabled were taking, place in Europe. The changes in transmission of knowledge, development of higher education and the developments that resulted in the Enlightenment did not find their counterpart in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the lack of developments concerning the education of the disabled in early modern Ottoman Empire is the result of a larger trend, which has little to do with a lack of interest on the disabled on the part of the early modern Ottomans.

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[12] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[13] Hasan Bahri Sayı, ‘‘Türk Kavimlerinde Sakatların Yeri ve Statüsü’’, *Cönk Dergisi*, (İstanbul: 2005), p. 8.

However, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman ruling class including the Sultan realized the gap between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in terms of knowledge, technology, and economic and military power. The early reform projects failed to introduce reforms to compensate for some deep-rooted and structural problems. The only effective change came later when the classical standing army, the Janissaries, was abolished. The reform began in the military, and educational reform started in the military as well.

It comes as no surprise to find the first modern philanthropic institution to come out of the military establishment. *Osmanlı Mecruhin-i Askeriye Iane Cemiyeti*, established June 11, 1868, institutionalized services for the disabled. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the birth of many modern institutions, the models for which were located in Europe that continued to function in the Republic of Turkey, the nation-state that directly succeeded the Ottoman Empire. *Osmanlı Mecruhin-i Askeriye Iane Cemiyeti* was a significant charitable institution that aimed to serve soldiers especially those who became disabled, or badly wounded, as a result of war. It has been continuing these services ever since, changing its name firstly to *Hilal-i Ahmer* in 1878 and lastly to *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği* in 1947.[14]

The Educational Policy of the Hamidian Era

When we look at the entire history of the Ottoman Empire, we see that the first institutionalized educational attempt towards the disabled was only taken on to the agenda of the state during the reign of Abdülhamid II. The Deaf Mutes and Blinds school, which was opened in 1889 in İstanbul, was the first school for the education

[14] Yahya Okutan, "Osmanlı-Türkiye Hilâl-i Ahmer Dergilerinin Sistematik İncelenmesi", *Yeni Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları,* VI, Ed. Nil Sarı, İstanbul: 2000, pp. 169-236.

of the disabled. The Deaf-Mute and Blind School appeared in state yearbooks first in 1891 with the name of the Deaf-Mute School.[15] After 1891, its name was changed to the Deaf-Mute and Blind School (*Dilsiz- Sağır ve Amalar Mektebi*) in official state documents.

Before I turn to look at this school more closely, I will have a general overview of Abdülhamid II's educational policies. It will contribute to our understanding where the Deaf, Mutes and Blinds School stood within general educational policies, both in terms of quality and quantity.

We can easily see that the Hamidian era attached noticeable importance to making public education more efficient, modern and to making available standardized high-quality education all over the Empire. Abdülhamid II's policy in education, as in so many other areas, was to combine important elements of the European-inspired modernization project of *Tanzimat,* and the Ottomans' Islamic and Ottoman tradition and sense of self.[16] In other words, Abdülhamid II's policy in education, as in so many other areas, was to retain important elements derived from the state's Islamic and Ottoman traditions: such as the original plan for the state school system in his period which contained three levels: *Sübyan* (elementary); *Rüştiye* (middle), and the *Dar-ül fünun* (university).

On the other hand, since the beginning of modernization in the latter part of the eighteenth century, all ruling Sultans' chief preoccupation has been reformed the military institutions. In many areas Abdülhamid II continued the policies of his predecessors, but despite these traditional policies he expedited the pace of reform by building and financing new military academies at first.

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[15] Nuran Yıldırım,''İstanbul'da Sağır-Dilsiz ve Amaların Eğitimi'', *İstanbul Armağanı 3, Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri*, (İstanbul: Iz, 1997), p. 317.
[16] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State and the Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Oxford University, 2000), p. 176.

However, the military schools, which Abdülhamid II himself encouraged more than any of the other educational establishments, turned out to be hotbeds of rebellion against their own defender.

The years between 1876 and 1909 saw the reformation and redrafting of laws that were promulgated after the *Tanzimat*. The laws pertaining to primary and secondary education by earlier reformers were considered deficient in the Hamidian era. When one considers them in terms of quantity, one can say that hundreds of various kinds of public schools founded in the Hamidian Era, with modern curriculums posed a mighty alternative to the traditional school system. However, the curriculums under the Hamidian School system had a strong emphasis on religious and authoritarian values.

It is important to note that the Hamidian state demonstrated a remarkable dedication to education. Abdülhamid II's reign was a period of tremendous expansion in the number of state schools in the Empire.[17] When we consider the ideological impact of the Hamidian regime on the school curricula, we see that control was tight. Abdülhamid II prohibited school instruction without the use of the textual content of the new schoolbooks approved by the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, Abdülhamid II formed a large number of commissions instructed to adjust the schools' curriculum. Each of these commissions shared a common purpose; namely, the improvement of moral education throughout the Empire.

[17] Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1991), p. 28. We can clearly say that mass education was expanded at the primary school level. For instance, after the efforts of thirty years in education, the number of *Rüştiye* and *Idadi* schools increased its numbers to 600 and 104 while their numbers were 250 and 5 before. And the number of 4 *Darülmuallim*s' was uprising to 32. Moreover, while the number of 200 elementary Schools (ibtidai) rose to 4000-5000, the number of *Sibyan* Schools reached to 10.000. In summary, the era of 1876-1909 is possibly seen as the period implementing the missing parts of the *Tanzimat* reforms especially in the field of education.

It is possible to argue that *Tanzima*t education was considered the cornerstone of any and all improvements in the judicial, legal, administrative, and military advancement of the state.[18] It was in the Hamidian era that many ideas and reforms of the *Tanzimat* period were united.

During this period the perception of the Ottomans in the West underwent a major change. This turn is most clearly observed in the world of education. When we look at the numbers of schools opening during the Hamidian era, it is possible to argue that Abdülhamid II was successful in increasing the quantity of educational institutions; whereas he did not always succeed in establishing well-qualified modern education institutions. In other words, during the Abdülhamid II's era primary and secondary education never reached the level of their European counterparts.

A First Attempt in Educating the Born Disabled in the Hamidian Era: The School for the Deaf, Mute and the Blind in İstanbul

The structural changes introduced during the Hamidian Era, in the sphere of education, opened the way for the introduction of a modern European-inspired institution for the education of the disabled. The opening of a deaf-mute and blind school in İstanbul in 1889 was a significant step in the education of the disabled.

The *Sağır, Dilsiz ve Amalar Mektebi*, (Deaf-Mute and Blind School) was the first centralized attempt at education of the born disabled in the Ottoman Empire, preceded by the opening of a single classroom for the blind in Cairo in 1874, upon an order given by Ismail Pasha, before Abdülhamid II came into power.

[18] Stanford J. Shaw, ''Sultan Abdülhamid: The Last Man of the Tanzimat'', In *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Bildiriler*), (Ankara: 1991), pp. 179-196.

The first attempt to give education to the blind in Cairo was a local attempt; as opposed to the opening of the Deaf-Mute and Blind School in İstanbul by orders given by the centralized state apparatus.

This chapter argues that the Deaf-Mute and Blind School was a significant step in the development of the education of children disabled from birth. In other words, for the first time, the state made a remarkable effort for deaf-mute and blind children by establishing a special school with a special curriculum in the capital of the Empire.

As mentioned above, the opening of the deaf-mute and blind school by Abdülhamid II was a crucial step in the education of the disabled. Ferdinand Grati, who was an Ottoman citizen of Austrian origin and the founder of the *Hamidiye Ticaret Mektebi*, the Imperial business school, submitted a petition to the Sublime Porte stating that the Empire did not have special schools for disabled citizens.[19]

Upon Grati's petition, such a special school was first designed for the deaf and the mute. When Grati's petition attracted the attention of Münif Pasha, the Minister of Education, special education for the deaf-mute began to be provided by the state. Thus, the Deaf-Mute School in the imperial capital, İstanbul, was officially established on 30 September 1889 in the building of the *Hamidiye Ticaret Mektebi* (today's İstanbul Lyceum).[20] The school welcomed both Muslim and non-Muslim children between the ages of six and twenty. In order to be registered as a student in the school, a child might be both mute and deaf, or have any physical obstacle that inhibited the process of learning. The first year schedule consisted of the following classes: *Ilm-i Hall, Husni Hatt* (Artistic Writing), *Ilm-i Hesab* (Calculus), *Coğrafya-yı Umumi ve Hususi* (Geography), *Resm-i Hatt ve Taklidi* (Painting), *Ilm-i Ahlak*

[19] For detailed information about Ferdinand Grati's petition see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, v.3, (İstanbul: Eser, 1977), p. 115.
[20] Ali Haydar, ''Sağır ve Dilsizler'', *Muallimler Mecmuası*, vol.3, n.29 (İstanbul: Mart 1925), p. 1249.

(Religious Instruction), *Cümle Yazdırmak* (Dictating Sentences), *Cosmography* (Cosmography), *Mimariye* (Architecture), *Tezyinat* (Decoration), *Resm* (Painting), and *Cimnastik* (Gymnastics).[21]

Although this was a newly opened school that provided scholarships for the poor students, the school has never been able to attract a high number of students. There may be many reasons behind this, among which may be a considered unnecessary by the public.

Another potential reason may be the fact that the school was not well known by the Ottoman public. We do not know what other educational and social options existed for the disabled children, different religious communities may have continued to accommodate the disabled children in their educational institutions, just like the *waqfs* which continued to provide alms for the disabled. The records show that a total of twenty-five students were enrolled in the first year of its foundation, while the number increased to forty-five pupils in the second year.[22] In 1893, the school contained twenty students and five teachers as a whole. In 1901, sixteen students were being taught in the school.

On the other hand, all the schools under the Hamidian regime had special school uniforms like their counterparts in Europe. The Deaf-Mute and Blind School was no exception. In addition to standard uniforms, they bore a special coat of arms with figures indicating that they were "from the Deaf-Mute School". Thanks to their special coat of arms, they were recognized by society easily and protected when they were in trouble.[23]

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[21] Servet-i Fünun, ''*Dilsiz ve Amalar Mektebi''*, vol.129, (İstanbul: 31 Ağustos 1893), p. 394.
[22] Osman Nuri Ergin, Mecelle-i Umuru Belediye, vol.21, (İstanbul: Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1995), p. 3504.
[23] Two deaf and mute pupils of the school pictured See Appendix I and see two blind pupils pictured by Abdullah Fees in Appendix II.

During the official ceremonies of the Hamidian period, the students of the Deaf-Mute and Blind School were also present. This was not only limited to the disabled students, all the students of newly-found schools in the Hamidian Era took part in these public ceremonies. The students who took part in official *selamlık* ceremonies enjoyed pocket money given by the Sultan.

What's more, in every *Ramadan*, the fasting month, students were brought to the way of the Sultan and his family in order to show their gratitude to them after the *Hırka-i sherif* (the holy cloak of the Prophet Mohammed) procession, which was a ceremonial passage. The students also used to perform on stage by showing all the letters of a popular slogan through their sign language: "Long Live the Sultan".[24] This was a slogan that turned into one of the key signifiers of the Sultan's relation with his subjects, especially in those instances, which called for the subjects to express their love and gratitude as well as their loyalty to Abdülhamid II.[25] The main difference between non-disabled and disabled kids was the fact that while the former hailed "Padişahım Çok Yaşa" (Long Live Sultan!), the disabled students expressed this in sign language. Furthermore, this performance of the deaf-mute and blind students used to be reciprocated with a huge amount of imperial favor granted by Abdülhamid II.

Grati, founder and the first director of the school, died in 1891. His son Lui Grati was appointed as the new director of the school after his death.

[24] Pupils and the teaching staff were pictured in front of the "Long Live Sultan" (Padişahım Çok Yaşa) picture. The students also used to perform on stage by showing all the letters of a popular slogan through their sign language: "Long Live the Sultan". See Appendix III.
[25] Nadir Özbek, Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation during the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1909) in '*Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Context'*s by Mine Ener Amy Singer and Michael Bonner: State University of New York Press, (New York, 2003), p. 212.

However, Hüseyin Sabri Bey replaced Lui in 1896.[26] Finally, Şükrü Efendi became the director from 1908 onwards.

The staff of the school recorded in the state almanacs in 1901 was as follows: Süleyman Efendi, *Müdur ve Hareket-i Dahiliye Müderrisi* (Director and Sports Teacher), Cafer Bey, *Coğrafya Muallimi* (Geography Teacher), Rıfat Bey, *Hüsn-i Hatt* (Artistic Writing Teacher), Besm Bey, *Hüsn-i Hatt, Hesap ve Imla Muallimi* (Artistic Writing, Calculation and Spelling Teacher), Sabri Efendi, *Hesap ve Imla Muallimi* (Calculation and Spelling Teacher), Hüsnü Bey, *Ulum-u Diniyye Muallimi* (Religious Instructor).[27]

It is important to note that in 1896, the Geography teacher Cafer Bey was rewarded with an industry medal for his success as a teacher at the Deaf-Mute School.[28] His case clearly illustrates that he deserved to win the Sultan's imperial awards for his success in educating the deaf and the mute children.

Meanwhile, in 1890, Grati proposed that the Ministry of Education establish a blind school in addition to the deaf-mute school in İstanbul. Thanks to his petition, the education of the blind appeared on the agenda of the Ministry of Education. Thus, the Ministry of Education opened the blind school as part of the Deaf-Mute School on 17 March 1891 after the approval of Grati's second petition.[29] Upon extending the Deaf-Mute School with the new blind school, the curriculum was altered to include the blind in 1893 as follows: *Hüsn-i Hatt* (Artistic Writing), *Ilm-i Hesab, Cografya-yi Umumi ve Hususi* (Geography), *Resm-i Hatt ve Taklidi* (Painting), *Ilm-i Ahlak* (Religious Instruction), and *Hareket-i Arz* (Cosmography).

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[26] For detailed information about Hüseyin Sabri see Ali Haydar, ‘‘‘Sağır ve Dilsizler’’, *Muallimler Mecmuas*ı, v.3, n. 29 (İstanbul: Marc 1925), p. 1250.
[27] Nuran Yıldırım, ‘‘İstanbul'da Sağır-Dilsiz ve Amaların Eğitimi', *İstanbul Armağanı 3, Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri*, (İstanbul: Iz Yayıncılık, 1997), p. 318.
[28] BOA, I. MV, 6, 18/ B/1312 (Hicri), 14 Jan 1895 (Miladi).
[29] BOA, I.DH, 1220/95493, 6/S/1308 (Hicri), 17 Marc 1891 (Miladi)

Grati translated the French Sign Alphabet into Ottoman Turkish, which was a major step in the education of the deaf and mutes. For the modernization and standardization of the education of the deaf and mutes, the adoption of the alphabet served a significant function. The same alphabet was later adapted to modern Turkish after the foundation of Turkish Republic. The method of learning depended on the French mute alphabet that was adapted by Grati into Turkish with the assistance of Hüseyin Sabri Bey and Besim Bey. Grati's method of learning depended on the typewriter system, where the teacher showed the student the first letter of a word with his hand and students wrote it in their notebooks.[30]

This was mostly for the deaf-mute in the school. However, this technique did not work well because the pupils could only communicate with students and teachers in the school. Also, the pupils had been taught simple and open Turkish and were unaware of many Persian and Arabic phrases, which constituted an important part of Ottoman language.[31] They learned how to read with the help of blister musical notes.

Moreover, Education for the blind mainly depended on music practice. They became musicians or *Hafiz*, one who can recite the Koran by heart, after graduation while the mute could mainly become teachers or servants in the *Meclis-i Vukela*, the Council of Ministers.[32] This is an important point because many of the disabled in the Empire used to earn their life mainly by begging, and there were some regulations and policies regarding beggars that aimed to prevent them from disturbing society in the reign of Abdülhamid II.[33]

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[30] Ali Haydar, ''Sağır ve Dilsizler', *Muallimler Mecmuası,* vol.3, n. 29, (İstanbul: Mart 1925), p. 1251.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 1251. See Appendıx IV and Appendıx V for the Mute Alphabeth in Ottoman Turkish and French.
[32] Bernard Lewis, "Dilsiz*"*, *EI*^{2}, 277. Abdülkadir Özcan. ''Dilsiz", *IA*, 305.
[33] Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), pp. 44-77.

On the other hand, the majority of the pupils came from poor families. It is known that the municipality provided these students with a discount of twenty piaster, the lowest currency unit like a penny, in the Ottoman Empire, for commuting by tram. Interestingly, each mute student accompanied a blind student to complement each other in the deaf-mute and the blind school. The old Turkish expression "*Körler ve sağırlar birbirini ağırlar*" (The blind and the deaf-mute welcome each other) is obviously a result of this practice.[34] It was known that the school started to receive the necessary attention, when the son of a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Education and the grandson of a rising bureaucrat in *Izmir* (Smyrna) became students there.[35]

Abdülhamid II used the office of the caliph actively for pragmatic reasons. For the continuation of the empire and to find support in the international arena by forging relations with Muslim societies abroad, he emphasized religion in a new way.[36] His religious inclination is seen when we look at the curriculum of the blind students; the blind students were getting musical education. An important change took place a couple of years after the opening of the Deaf-Mute and Blind School. After the prohibition of music lessons and continuing only with religious music practices, children lost their interest in these classes and the result was that they left the school, so the blind division of the school was closed down in 1897.[37] After the abolition of the blind division, only a total of fifteen deaf and mute children, thirteen of who were Muslims and two of who were non-Muslims, were recorded to the school in the years 1898 and 1899.[38]

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[34] Enver Ertürk,''Disability in Turkey'', (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003), p.85.
[35] Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), p. 1171.
[36] Selim Deringil, ''Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)'', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v.23, n.3 (1991), pp. 346-348.
[37] Nuran Yıldırım,''İstanbul'da Sağır-Dilsiz ve Amaların Eğitimi'', p.318.
[38] Mehmet Esat, ''Amaların Terfih-i ahvali hakkında: 1902 Bürüksel Kongresi'', *Servet-i Fünün*, (İstanbul: 1319), pp. 362-372.

On the other hand, an indicator of the fact that Abdülhamid II paid considerable attention to this school was that he delegated Esad Bey, an ophthalmologist in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, the Imperial Medicine School, to a congress organized for the blind and held in Brussels in August 1902. In fact, it was the second time such a meeting was organized in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. The first International Blind Congress was held in Paris in 1900. It was decided at the end of that congress that the second one should be held in Brussels in August 1902. An official invitation for it was extended to the Ottoman Empire as well as some other European states. At first, the *Hariciye Nezareti,* the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced that attending the congress was unnecessary.

Later on, however, the Sultan decided to delegate Esad Bey to the congress as a representative of the Empire. I argue that even the representation of the Ottoman Empire in such an international congress, was a significant attempt for the education of the disabled during the Hamidian period. Abdülhamid II's policy of representing the Ottoman Empire in World exhibitions and specialized congresses was extended to the education of the disability by this incident. Most importantly, at the congress, he presented a project for the establishment of a school for disabled children within the *Darülaceze*, the almshouse in İstanbul, as a preparation for opening of new independent schools. It is interesting to note that Esad Bey's project was never realized because of lack of funds in the state budget. I believe that Esad Bey's project at the congress might well be taken into consideration and appreciated by Europeans, although such a school was never been established in Darülaceze.[39]

[39] Nuran Yıldırım, "*Darulaceze Müessesesi Tarihi",* (İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı Yayınları,1996), p. 169.

Moreover, Esad Bey also announced at the congress the attempts of the Abdülhamid II to establish a deaf-mute and blind school in *Acıbadem* region in İstanbul.[40] Therefore, in 1904, it was decided that a special education school for the blind, the deaf and the mutes would be established. Its name was to be *Sağır, Dilsiz ve Amalar Muessese-i Ilmiyesi*. A five percent deduction from the salaries of government officials was made to meet the cost of the project. Abdülhamid II also donated 1000 Ottoman Piaster from his personal treasury.

The school was planned to accommodate approximately one hundred students in the *Acıbadem* region. It is interesting that the school was planned to open on 19 August 1906, on the 30th anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne.[41] However, it was not just a coincidence that the opening was carried out on Abdülhamid II's anniversary of coming into power. It was mainly because the school was associated with an important event in his personal life. Unfortunately, the school was never opened because of insufficient financial resources deduced from the salaries of government officials. The fund that had been collected for the school was transferred for the purchase of equipment for the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* (Medical School) on 23 October 1910.[42]

Another development was that, soon after the congress ended, Esad Bey, who was sent to Brussels as representative of the Ottoman Empire and wrote a book about the congress after his return in 1902, also wrote a thirteen-page article, which was published in *Servet-i Fünun* (Wealth of Sciences) Journal as a brief summary of his book.

[40] BOA, I, MF, 1322/C-6/10, 29/C/1322 (Hicri), 1904-1905 (Miladi)
[41] BOA, Y.MTV, 289/ 115, 07/C/1324 (Hicrî), 29 July 1907 (Miladi)
[42] BOA, DH.ID, 190/7 (20/Za/1331) (Hicri), 21October 1913 (Miladi)

Moreover he submitted a report to the Sublime Port about the congress as well.[43] He mentioned, in his article and reports, the main topics and discussions that took place at the congress.[44] In addition, he included the speech he gave at the congress in detail in his book and article. According to his article, the most important pillar of education for the blind was music. Esad Bey explained in the congress that the blind in the Ottoman Empire mostly benefited from their talent for music and strong memories. He argued that another way for educating, and helping, the blind would be an active individual in society teaching those techniques of massage. He proposed that the blind should be educated as masseurs and could be employed in hospitals and medical centers.[45] For Esad Bey, the blind should also receive religious instruction and be taught religious music so that they could earn and improve their lives by performing music in religious gatherings.

The Deaf-Mute School, which was opened in 1889 in İstanbul, was closed down in 1911, however, the classes continued in *Darülaceze* building thanks to the objections to the closing of the school from the parents of deaf and mute students. After the dethroning of Abdülhamid II, and because of the beginning of World War I, the establishment of a new school in the *Darülaceze* was postponed.[46]

In the pages below, through a study of the Deaf-Mute School, which was opened during the reign of Abdülhamid II, I will provide information about a code of regulations for the deaf-mute schools that were planned to open in Anatolian districts during the reign of Sultan Mehmet Reşat (1909-1918), who came to power in the Ottoman Empire after Abdülhamid II.

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[43] For a detailed information about the discussions held in the congress see Mehmet Esat, ‘‘Amaların Terfih-i ahvali hakkında 1902 Büruksel Kongresi’’, *Servet-i Fünun*, (İstanbul: 1319), pp. 362-372.
[44] *Ibid.,* pp. 362-372.
[45] Mehmet Esat, ‘‘Amaların Talim ve Terbiyeleri’’, *Servet-i Fünun*, v. 648 , (İstanbul: 11 Sept 1319), pp. 362-376.
[46] Nuran Yıldırım, ‘*İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi’*, p. 169.

The reign of Abdülhamid II saw the introduction of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind School. However, this new institution can be considered an unsuccessful attempt, because the school was opened too late in comparison to Europe, and the investment was not sufficient to run such a special education institution according to modern standards. Furthermore, the school had to move from building to building; and the number of students and teachers varied over time. Also, the public was not interested in such a school, in the way that the Earthquake or *Darülaceze* became a common cause.

