Locals and Migrants in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of State-Society and Intercommunal Relations in the Izmit District, 1877-1914

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Approvals

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The intellectual content of this dissertation, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

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Abstract

"Locals and Migrants in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of State-Society and Intercommunal Relations in the Izmit District, 1877-1914"

Berk Koç, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2021

Professor Nadir Özbek and Professor Alexandre Toumarkine, Dissertation Advisors

This thesis investigates the social, economic and political impact of mass migration into the Ottoman Empire after the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 on locals, migrants and the state, and their everyday responses to each other in the district of Izmit. By discussing relational changes between the Empire's largest ethnic-religious *millets* and the state "on the ground" during watershed moments of the late Ottoman period until the First World War, this study intends to present an analysis of post-migration experiences of ordinary people, from locals and migrants to bureaucrats and various other local actors. As a monograph on the Izmit district, the present study seeks at the same time to document changes in administration, demography, and socio-economic conditions during the period 1877-1914. The management of settlement, the integration processes of migrants as well as locals and their responses to the state's policies and to each other against the backdrop of socio-political and economic turmoil in the Hamidian and Second Constitutional eras demonstrate that ordinary people were active agents rather than muted objects of state formation. This thesis argues that the daily struggle for survival, and the competition over land and natural resources transformed natives and migrants into important local actors, but also intensified the antagonism between different ethnic-religious groups, alienating especially the Empire's Christian subjects.

94,868 words

Özet

"Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yerliler ve Göçmenler: İzmit Sancağı'nda Devlet-Toplum ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkilerin Bir İncelemesi"

Berk Koç, Doktora Adayı, 2021
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Profesör Nadir Özbek ve Profesör Alexandre Toumarkine,
Tez Danışmanları

Bu tez, 1877-1878 Rus-Osmanlı Savaşı'ndan sonra Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yapılan kitlesel göçün İzmit Sancağı'nda yerel halk, göçmenler ve devlet üzerindeki sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi etkilerini, ve tarafların birbirlerine karşı verdiği gündelik tepkileri incelemektedir. Çalışma, geç Osmanlı döneminden Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na kadar olan süreçteki dönüm noktalarında İmparatorluk'un en büyük etnik-dini milletleri ile yereldeki devlet arasındaki ilişkisel değişiklikleri tartışarak yerel halktan ve göçmenlerden bürokratlara ve diğer çeşitli yerel aktörlere kadar sıradan insanların göç sonrası deneyimlerinin bir analizini sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. İzmit Sancağı üzerine bir monografi olarak bu çalışma, aynı zamanda 1877-1914 döneminde yönetim, demografi ve sosyo-ekonomik koşullarda meydana gelen değişiklikleri belgelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Sosyo-politik ve ekonomik düzlemde çalkantılı geçen II. Abdülhamit ve II. Meşrutiyet dönemlerindeki iskân yönetimi, göçmenlerle yerlilerin entegrasyon süreçleri ve devlet politikalarına ve birbirlerine karşı verdikleri tepkiler, sıradan insanların devlet oluşumunun sessiz nesnelerinden ziyade aktif özneleri olduklarını göstermektedir. Bu tez, günlük hayatta kalma mücadelesinin ve toprak ve doğal kaynaklar üzerindeki rekabetin, yerlileri ve göçmenleri önemli yerel aktörlere dönüştürdüğünü, fakat aynı zamanda farklı etnik-dini gruplar arasındaki düşmanlığı şiddetlendirdiğini, özellikle İmparatorluk'un Hıristiyan tebaasını yabancılaştırdığını savunmaktadır.

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Aileme...

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Glossary of Non-English Terms

Vilayet	Province
Sancak	District
Kaza	Subdistrict
Nahiye	Administrative unit between *kaza* and village
Karye/Köy	Village
Çiftlik	Estate
Vali	Governor
Mutasarrıf	(District) governor
Kaymakam	Subgovernor
Müdür	Administrator
Muhtar	Village headman
Naib	Judge

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (known today as the Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey – Department of Ottoman Archives)
A.}DVN.MKL	Sadaret Divan Kalemi Evrakı Mukavelenameler
A.}MKT.MHM	Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Mühimme Odası (Kalemi) Belgeleri
A.}MTZ.RŞ	Sadaret Eyalat-ı Mümtaze Kalemi Belgeleri, Şarki Rumeli
BEO.AYN.d	Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Ayniyat Defterleri
C.SM	Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi Saray Mesalihi
D.CRD.d	Bab-ı Defteri Ceride Odası Defterleri
DH.EUM.EMN	Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Emniyet Şubesi
DH.EUM.KADL	Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Kısm-ı Adli Kalemi
DH.EUM.VRK	Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Evrak Odası
DH.İD	Dahiliye Nezareti İdare
DH.H	Dahiliye Nezareti Hukuk Kalemi
DH.MKT	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
DH.MUI	Dahiliye Nezareti Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi
DH.SN.THR	Dahiliye Nezareti Sicill-i Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi Tahrirat Kalemi
DH.ŞFR	Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi
DH.TMIK.M	Dahiliye Nezareti Tesri-i Muamelat ve Islahat Komisyonu Muamelat
DH.TMIK.S	Dahiliye Nezâreti Tesrî-i Muamelat ve Islahat Komisyonu
DH.UMVM	Dahiliye Nezareti Umur-ı Mahalliyye ve Vilayat Müdürlüğü Kataloğu
HH.İ	Hazine-i Hassa İradeler
HR.İD	Hariciye Nezareti İdare

HR.SYS	Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kalemi
HR.TH	Hariciye Nezareti Tahrirat-ı Hariciye Odası
HR.SFR.3	Hariciye Nezareti Londra Sefareti
HR.UHM	Hariciye Nezareti Umur-ı Hukuk-ı Muhtalita Müdüriyeti
HRT.h	Haritalar
İ.AS	İrade Askeri
İ.AZN	İrade Adliye ve Mezahib
İ.DFE	İrade Defter-i Hakani
İ.DH	İrade Dahiliye
İ.HR	İrade Hariciye
İ.HUS	İrade Hususi
İ.ML	İrade Maliye
İ.MMS	İrade Mesail-i Mühimme
İ.RSM	İrade Rüsumat
İ.ŞD	İrade Şura-yı Devlet
İ.TAL	İrade Taltifat
MF.IBT	Maarif Nezareti Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiyye Kalemi
MF.MKT	Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
ML.EEM	Maliye Nezareti Emlak-i Emiriyye Müdüriyeti
ML.VRD.TMT.d	Maliye Nezareti Varidat Temettuat Defterleri
MV	Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları
MVL	Meclis-i Vala Evrakı
NFS.d	Nüfus Defterleri
ŞD	Şura-yı Devlet
Y.A.HUS	Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Evrakı
Y.A.RES	Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Evrakı
Y.MTV	Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı
Y.PRK.A	Yıldız Perakende, Sadaret Maruzatı
Y.PRK.ASK	Yıldız Perakende, Askeri Maruzatı
Y.PRK.AZJ	Yıldız Perakende, Arzuhal ve Jurnaller Kataloğu
Y.PRK.AZN	Yıldız Perakende, Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti Maruzatı Kataloğu
Y.PRK.BŞK	Yıldız Perakende, Başkitabet Dairesi Evrakı

Y.PRK.DH	Yıldız Perakende, Dahiliye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y.PRK.KOM	Yıldız Perakende, Komisyonlar Maruzatı
Y.PRK.ML	Yıldız Perakende, Maliye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y.PRK.MYD	Yıldız Perakende, Yaveran, Maiyyet, Erkan-ı Harbiye Dairesi Evrakı
Y.PRK.ŞH	Yıldız Perakende, Şehremaneti Kataloğu
Y.PRK.UM	Yıldız Perakende, Umum Vilayetler Tahriratı
Y.PRK.ZB	Yıldız Perakende, Zabtiye Nezareti Maruztı
ZB	Zabtiye Nezareti

A Note on Transliteration

Modern Turkish orthography is used to transliterate Ottoman Turkish words. For some place names, English versions are used in spellings along with Turkish versions, such as Eğin (Agn). Armenian names are usually transliterated into English orthography rather than Turkish, as in Khorasandjian (Horasancıyan), although there are exceptions, such as Mıgırdiç (Mgerdich). The names of institutions, titles, concepts, and other local things are given in both their original language and the English equivalents.

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NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made detailed recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, syntax, and style of this dissertation.

1

Introduction

The present study examines from below[1] changes in social, political and economic relations between locals and migrants in the Izmit *sancak* [district] during critical moments in the late Ottoman history, including but not limited to the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war, the constitutional revolution of July 1908 and the Balkan Wars between 1912-13. It explores experiences of local Ottoman subjects and migrants, their socio-economic conditions, and interactions with each other and the state on an everyday level over the period of time between the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war and the First World War. It surveys at the same time the district's administrative structure, population statistics, settlements and its regional state actors, local villagers, migrants, and investigates local power dynamics in the daily social interactions of people by scrutinising

1 The concept of "history from below" refers to writing history that seeks to explore the experiences and perspectives of the common people as opposed to great men as studied in traditional political history. It was an approach, whose origination is attributed to the French Annales school, brought to the forefront of historiography by the British Marxist historians from the 1960 onwards. On the concept of history from below and the evolution of writing history, see Edward P. Thompson, "History from Below," *Times Literary Supplement* (7 April 1966): 269-280; Harvey J. Kaye, "Fanning the Spark of Hope in the Past: the British Marxist Historians," *Rethinking History* 4, no. 3 (2000): 281-294; and Peter Burke ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, rev. ed. (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2001).

various instances of competition, conflict, resistance, exchange, cooperation, negotiation and accommodation. With the Izmit district as its focal point, it serves as a monographic study of an important late Ottoman international trade and transportation hub, and the only administrative unit in Anatolia other than the capital Istanbul that bordered on both the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara.

It argues that hardships of migration and daily struggle for survival, most of which was over land, politicised ordinary migrants and, by extension, locals, and turned them into important socio-political actors of the late Ottoman period, from whose history they have been generally excluded. The present thesis adds to this historiography of ordinary people and their agency in socio-economic and political affairs. However, it is not a study exclusively on the experiences of common villagers. Other actors, more privileged than the poor, are also included as they were regularly in contact with the villagers.

Conventionally, historians have put the blame on rising nationalisms for the deteriorating relations between Ottoman *millets* in this period. Modernist and elitist narratives have disregarded how events unravelled on the ground on an everyday level among ordinary Ottoman subjects. Nationalism and the state, either as abstractions or from the perspective of the elite cadres, have been held responsible for having disturbed an otherwise peaceful coexistence of different ethno-religious communities, or more boldly a *belle époque* for non-Muslims. However, these interpretations overlook the fact that the Ottoman encounter with large-scale migration predates Europe's similar experience from 1914 onwards. Therefore, any reading of the Ottoman response to mass migration as part of a predetermined nation-building endeavour would be missing the point. In the Ottoman case, it was not an all-powerful state that conjured up previously absent disagreements and incited conflict based on a preconceived idea of nationalism; but it was, among other factors, through changes in society's composition brought about by migration and accordingly increased competition over land that such sentiments of mutual distrust grew among its communities. At the same time, the government's settlement policies were received poorly by local Christians because they

felt that these policies were the result of a deliberate attempt to put pressure on them and drive them out of their lands, which heightened their apprehensions. And common villagers were not merely spectators in the making of all these changes but active participants.

Post-migration experiences of settlement and integration, and the constant negotiation between locals, migrants and state actors over immediate daily matters shaped the government's policies in this period. The migrants did not merely follow the government's *a priori* settlement regulations but actively pursued their own interests, for example often changing their original area of settlement or occupying more land than they were given. In many cases, it was the state, powerful landholders or local villagers that had to compromise due to persistent resistance by migrants. Resistance, however, was costly. When a dispute ended up in court, it took years, sometimes decades to resolve. As villagers in general did not have the means to pay for legal expenses, they often ended up poorer, and sometimes with even less land, for instance in the case of locals when trying to recover lands that they rightfully owned against encroachers. In this sense, post-migration experiences were linked to previous socio-economic situation as well as time of arrival. Those with previous capital or higher-class bureaucrats naturally had an easier time to adjust, but the more common experience of ordinary villagers was that of hardship, poverty and a struggle for survival. While the government did take successful measures at a time of great territorial and human loss to assist the migrants in their settlement and integration, the application of laws and regulations was not as successful. For the majority of poor migrants, survival depended on their own efforts, which often led to problems with the locals and the state or to a life of crime.

On the other hand, Circassians who had migrated in large groups during the 1860s held an already advantageous position compared to future arrivals when war broke out in 1877. By the time other migrant groups began arriving from the Caucasus and Rumelia, the Circassians had already established networks of relations with local and national actors, and acquired positions in the higher ranks of bureaucracy. On account of their connections with powerful pashas and the Palace through the

female slave [*cariye*] trade, and their notoriety as bandits, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Circassian *beys* and ordinary villagers alike held considerable positions of power in society. Their fame was so significant that the feared Circassian leitmotif appears ubiquitously in the literature. In stark contrast, for smaller groups or later arrivals without the same established safety nets, the post-migration experience was one of survival on a daily basis. But the competition over land was a shared struggle of both locals and migrants: the former to protect what they already owned and the latter to acquire and hold onto (often more than) what they were promised. Either way, the struggle to retain land was a determining factor with regard to social, economic and political relations in the local-migrant-state triangle and this study attempts to uncover these underexplored histories. By doing so, it demonstrates a great deal of land-related problems and ethnic-religious tension. Nevertheless, interactions between communities and the state did not only consist of competition, conflict and discord. There were also many instances of cooperation and exchange. Moreover, the arrival of migrants helped facilitate economic growth. In Bahçecik, for example, migrant settlements near the village was beneficial for the village economy, as was the case for the Empire's agricultural production on a broader scale.

§ 1.1 Theoretical Framework

Migration has been an ongoing phenomenon for centuries which is especially pressing today on a global scale with the looming environmental crisis. Despite its contemporary importance, the past circumstances, effects and experiences of migration are by and large ignored in modern history. The last century and a half of Ottoman history was marked by such histories of migration that remain unexplored.

The existing literature on migration in the late Ottoman Empire before the First World War approaches the subject mainly as a case of forced displacement of Muslim subjects (back) into the Ottoman domains due to wars typically involving Russia, and rising (Balkan) nationalisms. The formative studies on migration cover the socio-cultural, political and

economic aspects of migration, including demographic change, the government's migration and (re)settlement policies and the economic and social integration of migrants.[2] However, the studies discuss migration mostly from the state's point of view at the macro level, focusing on the ways in which the central government managed migration. For example: how the government helped to turn migrants into producers to increase agricultural production and thus mitigate the financial burden by providing land grants, agricultural subsidies and tax exemptions; how the government pragmatically sought to use migrant manpower to gradually boost its military power and maintain public order by recruiting migrants in the gendarmerie and the Hamidian Light Cavalry of the eastern

2 To cite some of the essential works, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Nedim Ipek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri* (1877–1890) [Turkish Migrations from Rumelia to Anatolia (1877-1890)] (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1994) and *Imparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler* [Migrations From Empire to Nation State] (Trabzon: Serander, 2006); Georgi Chochiev and Bekir Koç, "Migrants from the North Caucasus in Eastern Anatolia: Some Notes on their Settlement and Adaptation," *Journal of Asian History* 40, no.1 (2006): 80-103; Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: Ethnic Cleansing of the Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922* (Washington: Darwin Press, 1995); Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912–1913)* [Turkish Migrations from Rumelia During the Balkan War (1912-1913)] (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1994); H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makus Talihi: Göç* [Migration: Misfortune of the Balkans from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic] (Istanbul: Kum Saati, 2001); Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler* [Migrations from Caucasia to Anatolia] (Ankara: TDV, 1991); Bedri Habiçoğlu, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler* [Migrations from Caucasia to Anatolia] (Istanbul: Acar Matbaacılık, 1993); Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856–1876)* [Crimea and Caucasia Migrations (1856-1876)] (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1997); Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)* [Muslim Settlement Policy of the Union and Progress (1913-1918)] (Istanbul: Iletişim, 2001).

provinces;[3] and how the government welcomed the influx of Muslim migrants to increase its dwindling Muslim population which nicely aligned with the pan-Islamist trend in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The daily dimension of state-society and intercommunal relations and the regional diversity of settlement processes and power struggles are largely ignored in this scholarship. Although there are studies[4] contributing towards filling this lacuna, this scholarship is still developing and therefore, the present doctoral thesis focusing on the reflections of migration in the daily interactions between various actors (migrants, local residents, bureaucrats, clergy and missionaries) under changing circumstances can be a significant contribution. A second issue in the literature concerning Izmit directly is the anachronistic approaches to Izmit's administrative structure in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the turn of the twentieth century, Izmit was a district [*sancak*] comprising the subdistricts [*kazas*] of Izmit centre, Adapazarı, Kandıra, Geyve, Karamürsel and Yalova. But today, Izmit, Kandıra and Karamürsel are part of the Kocaeli province; Adapazarı and Geyve are part of the Sakarya province; and Yalova itself is a separate province. This modern organisation leads to studies focusing on either one of the modern provinces rather than respecting the Izmit district's structure as it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The present study, then, attempts to conceptualise the changes in social, economic and political relations through the lens of migration in the district of Izmit, respecting its administrative form at the time that consisted of Izmit centre,

3 For a more nuanced discussion on the subject, see Nadir Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (2008): 56-61.

4 Oktay Özel, "Migration and Power Politics: The Settlement of Georgian Immigrants in Turkey (1878–1908)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 477-496; Oktay Özel, "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler: Osmanlı'nın son devrinde Orta Karadeniz'de toplumsal uyumun sınırları üzerine bazı gözlemler" [Migrants, locals and non-Muslims: some observations on limits of late Ottoman social cohesion in the middle Black Sea], *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 5, Spring (2007): 93-112.

Adapazarı, Kandıra, Geyve, Karamürsel and Yalova subdistricts. By using migrant and local as categories of analysis, it goes beyond religious and nationalist discourses accentuated by the Armenian crisis of 1894-96, the 1897 Greek war and the Balkan Wars.

On the subjects of migration and demography, Kemal Karpat has made exceptional contributions to the literature on Ottoman studies. His body of work on Ottoman historiography presents migration as a key factor in the social and economic transformations the late Ottoman state and society went through.[5] In addition to his seminal study on Ottoman population based on censuses, Karpat's articles on migration reveal other, voluntary forms of migration such as economic emigration to America between 1860-1914[6] and the concept of Islamic *hijra*[7] which refers to a religious form of migration in order to live under a Muslim state authority. Contrary to the opinion that those who emigrated to America in the long nineteenth century simply escaped the oppressive regime, Karpat uses statistical evidence to suggest that many emigrants (non-Muslim as well as Muslim) later returned to their families in the Ottoman Empire after accumulating enough capital. These articles are important because they offer different possibilities for conceptualising the history of migration without leaning on Euro or Ameri-centrism. They also differ from the Turkish literature on migration in that the emphasis is not heavily on the forced migration of Muslims, but also on other types of migrations.

Karpat employs a macro-historical approach in line with *la longue durée* of the Annales school that covers several centuries and a vast geography from the Balkans to the Arabian provinces. Despite its valuable contributions, this macro level approach does not pay attention to how

5 Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History.*

6 Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17, no. 2 (1985): 90-131.

7 See, "Muslim Migration," 311-326 and "The Hijra from Russia and the Balkans: The Process of Self-Definition in the Late Ottoman State," 689-711 in Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*.

migration unfolded on the ground and therefore leaves a gap that can be filled by studies focusing more on the daily aspects of migration and settlement processes.

Nedim Ipek, in his doctoral thesis on migration from Rumelia between 1877-90, comes closer to shedding light on the more concrete daily realities of migration.[8] He explores problems Muslim migrants faced during their journeys, especially in temporary settlement centres and to a lesser extent in the regions where they settled. It is an illuminating study first and foremost on the ways in which the government managed migration; however, it is very limited with regard to life after migration, that is to say experiences of settlement and integration. That is because the study does not go beyond the year 1890 after which migration was still an ongoing phenomenon. In fact, the period after 1890 arguably offers more opportunities to study the aftereffects of migration in terms of its impact on state and society. Only the last section of the last chapter briefly touches upon the socio-economic and political consequences of migration, but relations between different communities and the social complexities of different regions are mostly left out which is a lacuna that can use more elaborate time and location-specific studies from below as the present study does.

There are more recent studies that approach migration within the framework of the Ottoman Empire's integration into the world capitalist system in the nineteenth century.[9] In addition to non-economic (forced) migration, this scholarship considers economic emigrants and migrants

8 Nedim Ipek, "Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877–1890)" (Ph.D., Istanbul University, 1991), published in 1994 by Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

9 Such as Isa Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) and A. A. Yiğit, "19. Yüzyılda Izmit ve Çevresinde Gayrimüslim Nüfusun Yoğunlaşması ve Sonuçları" [The Concentration of the Non-Muslim Population and its Results in Izmit and its Environs in the 19th Century], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Suleiman Pasha and History of Kocaeli*, 2017, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 38, 2017), 1633.

and points to Western capitalism as the driving force behind the deterioration of relations between the Empire's *millets*.