On the other hand, it was the pioneering institution that specialized in disability education. Its uniforms, alphabet, curriculum and other services offered to its students show that it was a significant step in institutionalization of special education for the born disabled. Yet, the idea of opening this school came from the appointed Principle of *Hamidiye Ticaret Mektebi* (Imperial business school), Ferdinand Grati, thus it may be arguable that the priority of the school varied according to Grati's power vis-à-vis the Yıldız administration. The school served the interest of Abdülhamid II, as a display of the modernizing and compassionate character of the sultan in the eyes of the Ottoman and European public.

Deaf-Mutes and Blind School during the Reign of Mehmet Reşat

During the reign of Mehmed II, a special code of regulations for the education of the born disabled was issued. Sultan Reşat approved the Code of Regulations on 29 September 1915.[47] However, no documents about any schools opened in Anatolia that was organized according to this code could be found. The only document I could locate in the archives about a provincial school for the disabled was about the *Selanik Dilsiz ve Sağırlar Okulu* or the (Thessalonica Deaf-Mute School).

[47] BOA, DUIT, *Dilsiz- Sağır Mektepleri Nizamnamesi*, Dosya: 15/1, Sıra No: 14/2, (20/ZA/331 (Hicri), 29 September 1915 (Miladi), See Appendix VI.

However, this document does not give any clue about the school. One state document dated 1911(1330) was sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which stated that it was not possible to sent any money for the Thessalonica Deaf-Mute School.[48] In this context, there is no doubt that there was a deaf-mute school in Thessalonica. Unfortunately, we have not got any documents including information about how it functioned or belonged to the state or any special attempt and so on. In other words, because of not having any documents about the function of school we do not even know if it was a private or state enterprise.

I also argue that the *Sağır ve Dilsiz Okulları Nizamnamesi*, the Code of Regulations for the Deaf-Mute, which was issued in 1915, helps any researcher to understand the school which was one of the attempts after Hamidian era in more detail. So I have selected some sections from the code and would like to comment on them briefly.

The 1915 Code of Regulations for the deaf-mute schools consisted of twenty-five entries about the type and the duration and aim, of education in these schools. The first part contains the conditions for acceptance by the school. In order to be registered as a student in these schools, a child might be both deaf and mute, or have any physical obstacles blocking the process of learning.[49] Every Muslim and non-Muslim girl and boy from the ages of seven to ten could be accepted. The document emphasized the duration of education as eight years. Moreover, students could continue either as paid or unpaid according to the financial situation of their families.

[48] BOA, DH.ID, 26/1- 72, 13/R/1330, 2 April 1912 (Miladi).
[49] *Ibid.,* (Fasil 1, Madde 1-9).

While resident pupils had to pay fifteen to twenty-five Liras, nonresident students had to pay one to five Liras.[50] In case of financial insufficiency, children could be accepted to the school with the authorization of the Ministry of Education.

According to the Code of Regulations, a resident pupil should bring some necessities such as two thin mattresses, two ticks, two puffs and their sheets, six sets of underwear, six pairs of socks, six handkerchiefs, two pairs of suits, and shoes with him when he began to attend the school. The school hands funds from its budget for the students' requirements. Moreover, educational staff should consist of a director, an assistant director, a sufficient number of teachers and assistant teachers. Except for the educational staff, the school also had to have some employees such as a cleaner, an accountant, and a warehouseman.

The Code of Regulations also emphasized that directors and teachers had to be chosen from the school graduates. Moreover, it is clearly stated that each teacher had to be responsible for a maximum of twelve students.[51] Again, the Code of Regulations set the salaries for the staff in the deaf-mute school as follows: 1500 Piaster for First Class Director, 1000 Piaster for Assistant Director and 600 Piaster for Assistant Teachers.[52] Following the regulations for the deaf-mute in 1915, an additional code of rules was taken to the agenda of the Ministry of Education on 18 September 1916 regarding the establishment of class for the blind in the Deaf-Mute School.[53]

While the efforts to establish a new school continued, the Deaf-Mutes School sustained its education in different buildings. As mentioned above, the Deaf-Mute School was first established in *Hamidiye Ticaret Mektebi*, (today's İstanbul Lyceum)

[50] *Ibid*., (Fasil 4, Madde 20-25).
[51] *Ibid*., (Fasil 3, Madde 12-19).
[52] For detailed information about the salaries of all teachers see Dilsiz - Sağır Mektepleri Nizamnamesi, BOA, DUIT, (Dosya: 15/1, Sıra: 14/2), 3.
[53] *Ibid., Dilsiz- Sağır Mektepleri Nizamnamesi,* Dosya: 15/1, Sıra: 14-1.

the business school. When the business school was closed down in 1891, the Deaf-Mute School was then transferred to the building of *Kaptan Paşa Mektebi*, another school near *Bozdoğan*. But when that school was also closed down, the students in the Deaf-Mute School moved to another building, *Haseki Mustafa Ağa Mektebi*, another school in *Çicek Pazarı*, the Flower Market, in 1892.[54] Unluckily, this building was again not the last building it moved in. It moved to the building of *Veziriazam Yahya Paşa Mektebi*, *Ayasofya Merkez Rüştiyesi*, the Hagia Sophia Central Secondary School, in 1895 because of low attendance after the abolition of the division for the blind. Pupils were exhausted because of these long transfer periods. In 1911, the school again moved to the building of a school called *Ragıp Pasha Mektebi* in *Koska* district.

Its transfer adventure did not end there, too. *Simenkeşhane Emetullah Sultan Mektebi* and *Posta Telgraf Mektebi* were two other schools where the Deaf-Mute School was consequently transferred. Finally, it continued its education in one of the rooms of the *Süleymaniye Madrassa*, the Islamic School, in 1925 and 1926.[55]

On the other hand, the school has continued its function during the Turkish Republic. Another issue I would like to mention here is an article written by Ali Haydar in *Muallimler Mecmuası*, (Journal of Teachers), in 1925. Ali Haydar's fourteen-page article about the deaf and the mute in the Ottoman Empire included all of his experiences, after a visit to the school located in one of the classes of the Süleymaniye Madrassa.[56] He wrote his experiences in detail and gave accurate information about the deaf and the mute in Europe as well. Moreover, he provided detailed data about the deaf, the mute and the blind by giving historical information supported with pictures, numbers, and names.

[54] See Appendix VII for the first building of 1889 Deaf, Mutes and Blinds School.
[55] Osman Nuri, Türk Maarif Tarihi, (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), p. 1169.
[56] Ali Haydar, ''Sağır ve Dilsizler'', p.1257.

Ali Haydar primarily emphasized in his article that the Ministry of Education helped the school about building and equipment. He was shocked when he entered the school because of the physical environment of the classrooms. He wrote that there were three classes according to the pupils' ages, and level of education, and each class consisted of approximately five students. According to Ali Haydar, the directorship explained him the number of students that were being educated at that time as twenty-five, a total of twenty-four boys and one girl. However, nine students could not come to school because their homes were far away from the school. Furthermore, the writer acknowledged the physical conditions of sixteen continuing students. As he reported, fifteen children were entirely deaf and one child was partially deaf.

What's more, the weekly school schedule given in the article was as follows: *Usul-u Imla* on Saturday, *Hesap* (Calculation) on Sunday, *Ilim-i Diniye* (Religious Instruction) on Monday, *Usul-u Imla* on Tuesday, *Eşya Dersleri* on Wednesday, *Hesap* (Calculation) on Thursday.

In 1926, the Deaf-Mute School was totally closed down and it was re-established in 1944 by the *Sağırlar Tenasüt Cemiyeti* (Deaf Solitary Society), near the *Aksaray* district. In 1944, the school was transferred to the Yıldız Palace (1953-1983) and began to be called the *Yıldız Sağırlar ve Dilsizler Yetiştirme Yurdu*. In 1983, it was transferred to another building with the name of *Fatih Sağırlar Okulu.*[57] 1330 students graduated from the school between 1953 and 1996.

In conclusion, Abdülhamid II established a unique system of communication between his subjects, the *tebaa*, and himself where he would mostly not appear before them, but they would feel his sovereignty and power, regarding him an

[57] *Büyük Larousse*, "Fatih Sağırlar Okulu", ''İstanbul'', pp. 3993-94.

invisible monarch everywhere and every time in daily life. Therefore, he set up a system of symbols both representing his power and serving for this one-sided communication between himself as the ruler and his *tebaa*, the ruled. What he did for the creation of such a different communication network throughout the Empire was to self-advertise his accomplishments in all fields and therefore making them known by the public. Also, the network of espionage called *Jurnal*, kept the public in good order (and in part paranoid).

Abdülhamid II used a number of means to achieve this goal and one among them was the creation of the "Imperial Photograph Albums".[58]

More than 800 albums of photographs including those of the institutions, such as the schools that the Sultan opened, were specifically prepared by his order for the library of his palace. Known as the 'Yıldız Albums' (because the name of his palace was the Yıldız) or the 'Abdülhamid Albums', these represented the symbolic power of Sultan Abdülhamid II through showing all of his achievements in the realm of education, and in other areas. Moreover, albums sent to Washington and London contains a high percentage of material displaying the modernity and progress of the empire. For example, one of the institutions mostly represented in the gift albums were the public schools.

[58] Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, Imperial Self-portrait, Abdülhamid II's Photographic Albums, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, (Illinois: Harvard University Publications, v.XII, 1988), p. v. Began soon after the advent of photography in the Ottoman Empire, most of the albums date from the 1880. Albums were mainly photographed by the famous photographers, or studious and publishers. Both Yıldız and Gift Albums consist of a series of 17 volumes each, dealing with fifty albums and covering a total of 33'350 photographs available in Istanbul University. It is quite possible to say that Abdülhamid II spent a great amount of money and energy to these photos. Gift and Yıldız Albums were both intended to portray a panorama of the Ottoman Empire, using images that would appeal to foreigners. It is supposed that some photos residing in Yıldız Albums, didn't take place in the gift albums because of the fact that photos, which were including modernity scenes, were chosen diligently. One main difference between the Yıldız and Gift Albums is while Yıldız only served for the Abdülhamid IIs' suspicion; providing information about the state institutions, the latter only aimed at legitimizing his power in Europeans opinion.

Most of the time, the students and the staff of these schools were photographed in front of a banner with the slogan of *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!* (Long Live the Sultan) expressing their loyalty to the Sultan as his subjects.

In many of these photographs, students are seen aligned in meticulously formed rows in front of school façades, with their 'modernized' school uniforms on and some 'modern' course materials in their hands, such as scientific instruments like rulers or globes as images of modernization in education. Yet, in some other photographs, one can see a mechanized fire brigade, the Imperial Yacht, or the school opened for the deaf and the mute. Thus, these albums not only represented the power and the benevolence of the Sultan, but also the steps of reform and modernization he took.

Another aspect of the imperial photograph albums was that they served for the Sultan's prestige in the eyes of foreigners. As Deringil wrote, "Abdülhamid II also made a point of showing foreign visitors around his 'showcase schools' intended to make an impact on them".[59] It is quite possible to argue that Abdülhamid II sent these photographs to the Western states in an attempt to demonstrate how modern his empire had become by the early 1890s.[60]

It is particularly significant that pupils of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind School appear in four pictures among these albums. Even a picture depicts a performance of a stage direction where the pupils show all the letters of the slogan "Long Live the Sultan!" through the sign language. In other words, it is possible to say to a certain extent that the 1889 Deaf-Mute and the Blind School shown in the gift albums help Abdülhamid II advertise his accomplishments in the field of education for the

[59] Selim Deringil, *The Well- Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909,* (London, New York: 1998), p. 31.
[60] Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam. The State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, p. 127.

disabled to the Europeans, although he failed to provide the necessary funds to make this school a cutting-edge institution.

As a result, it is seen that the creation of education programs for the born disabled children in the Ottoman Empire took place a century later than they appeared in Europe. The number of the deaf-mutes schools throughout Europe reached 320 while the numbers of students was 1265 in Belgium, 348 in Denmark, 7059 in Germany, 4098 in France, 4222 in England, and 2242 in Italy in 1901. The number of teachers in total in all of these schools was 569. However, only one deaf-mute school was opened in the Ottoman Empire. This situation clearly shows that education for the born disabled could not be institutionalized during the Hamidian Era while the contrary happened in Europe.

Also, if the historical continuity of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind School opened in İstanbul in 1889, it is no doubt that it failed to be a successful, effective and long lasting institution. Furthermore, a new school for the deaf, mute and the blind, which was planned to be established with the name of *Sağır, Dilsiz ve Amalar Müesseseyi Ilmiyesi* and announced by Esad Bey during the International Congress for the Blinds in 1902, was never opened. Remained as a failed attempt, this case also strengthened the fact that the efforts for institutionalizing education for the disabled could not be permanent and effective during the Hamidian Era. However, although Abdülhamid II did not pay the necessary attention or expend the necessary effort for the continuity of the deaf-mute and the blind school, a total of four photographs were included in the Sultan's gift albums.

Thus, one may argue that Abdülhamid II designed that school with the intension of displaying his dedication to the well being of the Ottoman society,

especially the children. But, whether it was because of that or not, the opening of the School for the Deaf-Mute and the Blind in 1889 should be accepted as an undeniable effort for the education of the disabled in the Ottoman Empire, although this effort was not systematic and failed to be permanent.

CHAPTER III: FINANCIAL AIDS FOR THE VICTIMS OF WORK ACCIDENTS

This chapter addresses the social security measures aimed to support people who became disabled during military duties or work accidents. Before the implementation of modern and standardized social security measures, victims of work accidents benefited from traditional schemes of retirement such as '*tekaüdiye*'. With the beginning of modernization policies in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, the disabled victims of work accidents and military service began to enjoy standardized and institutionalized pension schemes; as well as imperial gifts (*atiyye*) given by the Sultan upon petition.

The modernization project of the Ottoman Empire was carried out by the European-oriented Ottoman elite, which controlled the top positions of the military and the bureaucratic establishments. When Abdülhamid II ascended to the throne of the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multi-linguistic Ottoman Empire, just like his counterparts in Habsburg Austria-Hungary and Romanov Russia, he saw the pursuit of modernization policies implemented from above as the only way for survival. During his reign the speed of importing new institutions and technologies accelerated to a rate unseen before. However, structural and fundamental changes of the economic, social and cultural systems did not take place. The emergence of a modern pension system that accommodated institutionalized support for the disabled came about in the mid-nineteenth century in England, France and Prussia (later Germany).

When we look at the Ottoman Empire, we see that the social security policies for the victims of work accidents underwent an evolution from

traditional institutions toward a modern institutional framework. During the Hamidian era, the standardization and centralization of retirement was borrowed from Europe more or less simultaneously, but the social and economic factors that led to the modernization of these institutions in Europe during the mid-nineteenth century were not paralleled in Ottoman society. The emergence of modern social security institutions in Europe could only be possible after the Industrial Revolution and the making of the working classes. Since the Ottoman Empire couldn't adapt its system to accommodate industrial progress, a working class to demand social security rights did not emerge.

The pattern of how different socio-occupational groups gained access to pension schemes and collective old-age insurance in France, Germany and England developed along parallel lines, despite time lags.[61] Civil servants were first to obtain such measures, modeled on military pensions introduced in the eighteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century (1853 and 1859), laws were passed in France and Britain that standardized the existing measures and centralized their funding, from which civil servants were awarded pension. Prussia pursued the same policy a little later. When we compare the European and the Ottoman system, we see that the members of the Ottoman military enjoyed a number of certain social security benefits in the form of a pension as of 1866. In 1870 a Retirement Bill that took the French Retirement Code as its model was passed.

[61] Christopher Conrad, ''Emergency of Modern Retirement: Germany in an International Comparison 1850-1960'', *Population*, v.3, 1991, p. 176. See Appendix VIII for Chronological Presentation of Retirement Systems.

This bill defines the regulations regarding retirement in the Ottoman Empire. In 1881, the Civil Servant Retirement Fund was established according to the specifications of the Retirement Bill of 1870.

The Development of Retirement and Disability Coverage In Ninetieth Century Europe

The emergence of retirement and financial aid for the victims of work accidents took place as a result of developments in the means of production and the toughness of work conditions. Hippocrates (460-377 BC) was among the first to note the effects of the environment on workers' health in the forth century BC. He noted lead toxicity and described symptoms of lead poisoning among miners and metallurgists.[62] In 1556, the German Scholar Agricola (1494-1555) advanced the science of industrial safety, even further, when he described the diseases of miners and prescribed preventive measures in his book *De Re Metallica*.[63]

Intellectual developments in the sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe led to the Industrial Revolution. Francis Bacon wrote *Novum Organum* in the sixteenth century, which laid the foundation of the Scientific Revolution that led to the Industrial Revolution by changing the relationship between man and the environment.

The exploitation of underground resources by mining, and the advent of knowledge that resulted in the Industrial Revolution shaped Europe's economic and social structure (and the colonization process).

[62] Tamer Metinsoy, ''Occupational Health and Safety Risks and Preventions in Construction Industry: A case study in Turkey'', (MA Thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 2001), p. 3.
[63] *Encyclopedia of Occupational Health and Safety*, 1983, 3rd Ed., ''Switzerland'', p.140.

However, the work hazards of early industrial workers were not recognized until the nineteenth century, with the exception of disabled and injured soldiers. Until 1800s, the employer felt no responsibility for work accidents nor did his employees expect him too. Unsafe conditions that were involved in nearly every case of such injury were regarded as primarily the accident victim's own fault.

The advent of steam engine and the industrial revolution soon brought an increasing stream of serious and fatal injuries. Injuries and death in the workplace changed the attitude of workers. When a worker was injured by a hazardous condition, that had not been completely safeguarded, the employer was at least partly at fault. In early nineteenth century, some significant measures in occupational safety were taken for the first time in England.[64]

Among the workers in the industrial sector, miners, thanks to their long history of corporate organization, were the first to obtain state legislation on the risks of ill health, accident or old age. Another occupational group to have similar advantages was railway workers.

At the national level, social insurance was first introduced for blue-collar workers; however, most white-collar workers were covered by the German law of 1889, as many as in 1945 in the United States.[65]

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[64] Cristoph Conrad, ''Emergency of Modern Retirement: Germany in an International Comparison 1850-1960'', *Population*, vol. 3, (1991), p. 5. In 1833 the passage of the English Factory acts marked the first effective acts in the field of "industrial safety". The acts, however, were intended to provide compensation for accidents rather than to control their causes. Later on, various other European nations developed workers compensation acts, which stimulated the adoption of increased factory safety precautions and the establishment of medical services within the industrial plants. The first occupational health and safety measures began in the USA in the 1870s. From 1870's to the present, various regulations passed into law.

[65] The Literature was abundant; See for instance, for Germany: Tennstedt, F. *Sozial geschichte der Sozialversicherung in Blohmke Handbuch der Dozialmedizin*, (Stutgart: 1976, v.3), 385-492. For France, see: Hatzfeld, H., *Du pauperisme a la securite sociale 1850-1940*, (Paris: 1971). For United States: Achenbaum, W., *Social Security: Visions and Revisions*, (Cambridge: 1986). For Britian: Gilbert B., *The Origins of National Insurance*, (London: 1966).

In 1881, Germany's Emperor William the First wrote to the German Parliament: "those who are disabled from work by old age and invalidity have a well-grounded claim to receive support from the state".[66] Bismarck put the first sickness insurance into practice in 1883. Thus, accident and old-age insurance began to be applied in Germany in 1884 and 1891. During 1885, the first year of accident insurance in Germany, 194,601 enterprises were compelled to insure themselves in order to finance the accident-insurance system covering 2,986,248 individual workers. The way in which boards distributed the costs of accident insurance among individual employer members was also tied to labor power. Rules was first established in 1888 and 1889, gave each accident-insurance board the job of awarding every member business a 'risk number'.[67]

When we look at the private sector, we see that state-imposed insurance and pension for employees of private enterprises was the last step to be imposed in the twentieth century during, or after, the Great War. In 1910, France was the only country in which voluntary insurance was available for small business holders. In Britain in 1908, a system of social assistance was introduced as social insurance. It covered all the needy, and above all, did not discriminate against women. In the German Empire some advantages were given to white-collar workers, who obtained their own insurance law in 1911.[68]

[66] Greg Eghigian, *Making Society Social*, (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 70.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 79
[68] Christopher Conrad, *The Emergence of Modern Retirement*, p. 179.

Early Forms of Covering Victims of Work Accidents in the Ottoman Empire

Before turning to the reforms that led to the institutionalization of awarding pension wages to those who became disabled as a result of work accidents in the Ottoman Empire, we shall look at the existing forms of pension available before 1860s. Pre-modern pension schemes in case of work accidents awarded to the military and the civil officials, and the private sector organized within the guild structure will be under scrutiny in this section.

Prior to the establishment of modern retirement funds, the Ottoman state provided retirement pension for the army, palace officials and the high bureaucracy. '*Arpalık*' (barley money) was a term used in the Ottoman Empire up to the beginning of ninetieth century to denote an allowance made to the prominent civil, military and religious state officials, either in addition to their salary when in office, or as a pension on retirement.[69] This term does not appear in the historical sources before sixteenth century. The first beneficiaries were the Aghas of the Janissarie, the Aghas of the Imperial stable and the Aghas of the *bölük,* that is to say the major army and palace officers.

The maximum amount of *arpalık* was fixed at 70,000 aspers for religious officials, 58,000 asperse for the Agha of the Janissaries, and 19,999 asperse for palace officials. The *arpalık* disappeared at the time of the *Tanzimat* because a fund for retirement pensions was created.

[69] When granted as appendages or pensions to palace favorites or retired members of the elite, the *has* and *tımars* were considered by the bureaucrats as a deviation and interference with law and regulation. An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire Ed. by Halil Inalcik with Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, v.1, 1994), p. 143. or see R. Mantran, "*Arpalık*", *EI*^{2}, p. 658. Tayip Gökbilgin, "*Arpalık*", IA, v.1, pp. 592-595.

Obviously, *arpalık* was aimed to secure the welfare of the ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire, who enjoyed the highest positions available in the empire.[70] We can say that *arpalık* served the same function of lands that the aristocratic classes owned in Europe; the only main difference is that whereas in the Ottoman Empire the ruling elite enjoyed the revenues of *arpalık* lands for a limited period of time, the landed nobility had permanent private ownership rights.

Moreover, the term *tekaüdiye* was also used for a pension given to governors and civil officials who must quit work because of old age or any disability.[71] Fiscal records in the form of accounts contain significant data regarding this issue. These records reflected revenues and expenditures of the state. The earliest records regarding the retirement pensions were called the *Mütekaidin* accounts, which were kept between the years 1726 and 1727, which include the names and the level of retirement pension of army officers who were put on the retired list.[72] These accounts determine the names, cities, duties and the pensions of the retired people. *Tekaüdiye* was awarded to the officials who served under the receivers of *arpalık*, who were the main power holders along with the Ottoman Sultan.