With regard to the migrants themselves, the literature usually looks at them from a bird's-eye view in macro level analyses.[10] Whether written from a nationalist or world-economic perspective, the literature often pays little attention to the daily aspect of migration. Adaptation processes of migrants, their relations with local, national and international actors, and agricultural land and production relations are often relegated to sub-sections or not at all included. Therefore, the everyday dimension of socio-economic relations remains as an understudied field. One reason for this oversight is that the state in this scholarship is seen as a concrete institution which obstructs studying it on the ground, as administrative practises in daily interaction with the people.[11] That is why, the impact of migration on local dynamics can benefit from a more recent anthropological approach to state formation, which challenges the perception of the state as an institution and encourages closer inspection of its daily functions in practice.[12] These works also share a common point in that the state and the society into which the migrants integrate are examined almost in isolation from one another, which reflects a long-standing tendency in late Ottoman historiography regarding state-society relations.[13]

10 For another example of this trend, see İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu" [Forced Population Displacement and the Settlement Problem from the Ottoman Empire to the Present], *Toplum ve Bilim* 50, (1990): 49-72.

11 Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Taxation and the 'Armenian Question' During the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876–1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 771-772.

12 Özbek, "The Politics of Taxation." See also Christian Krohn-Hansen and Knut G. Nustad eds., *State Formation: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

13 Nadir Özbek, "Defining the Public Sphere during the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908-18)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 5 (2007): 795-809.

This exaggerated view of the state's power over society, especially in the Hamidian era, underestimates the civic capabilities of various groups and their role in state formation through their daily socio-political struggles with domestic and international actors.[14] As these human interactions between migrants, locals and various bureaucrats are at the core of this study, they are considered not as opposites but as in constant negotiation with each other.

Another conceptual issue in the literature on Ottoman studies is the persisting presence of the modernisation paradigm that disregards the Empire's own trajectories of modernity. This conceptual issue is especially relevant on the subject of migration because the Ottoman experience with migration in the long nineteenth century predates Europe's experiences with mass population displacements after 1914. In fact, the Ottoman government's responses to mass migration prefigured the management of the minorities problem in Europe during and after the First World War. For instance, an institution such as the Muhacirin Komisyonu [Commission for Migrants] was born as a result of the Empire's own experiences with migration and not as a consequence of an abstract effort for modernisation. Likewise, the central government in the Hamidian era did not accommodate millions of Muslim migrants because of a preconceived idea of nation-building. Unlike in Western Europe after 1914, migration between 1877-1914 in the Ottoman case is seen not as the outcome of nationalism and state-building but rather as one of their main causes.[15]

14 Özbek, "Policing the Countryside," 48. See also, for example, Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin* [Tanin in Anatolia], ed. Mehmet Çetin Börekçi (1913. Reprint, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 370. During his visit to Adapazarı in October 1913, the journalist wrote: "In summary, we would like to say that, at the stage of the fulfilment of a verdict, the government is obliged, if necessary, with all its existence, with its overwhelming force, to be present. However, for many reasons, the government is not strong enough to fulfil this task in Adapazarı completely."

15 Benjamin Thomas White, "review of Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World," *Reviews in History*, 2014. DOI: 10.14296/RiH/2014/1690.

Therefore, it would be a mistake to study the migration history of the late Ottoman period from a perspective based on nationalism.

It is also possible to see the shortcomings of this approach in studies on intercommunal relations with reference to migration. For example, the concept of the Ottoman "peaceful coexistence" of a vague nostalgic past is commonly claimed to be destroyed by rising nationalisms in the nineteenth century.[16] This scholarship presents the *fin-de-siècle* Ottoman society until the Balkan Wars as a *belle époque* for minorities, despite the well-known existence of Armenian massacres and revolutionary activities in the same period.[17] Nationalism is often blamed as the main culprit for the said destruction of relations between the monolithically described *millets* of the Empire. Approaches from within this framework fail to note the social and cultural nuances that shaped daily relations and collective identities in Ottoman society.

Nicholas Doumanis, for instance, invokes this view of the late Ottoman *belle époque* (arbitrarily determined to be between 1890-1912) in his book.[18] Based on a large body of oral testimony from Orthodox Christian refugees who were forced to leave after 1922, his study puts all the blame in the titular destruction of Muslim-Christian coexistence on external factors, namely nationalism and Muslim migrants. Doumanis admittedly focuses on continuities rather than ruptures and therefore portrays a timeless romantic Ottoman society in which the *millets* lived together in harmony. Such a view misses the nuances in the internal forces of Ottoman society and disregards the self-determination of its native

16 See Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

17 "If this phenomenon is placed in a long-term perspective and is seen excluding the Eastern Anatolia Armenians, it can be said that the end of the nineteenth century constituted a "belle époque" for non-Muslim communities." François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid* [in Turkish], trans. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Homer, 2006), 370 [original: *Abdühamid II. Le sultan calife* (1876-1909) (Paris: Libraire Arthème Fayard, 2003)].

18 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*.

inhabitants. It does suggest, however, that relations were not only determined by religion, but shaped by other collective identities outside of religion, such as being local and migrant. While it is true that Muslim migrants were known to cause problems for the locals, the lack of primary Ottoman sources to support these arguments and its broad scope are weaknesses of Doumanis' study. The whole of Anatolia is too big a geography to make generalisations upon and the period spanning the Hamidian and the Second Constitutional eras is too complex to be called a *belle époque* when there were very well-known events to the contrary.

The above considerations highlight the limits of the modernisation theory and the importance of unique trajectories, internal dynamics and diverse spatial characteristics when studying the late Ottoman migration history. That is why, locally specific histories can illuminate the spatial and temporal diversity of relations, identities and loyalties.

Oktay Özel's articles on intercommunal relations on the basis of migration are exemplary studies of the type mentioned above that contributes to filling the gap in the literature, exploring interactions between human actors with an awareness of temporal and spatial specificities.[19] While his focus is on the central Black Sea region (Trabzon province), his approach is highly pertinent to the present study and his observations are useful for comparative purposes. In his articles on Georgian migrants who settled in the Ordu-Samsun region after the war of 1877-78, Özel investigates the changes over time in relations between Georgian migrants, their leadership, local communities, state actors and the Palace in Istanbul in a setting divided along socio-economic, ethnic, religious and denominational lines. Making use of Ottoman, British and French sources as well as oral information, he argues that the Georgian migrants had to struggle for power in a three-tier local hierarchy among the Muslims, comprising *ağas* and *beys* at the top, Circassian migrants (who had

19 Özel, "Migration and Power Politics" and "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler".

settled in the region in the 1860s) in the middle and peasants at the bottom.[20] For the non-Muslims, on the other hand, aside from ethnicity the division was more in terms of denomination, with tensions between Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant communities. This struggle is not discussed at an abstract level but examined on the ground through the power relations between real actors such as settlement officer Ali Paşa, a former *vali* [governor] with well-established relations in the region who then became the leader of Georgian migrants, *vali* Sırrı Paşa and various gangs.[21]

The author's blunt observation about migrant violence differs from the dominant discourse in that it shows the extent of conflict in the region and reveals the non-discriminatory characteristic of violence in terms of religion.[22] The tradition of Islamic hospitality and fair treatment of

20 Özel, "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler," 479. His observation about the Circassian migrants' position in the hierarchy appears to be similar elsewhere in Anatolia. Although in Izmit, their position was arguably stronger. See Chochiev and Koç, "Migrants from the North Caucasus in Eastern Anatolia," for eastern Anatolian provinces, and for Izmit, M. Şaşmaz, "İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın İzmit Konsoloslukları 1879-1882" [British Lieutenant Kitchener and Major Warlow's Izmit Consulates 1879-1882], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 755-773.

21 These gangs were made up of ethnically homogenous groups – Circassian, Georgian, Armenian, Rum and local Turks – struggling for power. His point about migrants, in this case Georgians, quickly resorting to violence for survival and accordingly gaining notoriety is commonly observed in the archives, especially pertaining to Circassians in other regions of Anatolia as well, including Izmit. What is particularly interesting in Özel's study is how local Muslim and non-Muslim "counter" gangs wore Circassian and Georgian outfits for disguise. Özel, "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler," 102-103.

22 He states that migrant gangs targeted both Muslim and non-Muslim locals. Özel, "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler," 480-481. For a similar observation on land conflicts between Muslim migrants and Muslim locals, see also: Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics: North-western Anatolia, 1877-1912," in *Ethno-Nationality, Property Rights in Land and Territorial Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, ed. Stanley Engerman and Jacob Metzer (London: Routledge, 2004), 153-180, 164.

migrants is an overly emphasised point in the Turkish (nationalist) literature which portrays integration as a relatively seamless process by virtue of a sense of Muslim solidarity between migrants and locals.[23] Intra-religious and inter-ethnic conflicts between Muslims often get glossed over in favour of inter-religious conflict. However, studies that go beyond the nationalist discourse such as Özel's reveal that religious solidarity had its limits when confronted with daily realities.[24]

In the Ordu example, Özel contends that a sense of solidarity between Muslims began only after relations between the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and non-Muslim communities fell through and the already tense situation escalated into open conflict.[25] In this highly politicised setting, where gangs sought to legitimise themselves, local and migrant Muslims cautiously started to act together against Armenian and Greek Orthodox groups, while at the same time maintaining their ethnic homogeneity. Özel's studies are important contributions from below to the lacuna in the literature that appears to be in need of more monographic studies.

On specifically Izmit and its environs, meanwhile, there is an increase in studies in the last five years thanks to the annual Kocaeli symposium organised by the Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality.[26] The biggest issue

23 Karpat, for example, refers (without mentioning exactly where or when) to acts of violence between Cherkes/Circassian tribes and locals as an exception in an otherwise peaceful integration process. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History,* 698.

24 He speaks of münaferet [antagonism or hatred] between Turks and Georgians in Ordu as a result of the struggle for power which continued well after the non-Muslims were out of the picture. Özel, "Muhacirler, yerliler ve gayrimüslimler," 100.

25 Özel, 105.

26 To cite a few about migration, see G. Çelik, "Kocaeli Yarımadasında Nüfus ve Yerleşim (15-19. Yüzyıllar)" [Population and Settlement in Kocaeli Peninsula (15-19th Centuries)], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli*, 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 447-463; N. Ipek, "Kocaeli'nde Göç ve İskan" [Migration and Settlement in Kocaeli], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca*

with the symposium is (understandably) the Turkish nationalist narrative. Speaking from within this restrictive narrative, the studies tend to be rather descriptive and gloss over sensitive subjects, especially with respect to migration and intercommunal relations. Therefore, the Izmit region can also benefit from more critical monographic studies. Nonetheless, Musa Şaşmaz's article based on reports by British consuls of Izmit, Horatio Kitchener and John Picton Warlow, between 1879-82 is an important study that sheds light on the diversity of local dynamics in different regions.[27] Keeping in mind the possibility that the reports might be exaggerating certain aspects of violence, the Circassian notoriety in the Izmit district immediately stands out as a striking similarity commonly observed in the migration literature. In addition to the Circassians, Abkhazian migrants appear to be another group with a bad reputation for banditry in Adapazarı.[28] As Özel's study, Şaşmaz's article supports the view that migrant gangs targeted both local non-Muslims and Muslims whose pleas for help were apparently ignored by the government.[29] But elsewhere in the Izmit sanjak, the situation was quite different. According to Warlow's report, Laz and Georgian migrant families from Batum who

and History of Kocaeli, 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1255-1267; A. A. Yiğit, "19. Yüzyılda Izmit ve Çevresinde Gayrimüslim Nüfusun Yoğunlaşması ve Sonuçları"; M. Sarı, "İskan Defterine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)" [Izmit Muhacir Villages According to the Settlement Register], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Suleiman Pasha and History of Kocaeli*, 2017, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 38, 2017), 2231-2261.

27 Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879-1882*.

28 A striking example recounts how an Armenian village went from prosperity to destitute within eight years because their new Abkhazian neighbours stole their land and animals. Şaşmaz, 764.

29 Both Circassian beys and peasants blamed the government for turning a blind eye to daily conflicts. Peasants who fell victim to violence and robberies were especially desperate given that they did not want to lose more money by filing an official complaint which required a payment. Ibid., 764-765.

had settled near Yalova and Iznik between 1881-82 had very good relations with the local people, despite barely making a living through subsistence farming four to five months a year.[30] That is why, it is necessary to pay close attention to location-specific histories of migration that sometimes change from village to village.

§ 1.2 Historical Background

During the long nineteenth century, several major waves of forced migration into the Ottoman Empire took place. The Russian Empire's pan-Slavist policies played a decisive role in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Muslims, affecting both the north-western (Rumelia and the Balkans) and the north-eastern (the Caucuses) border regions of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the First World War (1914-18) added to the growing reality of migration, changing at the same time the demographic composition of the empire. The watershed moments of migration in the long nineteenth century were caused by the Crimean war (1853-56), the Russo-Circassian war (that ended in 1864),[31] the Russo-Ottoman war[32] (1877-78) and the Balkan Wars (1912-13). The present study deals with the period from the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war until the First World War in 1914.

The earlier waves of migration into the Ottoman domains before 1877 caused serious socio-economic hardship for the state and peasants in the countryside who often had to take up responsibility in assisting the migrants despite their own economic problems. The gravity of responsibilities brought up by the latter period of migration after the Russo-

30 Ibid., 771.

31 The big Circassian migration to the Ottoman Empire took place during this period. See Ömer Karataş, "The Settlement of the Caucasian Emigrants in the Balkans during the 19th Century," *Journal of Turkish World Studies* 12, no.2 (2012): 357.

32 It is also known as the 93 Harbi (War of 93), referring to the year 1293 in the Rumi calendar.

Ottoman war can be better understood in this context. The state was already cautious towards new waves of migration after 1864, trying to control and discourage further movement.[33] When the new and even bigger wave hit in 1877, the empire was caught off-guard. Ottoman defeat by the Russians in 1878 led to hundreds of thousands of Muslims being forced to migrate into Ottoman Anatolia. Chief among the displaced Muslims were: Circassians in Rumelia who had settled there during the previous wave of migration between 1859-76; Georgians and Laz from Batumi; and Abkhazians from Sokhumi.

The two sides first signed the treaty of San Stefano on 3 March 1878. It was later revised at the congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878) in the presence of Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. As stated by the treaty of Berlin, about 300,000 Circassians had to leave Rumelia for Anatolia, having to relocate between Edirne and Istanbul and then around the Sea of Marmara.[34] The official statistics give the total number of migrants from Rumelia as 767,339, while those from Batumi, Sokhumi and Kars amount to an estimated 300,000.[35]

Before the Russian war, the influx of Circassian migrants in 1859 had led the government to appoint a commission for migrants (Muhacirin

33 F. Y. Ulugün, "Kocaeli'de Tarihsel Göçler" [Historical Migrations in Kocaeli], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1269-1311.

34 M. Bi, "XIX. Yüzyılda Kocaeli Vilayeti'ne İskan Edilen Kafkas Göçmenleri" [Caucasian Migrants Settled in the Kocaeli Province in the 19th Century], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli*, 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1319.

35 Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, "Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre (1877-78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir Iskânı" [Settlement of Immigrants after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 According to the Immigrant Commission Report], *History Studies, International Journal of History* 5, no.2 (2013): 351.

Komisyonu) on 5 January 1860 to manage migration and settlement in a more systematic way.[36] The subsequent influx of Caucasian migrants due to the 1877-78 Russian war prompted the establishment of the improved Idare-i Umumiyye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu [Commission for the Administration of all Migrants] on 9 July 1878, which was later turned into the Iskan-ı Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdüriyeti [Directorate for the Settlement of Migrants and Tribes] after the Balkan Wars in 1914 by the Committee of Union and Progress.[37]

Those seeking refuge in the Empire between 1877-1914 were overwhelmingly Muslims such as Circassians, Georgians, Laz, Abkhazians, Rumelia Turks and Bosniaks. On this point, it should be clarified what "local" and "migrant" refer to. The present study takes "migrants" [*muhacirin/muhacirler*] to mean not only those migrated in the period 1877-1914 but also earlier migrants of the (second half of the) nineteenth century, both Muslims like North Caucasians and non-Muslims such as Christian Hemshin Armenians or Armenian-speaking Orthodox Christians from Ordu. On the other hand, "locals" refers to the region's natives such as Orthodox Greeks, Muslims (Manavs and/or Turkmens referred to by the government as *kadim Islam halkı* or *ahali-i kadime*, meaning old Muslim people) and Armenians who had been residing there for hundreds of years. Although the category of "local" technically includes native state officials and possibly other social actors in the region, it is used to signify first and foremost the ethnic-religious communities unless stated explicitly.

Abdülhamid II's settlement policies favoured Turks and Muslims and sought to increase the Muslim population by accommodating Muslim migrant groups in empty lands suitable for settlement, particularly in regions where the Muslim-non-Muslim ratio was changing in favour of the latter. The principal reason for the decline in the Muslim population in Anatolia was the conscription of Muslim men for wars that became more commonplace in this epoch. Moreover, the drought and famine of 1873-75

36 Paşaoğlu, "Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre (1877-78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir Iskânı," 351.

37 Dündar, *İttihat Ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 59-60.

and episodic outbreaks of cholera, typhoid, malaria and the plague added to the death toll. In the case of Izmit, malaria and typhoid appear to be ongoing problems from the 1880s on, with news of outbreaks and subsequent preventative measures frequently making their way into official correspondences.[38]

The central government laid out a reformed approach in 1877 to manage the settlement of the new wave of migrants.[39] New officials were sent to replace the old cadres that were deemed unsuccessful. Sabih Bey from the Crete sanjak became the new *iskan-ı muhacirin memuru* [migrant settlement officer] of Izmit with a monthly salary of 3,000 *kuruş*.[40] According to the Iskan-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi [Migrant Settlement Instructions] issued on 1 August 1878 and several other subsequent regulations, the central government took some of the following measures to manage the settlement of new migrants:[41]

1 The number of migrants, the day of departure and the duration of their journeys were to be reported to regional commissions five to ten days before to prevent confusion. The migrants were also to be notified about the situation five days before.
2 Migrants were to be transferred in groups of about one hundred households, accompanied by an officer to assure their safety and wellbeing. The villages and towns on their route were to be provided with food to prevent any issues. They were also to be aided by Nizamiye forces and volunteers.

38 C. Yılmaz et al., "Başbakanlık Arşiv Belgelerine göre Izmit'te Salgınlar ve Karantinalar" [Epidemics and Quarantines in Izmit according to Prime Ministry Archive Documents] in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli*, 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 949-951.

39 Ipek, "Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877–1890)," 243.

40 Ipek, 244.

41 BOA.İ.MMS. 59/2786, 02.08.1295 [1 Aug 1878]; Ipek, 1991, 232-236; BOA.BEO.AYN.d. 1553, 17.10.1297 [22 Sep 1880]; BOA.BEO.AYN.d. 1365, 29.12.1297 [2 Dec 1880]; BOA.İ.DH. 1042/81910, 06.11.1304 [27 July 1887]. See also *Muhacirin Talimatı* [Instruction on Migrants], Düstur, Birinci Tertip [First Series], vol. 8 (26.11.1323 [22 Jan 1906]): 333-337 (Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1943).

3 Upon migrants' arrival to their destinations, settlement commissions were to record their name, title, birthplace, gender and occupation. Completion of the settlement process were to be communicated to the Settlement Commission in Istanbul.

4 Those too ill to travel were to be held with an attendant until they have recovered, in which case they were to be given an official document and allowed to join their families.

5 Upon arrival in dispatch centres, migrants were to be under the protection of commissions to be then sent to their destinations. Those who fell ill were not to be abandoned. Migrants arriving at subdistricts were to be distributed to centre villages to be hosted by local families with a ratio of one migrant family per ten village household, until construction of their dwellings have finished.

6 Migrants were to be given land, and the construction of their dwellings were to be completed before winter. Construction costs were to be reduced by employing migrants and by seeking the help of locals.

7 Settled migrants were to work as sharecroppers and unskilled workers until they have acquired agricultural tools. Their needs were to be met by the aid of wealthy locals. They were also to be provided with oxen and agricultural tools, and their fields were to be cultivated by locals for one time in order for migrants to quickly become producers, thus helping remove the heavy burden on the Treasury. Furthermore, those to be involved in agriculture were to be given a pair of oxen, plough and a cart if necessary, with the total cost not exceeding one thousand liras.

8 Those who did not accept these conditions and wished to settle in large groups were to lose compensation payments to be given by the state. Those who did not fit into the villages were to be settled on empty land. If it was necessary to set up a new village, it was to be built on land near a body of water, forest and a steep hill.

9 In addition to villages, migrants were also to be allowed to settle on areas of land around the edges of towns and cities because not all migrants were farmers; there were artisans and teachers among them. The latter and wealthy migrants who wanted to settle and work in the city were to be allowed and even supported.

10 Those with relatives were to be settled in the same place, and separated family members were to be united. However, those who wished to remain where they were, were to be employed there. On the other hand, competent migrants were to be employed at state offices.

11 Settled migrants were not to be allowed to resettle elsewhere together with their families. Mürur tezkeresi42 [Pass/transit document] was to be issued for those who wanted to travel for work or trade. Travelling without this document was to be forbidden.