There existed in the Ottoman Empire a pre-modern pension system that gave veterans of war a disability pension under the name of '*Maluliyet Maaşı*' (disability scheme) before the establishment of various Retirement

[70] Ahmed Ağa was given *Çorum* as appendage, *arpalık*, suggesting that the tax-farms of the sub province, which were not alienated already from the treasury, instead went to him as salary. Bruce Mc Gowan, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire Ed. by Halil Inalcik with Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, v.2, 1994), p. 671.
[71] Zeki Pakalın," Tekaüdiye", *Osmanlı Tarihleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları vol.3, 1983), p. 441.
[72] BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler Tasnifi, 4218. In this register (it has 24 folios) the retired beneficiaries of *Istanbul Yedikule* official *mükaata*, which was holded, by Elhac Osman Ağa and Süleyman Ağa were recorded by their names, places of birth, positions and daily stipends. Among these receivers were *kaptan ağa, reis, teberdar, terzi, silahdar* etc.

Funds in the nineteenth century. There are various cases about the "*maluliyet maaşı*" given primarily to military and state officials when they became disabled as a result of work accidents or war service. For instance, the earliest record I was able to find was about Süleyman Efendi who was a *tımar*-holder in *Menteşe* and he petitioned the Sultan for a retirement due to old age and disability (*maluliyet*) in 1790. He was retired with a *cebelü bedeliyesi* (a soldier's compensation) by the edict of the Sultan (*Hatt-ı Humayun*).[73]

Various early practices regarding retirement took place in the Ottoman Empire from early on. However in a modern sense, the issue of retirement funds was only taken on to the agenda of the state during the reign of Mahmut II. Nineteenth century examples from the Ottoman archival records started in 1826 and 1858. These records illustrate that disabled veterans were paid retirement pensions according to their disability cases by the state.[74] Due to the article written by Martal, it is possible to say that the state began to compensate for the incapacity of the disabled by providing pensions to rank- retirement funds.[75]

When we compare it with earlier periods, we see that during the reign of Mahmud II, the *maluliyet* system was extended to rank-and-file army officials as well. Thus, the early nineteenth century can be considered a proto-modern period of transition from pre-modern retirement system to the modern institutional establishment of late-nineteenth retirement funds.

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[73] BOA, HAT, 201/10351. Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, *The Classical Age (1300-1600),* (London: Phoenix, 1973), p. 226. *Tımar* was the land owning system in the Ottoman Empire. *Tımar* was a fief with an annual value of less than twenty thousand *akçes (*q. v.), whose revenues were held in return for military service.

[74] BOA, HAT, 296/ 17601, 29/Z/1245 (Hicri), 21 July 1830 (Miladi), BOA, A.MKT.UM, 334/59,15/R/1275 (Hicri), 22 November 1858 (Miladi)

[75] Abdullah Martal. ''Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Emeklilik ve Buna Ilişkin Düzenlemeler''*, XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresine Sunulan Bildiriler*, (Ankara: 1999), p. 3.

Another example is a salary book belonging from the period of 1865 and 1866, which includes the rates of pensions for the poor as well as for those from various artisan groups and professionals based on situations of old age, military veterans, dismissal from office and death. Again another state document dated 1897 can give us an idea of an amount of pension given to veterans according to their disability cases.[76] I argue that these examples illustrate how much the Ottoman Empire was aware of forming such proto-modern social security measures for (disabled) veterans. When we look at the private sector, we see that the main forms of production in the Ottoman Empire fell into two broad categories: Agricultural production created revenues for the state in the form of taxation.

The guilds on the other hand supplied hand-manufactured goods. Within the guild structure, there was a Common Fund (*Orta* or *Teavün Sandığı*), which was used to refry the compensation wages for guild members who became disabled during a work accident. This can be compared to the mutual aid societies and company retirement funds of Great Britain.[77]

The *Lonca* (guilds) constituted an autonomous administrative body. The chief officer of a guild was known as the *Kethüda* or *Kahya* and was elected by the artisan members of the guild. Through the control of prices and the quality of the goods in local towns, the guild administrators organized the economic life of the Ottoman Empire prior to the twentieth century when

[76] BOA, I.AS, 22/1315/R-04, 25/ R/ 1315 (Hicri), 22 September 1897 (Miladi). The degrees of *maluliyet* (disabled) pension were determined according to the gravity of the accident they suffered during wartime. According to this document, the first grade disability pension (Maluliyet Maaşı) was 125 Piaster. Second grade and third grade pension were 100 and 80 Piaster respectively. See Appendix IX.

[77] Hannah L, *Inventing Retirement. The Development of Occupational Pensions in Britain*, (Cambridge: 1983), v.6, pp. 31-32, 130.

they were abolished.[78] In addition, the guilds administered the work of the various crafts, provided raw materials to the artisans, and checked into whether or not the main rules were being followed.

The guilds even educated the artisans, gave them certificates, and they collected certain taxes. What's more, *Lonca* (guilds) even had their own funds called '*Teavün Sandığı'* (*Orta Sandığı*). The function of this fund was if any member has had an accident or died while working, *Teavün Sandığı* covered his risk with a pension.[79] The resident judge (Kadı) was responsible of fulfillment of taxes obligations of the guilds. In conclusion, the Ottoman traders and artisans could not compete with their European counterparts, since the latter started factory production. The Ottoman Empire imported many goods but was unable to export goods, and thus weakened the *Lonca* (guild) system and led to its abolishment in 1912.

I think that these functions of the guilds meant that the Ottoman craftsmen constituted an autonomous economic, and also a primitive social security, group in the Ottoman towns. However, with the influx of imported industrial products into the Ottoman Empire, the importance of the guilds declined, as they could not compete with the cheap industrial products that taken over the Ottoman market beginning with the Crimean War (1853-56). After the abolishment of *Lonca* (guild) system in 1912, these kinds of primitive social security applications also disappeared.

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[78] Mine Çınar, Günar Evcimen and Mehmet Kaytaz, ''The Present Day Status of Small-Scale Industries (Sanaatkar) in Bursa – Turkey'', *Middle Eastern Studies*, (USA, vol. 20 (1988,), p. 288.Suraiya Faroqhi, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* Ed. by Halil Inalcik with Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, v.2, 1994), pp. 589-593.
[79] Ahmet Makal, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Çalışma Ilişkileri: 1850-1920*, (Ankara: Imge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1997), p. 213.

Financial Aid for the Victims of Work Accidents: The Birth of Retirement Funds in the Late Ottoman Empire

What I touched upon above was some pre-modern social security policies prominent in the earlier periods of the Ottoman Empire. I will focus on the establishment of retirement funds as an example of modern social security policies in the late Ottoman Empire. The earliest retirement fund to be established in 1866 was the military retirement fund, from which the military personnel benefited. Firstly, I will analyze the military fund by looking at the regulations and its internal dynamics, supported with the use of archival documents. After looking at the initial establishment of retirement fund for the military, I will look at the retirement policies pursued in the Hamidian Era. I will focus on the content, and significance, of the retirement bill released in 1870 that was modeled on European systems of retirement and served the interest of civil officials as well as the military personnel.

I argue that the social security practices studied below are highly important steps, because they were the first attempts towards the institutionalization and the modernization of the social security policies in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. In accordance with the framework of this study, I will not deal with the internal organizational structure of *Askeri Tekaüd Sandığı* (Retirement Fund) as it pertains to administration, accounting, and examination boards.[80]

[80] These can be seen under the title of "*Askeri Tekaüd Sandığı Idaresinin Nizamname-i Dahilisi*" in Düstur in detail. See Republic of Turkey, *Düstür*, "Askeri Tekaüd Sandığı İdaresinin Nizamname-i Dahilisi, 2nd Series, vol.1, p.230. This regulation contains five main parts as Muhasebe Heyeti (Accounting Commission), Tahrirat Heyeti (Government Office), Tetkik and Teftiş Heyeti (Review Board) and Evrak Kalemi (Filling Department) were the subtitles of the Military Retirement Fund. It would be possible that main regulations about the Military Retirement Fund should have been enacting before this fund.

Military veterans were generally the first to receive pensions, followed by state and municipal employees by the mid-1900s. The first modern security organization in the Ottoman Empire, the Military Retirement Fund (*Askeri Tekaüd Sandığı*), was set up in 1866 with the intention of establishing a retirement benefit system for those in the military service.[81] On the other hand, a certain number of edicts issued in 1864 were related to the issue of retirement of officers from the military unit called *Asakir-i Şahane*, and pensions that were assigned to the widows and orphans who survived these officers.[82]

What was noticeable in such arrangements was that the military again played a leading role as it did in all other modernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire. However, rather than providing all sorts of social security services, retirement funds only organized the retirement status of its members. Called *Tenkisat-ı Askeriye* and implemented as a reform of, and reduction in, the military, it was a law determining the duties of the members of the military and the retirement rights of those who completed their terms of office were also arranged thanks to a special law. In addition to this, *ianes* (aids) granted to the widows and the orphans of disabled veterans were also put in order by the above-mentioned law.[83] An archival document dating from 1893; show us the implementations of Military Retirement Fund in 1885.[84] It is possible to say that Military Retirement Fund constituted one of the initial examples of retirement policy carried out by the state to reorganize

[81] *Ibid*., p. 230.
[82] Abdullah Martal, ‘‘Osmanlı *Imparatorluğu'nda Emeklilik ve Buna Ilişkin Düzenlemeler'', p*. 6.
[83] Hüseyin Özdemir, *Osmanlı Devletinde Bürokrasi*, p. 289.
[84] BOA, I.AS, 2/13, 21/B/1310 (Hicri), 7 Febuary 1893 (Miladi).

the conditions of retirement for the military class and guarantee its members a secure future.

Now I will turn to concrete examples documented in the Ottoman Archives pertaining to the retirement (by petition) of disabled military personnel. A case prior to the modernization of military funds dates from 1858, and shows the pension given to injured and disabled veterans due to their disability cases.[85]Another record, also dated 1858, shows the pensions given to the widows and orphans due to the death of war causalities.[86] For example, Aydınlı İsmail, who became disabled because of the *Silistre* War, was paid a retirement pension by the Ottoman State in 1854-55.[87] The case of Aydınlı İsmail may be considered a typical example of receiving a retirement fund due to disability caused by war, because Aydınlı İsmail, lost a leg in Silistre War, wrote to *Dahiliye* (Ministry of Interior Affairs), and this commission evaluated his petition. As a result he was awarded a pension in 1854-55.

Another example was about one of the members of artillery; Mehmed was also paid a 100-piaster retirement pension because of the fact that he became physically disabled during military service in 1856.[88] It should be noted that, if any soldier become disabled during military service he had to prove his disability by taking a health report from *Mekteb-i tıbbiye*. After submitting his report of disability for approval, he would be retired.

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[85] BOA, A.MKT.UM, 334/59, 15/R/1275 (Hicri), 22 December 1858 (Miladi).
[86] BOA, A.MKT.UM, 334/59,15/R/1275 (Hicri), 22 December 1858 (Miladi), BOA, A.AMD, 79/19, 1275 (Hicri), 1858 (Miladi).
[87] BOA, A.AMD, 64/59, 1271 (Hicri),1854-55 (Miladi). The amount of pension given to Aydınlı Ismail didin't mention in this petition. "Silistre Muharebesinde ----- isabetiyle sağ eli sakat olmuş ve asakir-i celile-i nezaretinden bu gün tekaüd olundu".
[88] BOA, A.MKT.DV, 90/58, 10/B/1272, 17 March 1856 (Miladi). " Askeri-yi Şahane neferinden muharebede sakat olmağla icra-yı tekaüdünü rikab-ı ----- cenab-ı padişahiye takdim eylediği arzuhal ile olbabda tophane-i amire muşiri devletlü Paşa hazretleri muharebeye şamil tezkire-yi acizi ve mezkur-u---- ile beraber irsal-i su-i sami-i şehriyarileri kilinmiş olmağla olbabda irade kılınmıştır".

An example of this took place in Aleppo in 1861. Arnavud Abbas who was a Sergeant Gendarmerie in the *Halep Vilayet Konağı* submitted a petition in which he states that he became blind during his terms of office and asked the Ministry of Internal Affairs for early retirement. However, after an investigation by the state, it was understood that he didn't become blind while working. As a result, his retirement request was rejected.[89] This case shows that if anybody claimed to have become disabled while doing his military service, or as a result of a work hazard, this had to be examined in detail by the state health office. The record related to his case demonstrates that the state pursued all the stages of the retirement process diligently.

The Retirement Bill of 1870

The retirement bill 1870 was prepared with the aim of modernizing the retirement fund system of the Ottoman Empire, along the lines of development in Europe. The conditions, applications and the rules governing the awarding of pensions were systematized. The modernization was undertaken for a number of reasons; firstly such a law never existed in the Ottoman Empire before. Secondly, in Europe laws based on the principles of equity were being adopted at the time.

The Ottoman administration felt the need to standardize the system of giving imperial favor upon petition, and create universal laws that would be sufficient in determining rights and obligations concerning retirement. Thus, the rights of people who became disabled as a result of a work accident were

[89] BOA, A. MKT.UM, 546/79, 7/N/1278 (Hicri), 09 March 1862 (Miladi).

secured. This bill, which was drafted for the civil officials, was to be the model for all the Retirement Funds that were to be founded after that point. The Hamidian era was marked for its standardization and modernization policies; and the number of separate retirement funds established during the reign of Abdülhamid II suggests that this issue was considered important by the government.

The bill, prepared in 1870, cited the retirement policies in Europe, underlined the importance of the pension law. The bill stated the fact that there existed in Europe the institution of retirement funds, along with a set of laws that represented rights regarding retirement. The commission that prepared this bill wanted to acknowledge the necessity of the establishment of retirement funds according to laws that are modeled on European, especially French, practices regarding retirement.

Ottoman officials had examined the retirement system in France before the preparation of the 1870 bill for the body of regulations related to the retirement issue in the Empire. It was stated in the bill that the retirement pensions were an obligation and justice for retired civil servants in France, Britain and Austria. According to the implementation of the retirement law in France, those who gained the right to retire were allocated 1/60 of their total incomes for the last six years of their work life as of their official retirement date.[90]

The 1870 bill also stated that the retirement law was a step that should be taken by all governments; however, the Ottoman administration lacked such a system.

[90] BOA, SD, 2392/18.

In addition, it questioned why the retirement law did not exist in the Ottoman Empire until that time. According to the 1870 Bill, a retirement law was nonexistent in the Ottoman Empire for two main reasons. One is because civil servants were assisted in various other ways and through different practices in the past (Royal Favor). The second is about those who needed retirement were aided or assisted by the state; however the pensions were not distributed equally to everyone due to the lack of systematic regulation, laws and practices. Thus, due to the lack of rules or regulations, bounties/ endowments and grants by the sultan were not equally distributed to everyone.[91]

Before the establishment of the Civil Servant Retirement Fund, the Ottoman state initially planned to determine the rate of retirement pay according to the officials' rank; however that was later found to be unsustainable. Finally, it was decided that those whose salary was less than 5000 piaster would be granted five percent of their salaries as pension while those whose salary was over 5000 piaster would take three percent of it. If a Civil Servant who was about to be retired died, his widow and orphans were assigned a certain amount of pension, which was determined according to his rank and service.[92]

At the end of the negotiations among the members of the committee responsible for the 1870 bill, four principles were specified according to which the retirement procedure was to take place. These four principles also eliminated the complexities of pension distribution and rendered the retirement rights just and equitable. Determining the rates and amount of the retirement pensions was among the main issues of the bill.

[91] BOA, SD, 2392/18.
[92] BOA, SD, 2392/18.

The other two issues were about the establishment of Retirement Fund and finding the necessary funding for the establishment of the Retirement Fund. Finally, The Council of State (*Şura-yı devlet*) wanted the administration of the retirement fund to be under its control. It also asked for preparation of a new code of rules for the administration of the retirement fund and accounts and functions related to it. Thus, the Council of State prepared a 26-article code of rules and stipulated four principles that defined the conditions of retirement in 1870.[93]

1- One who submitted petition for retirement had to be either a civil servant or an employee

2- Deductions from the salaries would be made at the determined rates.

3- Age and status of the civil servant had to meet the standards determined by the code of rules.

4- In case a civil servant who asked for retirement took an absence of service in the position he worked for, he will lose his right to retire.

We see that the committee responsible for the Bill and the Council of State, who passed the regulations of the Pension Fund, stipulated for the retirement of the disabled. In the twenty-six article regulations drafted by the above-mentioned committee, two articles pertain to regulating the stipulations upon which the disabled will be entitled to a retirement fund. The ninth article of the Bill of Regulations states that, officials who serve the state with public spirit, endurance and protection will be entitled to 1/60 or 1/50th of their salary (depending on the type of service they perform) if they become

[93] BOA, SD, 2392/18.

disabled through an accident during civil or military work.[94] The wives of the victims of work accidents, and of war casualties were to receive the same amount of the salary, as did the disabled, or deceased, in question upon their death.[95]

Thus, the disabled were not omitted from the general stipulations of retirement defined in this bill of regulations. However, the articles that deal with the disabled are set down as the general principles that were to guide future legislation concerning the entitlement of sufferers of work accidents to a pension.

Industrialization and Covering of Work Accidents by Pension Funds

In the early modern Ottoman Empire, production was geared towards consumption goods. The first factories from the time of Mahmud II can be categorized under the rubric of military industry. In this period, the construction of steam ships in the *Sinop, Izmit* and İstanbul shipyards began.

The *Ereğli* Coal Mines were opened in the nineteenth century to address the demand coal for railways.

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[94] BOA, SD 2392/18 Article 9: memuriyetlerine mutealik olan ve olmayan harekat-ı fedakarane veyahud memuriyetlerine müterettip-i mukavemet ve mudafadan dolayi tekaüde mütehak olan memurlara son maaşlarI tahsis olunur. ve iş bu tahsis olunacak maaşları hic bir vakitde 7500 kuruşa tecavüz edemez. ve zayifi memuriyetlerinin icradan dolayi musab ve kazazede olan memurlara hidemati adiyede muteheddin iseler son maaslarinin 60/1 ve hedemati seyriyede müteheddim iseler 50 de 1 nispeti kaidesi üzeine tahsis edilir. Fakat iş bu tahsis olunan maaşlar --- aşağı olamaz mazeret-i vucudiyeleri sebebiyle ifayi hidmetten aciz olanlar veyahud memuriyetleri lağv olunanlar hidemati adiyede iseler maaş nispetinin 60 da 1 ini ve hidemat-ı seyiyede iseler 50 de 1 ini alırlar.

[95] *Ibid*., Article 11: 9 maddede mezkur olan harekat-ı fedakaranenin veya müdafa ve mukavemet hallerinin tesiratıyla mütakiben veyahud esbab-ı muharrerenin netayici olmak uzere mütehakkiren ---- halleri vuku bulan veyahud mahalli memuriyetlerine gider iken mahallin ve muhaterat-ı seferiyeye uğrayip vefat eden memurlarin zevceyi metrukeleri dahi vefat eden zevclerinin aldiklari veyahud almağa mutehak oldukları maaşlarının sülasesine nail olurlar ve vazifeyi memuriyetlerini ifa yolunda musab ve kazazade olanlarının zevclerinin aldıklari veya almaya mutehak oldukları maaşların selasına nail olurlar.

The first workers union in the Ottoman Empire, which was founded on 1st of April 1866 and called the *Ameleperver Cemiyeti* (Labour Union), can be accepted as an example of social security practice, although the association had limited functions such as teaching craftsmanship, providing the necessary tools for it, and finding jobs for its members.[96]

In 1865, the Minister of the Imperial Mines, Dilaver Pasha (*Ereğli Livasi kaymakamı ve madeni humayun nazırı*) an influential high-ranking Marine Ministry Officer arrived at the head of a special mining commission and set about trying to bring order to the *Zonguldak* Coalfield. He drafted a code of regulations in 1867. Dilaver Pasha's regulations, which included 100 articles, aimed to improve the work conditions of miners. However when he submitted the code of regulations to the Sultan for approval, his draft was rejected and it was never put into effect.[97] When we look at this code, we see that there were no sanctions regarding the accidents that occurred in the mines. By international standards, accident rates in the Zonguldak mines were appallingly high. Overall, Ottoman workers were five to twenty times more likely to encounter work-related injury or death than their counterparts in Western Europe and the United States.[98]

Apart from mining, heavy industry was limited to the Imperial shipyards, Imperial Arsenal, Imperial Gunpowder factory, railway factories, and the Armory. Light industry mainly concentrated on textiles industry.[99]

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[96] Yavuz Selim Karakışla, " The Emergence of the Ottoman Industrial Working Class, 1839-1923, ed. Donald Quataert and Erik Jan Zurcher, In *Workers and the working class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic1839-1950*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995), pp. 26-27.
[97] Donald Quartert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire The Zonguldak Coalfield 1822-1920*, (New York: Bergnahn Books, 2006), p. 41. And see the transcription of the 1867 Code of Regulations in Umran Nazif Yiğiter, *Kömür Havzasında Amele Hukuku*, (Zonguldak: 1943), pp. 15-25.
[98] Yavuz Selim Karakışla, op. *cit.,* p. 150.
[99] Donald Quataert, ''Textile Workers in the Ottoman Empire (1650-1922)'', *National Overview Turkey* 1, (İstanbul: 2004), p. 4.

We can say that, just like in England, the miners were among the first group to be recognized by the Ottoman state with regard to health hazards and tough working conditions (just like the military.) However, the code of regulations penned by Dilaver Pasha was never put into effect. Moreover, it had nothing to say about work accidents and their compensation in the form of pension or indemnity. We can argue that the principal aim of the *nizamname* (code of rules) prepared by Dilaver Pasha was to perpetuate the production rather than protecting the workers.

On the other hand, (*Maadin Nizamnamesi*) the code of rules for mines, published in 1869, provided a set of legal arrangements related to the abolition of forced labor, rearrangement of work conditions, imposition of protective measures against work accidents, and payment of compensation in the case of the death of a worker. As prescribed in this code of regulation (*Maadin Nizamname*), every work place also had to have a doctor and sufficient amount of medicine.[100]

The circle of light and heavy industrialization was not completed before the demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. But there existed a number of heavy industrial sectors within the military apparatus of the state. Among these was the Imperial Dockyards (*Tershane-i Amire*).

The first code of regulations that defined the rights of industrial workers in the Ottoman Empire was promulgated in 1875. Whereas, there were social rights and benefits for the members of the guilds before this date; workers in an industrial factory-like establishment were never before considered in the modern sense of the term worker.

[100] Nadir Özbek, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Sosyal Güvenlik ve Sosyal Politikalar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2006), pp. 117-118.

Its long title, *Tersane-i Amire'de mustahdem Amele-i daimenin mutekaidini ve bunların eytam ve eramiline tahsis olunacak maaş hakkındaki nizamnamedir,* reads as follows: "The Code of Regulations pertaining to the Retirement of the permanent workers employed in the Imperial Dockyards; and to their widows and orphans".[101]

This code of rules consisted of four parts and forty articles; the first part of the above-mentioned code concerned the administration of the retirement fund. The second part talks about the pensions given to the retired. The third part consists of the pensions given to the disabled workers. And the last part is concerned with the pensions given to the members of the workers' widows and orphans.

In respect of the twentieth article of the code, workers who had a working accident during work time were retired according to the disability level they had. Furthermore, article twenty-three indicates the levels of disability and the pensions they were given in the code. If a worker both lost his hands and legs due to the accident in the working area he was given three quarters of his monthly pension. However, if he had not completed his twenty years state service, he was given one third of his pension and could be retired. On the other hand, article twenty-four implies the second level of disability so that a twenty-year service worker was injured but can survive without help if he was given half of this pension.[102]

[101] BOA, I.MA, 2299. *Tersane-i Amire'de mustahdem Amele-i daimenin mutekaidini ve bunların eytam ve eramiline tahsis olunacak maaş hakkındaki nizamnamedir.*
[102] *Ibid.,* BOA, I.MA, 2299.

The number of the retirement funds established before the reign of Abdülhamid II was limited to one. He increased the number of the retirement funds in the Empire during his reign and, thanks to them, offered compensation for the losses of the victims of work accidents. In addition to this institutionalization attempt, Abdülhamid II granted gifts, *atiyyes*, in a perfunctory and careless manner, to accident victims, who individually asked for his help (the awarding of Imperial Gifts was not related to belonging to a retirement fund).

It is important to note here that Abdülhamid II granted those *atiyyes* to individual accident victims only as a part of his self-projection as a benevolent Sultan, so his behavior reflected a self-consolidation of his power and sovereign benevolence in the eyes of his subjects. In addition to Imperial Gifts, Abdülhamid II established relief institutions such as the poorhouses named *Darülaceze* and *Darülhayr* for the poor and the needy.[103] He denoted 10,000 Turkish Lives for the *Darülaceze*.

Considering the estimated cost of the construction- about 50,000 Turkish Liras-the extent of Abdülhamid II's personal contribution becomes clear. On the other hand, he did not form an accident insurance system for the victims of work accidents, which was established in European states in 1890s. More importantly, he did not make any efforts to create a code of rules for the

[103] Nuran Yıldırım, *Darülaceze Tarihi,* (İstanbul: 1997, Darülaceze Yayınları), p. 33. Osman Nuri Ergin particularly emphasizes some of Istanbul's traditional establishments such as *mihmanhane, darüzziyafe, misafirhane, tabhane,* and *şifahane* in order to prove that long before Abdülhamid's poor relief institutions such as Darülaceze and Darlulhayr, the Ottomans founded poor-relief Institutions. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999), v.4, pp. 504-509.

benefit of coal mine workers, who constituted the first working class in the Ottoman Empire, or improve their working conditions despite the fact that the most work accidents occurred in the coalmines.[104]

In the time of Abdülhamid II, there were significant attempts related to the numbers of various Retirement Funds. The first and important step is foundation of Civil Servant Retirement Fund (*Mülkiye Emeklilik Sandığı).* In classical period, bureaucracy was limited to various *Kalemiye* staff. At the end of the 18th century, *kalemiye* class has had around 1000-1500 working staff.[105] After the 1830s as a result of the reforms within the bureaucratic establishment, *kalemiye* became a diversified and more complex network. The number of officials increased and their functions became specialized. Thus, they constituted the modern civil bureaucracy (*mülkiye).*

By the help of 1869 code of rules called the '*Daire-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi'* the duties, authorizations and responsibilities of civil servants of all positions from governors of provinces to village headmen were defined.

The 1869 code of rules was also significant for it was a document through which the state recognized civil service posts as a profession.

In this way, issues like services, salaries and fare payments for civil servants as well as retirement, widows' and orphans' pensions began to appear on the state's agenda, which led further arrangements related to them.

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[104] *Zonguldak* miners were hurt and killed in relative numbers far greater than their contemporaries in Western Europe and the United States. The worst known accident of the Ottoman Era, which killed sixty-seven workers, occurred in the Giurgiu (Gurcu) mine, one of the biggest in the coalfield. See the profile of accident victims: 1893-1907 in Chapter 8. Donald Quataert*, Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield 1822-1920*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 3,187-206.

[105] C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 147.

It was also time for civil servants to gain the right to benefit from the retirement law. In 1881, a retirement fund for civil servants (*Mülkiye Tekaüd Sandığı*) was founded, and a law dating from 1325 (1909) initiated the establishment of two separate funds for military and public service retirement.[106] In other words, in the early 1900's the right of pensions for government employees began to extend to cover a larger group. According to the Civil Servant Retirement Fund, every twenty - year old civil servant, except the temporary workers paid daily wages, had the right to pension.[107]

In order to be retired, a civil servant should have worked for thirty years. If civil servants are entitled to retire with a pension, they must apply with his service record to the Civil Servant Retirement Fund. For instance, a State record dated 1909 referring to a policeman, Ahmed Efendi who wanted retire with a pension, illustrates that his service record was sent to *Mülkiye Tekaüd Sandığı* (Civil Servant Retirement Fund) in compliance with fund instructions and he retired.[108]

In addition to the above case, another document from 1898 was about the retirement request of four state officers in *Halep* (Aleppo), *Selanik* (Salonica) and *Manastır* (Monastiri) on account of their disabilities. These examples show us that every disability was covered by the state with scrupulous care.

Additionally the Civil Servant Retirement Fund's capital consisted of the deduction of five percent from the salaries of the *Mülkiye* officials (Civil Servant).

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[106] Republic of Turkey, ''Düstür, Memurin-i Mülkiye Tekaüd Kanunu'', 2nd Edition, vol. 1, p. 665.
[107] *Ibid.,* 669, 681. Article 2- Hakkı tekaüd seneyi şemsiye hesabıyla yirmi yaşına vesulden itibaren hidmete mahsus olarak maaşa nailiyet tarihinden yedi ile ----- otuz sene hidemetle intisab olunur.
[108] BOA, DH.EUM.MH, 10/25, 9/Z/1327 (Hicri), 22 December 1909 (Miladi).

Another document dating from 1909 illustrates that the ratio of the deduction did not change over time; the five percent deduction cut from the salary of local governor of *Trablusgarb* did not vary from 1881 to 1909.[109] Moreover, tax revenues of the fund were put in an order so that the accounting department would make a budget. The budget had to be approved by the Council of State *(Şuray-ı Devlet)*. Furthermore, if the *Mülkiye* Retirement Fund (Civil Servant Retirement Fund) did not have enough capital for the pensions, retirement petitions were accepted in order.[110] According to the *Mülkiye Retirement Fund* (Civil Servant Retirement Fund), if a civil servant catches a disease or becomes permanently incapacitated /disabled because of a work accident, he can easily retire with a retirement pension from his last salary.[111] On the other hand, civil servants who applied for their retirement before they completed their term of service would be able to file their petition for retirement on the condition of receiving less retirement pay based on some principals, as a case of early retirement.

One document from *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive) is related to a policeman in Beirut who wants an early retirement because of disability. According to this record, the policeman whose name was Ibrahim Efendi wanted to be retired because of his disability. However, after being informed that he would receive a smaller pension of 200 Piaster, he wanted to be recruited again in 1912.[112] However, consistent with the practice of the *Mülkiye Tekaüd Sandığı* (Retirement Fund), disability could be recognized by the state only if it was proved with a

[109] BOA, DH.MUI, 6/-1/53, 24/S/1327 (Hicri), 17 March 1909 (Miladi).
[110] Republic of Turkey, ‘‘Düstür, Memurin-i Mülkiye Tekaüd Kanunu’’, 2nd Edition, vol. 1, p. 669.
[111] *Ibid.,* 669. Article 16- Malul olan bir memur hidmet-i tekaüdü ikmal etmiş ise müddet-i hidmet itibariyle maluliyet veya tekaüd maaşından miktarca hangisi fazla ise o maaş tahsis olunur.
[112] BOA, DH.EUM.VRK, 11/2, 7/S/1331 (Hicri), 15 January 1913 (Miladi).

report by the Medical School in the capital city, the Sublime Porte (*Dersaadet*), or by a local council if their place of residence was one of the provinces. Also, the report by the local council had to be approved by the Medical School.

A petition dated 1887, voices the complaints of Iskender Efendi, director of *Posta ve Teelgraf-(i) Umumi* (Mailing and Telegraphing Office) in *Zeydiye*, states that he had taken a report proving his disability but due to a difficulty that occurred in *Tekaüd Sandığı Nezareti* (Ministry of Retirement Fund) he couldn't be retired. He wanted *Dahiliye Nezareti* (Ministry of Internal Affairs) to solve this unjust treatment.[113] Another document from 1909 shows us that a group petition could also be submitted. This document, penned by a group of people who wanted to be retired due to their disabilities, shows that they were found healthy after medical examination in the public health office and their request for being retired was rejected by the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* (Medical Faculty).[114]

Furthermore, according to a five-article additional code of rules released in 1905, if the disability or illness of a civil servant that caused him to retire early worsened within the next two years after his retirement, and let him in need of assistance from another person, or persons, and if his condition was approved by a public health body/committee, he could get an increase in his pension. For instance: Sadi Efendi, an assistant official at the Fener Revenue Board, who had to retire because of a physical disability in his eyes, filed a petition to the Council of State indicating that he was becoming blind and asking for an increase in his retirement pension.

[113] BOA, DH.MKT, 146/28, 15 RA 1305 (Hicri). 01 December 1887 (Miladi).
[114] BOA, DH.MUI, 48/40, 15 Z 1327 (Hicri), 29 November 1909 (Miladi).

After a discussion, the Council of State determined that Sadi Efendi's condition was consistent with the law and increased his pension.[115]

According to the five-article additional code of regulations, if an official died as a result of a work accident, his widowed wife or orphan would get one quarter of his last salary as pension. However if the person who was granted this pension died or got married, the retirement pension would be cut. A document, dated 1886, illustrates that the local *imam* and *mukhta*r were responsible for informing the Retirement Funds about these personal census changes for individuals.[116]

Thus it is possible to argue that, the first social security applications, in the modern sense, were carried out for military officials and civil servants in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was because of the continuity of the level of wages and these officials' strong position in the society.

Together with the Civil Servant Retirement Fund, some other funds were established to supply the same services for employees of other fields. Among the newly established funds was the *Sıhhiye Tekauüd Sandığı* (Sanitary Retirement Fund), established in 1883.[117] Consistent with the fund, except temporary workers who were paid daily wages, every official had the right to be retired. Fund laid down two conditions so as to be retired; fist depended on the length of service and the second depended on disability resulting from a work accident.

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[115] Hüseyin Özdemir, *Osmanlı Devletinde Bürokrasi*, p. 298.
[116] *İmam,* means prayer leader. *Mukhtar*, meaning "chosen" in Arabic, refers to the head of a village or mahalle (urban district). Documents show the population changes in the urban districts sendinsentg to Retirement Funds by Imams and Mukhtars. BOA, DH.MKT, 1442/97, 06/ZA/1304 (Hicri), 27 July 1887 (Miladi). DH.MUI, 72/27, 26/S/1328 (Hicri), 09 March 1910 (Miladi)
[117] Hüseyin Özdemir, *op. cit.,* p. 303.

Second Fund, *Şirket-i Hayriye Tekaüd Sandığı*, was set up in 1892 for the workers of *Şirket-i Hayriye* (Steamship Company). Unlike the other retirement funds, *Şirket-i Hayriye* Retirement Fund included every worker including temporary workers. Moreover, other retirement funds cut off a deduction rate of 5% from wages whereas this fund decreased the deduction rate into 4%.[118] The third Fund was *Ilmiye Tekaüd Sandığı*, established in 1894. The *Ilmiye* class was not included in the *Mülkiye* Retirement Fund but after a lag of fourteen years *Ilmiye Tekaüd Sandığı* was established to which every official who worked at the Department of Religious Affairs (*Makam-ı Meşihat*) belonged. It was announced that if any official had an accident or died while going to the provinces, the fund gave 30% of their salary as pension wages during their lifetime.[119]

Imperial Gifts for the Disabled and the Victims of Work Accidents

The act of giving gifts had a variety of meanings in the structure of Ottoman politics. The various meanings and functions of Imperial Gifts changed over time. In the nineteenth century, Abdülhamid II further manipulated the act of giving Imperial Gifts by successfully representing himself as a charitable sultan through these acts. This section deals with the evolution of imperial gifts into the Hamidian era, and their function and meaning at that time, since

[118] Republic of Turkey, *Düstür*,''Şirket-i hayriye Müstahdemine Mahsus Tekaüd Kararnamesi'', 1st series, vol.6, pp. 1386-1388. Article 1- Şirket-i Hayriyede müstahdem bilcümle memurin ve kaptan ve makinist ve ateşçi ve tayfalarla aylıklı amele-i daimenin hakkı tekaüdden istifadeleri icin maaşlarından her ay şartnamenin beşinci maddesi mucibince yüzde dördü tekaüd aidati olarak kat ve tevkif olunacaktır.
Article 3- Müstahdemin taleb ve istidalari vuku bulmadıkça veya ifayi hizmete muktedir olamayacak derecede alil ve marrz olduklarr sabit olmadikça tekaüdleri icra olunmayacaktır
[119] Republic of Turkey, *Düstür*, 2nd Series, vol. 1, pp. 79-81.

Abdülhamid II extended these royal favors to the disabled and victims of work accidents.

It should be remembered that, for centuries Ottoman Sultans and the other important members of the Imperial Family used gifts to convey political messages. Ottoman sultans used imperial gifts since they fashioned themselves as the justice-distributors to their subjects, from whom they expected loyalty. Alexander II (1855-1889), during his journeys throughout the Russian Empire, carefully sought contract with people and popular approval and tried to show how devoted he was to them.[120] In brief, generosity and charity appeared high on the list of characteristics of an ideal monarch in different imperial traditions. Therefore, we can examine imperial gifts not only as a simply relationship between the Sultan and the needy, because the expectation of displaying loyalty to the Sultan is a crucial factor for establishing authority.

Hakan Karateke stated in his article that the reason why Ottoman Empire stayed in power for so long is because it was 'legitimate' enough not to be replaced by another. It is possible to say that the reality that the Ottoman dynasty organized its relations with its subjects, and thereby managed to stay in power for so long, is thus a phenomenon of enduring interest for political theory. In fact, tactics of legitimation that the Ottoman Sultans have did not remain immutable or static over the centuries.[121]

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[120] Adele Lindenmeyr, *Charity*, *Society, and the State in Imperial Russia, (*Princten: Princten University Press, 1996), p.157.

[121]Hakan Karateke, "*Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power"*, Ed. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, (Brill: 2005), p. 14.

For centuries, Ottoman Sultans and other members of the Imperial Family used gift distribution for political means. For instance, the distribution of coins to the crowd at public appearances of the Sultans or queen mothers was an integral motif used to demonstrate the munificence of the dynasty during the early modern period.[122]

Leslie Peirce has demonstrated that as the Sultans of the post-Süleymanic period become less visible, the female members of the dynasty filled the vacuum in the ceremonial realm.[123] However Mahmud II's reign (1808-1839), this changed radically. Mahmud II, for example was very generous in distributing coins to the poor during his journeys. In terms of broadcasting a popular image of the Sultan and the symbolic representation of power, the Hamidian period was radically different from the reigns of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid, and Abdülaziz.

Abdülhamid II paid particular attention to the Imperial Gift System. However, Imperial gift giving was not an unprecedented invention of the Hamidian Era; Abdülhamid the core of this old tradition and reinvented it by attaching "compassion" and other meanings to it. When we make a comparison between this, Abdülhamid and the previous Sultans such as Abdülhamid I and Abdülaziz, we can clearly see that they distribute limited imperial gifts, compared to Abdülhamid II.

[122] İsmail Hakkı Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1948), pp. 302-303.

[123] Leslie Pierce examined in detail the role played by the female members of the Imperial Family, especially Valide sultans (mothers of sultans) and haseki sultans (sultans' favorites) in the symbolic and expression of power during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Leslie Pierce, The Imperial Harem, Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

It is possibly because of the fact that Abdülhamid II's own financial resources (*Ceb-i Hümayun*) are greater than those of his predecessors.[124]

Moreover, Abdülhamid II did not expose himself outside the walls of the Yıldız Palace; therefore the governed did not know what their Sultan looked like.[125] In other words, the Sultan gained greater control over political issues, and the Yıldız Palace become the major executive office of the Ottoman governmental system. So he had to put much emphasis on his personal visibility by using symbolic representation of state power, which is different his predecessors' practices.

Until the aftermath of the Young Turk revolution of 1908, petitioning directly to the Sultan during his Friday prayer ceremony retained an important symbolic function.[126] For example, until the classical Ottoman period receivers of the imperial gift were expected to be play an active role in Friday Ceremonies.

Those who represented petitions (*Arzuhal*) for financial aid were mostly provided support from the budgetary allowance for the Sultans' gifts. A petition from 1275 indicates that Mehmet who was deaf, and at the same time sick, wanted some help from the Sultan during his Friday Ceremony by writing a petition and he was awarded with an imperial gift.[127]

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[124] Nadir Özbek,''Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation During the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II 1876-1909" In *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, edited by Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner: State University of New York Press, (New York: 2003), p. 208.
[125] Selim Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains, Ideology, and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, (New York: Tauris, 1998), p. 19.
[126] Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Cok Yaşa! Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 102. For a brief discussin on the Friday Prayer Ceremony, see Mehmet Ipşirli,''Osmanlılarda Cuma Selamlığı'', *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan,* İstanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi, (İstanbul: 1991), pp. 459-471.
[127] Y. PRK.AZJ, 143/73, 1305, (Hicri).

Abdülhamid II invested the Friday Prayer ceremony with a new and increased significance. Ambassadors, the military, the bureaucracy and his subjects stood along the streets as the Sultan drove by them in his carriage or automobile, and saluted them. During *Cuma Selamlığı* (Friday Ceremony*)*, the embassy officials and other dignitaries had a private audience with the Sultan. The space where the private audience with the Sultan took place is inside his imperial mosque. Yıldız Mosque is noted for its untraditional ground plan, which allocates more space to the Sultan's audience chambers than to prayer space.[128]

Abdülhamid II invested a great deal of energy in the distribution of Imperial gifts to the poor and needy following the Friday Prayer ceremony at the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque. Victims of work accidents were also among the receivers of Imperial gifts even though their risks were covered by the retirement funds. However, it is interesting that people who were already benefiting from the retirement fund, also enjoyed imperial gifts if they petitioned the Sultan during Friday Prayer ceremonies.

The Arabic word "*atiyye*" literally means "Sultan's gift (favor) to those who were in the service of the state". This shows us that imperial gifts were given to people were in the service of the state, it showed the Sultan's protection.[129] A document shows us that Muhittin *Efendi* from Baghdad was rewarded an *atiyye* of 200 *Piaster,* because he became blind while teaching Quran in the *Bağdat Quran School*.[130]

[128] Selim Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains,* p. 32.
[129] Zeki Pakalın, "*Atiyye*", Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri Sözlüğü, (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1992), v.1, pp. 110-111.
[130] BOA,Y.PRK.AZJ, 32/36, 09/RA/1313 (Hicri), 30 August 1895 (Miladi).

Atiyyes were mainly given when people suffered from economic hardships, due to various cases such as disability, death of the breadwinner of the family or unemployment. For instance, a state record for Mustafa Zeki who was suffering economically wanted help from the Abdülhamid II. But this petition helps us to understand the different form of *atiyye* cases.[131] Moreover, the form of help might have been money or a new job. For instance, one of the Village administrators of Musul, Hafiz Nuzhet Efendi asked for the Sultan to put his son and him on a pension because of their disability cases and illnesses.[132]

It is possible to establish Abdülhamid II's esteem for wounded military veterans through the cases found in the archives. For example, Rıza Efendi, a sergeant who worked as a telegraph operator was injured during wartime and was given an *atiyye* of 100 *Mecidiye*.[133] Another document was about the *atiyye* given to both Murad and Eşref Cavuş. They were given different sums of imperial gift. Fifteen Ottoman Lira (*Lira-yi Osmani*) was given Murad Cavuş who was in the hospital and five Ottoman Lira was rewarded to Eşref Cavuş who was taking care of Murad Cavuş in the hospital.[134]

[131] BOA, Y.PRK.MYD, 10/44,12/L/1308 (Hicri) 20 May 1891 (Miladi). The amount of attiyye didin't mentioned in the petition. "Şevketlü Padişahım hane-i fakirhanemde evin sahibi olan Sadik beyle parasini verememekde ve gerek memuriyet mahalinde ve gerek hane-i fakirhanemde her gun alacaklilar ile uğraşmakta olduğumdan lütfen merhameten bir kıta atiyye. Olbabda emrü ferman hazret-i menlehul emrindim efendim hazretleri". (We don't have any clue if he was charged by an imperial gift or not). See Appendix X.
[132] Y.PRK.AZJ, 757\115, 13/Za/1294 (Hicri), 8 September 1877
[133] BOA, Y.MTV, 37/29, 15/CA/1306 (Hicri), 7 January 1889 (Miladi)
[134] BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ, 19/2,13/L/1308 In this document the type of the disability (or how it came about) was not stated precisely. Instead the general word "*maluliyet*" which literally means physical disability refers the disability.

What's more, among the archival documents I studied, I found cases of *atiyye* given to a group of people, in contrast to individual applications to the Sultan in the petitions mentioned above. However, a group of people could also apply for and be given an Imperial gift in the same petition. For instance, four fire station workers who were working during a fire became disabled and requested aid from the Sultan. In response to their petition, Sultan Abdülhamid II gave each of them an Imperial Gift (*Atiyye-i Seniye*).[135]

It is quite possible to say that the gift relationship plays a crucial political role in the Hamidian conception of state rule with regard to its manifestation and its popular legitimization. Furthermore, all imperial gift cases in this chapter about the victims of the work accidents, and poor and needy, indicate to us that Abdülhamid assigned gift giving a more important political significance than his predecessors. His gift system was aimed at projecting an image of imperial paternalism, of a concerned monarchical father. Family metaphorically represents the desired relationship between the Sultan and his subjects. He needed to represent himself as a fatherly figure caring for the poor and needy, because he had to represent his power without seeming autocratic.

One of the relevant texts on this subject such as that of Nadir Özbek, state "To create the intimacy effect, the Hamidian autocracy employed imperial philanthropy and benevolence as a key strategy. The scenario was designed to make the Sultan intimate and visible to his subjects through personalized forms of imperial giving".[136]

[135] YPRK.AZJ, 49/33, 5/S/1298 (Hicri), 6 January 1881 (Miladi)
[136] Nadir Özbek, *Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation during the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, p. 216.

On the other hand, Abdülhamid II not only gave help to the poor and needy when they petitioned, he also created relief for their needs even without receiving petitions, by creating institutions for the needy such as *Darülaceze*. In other words, in addition to his personal gift giving he created institutions to prevent the suffering of the poor and the needy. Establishment of Imperial Hospital for the Children (*Hamidiye Etfal Hastahanesi*), State Orphanage House (Darulhayr) and poorhouse of İstanbul (*Darülaceze*) was among his important poor-relief institutions.[137]

Abdülhamid II advertised these institutions in the media with pictures of the ceremonies of lying of the foundation stone, pictures of the progress of the construction and the pictures of opening ceremonies of these institutions. With the help of the modern mass media, Abdülhamid IIs' gift giving ceremonies were also more accessible than those of the previous Sultans. The Ottoman press during the Hamidian Era was totally under the control of the Yıldız Palace and was monitored by a strict regime of censorship.