Evidently, in addition to boost the Muslim population in the countryside, the government sought to distribute the migrants in small numbers and to quickly turn them into producers to ease the financial strain on the Treasury. On the other hand, the Committee of Union and Progress's approach to migration and settlement was more in the manner of ethnic homogenisation. The CUP started putting their ideas into action especially after the First World War, and while that is out of the scope of this study, the population exchange agreement with Bulgaria after the second Balkan war in 1913 was an early sign of the CUP's plans pertaining to minorities and settlement.[43]

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42 On the use of *mürur tezkeresi* in the Hamidian era, see Ilkay Yılmaz, *Serseri, Anarşist ve Fesadın Peşinde: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Güvenlik Politikaları Ekseninde Mürur Tezkereleri, Pasaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları* [In Pursuit of the Drifter, Anarchist, and Depraved: Transit Documents, Passports and Hotel Registrations in the Axis of Security Policies of the Abdulhamid II Period], (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 177-202.

43 Dündar, *İttihat Ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 66-67. For the Iskan-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi [Migrant Settlement Regulations] of 1913, see *Düstur*, İkinci Tertip [Second Series], vol. 5 (06.06.1331 [13 May 1913]): 377-384 (Dersaadet [Istanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332 [1916-17]). According to Minas Kasabian, the government's settlement policies were unjust towards local Christians, and proved costly for local Turkish villagers as well, albeit to a lesser extent, some of whom had clashes with Circassian tribes. Minas K. Kasabian (Farhad), *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia: A Study Complete with A Map and Statistics*, trans. and annot. Ara Stepan Melkonian (London: Gomidas Institute, [1913] 2019), 113-114.

With regard to social dynamics, the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78 was also a watershed in the Hamidian era that had a profound effect on intercommunal relations and local power dynamics by introducing thousands of Muslim migrants into the lives of the local people. After the arrival of migrant groups, the daily lives of all parties involved (local Muslim and non-Muslim communities, the migrants themselves and by extension that of state bureaucrats) changed dramatically. Land disputes, already under pressure by the repercussions of the Land Code of 1858, increased due to the new arrivals. And *eşkıyalık* [banditry], already synonymous with North Caucasian (especially Circassians) migrants, escalated at the same time.[44] This period was also a time of rising nationalisms based on religious affiliation. The Armenian crisis of 1894-96 and the Ottoman-Greek war of 1897 are widely considered to be breaking points concerning the relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities of the Empire.[45]

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the period from 1877 to 1914 was marked by many events that happened in both macro and micro levels as well as natural disasters that directly or indirectly affected the Izmit district. Right after the *mesele-i zâile* (literally "the war that ended", meaning the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78) as it was referred to at the time, Izmit was hit by an earthquake in April 1878 that did considerable damage to buildings including parts of the Izmit prison, the machines in

44 For the case of Ayvalık, see Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Landlords, Refugees, and Nomads: Struggles for Land Around Late-Nineteenth-Century Ayvalık," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 24, (2001): 51-82.

45 For an example of the deteriorating relations between Turks, Greeks and Armenians in Darıca at the end of the nineteenth century, see F. Yavuz, "Birlikte Yaşamdan Yol Ayrımına: Milliyetçilikler Çağında Darıca'da Türk-Rum Münasebetlerine Dair Gözlemler" [From Coexistence to Parting Ways: Observations about Turk-Orthodox Chrisitan Relations in Darıca during the Era of Nationalisms], in *International Symposium on Çoban Mustafa Pasha and History-Culture of Kocaeli*, 2018, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli, Turkey: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 42, 2018), 711-737.

the broadcloth factory, many shops and houses, especially in Sapanca and Eşme, adding to the suffering of the people.[46] Fire, likewise, was "the greatest calamity for Constantinople and the surrounding area, where the majority of buildings were of wooden construction, apart from the old ones."[47] Bahçecik, Armash, Arslanbey and Mihaliç were all hit by major fires during the period in question.[48] Arslanbey was hit by a devastating fire in 1886 which only fifteen out of the village's 550 houses

46 BOA.İ.DH. 766/62417, 18.04.1295 [21 Apr 1878]; BOA.İ.DH. 768/62554, 02.02.1295 [5 Feb 1878]; BOA.ŞD. 686/19, 19.06.1295 [20 June 1878]. Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris, 24 April 1878, 1 and 5 May 1878, 2-3: "À Izmit même, la plus belle mosquée de la ville, Orta-Dchami, s'est partiellement effrondrée ; beaucoup de maisons particulière et de magasins ont été détruits ; toutes les machines de la manufacture impériale de draps ont été mises hors de service. Les dommages sont evalués à près de 4 millions de francs. Â sept lieues d'Ismid, au village d'Esme, aucune maison n'est restée debout, et quarante personnes ont été enfouies sous les decombres. À Sabandeha, près du lac du même nom, un caravansérail et plusieurs maisons se sont également écroulés." [In Izmit itself, the most beautiful mosque in the city, Orta-Mosque, partially collapsed; many private houses and shops were destroyed; all the machines of the imperial broadcloth factory were taken out of service. The damage is estimated at nearly 4 million francs. Seven leagues from Izmit, in the village of Eşme, no house remained standing, and forty people were buried under the rubble. In Sapanca, near the lake of the same name, a caravanserai and several houses also collapsed.] Furthermore, the war caused famine around 1880 across Anatolia: from Van, Bitlis, Erzurum to Izmit and even Istanbul. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (henceforth, American Board), *The Missionary Herald* 76 (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, May 1880), 161.

47 Krikor Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, trans. and ed. Ara Stepan Melkonian (London: Gomidas Institute, [1938] 2014), 287.

48 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 289; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 197/52, 11.03.1304 [8 Dec 1886]; BOA.DH.EUM.EMN. 92/31, 22.11.1329 [14 Nov 1911]; J. Wiley Brown, "Letter From Afar," *Edgefield Advertiser*, 10 July 1912, www.loc.gov/item/sn84026897/1912-07-10/ed-1/. Heavy rain and hail also affected the region in June 1914 causing damage to two watermills and a bridge near the Servetiye village. In the Ovacık village of the Bahçecik *nahiye*, an Armenian woman named Abranush was struck by lightning and died. Crops were also damaged. BOA.DH.EUM.EMN. 78/34, 14.07.1332 [8 June 1914].

survived.[49] Similarly, the fire that broke out two years later in 1888 devastated a part of Armash including several buildings of the monastery and the school.[50] In both cases, the government provided shelter and food for the victims.[51] At the height of the Hamidian regime, the Empire and the Izmit district went through a disastrous 1894 that saw an earthquake; the economic depression in the United States of America; the tobacco crop failure; low prices for silk despite a good production season; a cholera epidemic that continued sporadically throughout the epoch; and the first of several massacres against Armenian people that would take place in the eastern provinces, leading to the Ottoman Bank raid by Armenian revolutionists in August 1896, all of which affected the Izmit district in varying degrees.[52]

According to Krikor Mkhalian,[53] two Armenian people from Bahçecik were killed in Istanbul by the "Turkish mob" in the days following the Ottoman Bank raid. One of them, Mıgırdiç Efendi Güllüyan (Geolliuian), was a lawyer who had been working in Istanbul for three years, and the other was a young basketmaker named Hovnatan. Even the Apostolic bishop of Izmit, Stepannos Hovagimian, reportedly escaped the mob "from the hotel via the roof, going from one roof to another with great difficulty and

49 BOA.DH.MKT. 1383/41, 01.03.1304 [28 Nov 1886]; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 306/16, 10.02.1312 [13 Aug 1894]. On the Arslanbey fire, see also Z. Iskefiyeli, "Izmit'te Bir Yıl Iki Yangın: Arslanbey ve Redif Askerî Depo Yangınları" [One Year, Two Fires in Izmit: Arslanbey and Reserve Military Depot Fires], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Suleiman Pasha and History of Kocaeli,* 2017, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli, Turkey: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 38, 2017), 799-815. It was probably after this fire that the village was relocated to half an hour down south where it was rebuilt to a plan, which was presumably a first at that time in the district of Izmit. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 2

50 BOA.DH.MKT. 1553/92, 05.02.1306 [11 Oct 1888].

51 BOA.DH.MKT. 1382/114, 09.03.1304 [06 Dec 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1383/17, 10.03.1304 [07 Dec 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1558/23, 19.02.1306 [25 Oct 1888].

52 Barbara J. Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," in *The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 155-194.

53 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 298-299. The author himself was in Istanbul on that day, but managed to escape on a mail ship the day after.

finally gaining refuge in a Greek chicken seller's shop, until the city returned to normal." Aside from the fear for their lives and wellbeing, the Bahçecik Armenians were also hit with the economic repercussions of the Ottoman Bank raid. The government's decision to restrict the entry of Apostolic Armenians to Istanbul in order to prevent Armenian revolutionary activity was a big blow to villagers in Bahçecik who relied on their contact with Istanbul for trade.

Despite the level of state violence against the Armenian people from 1894 to 1896, the Izmit Armenians remained relatively safe during the whole ordeal. In her article on Bardizag (Bahçecik), Susan Newnham wrote in 1898,

> Their prosperity of course received a severe check, owing to the terrible troubles which swept over the nation, even in places which, like Bardezag, escaped the horrors of an actual massacre. The mutterings of the threatened storm caused much anxiety, but the men guarded their homes night and day, and the missionary in charge [referring to Dr Robert Chambers] used his influence in Constantinople for their protection, and by the grace of God nothing worse occurred than the carrying off of some members of the community to prison and torture. Bravely they suffered, and steadfastly they refused to incriminate their beloved teacher; and in time they were allowed to return to their homes and recover as best they might from the results of their cruel sufferings.[54]

The members of the community that Newnham mentions here were H. Khacherian, Vahan Djelgouni (Hovhannes Kahana Djelgouni), Boghos Kourouiyan and Hagop Kondaiyan.[55] After being held in prison for several months, they were released upon the continued efforts of their relatives,

54 Susan Newnham, "Bardezag, Western Turkey," in American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 94, Dec 1898, 498.

55 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 285-286.

the intervention of the Armenian Patriarchate, the Armenian Protestant National Authority and prominent Armenian people in the government.

Evidently, this epoch was also defined by the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 that restored constitutional and parliamentary rule. The restoration of the constitution apparently came as a surprise to most of the public, who welcomed it with jubilation.[56] The hopeful atmosphere dissipated when negotiations between the authors of the revolution (the Committee of Union and Progress and the representatives of the non-Muslim communities) fell through over different political aspirations. In the end, the principals of the revolution were left unfulfilled and relations between ethnic communities continued to deteriorate. The events of the second constitutional period affected the Izmit district in two ways with respect to migration and relations. The first was the problem of public order and safety.[57] In 1910, many people in the city and the countryside were carrying guns as a result of the post-revolutionary atmosphere, even though it was forbidden and measures were taken to collect the guns.[58]

Another reason for the public disorder was the abolition of the *mürur tezkeresi* [transit document] by the CUP government which made it more difficult to identify travellers most of whom did not usually carry identity documents.[59] As a result, criminals were able to roam freely unless they

56 Bedros Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 6; Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, "Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Rum Politikası 1908-1914" (Ph.D., Dokuz Eylül University, 2008), 25-26.

57 For examples of banditry in the Izmit district, see İsmail Uzun, "20. Y.y. Başlarında Izmit Sancağı'nda Eşkiyalık Olayları 1908-1914" [Banditry Incidents at the Izmit District in the Beginning of the 20th Century 1908-1914] (M.A., Sakarya University, 2001).

58 K. Demirkol, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Başlarında İzmit Sancağı'nda Asayiş" [Public Order in the District of Izmit in the Beginning of the Second Constitutional Period], in *International Symposium on Karamürsel Alp and History of Kocaeli,* 2016, edited by Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik and Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli, Turkey: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 35, 2016), 903-911.

59 K. Demirkol, *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Başlarında İzmit Sancağı'nda Asayiş*, 905; BOA.DH.MKT. 2774/50, 01.03.1327 [23 Mar 1909].

were recognised and reported to the authorities. By contrast, the removal of the transit permit was apparently a positive step towards freedom of movement, especially for business, as one Dr White of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (henceforth, American Board) explained after his field trip to several provinces across the Empire in 1911 that is worth quoting in full for the immediacy of its depiction.

> The freedom of travel in Turkey today is a clear sign of the new era, and it is worth all the cost. Formerly the Turkish subject must secure a permit specifying the date of his proposed trip and the route he would take; he must get the signature of the taxgatherer that showed all his taxes were paid, and the seal of his religious community testifying that he was a good citizen and that none of his relatives had run off to America, and the signature of the governor of the state and several other officials, any one of whom if he chose could block the permit. No wonder business was in a chronic condition of stagnation when a merchant had to go through so humiliating and expensive a process before he could visit the wholesale canters, or a laboring man had to make such a round of visits before he could go anywhere to seek employment. Business like all else in Turkey is alive today; for people and things move.[60]

The other development was the arrival of a new wave of migrants due to the Balkan Wars. Several thousand Turks, Albanians and Bosniaks were settled in Izmit after 1912 which added to the strain on relations in the region, where disputes over land and resources were already at a high point.[61]

60 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 107, June 1911, 271-272.

61 BOA.DH.H. 61/52, 12.05.1331 [19 Apr 1913].

1.2.1 *Migration and Its Repercussions on Relations*

The Ottoman archives, migration literature, missionary and consular reports and traveller accounts have numerous examples of land disputes and criminal acts that had become commonplace, of the bad reputation of migrants in the Izmit district and elsewhere in the Empire, and of resolution efforts by the local authorities.[62] Tension was rising not only between communities but also between them and local state officials who were often blamed for abuse of power or inadequacy to deal with problems that often led to their removal from their positions.[63]

The Circassian people certainly held more power over other Muslim migrants who arrived after the Russian war because they (the Circassians) had settled in the region in the 1860s. They were actively involved in the gendarmerie and the army[64], and had already established strong relations with state actors that sometimes reached as far as the Palace, putting them in a more advantageous position over the other communities, including the locals.

62 Some examples of land disputes, banditry and oppression in the Izmit *sancak* include: BOA.DH.MKT. 1800/16, 04.06.1308 [15 Jan 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 274/4, 27.02.1312 [30 Aug 1894]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2522/113, 29.04.1319 [15 Aug 1901]; See also F. Yavuz Ulugün, *Seyahatnamelerde Kocaeli ve Çevresi* [Kocaeli and its Environs in Travel Books] (Izmit: IRK, 2008) for the account of British cyclist Thomas Stevens, who was the first to complete a world tour, about the notoriety of North Caucasian migrants in Izmit. BOA.DH.MKT. 1499/61, 26.07.1305 [08 Apr 1888] and BOA.DH.MKT. 1554/33, 09.02.1306 [15 Oct 1888] recount investigations into local disputes in Izmit. BOA.DH.MKT. 1609/103, 24.07.1306 [26 Mar 1889] is about resolution of a land dispute between Circassian migrants and Çepni villagers.

63 BOA.DH.MKT. 5/21, 06.11.1310 [22 May 1893]; BOA.DH.MKT. 255/38, 01.01.1312 [5 July 1894]; BOA.DH.MKT. 270/49, 09.02.1312 [12 Aug 1894]. Also see Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879-1882*, 756-760 for British reports on the alleged inadequacy of Ottoman authorities.

64 The Circassian gendarmerie in Izmit themselves wanted to go to war against Russia. BOA.DH.MKT. 1318/51, 03.09.1294 [11 Sep 1877].

According to a report from Lieutenant Kitchener, the British consul of the region in 1879-80, the then Adapazarı police commissioner Ibrahim Bey claimed that some of the former officials such as *kaymakam, kadı* and police commissioner accepted bribes from Circassian bandits to release jailed criminals. Furthermore, the head of the Circassian tribe in Adapazarı, named Kambulat sold Circassian girls to powerful pashas in Istanbul which gave him significant power and confidence to such an extent that Circassians dared to challenge and even threaten local administrators and judges.[65] In another instance, two Circassians from the *süvari zaptiyesi* [cavalry gendarmerie] robbed two travellers in May 1879 on their way from Izmit to Adapazarı, upon which the district administration was ordered to catch the two men in question and return the stolen money and belongings to their owners.[66]

On the other hand, local non-Muslim communities had strong ties with foreign consuls which they used to counter the Circassian influence and resolve other problems. For example, the British consul that served in Izmit and Adapazarı between 1879-80 was welcomed like a hero by the local Armenian, Orthodox Christian and Protestant communities.[67] The consuls themselves also lobbied against powerful actors such as the Circassian *beys* that posed a threat to the non-Muslim communities.[68]

The Circassian bandits were not only a threat to the non-Muslims, however; but to other Muslims in the region too, both earlier migrants such as Tatars and those who migrated to Izmit after the 1877-78 war. Banditry and land disputes did not distinguish between religions.[69] Despite

65 Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879*-1882, 756-757. Kambolat Ağa was the Izmit gendarmerie captain in 1883 and was given the Order of the Mecidiye. BOA.İ.DH. 875/69872, 28.03.1300 [6 Feb 1883].

66 BOA.DH.MKT. 1326/8, 14.05.1296 [6 May 1879].

67 Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879-1882*, 756.

68 Ibid., 757.

69 There are examples of disputes between Circassians and other Muslim migrants, such as Georgian residents of Mahmudiye village and Circassian residents of Şadiye village at

the notoriety of Circassian bandits,[70] labelling the Circassian people as trouble makers or worse as criminals would be reductive and extremely unfair. Krikor Mkhalian, a sericulturist and teacher from Bahçecik, wrote about the Circassian people in 1937,

> They were hospitable, and graced with nobility, and their homes and surroundings were very clean. They were healthy and moved lightly, and suited their Caucasian dress. Their women were very beautiful, graceful and approachable. The Circassian people lived as a feudal society. They had beys, feudal princes whom they obeyed and respected like gods. But for all these good attributes, they had one failing – their inability to settle to a law-abiding life. Apart from this they were armed, with every house having its armoury.[71]

Moreover, as previously stated, the migrants contributed to the Ottoman agricultural economic development in the nineteenth century.[72] In the case of Bahçecik, for example, the village greatly benefitted from the economic activities of Georgian migrants after 1877 who helped revitalise dying professions.[73]

Sapanca (BOA.Y.PRK.DH. 2/17, 24.06.1304 [20 Mar 1887]) as well as between Circassians and local Muslims and non-Muslims as in the case of Circassians at Izmit Bay's Kazıklı area versus bureaucrat Ali Nayab Bey (BOA.DH.MKT. 2487/113, 04.02.1319 [23 May 1901]; and versus Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Kızberbendi village (BOA.DH.MKT. 1797/42, 22.05.1308 [3 Jan 1891]).

70 Although in the Izmit district a noticeable number of Abkhazians were also involved in criminal activities. BOA.DH.MKT. 1336/39, 12.07.1298 [10 June 1881].

71 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 186.

72 Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914* [Ottoman-Turkey Economic History 1500-1914], rev. ed. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 216-223.

73 "It was Bardizag [Bahçecik] especially that, with their [the Georgian migrants who settled nearby] presence and activities, greatly developed and became like a small town. The shops multiplied, trade increased and some trades that had been cast aside were revitalised; for example horseshoe making, saddle making, blacksmithing and string

The migrants also did have good relations with locals and did good deeds that were recognised by the state. Georgian Halid Ağa of the Çepni village, for example, was given an Iftihar Madalyası [Medal of Glory] in 1907 after capturing and handing over to the local authorities an armed murderer similarly named Halidi who had escaped from jail.[74]

1.2.2 *Proprietary Rights and Migration*

As Yücel Terzibaşoğlu demonstrated, land was a major source of contention and in the context of the present study a big, if not the biggest, factor in determining relations between migrants, locals and the state.[75] Much of the tensions, encounters and conflicts were stemming from competition over land ownership, which was exacerbated by the legal transformation over the course of the nineteenth century culminating in the Land Code of 1858 aimed at gradually transforming "use rights on land into exclusionary land rights."[76] This also applied to tax collection which was being shifted from communities to individuals as well.[77] Such a transformation meant that claims of multiple overlapping rights on a single plot

making from hair, that were dying trades among us." Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 197.

74 BOA.DH.MKT. 1208/21, 22.09.1325 [29 Oct 1907].

75 Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni Hatun'un zeytin bahçeleri: 19. yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?" [Eleni Hatun's olive gardens: how was proprietary rights constructed in 19th century Anatolia?], *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 4, (2006): 121-47; Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics, 153-180; Terzibaşoğlu, "Landlords, Refugees, and Nomads," 51-82.

76 Terzibaşoğlu, "Landlords, Refugees, and Nomads," 53; Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics," 157-158.

77 Mkhalian's account of ownership and taxation in Bahçecik before 1880 is a testament to this transformation from community to individual. "If someone built a new building or began cultivating a new area of unclaimed government land, that new building or cultivation, after the completion of certain formalities, was recorded against the owner's name. He would then receive an ownership *kocha*, giving the ownership number, type, place, area and borders and the value placed on it. It was on the basis of this last item that the government tax on it was determined." Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 209.

of land would have to come to an end, including rights to passage, grazing and poaching, all of which would and indeed were nearly impossible to put into practice in the countryside as evidenced by the countless examples of disputes one can find in the archives, some of which lasting more than a decade.