Furthermore without sultans' cash grants and his gifts none of the newspapers would have been able to survive. Thus, this forced them to express their gratitude to the Sultan in a much-exaggerated manner, which was indeed the expectation of the Sultan. Consequently, it is possible to argue that Ottoman newspapers of the time turned into advertising agents of the sultans' achievements an all spheres of life, as well as charity and

[137] Nadir Özbek, ''The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1914''), *New Perspective on Turkey*, Fall 1999, v.21, pp. 17-18. For more information see Faruk Ilker, *Şişli Çocuk Hastahanesi Tarihi*, Nurettin Uycan Matbaasi, (İstanbul: 1976), pp. 7-8. Osman Nuri Ergin, Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye, vol.4, p. 504.

benevolence. The popular weekly magazine, *Servet-i Fünun*, was a regular vehicle of such imperial messages.[138]

The importance of petitions lies in the fact that the Sultan did not overlook them. It is interesting to note that, *Darülhayr* (State Orphanage House) was opened thanks to a petition submitted by an orphan child, presented to the Sultan Abdülhamid during his Friday ceremony. In 1899, a six-year-old boy sent a petition to the sultan, in his petition he complained about not being raised by a family. After this petition, the Sultan ordered the Sublime Porte to establish a school, which trained orphans for various trade branches. Thus, *Darülhayr* came into being.[139]

On August 15, 1908 an Imperial decree abolished the practice of distributing alms on weakly basis to the poor and needy during Abdülhamid II's Friday ceremony at the Hamidiye Mosque. Weekly alms on behalf of the Sultan were transfer to the municipal administration (*Şehremaneti*).Thereafter the Ministry of Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*) would provide the specific amount of money (*Sadaka-yı Seniyye Haftalığı*) to the municipal Administration.

The new regime did not hesitate in eliminating the Hamidian system of benevolence, which had played an important role in securing loyalty to the old regime. The Young Turks concern with Abdülhamids' alms distribution indicates that during the Hamidian Period Imperial benevolence had emerged

[138] Cevdet Kudret, *Abdülhamit Devrinde Sansür*, Milliyet Yayınları, Ocak 1977, pp. 38-39. And see Elizabeth Brown Fierson, *Unimagined Communities State, Press and Gender in the Hamidian Era*, (June 1996), p. 57.
[139] Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğ'nda Sosyal Devlet Siyaset, Iktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914),* İstanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, 202), p. 95.

as a means through, which a certain conception of power was manifested and legitimized.[140]

In conclusion, the imperial gifts were not given to the victims of work accident systematically, but they were individual cases of benevolence on the part of the Sultan. The receivers of imperial gifts could also be among the benefactors of the pension institutions. Abdülhamid II incorporated the award of imperial gifts into his ceremonious Friday Prayer, and he regarded awarding imperial gifts as individual cases with little propopanganda value in terms of increasing his public image, so he gave the priority to institutionalizing retirement and public benevolence (by founding Retirement Funds, *Darülhayr, Darülaceze*). He extended the retirement system to different branches of civil servants and public firms such as *Şirket-i hayriye* and *Tersane-i amire*. Yet he continued the practice of giving *atiyyes* as a symbolic act of historical continuity, but chose to institutionalize his benevolence, which he used to increase his popularity among his subjects and abroad. Thus, this general trend in systemizing financial aid through institutionalization on the part of the Hamidian administration resulted in an extension of the pension funds to victims of work accidents that worked in different companies and positions of the empire.

In this chapter, the institutionalization of retirement in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire is related. The rights and benefits awarded to sufferers of work accidents and/or war service are historicized. The pre-modern, and proto-modern, systems of retirement during the classical and pre-Hamidian periods of the Ottoman Empire are analyzed for the sake of understanding the

[140] Nadir Özbek, *Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation during the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, p. 204.

modernization of retirement in the second half of the nineteenth century. The social, industrial and economic factors that shaped the retirement policies of the Ottoman state are stated.

The recognition of the disabled in retirement laws and regulations, and the creation of various retirement funds that provided relief for the disabled are scrutinized in arguing that, despite time lags with Europe, the Ottoman imperial administration succeeded in creating a modern retirement system that was parallel to the developments in nineteenth century Europe. On the other hand, Abdülhamid II reinterpreted the age-old tradition of imperial gift giving, and continued this practice along with the efforts of creating relief institutions such as *Darülaceze, Darülhayr*, etc.

CHAPTER IV: IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE NATURAL DISASTERS

The aim of this chapter is to show how a natural disaster, which traumatized the entire society in the capital of the Ottoman Empire and its vicinities, lent itself to the legitimation discourse and populist policies of Abdülhamid II. He smoothed things over instead of alienating the public who suffered from the earthquake acutely. The discourse of compassion and protection of the Sultan over his citizens was employed at a time when he resorted to organized action for providing relief for the earthquake victims instead of his previous practices of the direct patron-client relationships of the imperial gifts (*atiyye*).

In a collection of essays that deal with natural disasters in the Ottoman Empire, the editor of the volume, Elizabeth Zachardiou, wrote an introductory article called "Natural Disasters: Moments of Opportunity".[141] In this article, Zachardiou revaluates an episode from the early period of the Ottoman State and points out that natural disasters contributed to the expansion of Ottoman territory following the earthquake of March 1354. The period and the specific historical setting Elizabeth Zachardiou deals with are not relevant. Yet, this chapter deals with another moment in the history of the Ottoman Empire, when the damage wrecked by a natural disaster was again used for political gain. Namely, the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake and Abdülhamid II's maneuvering of the fundraising and charity efforts into a legitimization of his rule; and the intensifying of his image as the compassionate protector of Ottoman citizens. The political significance of natural disasters (also remembering the recent role of Hurricane Katrina in

[141] Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire*, (Rethymnon: Create University Press, 1999), pp. 7-11.

domestic politics in the USA) comes from the fact that they create a situation in which the majority of the population that suffers from it becomes vulnerable, emotionally volatile. The political significance of charity and charitable institutions from orphanages to old people's homes stems from ideology, structure and what Michel Foucault refers in his study of prisons and asylums. The discourse of benevolence, compassion and generosity employed by Abdülhamid II, especially after 1890 when the constitutionalist opposition became organized, welcomes analysis from this perspective.

The Ottoman Empire was on a losing streak during the course of the nineteenth century. Territorial losses, military defeats, and economic distress marked the long nineteenth century, which also saw a rigorous period of reforms in social, political, military, educational and other spheres. A great effort of modernization various institutions were going on against the limitations of an impoverished treasury.

The Ottoman Empire had to resort to collecting financial aid from its population after natural and national disasters when the treasury was in a tight condition. Especially after the bankruptcy of 1876 and the fiscal disasters following the Russo-Ottoman War, Ottoman finances were in a terrible condition.[142]

For instance, during the reign of Abdülhamid, the financial aid collected within the empire and from abroad accelerated the rate of construction of the Hicaz Railway project (1900 -1908).[143]

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[142] Donald Quartert, ''The Age of the Reforms (1812-1914)'', *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, v.2, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quartert, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 765-66.

[143] Orhan Koloğlu*,''*Hicaz Demiryolu (1900-1908*),* Amacı, Finansmanı ve Sonucu, Çağını yakalayan Osmanlı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Moden Haberleşme ve Ulaştırma Teknikleri''*, (İstanbul: 1997), pp. 289-334.

On the other hand, the financial aids received from abroad during times of financial distress were mutual, in the sense that when other countries needed such support the Ottoman Empire did not hesitate to supply it. Abdülhamid II never missed a chance to present a positive image to foreign countries. He quickly sent stock of grain and money, as relief for the flood that took place in USA, shortly before the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake.[144] This attitude of Abdülhamid II both served to polish his benevolent image abroad and resulted in attracting a great sum of financial aid after the 1894 İstanbul earthquake.

1894 İstanbul Earthquake

The last big earthquake of nineteenth century in İstanbul took place on 6 *Muharrem* 1312 (July 10, 1894), at 12:24 and lasted for about 17-18 seconds. In the primary sources, it was referred as "*Büyük hareket-i arz*" (The great earthquake) or "*Zelzele-i azime*" (Great trembling). 1894 İstanbul Earthquake was felt and caused damage in a vast area around İstanbul. It caused incredible damage, from *Adapazarı* to *Çatalca,* and led to the demise of many people who died under collapsed and wrecked buildings.[145]

The censorship policy of Abdülhamid II was aimed to keep the public opinion in control, by tightly monitoring the publications in the empire. In the case of the İstanbul 1894 Earthquake, Abdülhamid II's policy of censorship

[144] Fatma Ürekli, *1894 İstanbul Depremi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 70.
[145] See Orhan Sakin, *Tarihsel Kaynaklara göre İstanbul Depremleri*, (İstanbul: Kitapevi Yayınları, 2002), p.123, for an earthquake report submitted to Abdülhamid II by D. Eginitis, director of the Observatory of Athens. And see BOA, YEE, Numara 1/14/126/C in Appendix XI for a map prepared by D. Egnitis, director of the Observatory of Istanbul, showing first-degree, second-degree and third-degree earthquake/seismic zones.

played an important role in keeping the emotional upheavals, and panic, of the public at bay and successfully maneuvering the public opinion into believing that his efforts at earthquake relief was fast, just and effective. Thus, the covering of the losses was rendered a success on the part of the Sultan. After 1876, he began to use the press as an advertising mechanism for official ideology and discourse, along with successful modernization efforts by forcing periodicals run stories about every new institution and building. Although his grip was tight at home over the press, the journalists who fled abroad and published their newspapers in European capitals voiced opposition, which came to be known as the Young Turk ideology.

The censorship policy followed by Abdülhamid II led to disbelief about the figures published in the press.[146] According to official reports 474 people died, 482 people were injured within İstanbul, 387 buildings, 1087 houses and shops were damaged. But it is known that the numbers stated in official reports were not reflecting the reality, and the actual loss of life and damages were way above the stated figures.

1894 İstanbul Earthquake not only caused considerable damage in İstanbul, but also among cities in proximity to İstanbul. The determination of the damage outside of İstanbul was only made possible by the telegrams sent to the Imperial Palace (Yıldız Palace) in İstanbul. For instance, one of the telegrams sent to the Yıldız Palace by the administrative body of *Çatalca* read: "The earthquake that took place in *Silivri* yesterday, about which I informed, took place at the same time and with the same severity in the center and at other places of the town. Surface or thorough inspection is needed for

[146] Feriha Öztin, *10 Temmuz 1894 İstanbul Depremi Raporu*, (Ankara: Özyurt Matbaacılık, 1994). And see Aykut Barka and Ali Er, *Depremini Bekleyen Şehir İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002), pp. 194-200.

almost all buildings and places. The populace spent the night in the meadows ".[147]

During the first two days of the earthquake, the newspapers gave some figures about the casualties and the injured in İstanbul, and in its vicinity. The day after the earthquake, the July 11, 1894 issue of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* gave information about the places affected by the earthquake and the number of casualties as follows: "Many houses collapsed in *Hayırsızada, Adalar*, *Üskudar*, both sides of the *Bosphorous, Samatya, Yedikule, Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, Beyoğlu, Beykoz* and there are 7 casualties and 12 injured."[148] The July 12 issue of *Sabah* gave the number of casualties as 75 and the number of the injured as 170.[149] Lastly, according to *Moniteur Oriental* the earthquake caused the death of 135 and the injury of 144.[150]

But when we take into account the censure imposed on the press at that period, we may say that these figures fell below the actual casualty figures. As a result of the statements of the casualty figures and the publishing of stories that led to panic and fear among the population of İstanbul in the first two days following the earthquake Abdülhamid II, censored the newspapers in an incredibly radical manner.

One example of such stories that increased the panic was published in *Moniteur Oriental*: "Women from the highest classes ran away in their dressing gowns with messed up hair. The screams, cries and prayers of people were heard everywhere."[151] The report that was sent to Yıldız Imperial Palace on August 1, 1894 about the inspections on the papers that published

[147] For telegrams reporting the damage in other provinces and sub-provinces See *Ibid.,* pp. 59-63.
[148] Tercüman-ı hakikat, 77/M/1312, 11 July 1894.
[149] Sabah Gazetesi, 8 /M/ 1312, 12 July 1894.
[150] Afife Batur, ''Bir Depremin Yüzyıl Dönümü''*, İstanbul Dergisi*, v.10, (İstanbul: 1994), pp. 30-31.
[151] *Ibid*., p. 27.

stories about the İstanbul Earthquake proves that the censure was centrally and systematically implemented.[152] Thus under the tight grip of Abdülhamid II's censure practices, the newspapers of the period only mentioned that the number of casualties and the damage caused by the earthquake were very high without giving actual figures.[153]

The international press also covered the earthquake, for instance Reuter's news agency reported the İstanbul earthquake internationally.[154] The foreign officers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported the published story. Apart from the Reuter's news agency, a local newspaper of Salonica, by the name of *Sekulo,* published a story about the earthquake in its 2 Nisan 1901 issue, a mot-a-mot translation of which was reported on the state record dated 20th March of 1901 to Ministry of Foreign Affairs as such: "As a result of the Great earthquake, an incredible panic was felt at the Great Yıldız Imperial Palace, many fainted with terror." [155]

In addition to this, Abdülhamid II issued orders that banned the importing of some newspapers that published stories about the earthquake, which were increasing the fear and the panic of the population.[156]

On the other hand, the news about the İstanbul Earthquake sent to the provinces underwent censure as well. The administration in İstanbul made

[152] BOA, Y.PRK.BSK, 37/94, 1/RA/1312 (Hicri). 5 September 1894 (Miladi).
[153] Saadet Gazetesi, 11 Temmuz 1894, "So many buildings collapsed. And unfortunately the causalities caused by collapsed buildings is so many." "Pek çok bina yıkılmıştır. Yıkımlar sonucunda yaralı ve ölüler, ne yazık ki, pek çoktur".
[154] Y.PRK.HR, 30/33, 1318/M/16 (Hicri). 15 May 1900 (Miladi) Ajans reuter hareket-i arz hakkındaki telgrafnamesine zeylen 8 Nisan 1901 tarihiyle neşr ettigi mektupda dahi ----- hazret-i padişahiden ibraz buyurulan metanet-i lisan-i takdir ile zikr ve beyan edilmiştir.
[155] See Y.PRK HR, 30/39, 1318/Z/29 (Hicri) 20 March 1901 (Miladi) for the news articles published by the Figaro, *Seculo* and the *Standart* daily newspapers about the 1894 great earthquake in Istanbul.
[156] BOA, I.HUS, 181,19 /M/1312 (Hicri), 22 July 1894. This document informs us that Abdülhamid II banned the importing of some newspapers that increased the panic and fear of the Ottoman public. Among these were *Zanta* and *Petit Journal*, which announced that the earthquake in Istanbul was going to continue and some other bad events were to take place.

sure that the news about the earthquake was not exaggerated and lacking details in order to make sure the population was emotionally centered.[157]

Since the quakes continued intermittently, the population of İstanbul spent day and night in tents and barracks set up at empty squares, parks and gardens. Since many public office buildings were damaged, different institutions' offices continued their functions in barracks set up in the garden of *Bab-ı Ali* (Sublime Porte). As short time after the earthquake, an imperial order about the repair of big endowments and state buildings, mosques, churches and schools and the demolishing of those, which couldn't be repaired, was issued.[158]

A document, which states that the repair of the damaged buildings should be administered and financed by *Şehremaneti* (The Prefecture of the City) and that the repair of the shops in the Grand Bazaar commenced, gives detailed information about the amount and location of damages.[159] A loan of 250000 Livres *Turk* was given to the Treasury for the repair and reconstruction of state buildings by the Ottoman Bank.[160]

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[157] BOA, I.HUS, 54, (13/M/1312), 16 July 1894 (Miladi). This order requires sending communiqués to the provinces where exaggerated and ungrounded rumors about the earthquake that took place in Istanbul were circulating which was understood by the *Yıldız* administration thanks to a telegram sent by *Erzurum* provincial administration. The same order required sending of communiqués to embassies and consulates in Europe where untruthful rumors were likewise circulating.

[158] BOA, I.HUS, 43, 5/Sa/1312 (Hicri), 7 August 1894 (Miladi). This detailed document witnesses the creation of a special commission made up of professionals for the inspection of state buildings that were damaged by the earthquake. The members of the commission included The Chief Architect (Baş Mimar) Serkis Bey, Mosyo Bertiye, A. Vallury ve R. D'Aronco and the chief engineer of the Prefecture of the City of Mehmed, Mustafa Bey, Kamil and Andon Efendi who were members of the Council of Security, and an official from the Ministry of Finance. The inspection was carried out for the restoration, repair and reconstruction of state buildings according to their state. But the document informed the Yıldız Imperial Palace about the unrelenting speed of the process as the number of architects, engineers, masters of construction, apprentices etc was not meeting the demands of this enormous project: and demands appointment of the required staff. See also BOA, Y.MTV, 102/64, (8 Safer 1312). This document provides detailed information based on municipal reports about the restoration of all public and private buildings including the schools. See Appendix XII for the picture of the Commission members.

[159] BOA, YPRK.AZJ, 31/85 29/Z/1312 (Hicri), 23 June 1895 (Miladi).

[160] Fatma Ürekli, p. 107.

The Role of Imperial Gifts (*Atiyye)* for Relieving the Victims of İstanbul 1894 Earthquake

Abdülhamid II used to respond to petitions by his citizens directly within the *atiyye* practice. But after the İstanbul 1894 Earthquake, the petitions to the sultan for financial aid by the victims of the earthquake were turned over to the Earthquake Relief Commission. Thus, the victims' demands were centrally evaluated and answered. One reason for this change is the high number of victims who suffered from the earthquake. Also, the establishment of a successful system for covering the damages of these victims, through the cooperation of the Commission with local and municipal administration, resulted in a quick dispersal of resources for the needs of the sufferers and rendered the *atiyye* process in functional.

> On the other hand, like the disabled victims of work accidents, who petitioned Abdülhamid with requests of financial aid that are mentioned in the previous chapter, the victims of the earthquake penned petitions to the Sultan after the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake. They likewise requested, from Abdülhamid II, compensation and relief for their losses that resulted from the earthquake in the form of *atiyye* or imperial gifts. The petitions addressed to Abdülhamid II were directed to Prefecture of the City, where the Earthquake Relief Commission evaluated these applications. For instance, a petition-dated twentieth of September states that a person by the name of Surepe, whose house located near *Topkapı* collapsed as a result of the earthquake, requested an imperial gift from the Sultan.[161]

[161] DH.MKT, 286/24, 20/RA/1312 (Hicri), 20 September 1894 (Miladi).

As a result, the Prefecture evaluated his demand and was given the necessary aid by the Earthquake Relief Commission.

Abdülhamid II did not refrain from giving Imperial gifts altogether. He personally gave financial aid to the families of people who died under collapsed buildings. A document dated December 1894 states the amount of financial aid given to the families of people who died under the wrecks. According to this document, the 114 orphans that survived the 32 people who died under the wrecks, received financial aids that added up to (84 piaster per head) 9500 piaster.[162] For the treatment of the injured, doctors were sent to houses, barracks and tents. Also, the treatment of the poor was undertaken in state hospitals for free.[163]

The people who began to inhabit open spaces, such as gardens, parks and streets after the earthquake since their homes and abodes were no longer inhabitable, were lodged in tents and barracks.

As understood from the document-dated August 1894, since showers of rain affected the people who had to inhabit tents as a result of the earthquake, a decision to lodge them in shops and coffeehouses was taken.[164]

Abdülhamid II took measures to rebuild, and repair, the houses of those whose houses became uninhabitable without delay. A document from 1894 expresses the gratitude of earthquake victims who lost their houses, to

[162] BOA, I.SE, 14/C/1312 (Hicri), 12 November 1894 (Miladi).
[163] BOA, I.HUS, 155, 16/M/1312 (Hicri), 19 July 1894 (Miladi). Relief should be provided to those who were rendered helpless by becoming homeless or injured as a result of this earthquake. The decision relating to the transfer of the poor and the injured to municipal hospitals, just like during the cholera outbreak, shall be considered by the Earthquake Relief Commission tomorrow and submitted to the Sultan, and the decision should be published in tomorrow's papers; as required by the imperial order of our Sultan.
[164] BOA, Y.PRK.ZB, 13/62, 5/S/1312 (Hicri), 7 August 1894 (Miladi). The exact date from the document was missed.

Abdülhamid II, for the rebuilding of their homes in such a short period of time.[165]

Furthermore, Sultan Abdülhamid invited the Director of the Observatory of Athens, D. Eginitis, to İstanbul to have a thorough report about the cause, effect and impact of the earthquake. The director of the Observatory of İstanbul, Coumbay, and his assistant Emile Lacoline were appointed by Abdülhamid II to assist Eginitis during the research. This committee submitted a detailed seismographic study of the İstanbul Earthquake to Abdülhamid II.[166] In addition, a seismograph that costed 300 Francs was ordered from Rome for the Observatory of İstanbul.[167]

Establishment of the Earthquake Relief Commission

The day after the earthquake, a commission that was responsible for the organization and distribution of fundraising and financial aids was founded by the order of Abdülhamid II under the supervision of the Prefecture of the City (*Şehremaneti*). This commission collected money and goods for providing tents, food, clothes and needs of earthquake victims. Also, this body administered the transfer of the injured victims.[168]

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[165] BOA, YPRK.AZN 12/94, 1/OO/1312 (Hicri). The exact date from the document was missed.

[166] See Orhan Sakin, *Tarihsel Kaynaklara göre İstanbul Depremleri*, İstanbul: Kitapevi Yayınları, 2002, p. 123, for the Turkish translation of 1894 Earthquake report submitted to Abdülhamid II by D. Eginitis, director of the Observatory of Athens.

[167] BOA, I.HUS, 113, 24/M/1312 (Hicri), 27 July 1894 (Miladi). The document states that the seismograph, which is used, for measuring the magnitude of the earthquake will probably be manufactured within a month or two for 200 Francs. On the other hand, Monsieur Hacini, the Director of College-Rome Observatory in Rome, prefers the new seismograph he acquired which was able to record the earthquake in Istanbul because of its superior perceptivity. According to Monsieur Hacini the seismograph in question and other mechanisms could be manufactured in Rome. But the manufacture could not be completed before four months and the cost would rise to 3000 or 30500 Francs, according to the information sent by the Embassy at Rome to Yıldız Palace.

[168] BOA, DUIT, 38/15.

The Director of the commission was the Sultan himself, and the Vice-director was the Prefect Rıdvan Pasha.

The speed with which Abdülhamid II responded to the earthquake and his personal involvement in the Earthquake Relief Commission, anticipated the success and thriftiness of the relief the earthquake victims received. The members of the commission included one representative each from Catholic, Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities; and a commission of twenty people took office.[169] In the first article of the Regulations of he Earthquake Relief Commission the names of the twelve members were stated (with the addition of the name the religious communities they represented) along with the director Abdülhamid II and vice director Rıdvan Pasha. In the second article, the main aim of the commission was defined.

Accordingly, the main aim of the commission was to provide relief from the funds and goods collected, to the earthquake victims in accordance with the gravity of their status.

The third and the fourth articles defined the assignments and liabilities of the commission in the calculation, the accounting and documentations of the aids collected. The fifth article gave detailed information about the contents of the weekly account book of the commission. For instance, the account book of the week of July 24, 1894 addressed to the Yıldız Imperial Palace shows the names of the people who gave donations as well as the amount of the donations.

[169] BOA, DUIT, 38/15. Prefect of the City of Istanbul Rıdvan Bey, Member of the Council of State Ekrem Bey, Member of the Council of the Treasury Arif Bey, The Director of Ziraat Bank Cemal Bey, The Vice President of the Court of Appeals Şefik Efendi, The Director of the Chamber of Commerce Aristarkis Efendi, The Correspondence Director of the Prefecture of the City Emrullah Efendi, Member of the Council of State Abdullah Bey, The Director of Meşkukat-ı Şahane Kamil Bey, Official from the Ottoman Bank Vekil Efendi, Şişmanoğlu Kostaki Efendi, the Assistant Translator of the Ottoman Bank Namyas Efendi.

According to the document, in the week of July twenty forth, the Minister of Foreign Affairs collected 1.463.479 piaster, with a notable donation.[170]

The entire empire was mobilized for this cause. In every major city in the provinces, commissions for collecting donations were founded. Outside İstanbul, one-relief commissions were founded in *Izmir* and *Aydın* and the aid money collected by them was sent to İstanbul Earthquake Relief Commission.[171]

Among the first decisions taken by the Earthquake Relief Commission was the printing of 330 tickets in the Ottoman Imperial Press (*Matbaa-yi amire*) that would raise 5000 Livres *Turk* in sum.[172] Abdülhamid II bought 1000 Livres *Turk* worth of tickets for himself, and 500 Livres *Turk* worth of tickets in the name of the princes and sultanas. Thus the royal family commenced the fundraising with an encouraging sum.[173] The prominent members of the bureaucracy and the public bought amounting to 3500 Livres *Turk*- the rest of the tickets. As understood from archival documentation, Abdülhamid II personally donated a total sum of 6500 Livres *Turk* to the Earthquake Relief Commission.

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[170] Y.MTV,100/78. Sadaret Mustesari devletlü Paşa Hazretlerinden 2.9754 kuruş Credit General Bankasından 10800 kuruş Mudanya - Bursa Demiryolu Kumpanyasından 1.80 kuruş Dersaadet Tramvay Şirketinden 1.080 kuruş toplanmıştır. Toplam gider ise 76.734 olarak cetvelde belirtilmiştir. Appendix XIII.

[171] Fatma Ürekli, 78. and see Sıddık, Çalık, *1894 Yılında İstanbul'da Meydana Gelen Büyük Depreme Ait Anonim bir Günlü*k, , (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediye Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2003), pp. 152 182

[172] BOA, Y.A HUS, 303/40. 14/M/1312 (Hicri), 18 Temmuz 1894 (Miladi). 10 tickets, each worth of 100 Ottoman Lira; 20 tickets, each worth 50 Ottoman Lira; 100 tickets, each worth 20 Ottoman Lira; 200 tickets, each worth 5 Ottoman Lira.

[173] BOA, I.HUS, 51, 12/M/1312. (Hicri), 16 Temmuz 1894 (Miladi) A sample of the tickets that worth 5000 Lira, the printing of which was ordered by the imperial decree of the Sultan was sent to the Imperial Press yesterday. The glorious person of the Sultan read the letter of the Prefect of the City dated 14 July 1894 announcing that, the tickets would be ready this Monday. The glorious person of the Sultan bought 1000 lira worth of tickets for himself, and 500 liras worth of tickets on behalf of the crown princes and the sultanas, by sending 1500 Lira to the *Sadaret* Office, and requesting that the tickets should be sent to the palace, after the printing of the tickets is finished. Also the relief should begin to be distributed as of today and all this should be announced in tomorrow's newspapers, as required by the imperial decree of our Sultan.

As understood from the document dated 27 July 1894, the representative of Deutsche Bank donated 400 Livres *Turk*, --- Administration donated 500 Livres *Turk* and Monsieur Sumar Pasha (who was among the merchants of *Galata*) donated 10 Livres *Turk* to the Earthquake Relief Commission. These donations were submitted to the Prefecture of the City in exchange for an invoice.[174] The sum collected by the Earthquake Relief Commission during the first week that followed the earthquake amounted to 518.020 piasters. The amount of 25.626 piasters was sent to municipal administrations for the providing the immediate needs of earthquake victims. The rest of the amount was exchanged into Livres *Turk* and deposited at the Ottoman Bank.[175]

The 1894 İstanbul Earthquake was felt acutely in the Princes' Islands.[176] The printing of a special aid ticket for the economically poor victims on the Princes' Islands, by the Earthquake Relief Commission, is a sign of the gravity of the impact of the earthquake there.[177] There, the amount of the damage was very great and left the majority of the Islands' population as victims. According to official figures, in the first two days after the earthquake, the number of casualties was 7, and the number of injured was 10 in *Halki* and *Prinkipo*.[178]

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[174] BOA,Y.A HUS, 304/32, 24/M/1312 (Hicri), 27 July 1894 (Miladi).
[175] BOA, I. HUS, 176, 16/M/1312 (Hicri), 19 July 1894 (Miladi).
[176] BOA, I.HUS, 170, 6/M/1312, 10 July 1894 (Miladi) Sent by the *kaimmakamlık* (administrative body) of the province of Princess Islands on the Marmara Sea (Mediterranean), the telegram reporting about the earthquake that occurred today has been submitted to his majesty. It reports that some houses collapsed even on these islands, the dead toll and the causality is not known, the locals are in panic, no reports regarding the other islands have reached yet, and sufficient number of tents should be supplied immediately. Immediate action will be taken upon the order and the will of His Majesty the Sultan
[177] BOA,Y.MTV, 100/39 15/M/1312 (Hicri), 18 July 1894 (Miladi)
[178] BOA, I.HUS, 6/4, 4/Ş1312 (Hicri), 9 Februray 1895 (Miladi)

When we consider the profile of the donators, we see that the leading members of the bureaucratic establishment, the well to do among the public, European states, charitable organizations and companies made up the majority. The amount of donations and the name of donators are given as a detailed list in Fatma Urekli's study of the İstanbul 1894 earthquake.[179]

The high magnitude of the number of the victims of the earthquake prevented the Earthquake Relief Commission from providing equal relief to all the victims in a short period of time. For instance, according to the archival document dated 6th May of 1895, Çakır Andon, who was a villager of *Katırlı* in *Karamürsel,* wrote a petition to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in which he complained that he did not receive any aid although he was a victim of the earthquake. In response, the Ministry of Internal Affairs directed the petition with the order that "whatever is necessary should be carried out by *Izmit* Administration".[180]

On the other hand, the Earthquake Relief Commission (*Iane Komisyonu*) organized some public fundraising events in addition to printing tickets. Among these, concerts and races were organized, and the sum raised was used for buying clothes, food and firewood. Nineteen days after the earthquake, on July twenty ninth, 1894 a 60-piece band concert conducted by Poul Lanki was organized in *Beyoğlu Tepebaşı* Municipal Garden and the 300 Livres *Turk* raised at the event was given to the Earthquake Relief Commission.[181] The other social aid event held by the commission was the

[179] See Ürekli, *1894 İstanbul Depremi*, pp. 85-p.87. For detailed information about the amount of relief per day and the names of the donators. Appendix, XIVand XV.
[180] BOA, DH.MKT 375/77 1312/ZA/21 (Hicri), 6 May 1895 (Miladi).
[181] Y.MTV, 100/76. 20/M/1312. Concert Program on 24 July 1894: It was opened with the Great Anthem of *Hamidiye*. The program continued with orchestra and band performance of three parts of the *Logengrin* opera composed by Richard Wagner from Germany.

race between Ortega and Ramuje. The Earthquake Relief Commission announced a race to be run between Ortega and Ramuje on the twenty third of July for the benefit of the victims of the earthquake through the *Saadet* newspaper.[182] The public distress after the earthquake found itself a creative outlet in these social events, where the more fortunate citizens of İstanbul enjoyed themselves for the benefit of the victims.

The budget of the Enthroning Anniversary of Abdülhamid II ceremonies was transferred to the Earthquake Relief Commission; which was a big measure since the annual ceremonies played an important role in the symbolization of Abdülhamid II's power and rule.

We can seek the cause of this action in Abdülhamid II's general policy of legitimization of his power in public opinion at all costs.[183]

The Awarding of Medals

Abdülhamid II used medals and decorations to create loyalty and sympathy at home and abroad. He presented them to Ottoman citizens, as well as foreigners such as Serbian princes, to forge good relations based on good intentions. Giving medals and decorations also encouraged donations to the earthquake relief efforts. His general concern with the recognizable of medals and decorations, through the adoption of the same design, and the use of the same symbols was also manifested in the design of the earthquake relief donators' medal design.[184]

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[182] Saadet Gazetesi, 20/M/1312 (Hicri), 23 July 1894 (Miladi) Also see Ürekli, p. 84.
[183] Afife Batur, *Bir Depremin Yüzyıl Dönümü, Ibid*., pp. 25-32.
[184] Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations*, Ottoman Bank Research Center Publications, (İstanbul: 2005), p. 316. And see Selim Deringil,

Abdülhamid II added an article to the Regulations of the Earthquake Relief Commission about the awarding of medals to donators of money, in order to encourage potential donators and to increase the appreciation of the philanthropy of donators. On one side of the medal, the Tuğra of Abdülhamid II and the manufacture date of the medal was engraved and on the other side of the medal, the date of the awarding of the medal and the name of the donator were engraved. The production cost of medals was to be deducted from the budget of the Earthquake Relief Commission.[185]

In accordance with the status of the donator, and the sum of the donation, some qualitative changes were implemented on the design of the medals. For instance, the European rulers and crown princes who donated to the Earthquake Relief Commission were given small gold medals, people who donated 10 Livres *Turk* were given copper medals, people who donated up to 50 Livres *Turk* were given silver medals, and people who donated more than 50 Livres *Turk* were given golden medals. Donations made on behalf of philanthropic societies were rewarded with a big golden medal, which bore the words " *Hamiyet ve ebna-yi cinsine muavenet* " (Relief for the People of the Same Kind and Display of National Honor.[186] In addition to medals of encouragement and thanks, in relation to the sum of the donations, European rulers and royal families were awarded with imperial decorations.

Iktidarın Sembolleri ve Ideoloji II. Abdülhamid Dönemi (1876-1909), (İstanbul: YKB Yayınları, 1998), pp. 45-46.

[185] BOA, Y.A. HUS, 305/27, 27/S/1312 (Hicri), 29 August 1894 (Miladi)

[186] And also see BOA, I.HUS, 39 3/S/1312 (Hicri), 5 August 1894 (Miladi). The Imperial Engraver Monseur Zani makes a sample of the forthcoming medal. The words 'Relief for the People of the Same Kind and Display of National Honour' is engraved on one side of the crescent on the medal, which is made out of either gold or silver or copper. On the other side of the crescent, the date and the name of the donator within a laurel is engraved. His Majesty the Sultan as proper deems the sample medal. See Appendix XVI for the picture of the medal given by the 1894 Earthquake Relief Commission

Donations from Abroad

Sultan Abdülhamid II pursued populist policies that aimed to represent, and justify himself, as a modern ruler at home and abroad. He showed a great talent in creating a positive image of himself in Europe, by successfully using media and means of propaganda. He sent letters to celebrate, and commemorate, the anniversaries of enthronement of European rulers, their wedding anniversaries and birthdays.

Abdülhamid II never missed a chance to present a positive image to foreign countries. He quickly sent stock of grain and money as relief for the flood that took place in the USA shortly before the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake.[187] This attitude of Abdülhamid II both served to polish his benevolent image abroad and resulted in a great sum of financial aid after the 1894 İstanbul earthquake. The donations presented to the Earthquake Relief Commission by the USA, and European, states make a considerable sum. The news stories and articles published in papers abroad and the efforts of Ottoman embassy, and consulate officials, resulted in the drawing of big amounts of donation from other countries.

As a result of the dialogue between the Ottoman ambassador at Washington and Mister Hevit, the old municipal mayor of Washington; a venture to found an Earthquake Relief Commission for the victims of the earthquake at İstanbul was taken. Mister Hevit sent a letter to Mister Alexander who was the President of New York Chamber of Commerce and

[187] Fatma Ürekli, p. 70.

started the activities for fundraising in the benefit of İstanbul Earthquake victims.[188]

The attempts of the Ottoman Embassy officials in engaging American public interest in the İstanbul Earthquake in the USA played a major role in the creation of Earthquake Relief Commissions in New York, San Francisco, Washington and Chicago, as well as newspaper stories published in American papers. As a result of these fundraising efforts, the 6000 US Dollars collected during the course of four months by these earthquake relief commissions were sent to İstanbul to provide relief to earthquake victims.[189]

Fundraising efforts were also organized in European cities. The first fundraising event in France was the foundation of an earthquake relief commission in Paris thanks to the collaboration of French newspapers, *Le Gavlois* and *Le Figaro*, and Marquis Donvey.[190] As a result of these fundraising efforts, a total sum of 16.852.50 Francs and 500 Livres *Turk* was collected.[191]

[188] BOA, Y.A.HUS, 313/98, 3/Ra/1312 (Hicri), 3 September 1894 (Miladi). It is evident that the Ottoman Sultan has shown his friendly attitude towards our country by sending stocks of grain and cereals as relief, despite the financial difficulties his Empire faced, before other countries during our recovery of the wounds of the Johnston disaster that hit America lately. However, it is highly surprising that today we are indifferent to the damage and the state of wretchedness of people caused by the latest great earthquake, which hit Istanbul. Despite the fact that some relief commissions have been founded in European capitals like Paris and London immediately, no actions have been taken here in America yet

[189] BOA, Y.MTV, 107/102, 28/Ra/1312 (Hicri), 30 October 1894 (Miladi). On October 30, 1894 1 US dollar is worth 5 Francs. See Urekli, p. 91.

[190] Ürekli, p. 92.

[191] BOA, I.HUS 32/1312/S/-29, 16/S/1312 The Ottoman Banks checque for 50000 Francs sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France through the French Ambassador in Istanbul has been deposited to the Earthquake relief commission in cash. See YPRK.TKM 32/78 1312/RA/8 The donation of 28000 Francs collected in France for the benefit of the victims of Istanbul 1894 Earthquake is sent to the Earthquake Relief Commission.

In addition to the donations collected in France, the French citizens of İstanbul contributed 286000 Francs to the Earthquake Relief Commission founded at the Prefecture of the City of İstanbul.[192]

Earthquake relief commissions that were established in different cities of the country carried out fundraising efforts in Germany. The money raised by these commissions was sent to İstanbul Earthquake Relief Commission (*Iane Komisyonu*) regularly. For instance, the 2900 marks that were collected by the earthquake relief commission at Dresden were sent to the İstanbul Earthquake Relief Commission immediately.[193] The donations collected by the committee, and the donation of the German Emperor (a sum of 5000 marks) amounted to 17.00 marks, which was sent to İstanbul Earthquake Relief Commission as checks along with a list of all the people who donated sums.[194] Other countries that sent financial aid for the victims of İstanbul 1894 Earthquake were Belgium, Britain and Serbia.

The Earthquake Relief Commission founded by Abdülhamid II, within the Prefecture of the City of İstanbul, was abolished in April 1895 since the damage wrecked by the earthquake was mainly compensated and there was a fall in the number and sum of donations.[195]

The Commission founded by Abdülhamid II for the victims of the earthquake efficiently distributed the money collected as a result of fundraising efforts, by coordinating with the municipalities and almost before the first anniversary of the earthquake its functions were considered

[192] BOA, YPRK.AZJ, 31/98, 29 /Za/1312 (Hicri), 24 May 1895 (Miladi).
[193] BOA, I.HUS, 32/-005, 8//C/1312 (Hicri), 6 December 1894 (Miladi).
[194] See BOA,Y.PRK.ESA, 20/3 10/M/1312 (Hicri), 13 July 1894 (Miladi). For a telegram showing the amount of the financial aid by King Alexander for the victims of the great earthquake. See Apendix XVII.
[195] Ürekli, p. 114

unneeded. With the help of the press collecting money for the victims of the earthquake became a national campaign. The Sultan explicitly encouraged the daily newspapers to stimulate public donations to the Earthquake Relief Commission. *Sabah* frequently published news about the earthquake and encouraged people to denote money to the Earthquake Relief Commission. Via provincial administrations, the campaign was carried to other big cities and towns of the Empire. When considering the national campaign for the victims of the 1894 Earthquake, one could argue that about whether Ottoman finances were too weak to provide funds for the covering of victims' needs. It is true that after the bankruptcy of 1876 and the fiscal disasters following the Russo-Ottoman war, Ottoman finances were in terrible condition. (Quartert, pp. 765-66).

When we take the enormity of the damage caused by the earthquake into account, we see that it was impossible for the Ottoman Treasury to compensate for the damage alone. But Abdülhamid II's main purpose in encouraging individual contributions was merely to create another opportunity to focus public attention on personal generosity. The sultan gave 6500 Ottoman piasters to the Earthquake Relief Commission. Considering the total sum raised by selling tickets, the generosity of Abdülhamid II's personal contribution becomes clear.

Abdülhamid II organized public fundraising campaigns for the establishment of *Darülaceze* (Poor house 1896), like the earthquake relief campaign he organized. When considering the national campaign for *Darülaceze,* one could question whether Ottoman finances were too weak to provide funds for the construction of a single poorhouse in the capital.

Sultan gave 10,000 Ottoman Lira (about 50,000 Turkish Lira) for *Darülaceze.* The experience of the Earthquake Relief Commission may have informed the decision of Abdülhamid II during the foundation of *Darülaceze* when he similarly founded a commission for fundraising and organized public events to raise money for a charitable cause.

Consequantly, charity, philanthropy and welfare projects of Abdülhamid cannot be considered independently from the political sphere. After the constitutionalist opposition attained a political organization in 1890, Abdülhamid II began to pursue a policy that emphasized charity and welfare projects in order to increase his popularity. Abdülhamid II created an inclusive welfare system by financing philanthropic projects and modern social institutions.
Through these practices and institutions, he presented himself as the protector of the poor and the needy, and legitimized his rule, which was leaning on the autocratic. At the same time, the charitable campaigns that were constructed to serve Abdülhamid II's power establishment strategies caused an expansion of the public sphere.

Abdülhamid II manipulated every step of the campaign for the earthquake victims for representing his generosity toward his citizens. For instance he skillfully diverted the campaign to collect financial support from the public into a public display of his own generosity. Instead of simply donating an amount of money to the Earthquake Relief Commission, he individually granted *atiyyes* (imperial gifts) to the victims of the earthquakes as well. In addition to this, he awarded medals, which bore his name and *Tuğra* to people who donated for this case and thus strengthened his popular image.

Abdülhamid II put the fundraising campaign, and the Earthquake Relief Commission that took place after the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake, into effect personally. The earthquake affected the lower classes and the poor more gravely and although the damage was big enough to create public dissent and popular opposing to Abdülhamid II's rule, Abdülhamid did not lose a minute in covering this damage efficiently and providing relief to the victims and emerged as a competent ruler. Although the earthquake affected different segments of society an intensity that could have shaken his authority, he maneuvered well after this social trauma and succeeded in legitimizing his rule.

The social relief policies, and practices, were put into effect after the earthquake immediately, and they were used to harbor a paternalistic protector image of Abdülhamid II. Thus, Abdülhamid II narrowed the gap that existed between him and the poor, and the needy, during the reign of his predecessors by responding to their needs immediately through organized practices. And he legitimized his rule yet again after the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake. As we see from the discourse employed in the advertising of fundraising efforts by Abdülhamid II, and the organized action for meeting the demands of the earthquake victims, the political significance of providing help for the needy manifested itself in this event.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

This thesis represents an attempt to address systematically a set of important, yet inadequately explored issues in the discipline of Ottoman studies. Social history of Ottoman Empire has become the subject of important studies during the last 30-40 years. This thesis specifically takes up the issue of social aids and benefit offered to the born disabled, the victims of work accidents and the earthquake victims during the reign of Abdülhamid II. By focusing on these three groups who inevitably suffered from birth, accidents or a natural disaster, we see in this thesis how the Ottoman modernization dealt with the less fortunate individuals of the society, during a period of intensified reforms for modernizing various aspects of the state and the society.

In this thesis, I focused on the attempts of modernizing social aids and benefits for the born disabled, victims of work accidents and earthquake victims. These three separate groups of less fortune individuals were taken up within different contexts by the state apparatus. The educational reform program of Abdülhamid II envisaged the creation of a special education institution for the born disabled. I contextualized this school within the general education reforms and the newly created public education system.

As a result, it is seen that the creation of education programs for the born disabled children in the Ottoman Empire took place a century later than they appeared in Europe. The number of the deaf-mutes schools throughout Europe reached 320 in 1901. The number of teachers in total in all of these schools was 569. However, only one deaf-mute school was opened in the Ottoman Empire.

This situation clearly shows that education for the born disabled could not be institutionalized during the Hamidian Era while developments to the contrary took place in Europe.

Also, if the historical continuity of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind School opened in İstanbul in 1889, it is no doubt that it failed to be a successful, effective and long lasting institution. Although there was the plan of opening another school for the deaf, mute and the blind, to be established with the name of *Sağır, Dilsiz ve Müesseseyi Ilmiyesi* and with a big budget, it never came about. Esad Bey, who attended the International Congress for the Blinds in 1902, announced the plans for opening this modern institution, and funds began to be collected. However it remained a failed attempt, this case also strengthened the fact that the efforts for institutionalizing education for the disabled could not be permanent and effective during the Hamidian Era. Abdülhamid II did not pay the necessary attention or expend the necessary effort for the continuity of the deaf-mute and the blind school. Yet for advertisement abroad, a total of four photographs were included in the Sultan's gift albums sent to various states in Europe and to the US.

Thus, one may argue that Abdülhamid II designed that school with the intention of displaying his dedication to the well being of the Ottoman society, especially the children. But, whether it was because of that or not, the opening of the School for the Deaf-Mute and the Blind in 1889 should be accepted as an undeniable effort for the education of the disabled in the Ottoman Empire, although this effort was not systematic and failed to be permanent.

In the second chapter, the institutionalization of retirement in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire is related. The rights and benefits awarded to sufferers of work accidents and/or war service are historicized. The pre-modern, and proto-modern, systems of retirement during the classical and pre-Hamidian periods of the Ottoman Empire are analyzed for the sake of understanding the modernization of retirement in the second half of the nineteenth century. The social, industrial and economic factors that shaped the retirement policies of the Ottoman state are stated. The recognition of the disabled in retirement laws and regulations, and the creation of various retirement funds that provided relief for the disabled are scrutinized in arguing that, despite time lags with Europe, the Ottoman imperial administration succeeded in creating a modern retirement system that was parallel to the developments in nineteenth century Europe.

On the other hand, Abdülhamid II reinterpreted the age-old tradition of imperial gift giving, and continued this practice along with the efforts of creating relief institutions such as *Darülaceze, Darülhayr*, etc. There was a double current that marked the Hamidian era, namely while modern institutionalization was taking place, age old practices such as imperial gift giving were reinterpreted within the changing political context of the late nineteenth century. So, the reign of Abdülhamid II saw both the institutionalization of retirement and the creation of standardized motions regarding the victims of work accident, which became part of the legislation. While the institutionalization of retirement and legislation for the victims of work accidents laid the foundation of the public retirement system in Turkey, the imperial gift giving was an early modern patron-client relationship

between the Sultan and the petitioner, and was given up after the reign of Abdulhamid II.