The influx of migrants after 1877 put extra strain on the proprietary rights issue. The disputes were not simply a matter of settlement on scarce available land. What was considered as available or as empty land was a complicated matter too. Under the immediate pressure of having to carry out the settlement of migrants, uncultivated pieces of land belonging to absentee owners who resided in towns were often deemed as empty. Those hoping to claim rights on such "empty" lands often changed the landscape by opening up marches and woods or cultivated the land long enough (at least ten years) to be able to claim *tasarruf* [use] rights for these lands.[78] And since the old title deeds were rarely consistent with the claims of the contesting parties involved in a land dispute, the cases became hard to resolve.

Sometimes even having been given a lot of land by the government did not guarantee freedom from disturbance. For example, the migrants in the Izmit district whom the government allocated marshy land upon their request and who revitalised said land by cultivating it for three years complained to the central district in 1906 after the local government barred them from working on their government allocated land and arrested five of them.[79]

Moreover, administrative issues could also be the root cause of land related petitions. As were the cases for Bosniak migrants who had settled in the Hayriye village of the Izmit district's Karamürsel subdistrict [*kaza*] in the summer of 1895 and one Mehmed Said, also a migrant in Karamürsel.[80] In September of the same year, both parties sent petitions to the Palace. The Bosniaks from the Hayriye village complained that despite having made a payment for pieces of land they had opened up, the title

78 Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics," 158.

79 BOA.DH.MKT. 1056/20, 15.01.1324 [11 Mar 1906].

80 BOA.DH.MKT. 435/57, 09.04.1313 [29 Sep 1895].

deeds for said fields had yet to be given to them. Mehmed Said, meanwhile, had complained about what he deemed as unlawful collection of payment for the piece of land he had already purchased at Merdegöz.

> On the matter of helping as required upon investigation some statements and requests pertaining to unjust treatment in a two-part petition sent attached carrying the seal and signature of migrant Mehmed Said, stating that title deeds not being allocated and given despite 1,500 *kuruş* having been taken by an official from Bosnian migrants, who were previously settled in the village of Hayriye at the district (of Izmit), in return for the cost of title deeds to be given for the fields that they opened, and that five Mecidiye were requested from him as alienation and transfer cost for a piece of field that he purchased.[81]

§ 1.3 Sources and Methods

This thesis is a monographic study of the Izmit district that examines the relations between locals, migrants and state actors in their daily encounters, in addition to the district's administrative structure, population statistics and its changing ethnic composition. For this reason, the two main points considered when approaching the sources were geographical scope of the study, the Izmit district, and exploring everyday affairs and interactions as much as the sources afforded. To this end, the research for this thesis took place in multiple archives and used a variety of primary sources to allow a comparative examination going beyond the official discourse: The Presidency Ottoman Archive [Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı

81 Ibid. "Dahil-i livada kain Hayriye karyesinde mukaddeman iskan edilen Bosna muhacirlerinin açmış oldukları tarlalar için ita kılınacak tapu senedatı masrafına mukabil memur-u mahsusu tarafından tarla sahiplerinden bin beş yüz kuruş ahz edildiği halde senedat-ı mezkurenin henüz tevzi ve ita edilmediğinden ve Merdegöz karyesinde iştira ettiği bir kıta tarlanın ferağ ve intikal masrafı olmak üzere kendisinden beş Mecidiye talep edilmiş olduğundan ve mağduriyetinden bahisle ol babda bazı ifade ve istidayı havi muhacirinden Mehmed Said mühür ve imzasıyla verilen iki kıta arzuhal leffen irsal kılınmış olmakla bittahkik ifa-yı muktezasına himmet buyrulması babında."

Arşivi] in Istanbul; the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs - Diplomatic Archives Centres of La Courneuve and of Nantes & Digital Archive [Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères - Centres des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve et de Nantes & Bibliotèque Numérique]; Ottoman state and education yearbooks (officially, Yearbook of the Sublime Ottoman State [*Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*] and Yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education [*Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye*]); The Oriental Yearbook of Trade, Industry, Administration and Magistracy [*l'Annuaire Oriental du Commerce, de l'Industrie, de l'Administration et de la Magistrature*]; and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Digital Collection.

Furthermore, some of the key translated or edited primary sources the present study drew from were Ara Stepan Melkonian's English translations of Armenian texts by two natives of Bahçecik: Minas K. Kasabian's scientifically approached study *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia: A Study Complete with A Map and Statistics*, originally published in 1913, and Krikor Mkhalian's memoir *Bardizag and its People*, first published in 1938, both of which being fundamentally important contributions to Armenian literature pertaining to the Izmit district. Although nowhere near as detailed or methodical, Abdülbaki Fevzi's and Ahmet Şerif's travel notes from 1912-1913 on the Izmit-Adapazarı region for the periodical Türk Yurdu and the newspaper Tanin, respectively, also offer unique perspectives contemporary with Kasabian. These accounts by local eyewitnesses of the epoch allowed the thesis to offer a comparative perspective to go with the other contemporary accounts obtained from the primary sources listed above.

As the scope was limited to the Izmit district, to get a sense of the period 1877-1914 from the point of view of the Ottoman state, first the entire Presidency Ottoman Archive catalogue in Istanbul was searched comprehensively by using only geographical key words such as Izmit (including alternative spellings like "Izmid"), Adapazarı (and likewise its alternative spellings "Adapazar", "Adabazar" and so on), Geyve, Karamürsel, Yalova and Kandıra. Thousands of document summaries were first skimmed through to capture the zeitgeist of the epoch 1877-1914, and identify

reflections of events, people and daily interactions. Secondly, all major long-lasting events, first without any preconceptions related to migration, and examples of everyday interactions between people were grouped together under document piles to be examined in detail later. Migration evidently appeared as one of the striking realities of this epoch. The piles were classed under appropriate headings that reflected the general theme of each pile in relation to the objectives of the thesis: "conflicts, disputes and crimes", "settlement and integration", "administration and regulations" as well as the Izmit district "governors" [*mutasarrıfs*], and subgovernors [*kaymakams*] of each subdistrict [*kaza*]. Then, selected examples from among the piles numbering in hundreds were elaborated on to serve as accurate representations of each subdistrict.

While the Presidency Ottoman Archive allowed investigating local and migrant experiences and interactions with each other, the state as well as other actors, the archive lacked positive aspects of everyday life between the people. The vast majority of documents with regard to social interactions were about disputes, conflicts, complaints, resolution efforts, crimes, and so on. Even the subjective petitions written by individuals spoke within this antagonistic discourse dictated for the most part by discord. That was where memoirs, contemporary reports (especially those of the American Protestant missionaries) and books written at that time by locals (mainly the Armenian literature) shed more light on the positive interactions between the Ottoman communities and the regional actors. Not only were they complementary in this respect, they were also crucial in providing different outlooks on the events and interactions seen from and recorded by the state's official perspective. In this regard, all events, places, and even individuals when necessary were cross-checked with all of the applicable sources to allow capturing an accurate and objective picture.

In terms of the diversity of sources, the most limited aspect of the present study concerning the Empire's largest ethnic-religious communities is the Orthodox Christians. While there is a growing literature on specifically the Izmit district and its environs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Turkish and Armenian (most of them translated to

English by Ara Stepan Melkonian), studies on this region either in the Greek language or on the Izmit (Greek) Orthodox Christian community before the First World War are scarce, especially compared to the scholarship on the world war years and the subsequent population exchange between the new Republic of Turkey and Greece. That is why studies on the Izmit Orthodox Christian community before 1914 based on local Greek sources would greatly enrich both this thesis and the broader scholarship on this subject.

Furthermore, each source has its specific advantages and flaws that must be addressed. The Presidency Ottoman Archive evidently reflects first and foremost the perspectives of the ruling class from the sultan to the members of the local government, with the exception of petitions lodged by ordinary individuals that reflect their respective views or that of the group that they represent. This official perspective that serves the state's best interest naturally portrays any form of dissent in a disapproving and criminalising manner. For this reason, common people, whether locals and migrants, appear almost exclusively as either victims to be saved by the state in one way or another, trouble-makers, or worse, as criminals. Therefore, alternative accounts of contemporary events recounted in other sources carry importance because they give a different version and help contextualise the events.

Moreover, official figures (or that of any other source for that matter) on population statistics and settlements must be approached with caution because not only were they not regularly updated (for example in the case of state yearbooks, sometimes with gaps of more than five years), more fundamental problems were present at the local level. Ahmet Şerif's observation on the state of the Adapazarı civil registry office [*nüfus dairesi*] in October 1913 serves as an example as to why:

> To engage in all kinds of transactions of these one hundred and twenty thousand people (referring to the population of the Adapazarı subdistrict), there is an officer with four hundred *kuruş* monthly salary and a clerk with two hundred and fifty *kuruş* monthly salary. If you enter the civil registry office, and pay attention to its appearance, you will immediately fall into insecurity.

> Because the room is so miserable, everything is in such a messy situation. The official and the clerk have been stunned amidst papers, rulers, notebooks, and business owners constantly entering and leaving. In a single cupboard, 142 authentic registry ledgers are stacked, which are sending glances to the two officials, as it were, sometimes mockingly, sometimes threateningly.
> …
> There is more; the registrar is legally obliged to go around the subdistrict to reveal hidden events and to examine the events on site every three months. The officer tells you without hesitation that he does not, that he cannot do this …
> In this case, it means that the registration procedures of the Adapazarı subdistrict are up to coincidence, to help of Allah. For this reason, there is no other option than to be content with what you can find on this subject.[82]

As for the two key Armenian texts that formed the basis of some of the sections of this study, the political affiliations of their authors must be mentioned. Both Krikor Mkhalian and Minas K. Kasabian were natives of Bahçecik [Bardizag]. 1866-born Mkhalian was a certified silkworm breeder who attended the Bursa Sericulture School, and a community school teacher. At the same time, he was described by Hagop Der Hagopian (Bahçecik administrator [*müdür*] between 1908-14) as "a conservative, (pro-Hnchak) and anti-Dashnak."[83] Mkhalian himself states that he took part in the first revolutionary activities in Bahçecik under the influence of an Armenian man who came from Amasya in the early 1890s, but this was before any official party committee was formed in Bahçecik. In his words, "Our movement, in Bardizag, passed into history as an abortive act, and we became wiser, devoting ourselves to our own work." When the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun)

82 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 349-50.