In the third chapter, I investigated how the havoc of the 1894 İstanbul earthquake caused was mitigated by the Hamidian admisinistration and how the earthquake victims were supported. Abdülhamid II took fast action for mitigating the damage caused by the earthquake. The earthquake left so many buildings wrecked or uninhabitable, and the casualties were high. Thus it resulted in a heightened state of panic on the part of the residents of İstanbul. Abdülhamid II established the Earthquake Relief Commission within hours after the earthquake and began collecting and distributing foodstuff, temporary shelter, clothing and financial aids. Philanthropic organizations in Europe, USA and throughout the Ottoman Empire contributed to the cause. Abdülhamid II manipulated every step of the campaign for the earthquake victims for representing his generosity toward his citizens. For instance he skillfully diverted the campaign to collect financial support from the public into a public display of his own generosity. Instead of simply donating an amount of money to the Earthquake Relief Commission, he individually granted *atiyyes* (imperial gifts) to the victims of the earthquakes as well. In addition to this, he awarded medals, which bore his name and *Tuğra* to people who donated for the cause and thus strengthened his popular image.

Abdülhamid II put the fundraising campaign, and the Earthquake Relief Commission that took place after the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake, into effect personally. The earthquake affected the lower classes and the poor more gravely and although the damage was big enough to create public dissent and popular opposing to Abdülhamid II's rule, Abdülhamid did not lose a minute in covering this damage efficiently and providing relief to the

victims and emerged as a competent ruler. Although the earthquake affected different segments of society an intensity that could have shaken his authority, he maneuvered well after this social trauma and succeeded in legitimizing his rule.

When we consider the different cases of the education of the born disabled, the retirement rights of the victims of work accidents and the relief for the earthquake victims, we reach the conclusion that, all the social relief policies and practices put into effect by Abdulhamid II were used to harbor a paternalistic protector image of the Sultan. Abdülhamid II narrowed the gap that existed between him and the poor, and the needy, during the reign of his predecessors by responding to their needs immediately through organized practices. And he legitimized his rule yet again after the 1894 İstanbul Earthquake. As we see from the discourse employed in the advertising efforts for the Deaf-Mute and Blind Schools, for the Retirement policies and for the fundraising for the earthquake victims, the discourse was pointing to the benevolence of the Sultan. Thus the political significance of providing help for the needy manifested itself in various aspects of providing education, relief or social protection for the needy.

The charity, philanthropy and welfare projects of Abdülhamid cannot be considered independently from the larger political developments. After the constitutionalist opposition attained a political organization in 1890, Abdülhamid II began to pursue a policy that emphasized charity and welfare projects in order to increase his popularity. Abdülhamid II created an inclusive welfare system by financing philanthropic projects and modern social institutions.

Through these practices and institutions, he presented himself as the protector of the poor and the needy, and legitimized his rule, which was leaning on the autocratic. At the same time, the charitable campaigns that were constructed to serve Abdülhamid II's power establishment strategies caused an expansion of the public sphere.

In the future, I would like to continue this research by looking at other charitable institutions founded by Abdulhamid, such as Darulaceze, and the way they were advertised in newspapers and magazines. By analyzing the discourse employed in the news stories that announced the opening of these institutions in certain publications that were sponsored by Abdulhamid II, I will be able to offer a more detailed explication of how the charitable events relate to the discourse of Abdulhamid as a just and benevolent ruler.

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Encyclopedia of İslam, second edition	*EI²*
Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İslam Ansiklopedisi	*İA*
Türkiye Diyanet vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi	*DİA*
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi	*BOA*

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APPENDICES

A. Picture of Two Deaf and Mutes School Pupil



B. Picture of the Two Blind School Pupil

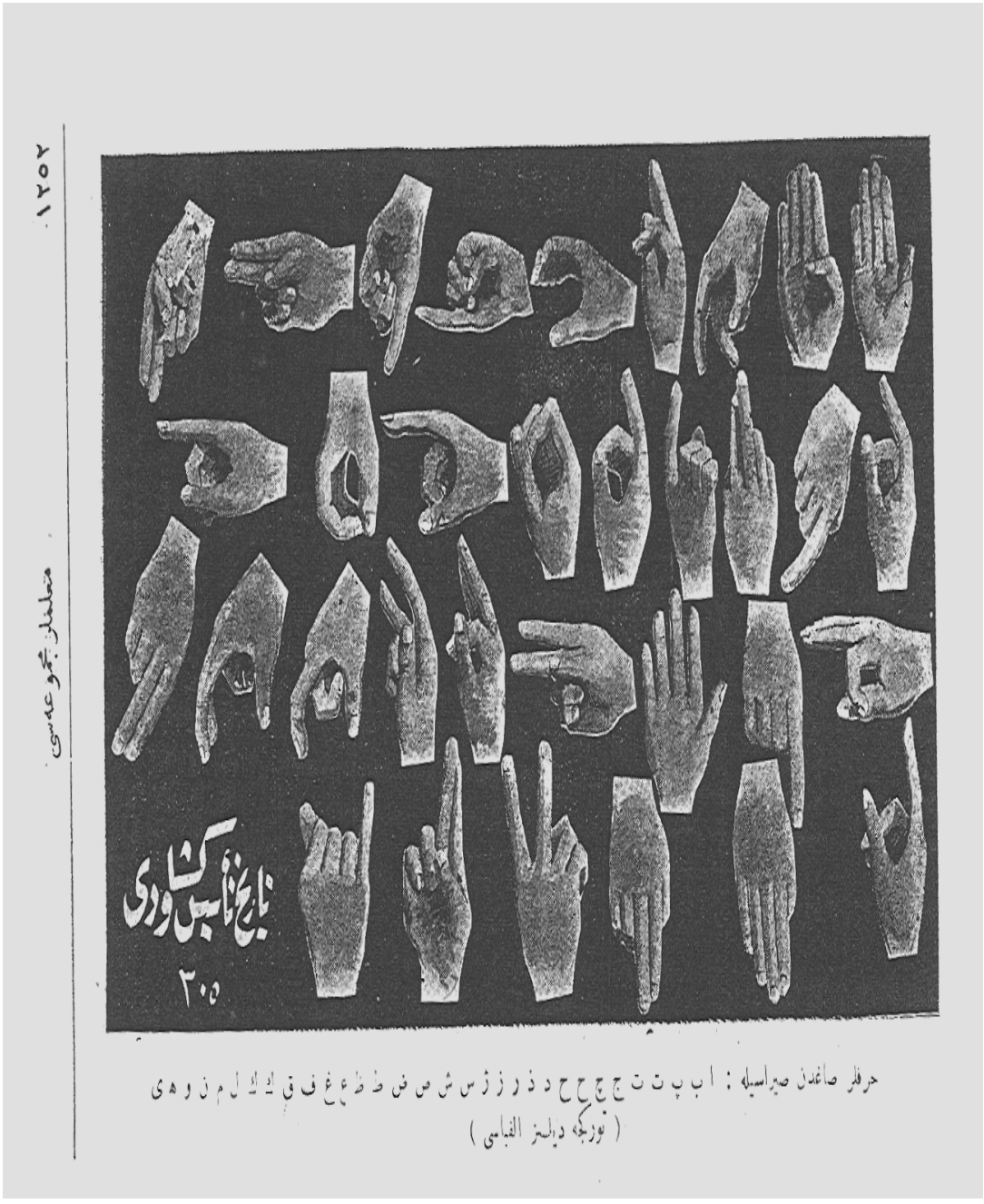


C. Pupils of Deaf and Mutes School with Their Teachers



دلسز مكتبنك ايلك سنه طلبه‌سى

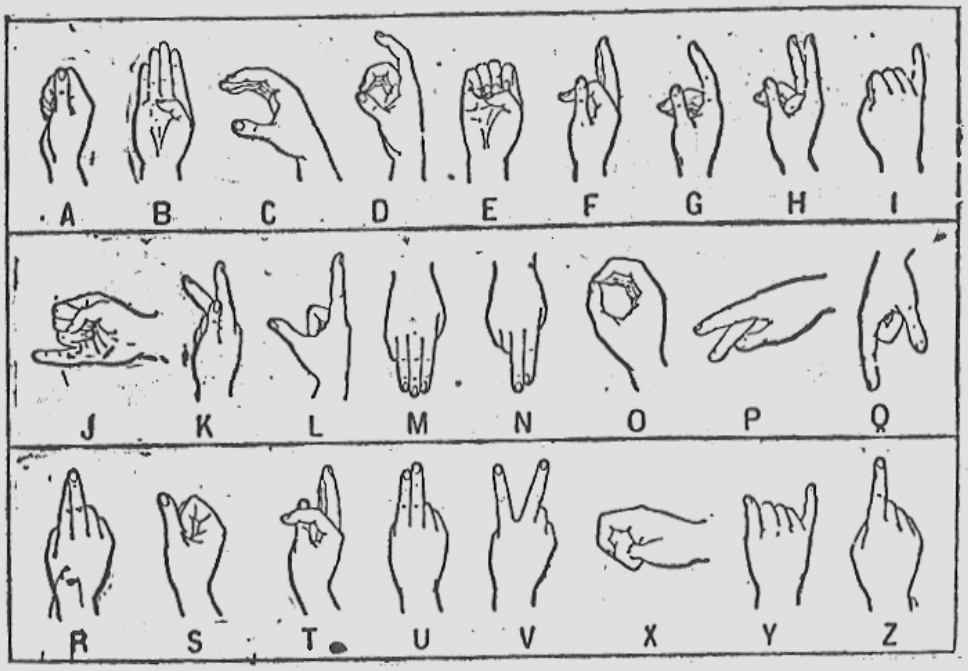
D. Picture of Deaf and Mute Alphabet in Ottoman Turkish



E. Picture of Deaf and Mute Alphabet in French

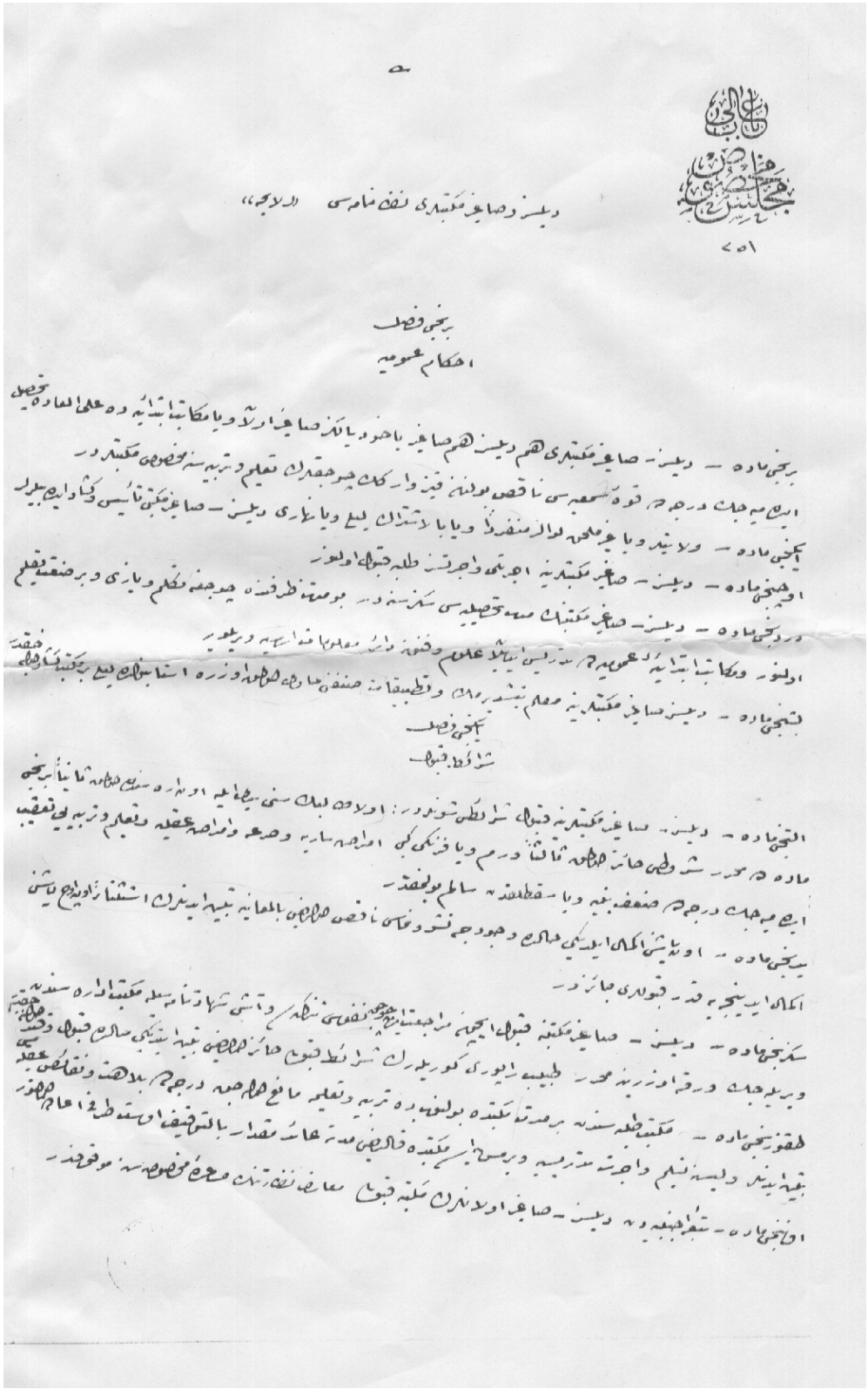
٨— ایکی اصول تعلیمك مجادله‌سی.

فرانسز آبه دوله‌په‌نك اصولیله، آلمان هاینیکه‌نك اصوللری بربرینه طابان طابانه ضددر . دوله‌په ، ثابت وقابل رؤیت اشارتلرله یعنی اك زیاده یازی واسطه‌سیله



دیلسزلرك الفباسی ـ فرانسزجه .

F. Transcriptions of 1889 Deaf and Mutes School Code of Regulation



DIIT
Daya no 15/1
Sira 14/2

ماده ۱۲ — طلبه در هر یک از مدارس اسلامی فقط در یک صنف تحصیل می‌کند.

فصل پنجم

هیئت اداره و معلمین

ماده ۱۳ — در هر مکتب یک مدیر، یک یا چند معاون، و به تعداد کافی معلم و معلم معاون وجود دارد.

ماده ۱۴ — مدیر مکتب مسئول اداره و نظم مکتب است. او بر حسن جریان تعلیم، حضور معلمین، و حفظ انضباط نظارت می‌کند.

ماده ۱۵ — معاون مدیر در غیاب مدیر وظایف او را انجام می‌دهد و در امور اداری با مدیر همکاری می‌کند.

ماده ۱۶ — معلم مسئول صنف است. او درس را تدریس می‌کند، حضور و غیاب طلبه را ثبت می‌نماید، و در حفظ نظم صنف مسئولیت دارد.

ماده ۱۷ — معلم معاون در غیاب معلم صنف، درس را ادامه می‌دهد و در تهیه وسایل تعلیمی همکاری می‌کند.

ماده ۱۸ — مدیر، معاون، معلم، و معلم معاون باید حداقل دارای شهادت‌نامه صنف دهم مکاتب اسلامی باشند.

ماده ۱۹ — مدیر، معاون، و معلم باید حداقل سه سال سابقه تدریس داشته باشند.

ماده ۲۰ — معلم مکلف است حداقل ۲۴ ساعت درس در هفته تدریس کند.

ماده ۲۱ — معاش ماهانه اعضای هیئت اداره به شرح ذیل است:

	مدیر	معاون	معلم	معلم معاون
در صنف	۱۵۰۰	۱۰۰۰	۸۰۰	۶۰۰
در یک صنف	۱۴۰۰	۸۰۰	۷۰۰	۵۰۰
در دو صنف	۱۰۰۰	۷۰۰	۶۰۰	۴۰۰

ماده ۲۲ — معاش ماهانه اعضای هیئت اداره در روز ۱۵ هر ماه پرداخت می‌شود.

ماده ۲۳ — مدیر مکتب می‌تواند به معلم و معلم معاون تا ۱۰٪ معاش ماهانه به عنوان تشویق اضافی پیشنهاد کند.

ماده ۲۴ — تعیین صلاحیت اعضای هیئت اداره از ادارهٔ تعلیمات دینی صورت می‌گیرد.

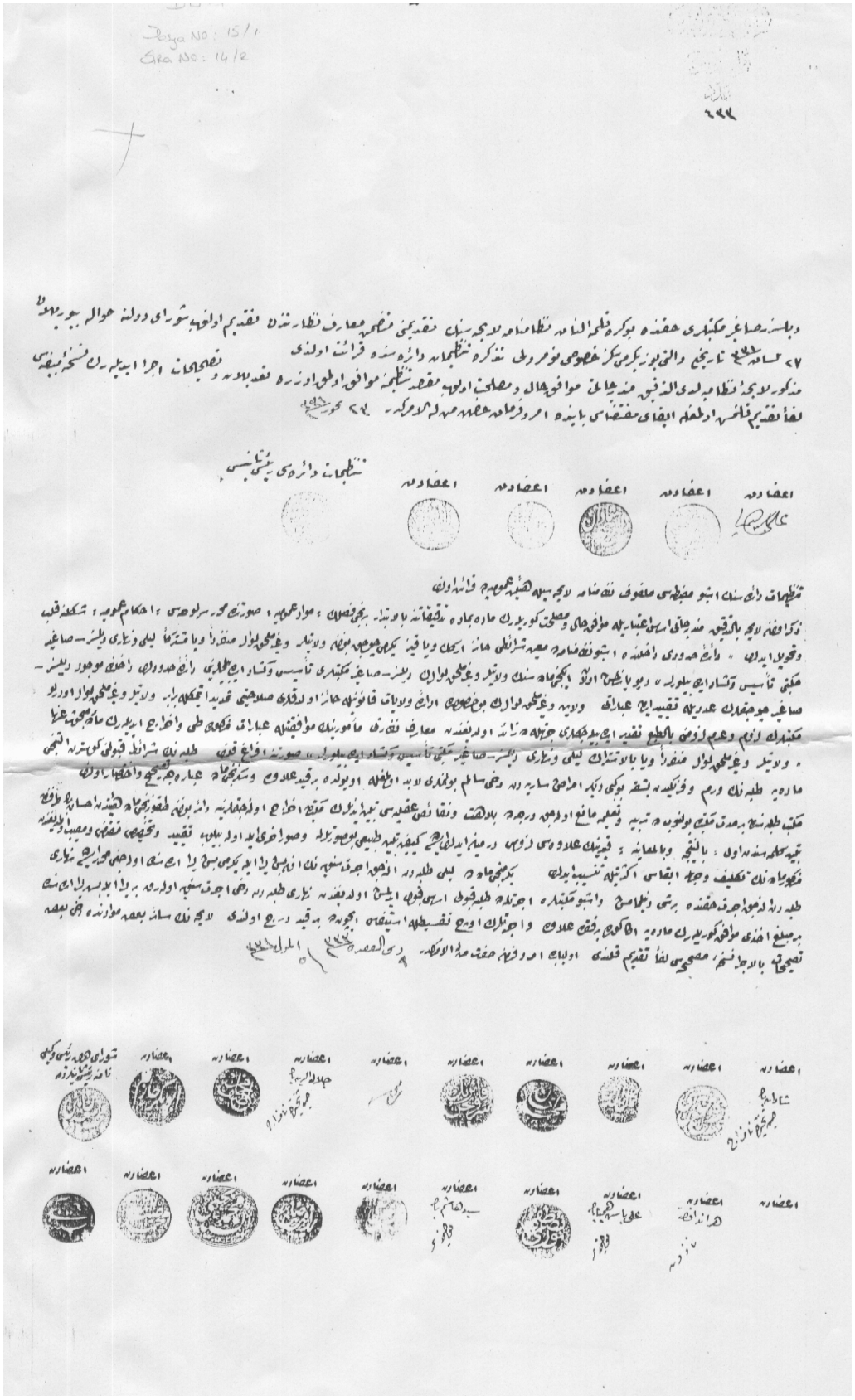
ماده ۲۵ — اعضای هیئت اداره حق استعفا دارند، مشروط به اطلاع قبلی یک ماه.

فصل ششم

احکام متفرقه

ماده ۲۶ — هیچ طلبه را نمی‌توان بدون اجازهٔ ولی او از مکتب اخراج کرد.

Dosya NO : 15/1
GRA NO : 14/2



“Layiha”

Dilsiz ve Sağır Mektebleri Nizamnamesi

Birinci fasıl
Ahkam-i umumiye

1.Madde- Dilsiz-Sağır mektebleri hem dilsiz hem sağır yahud yalnız sağır olan veya mekteb-i ibtidaiye de alalade tahsil edemeyecek derecede kuvvet-i seniyesi noksan bulunan kız ve erkek çocukların talim ve terbiyesine mahsus mekteblerdir.

2.Madde- Vilayetler ve gayri mülhak livalar münferiden veya bil’iştirak leyli ve nehari Dilsiz-Sağır mektebi tesis ve kuşad edebilirler.

3.Madde- Dilsiz-Sağır mekteblerine ücretli ve ücretsiz talebe kabul olunur.

4.Madde- Dilsiz-Sağır mektebinin müddet-i tahsiliyesi sekiz senedir. Bu müddet tarafında çocuğu tekellül ve yazı ve bir sanat talim olunur ve mekatib-i ibtidaiye-i umumiyede tesis edilen ulum ve kanuna dair malumat-ı esasiye verilir.

5.Madde- Dilsiz-Sağır Mekteblerine muallim yetiştirmek ve tatbikat sınıfını havi olamak üzere İstanbulda leyli bir mekteb kuşad olunacaktır.

İkinci fasıl
Şerait-ı kabulü

6.Madde-Dilsiz-Sağır mekteblerine kabul şartı şunlardır: Evvela talibin sinni yedi ile on arasında olmak,saniyen birinci maddede muharrer şurutu haiz olmak salisem verem veya frengi gibi emraz-ı sariye ve sara ve emraz-ı akliye ve talim ve terbiyeyi takib edemeyecek derecede zayıf bünye veya sakatlıktan salim bulunmaktadır.

7.Madde- On yaşını ikmal edeceği halde vücudca neş’ü neması noksan olduğu bilmuayne tespit edilenlerin istisnaen onüç yaşını ikmal edinceğe kadar kabulleri haizdir.

8.Madde- Dilsiz-Sağır mekteplerine Kabul için müracat eden çocuk nüfus tezkiresi ve aşı sahadetnamesiyle mekteb-İ idaresinden verilecek varaka üzerinde muharrer tabib raporu görülerek şerait-i kabulü olduğu tebeyyün ettiği halde kabul ve kayd olunacaktır.

9.Madde-Mekteb talebesinden bir müddet mektepde bulunupta terbiye ve talime mani olacak derecede belahet ve nakais-i akliyesi tebyyün edenler talim ve ücret-i tedrisiye vermiş ise mektepte kaldığı müddet’e aid miktar bi’t-tevkif üst tarafı iade olunacaktır.

10.Madde- teba-yı ecnebiyeden Dilsiz-Sağır olanlar mektebe kabulü maarif nezaretinin müsaade-i mahsusasına mevkuftur.

11.Madde-talebeden onbir yaşını ikmal edenler istidalarına göre mevcud zanaatlerden birine tefrik edilirler.

Üçüncü fasıl
Heyet-i idare ve muallimad

12. Madde-Dilsiz veSağır mektebi bir müdür icabında bir müdür muavini ve luzumu kadar muallim ve muallim muavini ve sınıf ustadları ve müstahdem-i saire ile idare olunur.bia Dilsiz-sağır mekteblerinde bunlardan maada bir hesab katibi ve bir depo ve ambar memuru istihdam edilir.

13. Madde- Müdür ve müdür muavini ve muallim ve muallim muavinleri 5.maddede muharrer mektepden neşet edenler ile tedrisat-I ibtidaiye-I kanuna tefrikan muallimlik evsafına haiz olanlar meyanından bu mektebleri idare ve talebeyi tedriz ve talimde sahib-ihtisas oldukları tebeyyün edenlerden intihab edilir.

14.Madde-Dilsiz-Sağır Mektebleri için mahallelerinde evsaf-ı lazımiyeye haiz müdür ve müdür muavini ve muallim muavinleri bulunacağı halde maarif nezaretince namzetler irac edilir
15. Madde- Her muallim on ikiden ziyade talebeyle meşgul olmaz ve her muallime bir muavin terfik edilir

16.Madde- Her sanat şubesinin bir ustası bulunur ve bu şubelere devam edecek talebenin adedi mahdud değildir.

17. Madde- Bu mekteblerin muallim ve memurin-I sairesinden bir vech-i ati maaş verilir. Diğer memurin maaşatı dar'ül muallimdeki muadil memurin maaşlarına tevfik edilir.

	Müdür	Müdür muavini	Muallim	Muallim muavini
1 sınıf	1500	1000	800	600
2 sınıf	1200	800	700	500
3. sınıf	1000	700	600	400

18. Madde- Dilsiz- Sağır mektebleri müdür ve müdür muavinleri her üç senede bir terfi etmek salahiyetine ihraz ederler.

19. Madde- Ustalara tahsillerinin derecesine ve sanaatlarındaki vukuf ve maharetlerine gore münasib maaş ve yevmiyeler tahsil olunur.

Dördüncü fasıl
Ahkam-ı mutefferika

20. Madde- Leyli talebeden alınacak ücret-i seniye 15 lira ile 25 lira arasında ve nihayet talebeden alınacak ücret-I seneviye 1 lira ile 5 lira olmak üzere Velilerin iktidar-I maliyesine meclis-i idarece takdir ve üç taksidle istifa olunur bundan başka ücretli talebenin tedarikine mecbur oldukları levazım şunlardır: iki şilte,iki şilte çarşafı, bir yorgan, iki yorgan çarşafı, bir battaniye, altı takım iç çamaşırı ve altı çift çorab ve altı kat elbise,iki çift kundura

21. Madde-Fakr-u halleri maarif idarelerince ve meclis-i idarece sabit olanlar meccenen Kabul edilirler

22. Madde- Ücretsiz talebe mektebce ibate ve iksa ve iaşe edilir ve kitab ve kırtasiye gibi levazım-ı dersiyeside mektebçe tedarik olunur

23. Madde- Kendi ihtiyarıyla mektepden çıkan veya dokuzuncu maddede muharrer ahvale maada suretle çıkarılan ücretli talebeye alınan taksidden bir şey iade edilmez.

24. Madde- İş bu nizamname tarihi neşrinden itibaren mer'idir ve evvelce mevcud nizamname ihtası maksuh'dur.

25. Madde- Bu nizamnamenin icrasında maarif-i umumiye nazırı memurdur.

İş bu nizamnamede mer'iyeti ve nizamat-i devlet'e ilavesini irade ederim

Fi sene 20 zilkade 1333 fi kanun-u evvel 1331

Dahiliye Nazır ve Dahiliye Nazır ve Fetva-ı Vekili

Hariciye Nazırı ve Hariciye Vekili

Şeyh'ül-islam Hümayun Nazırı

Sadrazam Nafia nazırı

Adliye nazırı

Maarif nazırı

Ticaret ve Ziraat Nazırı

Dilsiz –Sağır mektebleri hakkında bu kere kaleme alınan nizamname lahıyasının takdımı mutazammın maarif nezaretinden takdim olunup şuray-ı devlete havale buyurulan
27 Nisan 331 tarihli ve altıyüz yirmi sekiz (628) hususi numerolu tezkire tanzimat dairesinde kıraat olundu
Mezkur layiha-i nizamnameye leded-tetkik maslahat olub maksad-ı tanzimine muaffak olmak üzere tadilat ve tashihat icra edilerek nüsha-i mübeyyeza leffen takdim kılınmış olmağla ifayı muktezası babında emrü ferman hazret-i menlehü'l emrindir.
23 Temmuz 331

Azadan azadan azadan azadan azadan tanzimat dairesi reisi

Tanzimat dairesinin iş bu mazbatası mefuf nizamname lahiyasıyla heyet-i umumiyede kıraad zıkr olunan lahiya bittetkik münderecatı esası itibariyle olundu. Tehkikatına bil ibtidar birinci fazlın mevad-ı umumiye suretinde muharrer serlevhası "ahkam-ı umumiye-i şekline kalb ve tahvil edildi daire-i hududu dahilinde iş bu nizamnamede muayyen şerait-i haiz erkek veya kız 20 çocuk bulunan vilayetler ve gayri mülhal livalar münferiden veya müştereken leyli ve nehali Dilsiz-Sağır mektebi tesis ve kuşad edilebilir deyu yazılmış olan 2. maddesinin vilayetler gayri mülhak livaların Dilsiz-Sağır mektebleri tesis ve kuşad edebilmelerine daire-i hududları dahilinde mevcud Dilsiz-Sağır çocıkların adediyle takyid eden ibaratı vilayet ve gayri mülhak livaların bu hususda idare-i vilayat kanunuyla haiz oldukları selayeti tehdid etmekle beraber vilayet ve gayri mülhak livalar o türlü mekteblerin luzum ve adem luzumunu bittabi takdir edebilecekleri cihetde zaid ve ihrac edilerek madde-i mebhus'un anha vilayetler ve gayri mülhak livalar münferiden neyli ve nehari dilsiz-sagır mektebi tesis ve kuşad edebilirler < suretine ifrağ kılındı > talebenin şeriatı kabulunu gösteren altıncı maddeye talebenin verem ve frengiden başka bu gibi emraz-ı saireden salim bulunmaları laabüd olmağla o yolda bir kayd ilave ve sekizinci madde de ibarece tahsis ve ihtisar olundu.

Mektebe talebesinden bir müddet mektebde bulunupta terbiye ve talime mani olacak derece belahet ve nikayesi tebeyyün edenlerin mektebden ihrac olunacaklarına dair bulunan sekizinci madde heyedden ihsan bey tarafından tebeyyün kılınmasından evvel bil'netice ve bil'muayene kaydının ilavesi luzumu dermeyan edildi isede keyfiyet-i tebeyyün tabi-ı bu suretlerle ve bu sever-i uhra ile olabilib takyid ve taksib muhtesi ve muhsib olamadığından mezkur maddenin teklif ve çile ibkası ekseriyetle tebsil edildi yirminci maddede leyli talebeden alınacak ücret-i senevinin 15 lira ile 20 lira arasında alacağı muharrir isede nehari talebeden alınacak ücret hakkında bir şey denilmemesi ve iş bu mekteblere ücretlide talebe kabulü esası Kabul edilmiş olduğundan nehari talebeden ücret-i seneviye olarak 1 lira ile 5 lira arasındabir meblağ ahzı muaffık görülerek maddeye ana gore bir fıkra ilavesi ve ücretlerin 3 taksitle istifası içinde bir kayd derc olundu lahiyanın sair bazı maddelerinde dahi bazı tashihat bilicra feshe-i nusha-i musahhası leffen takdim kılındı olbabda ermru ferman hazret-i menlehü'l emrindir

5 fi Hicri 8 Zilkade 1915 Sene 1331 Eylül

G. Picture of First School Building (Hamidiye Ticaret Mektebi)



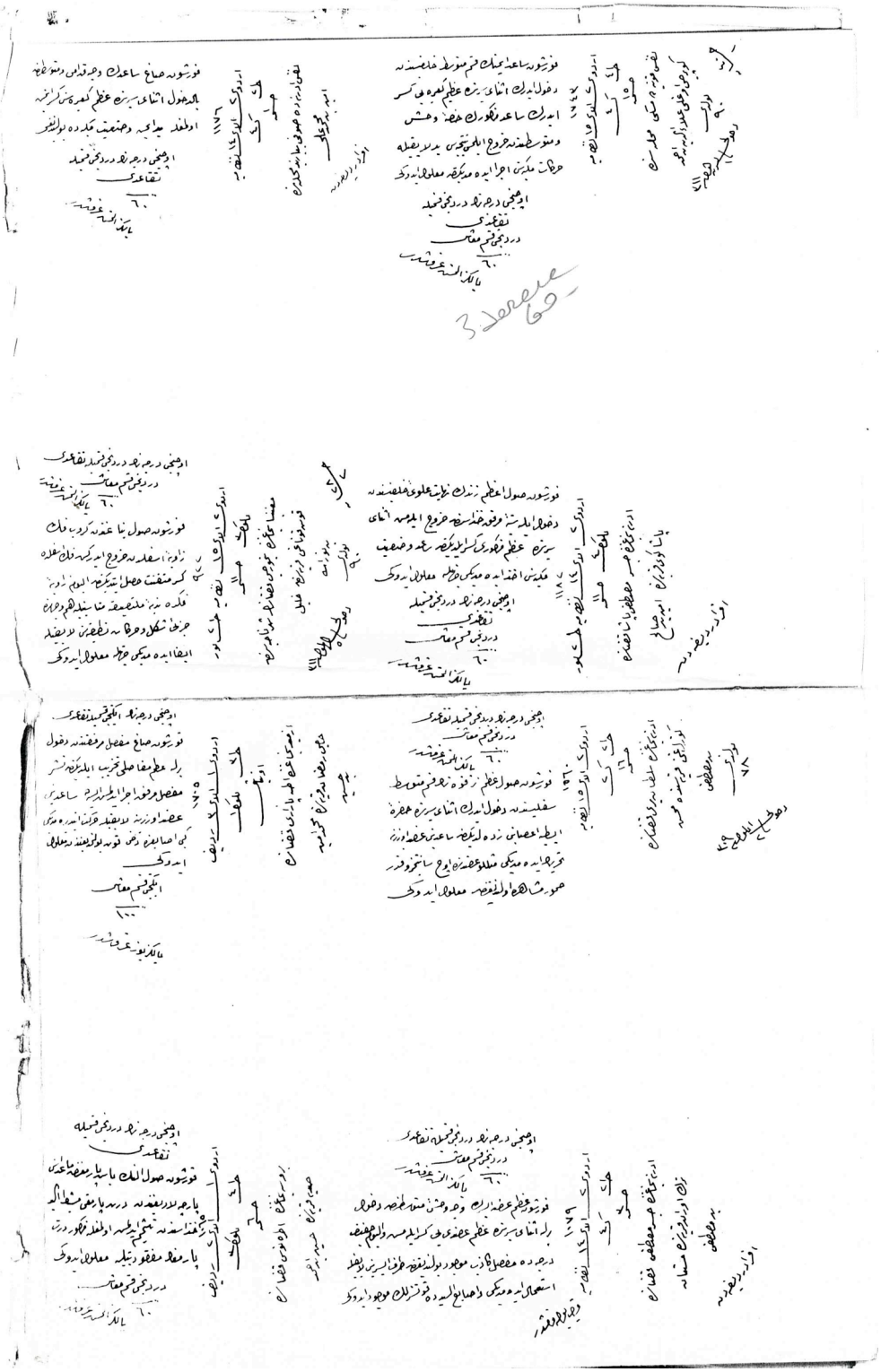
Ecole Impériale des Sourds et Muets

İ. Chronological Presentation of Retirement Systems (NationalLaws)

TABLE 1. – CHRONOLOGICAL PRESENTATION OF RETIREMENT SYSTEMS (NATIONAL LAWS)

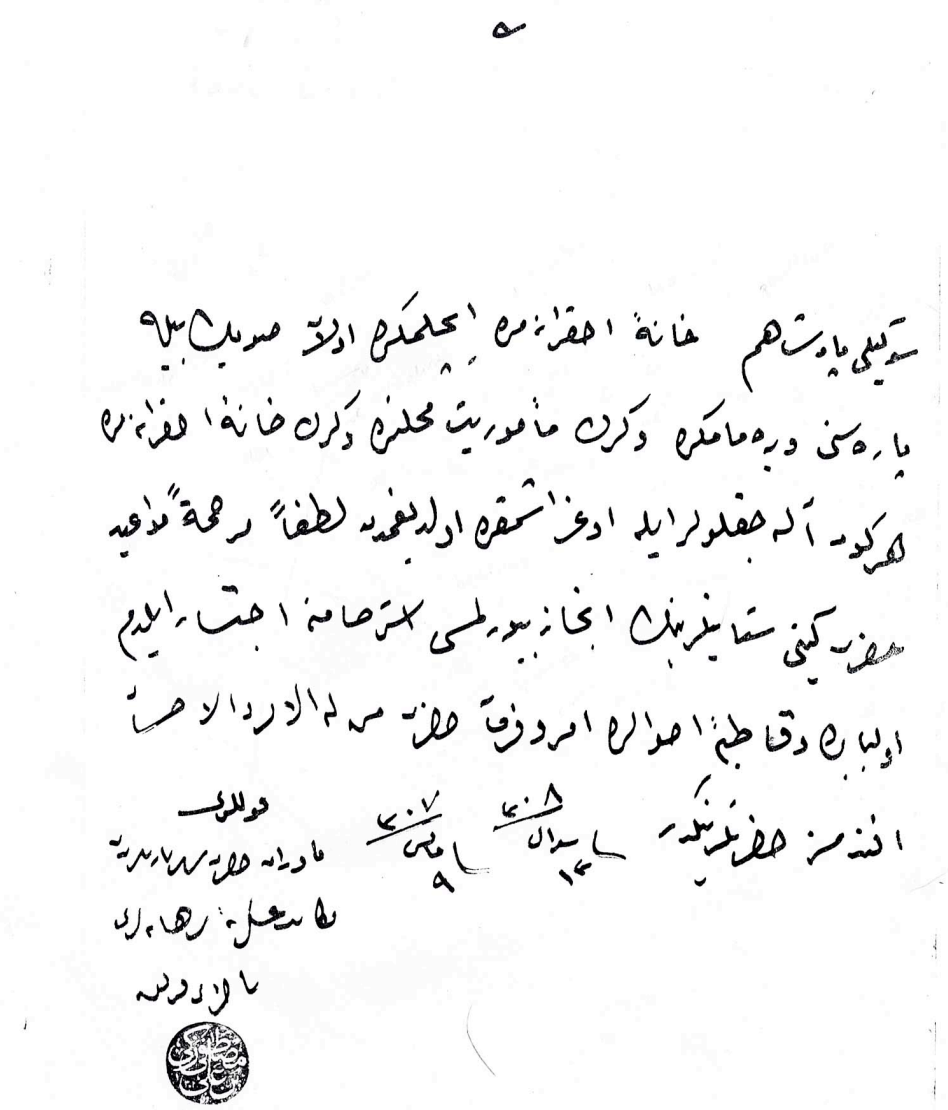
Object	Prussia German Empire FRG	France	Great Britain	United States
Civil servants	(1825) 1872	(1790) 1853	(1810) 1859	1920
Miners	1854	1895		
Assistance		1905	(1908)	1935
National insurance	1889 1911 1957	1910 1928/30 1945	1908 1925 1945	1935/39 1956

J. The State Document Showing the Degrees of "*maluliyet*" Pension



K. Petition Written by Mustafa Zeki

Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı



L. Map Prepared by D. Egnitis, Director of the Observatory of İstanbul



H. Kiepert'in haritası üzerinde tespit edilmiş olan deprem bölgeleri.
(BOA, YEE, Nr. 11 / 14 / 126 / C.)

M. Picture of the 1894 Earthquake Commission Members



Deprem bölgesinde incelemede bulunan heyet toplu halde.
(İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi, Albüm Nr. 90859 / 18)

N. The table of the donations of the Earthquake Relief Commission in 20th of July in1894

EK 1

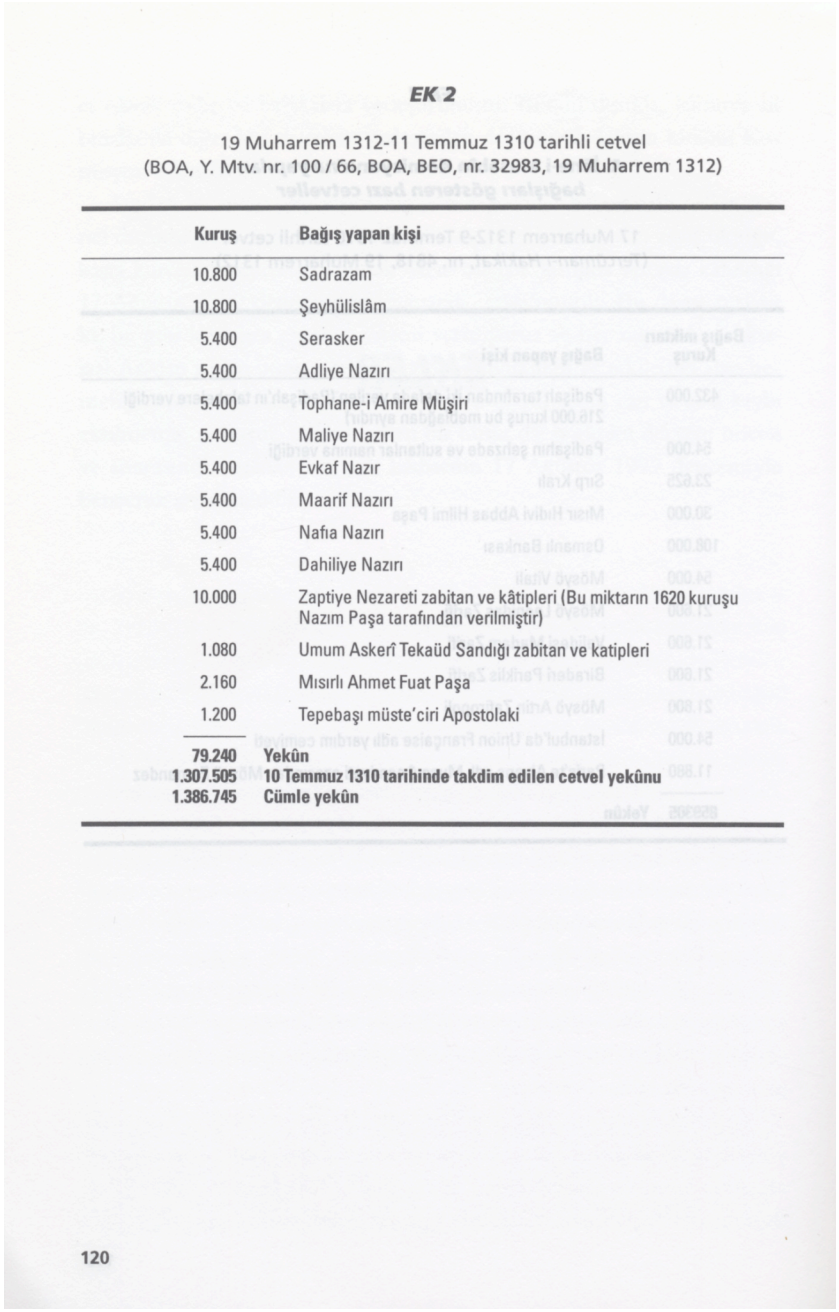
A. İâne-i Musâbîn Komisyonu'na yapılan bağışları gösteren bazı cetveller

17 Muharrem 1312-9 Temmuz 1310 tarihli cetvel
(*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, nr. 4818, 19 Muharrem 1312)

Bağış miktarı Kuruş	Bağış yapan kişi
432.000	Padişah tarafından iki defada verilen (Padişah'ın talebelere verdiği 216.000 kuruş bu meblağdan ayrıdır)
54.000	Padişahın şehzade ve sultanlar namına verdiği
23.625	Sırp Kralı
30.000	Mısır Hıdivi Abbas Hilmi Paşa
108.000	Osmanlı Bankası
54.000	Mösyö Vitali
21.600	Mösyö Leonidas Zarifi
21.600	Validesi Madam Zarifi
21.600	Biraderi Periklis Zarifi
21.600	Mösyö Artin Zafiropoli
54.000	İstanbul'da Union Française adlı yardım cemiyeti
11.880	Paris'te Alyans adlı Musevî cemiyeti azasından Mösyö Fernandez
859305	**Yekûn**

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O. The table of the donations of the Earthquake Relief Commission in 22nd of July in1894



EK 2

19 Muharrem 1312-11 Temmuz 1310 tarihli cetvel
(BOA, Y. Mtv. nr. 100 / 66, BOA, BEO, nr. 32983, 19 Muharrem 1312)

Kuruş	Bağış yapan kişi
10.800	Sadrazam
10.800	Şeyhülislâm
5.400	Serasker
5.400	Adliye Nazırı
5.400	Tophane-i Amire Müşiri
5.400	Maliye Nazırı
5.400	Evkaf Nazır
5.400	Maarif Nazırı
5.400	Nafıa Nazırı
5.400	Dahiliye Nazırı
10.000	Zaptiye Nezareti zabitan ve kâtipleri (Bu miktarın 1620 kuruşu Nazım Paşa tarafından verilmiştir)
1.080	Umum Askerî Tekaüd Sandığı zabitan ve katipleri
2.160	Mısırlı Ahmet Fuat Paşa
1.200	Tepebaşı müste'ciri Apostolaki
79.240	**Yekûn**
1.307.505	**10 Temmuz 1310 tarihinde takdim edilen cetvel yekûnu**
1.386.745	**Cümle yekûn**

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P. The table of the donations of the Earthquake Relief Commission in 23rd of July in1894

EK 3

20 Muharrem 1312-12 Temmuz 1310 tarihli cetvel
(BOA, Y. Mtv. nr. 100 / 78, 20 Muharrem 1312)

Kuruş	Bağış yapan kişi
5.400	Hariciye Nazırı
29.754	Mısır Hıdivi Abbas Hilmi Paşa'nın validesi
2.700	Sadaret Müsteşarı
10.800	Crédit General Ottoman Bankası
1.080	Mudanya-Bursa Demiryolu Kumpanyası
1.080	Dersaadet Tramvay Şirketi
10.800	Banker Mösyö Reneyuduy
10.800	Osmanlı Sigorta Kumpanyası[357]
76.734	**Yekûn**
1.386.745	**11 Temmuz 1310 tarihinde takdim olunan cetvel yekûnu**
1.463.479	**Cümle yekûn**

357 BOA, Y. A. Hus. Nr. 306/63, 17 Muharrem 1312.

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R. Picture of the Medal given by the 1894 Earthquake Relief Commission



Depremden sonra Sultan II. Abdülhamid tarafından yardımda bulunanlara verilen gümüş madalya. (Yapı Kredi Bankası Vedat Nedim Tör Müzesi, Nr. 1125)

S. Telegram showing the amount of the financial aid by King Alexander