83 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, xvi, xxv.

appeared later in Bahçecik, Mkhalian says, "We older ones remained aloof, seeing danger in those thoughtless and ignorant attempts."[84]

On the other hand, 1882-born Kasabian was a sworn-in member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation with close ties to its leadership and remained as such his entire life. His study *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia* was endorsed by Simon Zavarian, one of the three founders of the ARF, and Haroutiun Shahrigian, a lawyer and ARF activist, and it was printed by the ARF's organ Azadamard in 1913.[85]

§ 1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The study is divided into five body chapters for each subdistrict [*kaza*]: Izmit, Adapazarı, Geyve, Karamürsel and Yalova, and lastly, Kandıra. Karamürsel and Yalova are grouped together because Yalova was part of the Karamürsel subdistrict until 1900 when it was made a separate subdistrict. Izmit constitutes the largest chapter for it refers to both the district [*sancak*] as a whole and the central subdistrict [*merkez kaza*]. Each of these chapters contains subsections discussing in the manner explained above each subdistrict's respective administrative structure and government, population statistics and ethno-religious composition, migration and migrant settlements, socio-economic conditions including social interactions between locals, migrants and other actors, and finally, important events.

Regarding the population, there was a noticeable difference in population growth rates of the district's largest religious communities according to the official Ottoman censuses before and after 1907 (the actual milestone being the July 1908 revolution). The Ottoman census data demonstrated a stark contrast between the increase rates from 1881-1907 and from 1907-14 across all of the largest communities even after taking into account the difference in the length of each period, migration and wars.

84 Ibid., 261-264.

85 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, x-xii, 229-230.

Chapter Two shows that from the first census of 1881-93 to the census of 1906-7, the population growth rates in the Izmit *kaza* were: 93,7 per cent for the Muslim; 38,4 per cent for the Orthodox Christian; 36 per cent for the Armenian Apostolic; 202,3 per cent for the Armenian Catholic; 42 per cent for the Protestant; and 45,7 per cent for the Jewish community. By contrast, the rates for the period 1907-14 for the same communities were: 8,35 per cent for the Muslims; 5,6 per cent for the Orthodox Christians; 10,8 per cent for the Apostolic Armenians; 11,4 per cent Catholic Armenians; 6,3 per cent for the Protestants; and 30,1 per cent for the Jews respectively. Kasabian argues that the July 1908 revolution was a turning point for (Armenian) marriages because: first, by abolishing the *mürur tezkeresi* [transit document] the CUP government afforded more freedom of movement to people which decreased the number of marriages; second, by joining the military young men improved their economic situations and married later; and third, the region was hit by epidemics such as scarlet fever in 1908-9 which increased the number of deaths.[86] Furthermore, people that lived in urban areas like the town of Izmit married later compared to their rural counterparts in, for example, Arslanbey, or did not marry at all.[87] Additionally, the Balkan Wars took a heavy toll on the Muslim (male) population which constituted the biggest cause of loss as far as Muslims were concerned. As for the other denominations such as Catholics and Protestants, they too suffered a decline since missionary activities had slowed down due to the changing political atmosphere of the Empire and resistance by the local orthodox communities.

Chapter Three demonstrates that in the *kaza* of Adapazarı, the 1881-1907 growth rates for the Muslim, Orthodox Christian, Armenian Apostolic, Protestant and Jewish communities were 81,2 per cent, 205,7 per cent, 48,3 per cent, 100 per cent, and 1583 per cent respectively. In

86 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 175. He points out that the Armenian community was restricted to stay where they lived during the authoritarian reign of Abdulhamid II where "there was nothing better than marriages taking place, especially during winter time."

87 On this subject, see also Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility 1880-1940*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

contrast, the 1907-14 population growth rates were: 5,2 per cent for the Muslim, 3,4 per cent for the Orthodox Christian, 15,8 per cent for the Armenian Apostolic, 4,3 per cent for the Protestant and 11,9 per cent for the Jewish community. The addition of the Karasu *nahiye* to Adapazarı in 1899, which included large numbers of people belonging to all three of the largest communities, and forced as well as economic migration, of which Adapazarı was the biggest recipient in the entire district, could explain some of the increase before 1907. As for the later period, while conscription for the Balkan Wars (1912-13) could account for the sharp fall of 76 per cent in the growth rate of Muslims (men), the non-Muslim rates, especially the monumental decline in the Orthodox Christian community (minus 202,3 per cent) appear shockingly low to be explained by conscription which did not affect them to the same extent as the Muslims.

As Chapter Four discusses, in the Geyve *kaza*, on one hand, even after receiving more migrants than any other community, between 1881 and 1907, the size of the Muslim community increased by 41,4 per cent. By contrast, the Orthodox Christian population grew by 41,5 per cent, the Armenian Apostolic population by 39,3 per cent, and the Protestant community by 132,9 per cent despite not receiving migrants at a level comparable to that of the Muslim migrants. On the other hand, for the period 1907-14, which included the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 and the Balkan Wars in 1912-13, the rates of increase for each community were: 3,85 per cent for the Muslims; 11,17 per cent for the Orthodox Christians; 2,21 per cent for the Apostolic Armenians; and 10,87 per cent for the Protestants. While the wars could account for the much lower growth rate of the Muslim population, the Armenian population growth rate in particular appears very low. Curiously, among the fourteen villages featured in Kasabian's personal statistics on births and deaths, only Akhisar had more deaths than births (a rate of minus 2,6 per cent) from 1899-1909 despite having the second most marriages by percentage, which recalls the Akhisar incident of 1895. It may be that the incident had a bigger, long-lasting impact on the Geyve Armenian community than previously thought.

Chapter Five illustrates that in the Karamürsel and Yalova *kazas* together (excluding Iznik which only became part of the Izmit district in 1909), the population growth rates between 1881 and 1907 of its largest religious communities were: 92,2 per cent for the Muslims; 108,5 per cent for the Orthodox Christians; and 44,9 per cent for the Apostolic Armenians. On the other hand, the growth rates from 1907-14 for the same three communities were: 10,6; minus 29; and 15,45 per cent respectively. The striking fall in the number of Orthodox Christians is puzzling, particularly in the Karamürsel and Yalova regions where they had consistently outnumbered the Muslims between 1881-1907. Such a phenomenon brings to mind as a possible cause the anti-Greek sentiment in society that escalated in 1909 as a result of the Cretan crisis, and the subsequent boycotts that eventually targeted the Rum *millet* in addition to Greeks and Greek goods. It appears that this period had a profound impact on the Orthodox Christian population and caused a mass exodus from not only Karamürsel and Yalova, but also the Izmit district as whole a decade before the population exchange agreement between Greece and Turkey.

As Chapter Six examines, the population growth rates in the Kandıra *kaza* were affected by the loss of the Karasu *nahiye* to Adapazarı in 1899. All three of the largest *millets* saw their numbers drop between 1893 and 1907, with rates of minus 5,87 per cent for the Muslims, minus 18,82 per cent for the Orthodox Christians, and minus 57,74 per cent for the Apostolic Armenians. However, unlike all of the other *kazas* where the 1907-14 period saw sharp declines in populations compared to the previous period 1881-1907, in the *kaza* of Kandıra the opposite happened. The populations of all of the three religious communities increased between 1907 and 1914 more than they did in the preceding period, with growth rates of 5,74 percent for the Muslims, 6,43 per cent for the Orthodox Christians, and 20,5 per cent for the Apostolic Armenians. This phenomenon is actually consistent with the fact that Kandıra was the least affected subdistrict by the developments of the epoch because of its remoteness and lack of links (by road and railway) to the other centres in the district, and its overwhelmingly Muslim population.

On migration, the chapters on each subdistrict show that in addition to the mass migration of Muslims from the Caucasus and Rumelia into the Izmit district that took place due to the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war, there was also a substantial migration of Hemshin Armenians (mostly Apostolic) from Ordu to Izmit and Adapazarı subdistricts in particular. In the immediate aftermath of the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war, there were more than five thousand Muslim (from the Caucasus as well as Rumelia) and hundreds of Hemshin Armenian Apostolic migrants from Ordu (who numbered over a thousand in 1909-10) in the *kaza* of Izmit; nearly nine thousand Muslim, about two thousand Hemshin Armenian Apostolic migrants from Ordu (who numbered more than 2,500 in 1909-10), and about 4,500 Pontic Orthodox Greeks as well as "Armenian-Greeks" or Hay-Horoms (although they had migrated before 1877) in the *kaza* of Adapazarı; a little over a thousand Circassians and Sokhumi migrants in the *kaza* of Geyve; less than two thousand Batumi migrants, Circassians, and Rumelia Turks in the *kaza* of Karamürsel (which included Yalova as a *nahiye* at that time); and approximately five thousand Sokhumi and Batumi migrants, and Rumelia Turks in the *kaza* of Kandıra. The Adapazarı *kaza*, thus, was revealed to be the most populated subdistrict and the recipient of the largest number of migrants, Muslim and Christian. The Izmit central *kaza* had the largest local Armenian community whereas the Yalova *kaza* had the largest local Orthodox Christian community. The *kazas* of Geyve and Karamürsel, on the other hand, had received the least number of migrants.

In terms of the economy, the study demonstrates that the majority of local and migrant villagers in the rural areas in the Izmit district were unsurprisingly engaged in agriculture, with the Christians being especially active in sericulture, tobacco farming and viticulture. The district's economy depended to a great degree on cereal, fresh fruit, timber and charcoal production, with sericulture (re)gaining its importance once again towards the end of the nineteenth century after the recovery of the industry from a silkworm disease. Tobacco cultivation was limited to certain areas under the monopoly of the Régie Company, whose heavy restrictions and low prices often drove the producers to collaborate with

tobacco smugglers. Women (especially Armenian and Orthodox Christian) workers held special importance in village economies because they were carrying the silkworm industry on their shoulders in addition to doing domestic work. The sections on the economy also underscored the non-Muslim dominance in most of the trades as well as the arts.

While Izmit and Adapazarı (the latter especially towards the end of the nineteenth century thanks to the completion of the railway line) were the most important and busiest trade hubs, the Geyve *kaza* was the district centre of sericulture with a strong women silk spinning factory workers' movement after the July 1908 revolution. Conversely, Kandıra was the only *kaza* where silkworm farming was not at all practiced. Given that sericulture was mostly a Christian villager occupation and that the few Christian villages in Kandıra were near the borders with Adapazarı and Izmit, it was not surprising that sericulture was not a popular activity there. Nonetheless, Kandıra was the district's leading cereal producer, even though its lack of roads hindered certain activities such as timber production.

On education, the thesis provides eyewitness accounts of the state of several schools in the district, demonstrating the differences in the attitudes of the communities towards education, especially girls' education. It was apparent that even though the number of state schools had increased during this period, the quality of education was much higher at the non-Muslim schools, particularly the Armenian and Protestant schools in Izmit and Adapazarı. The Armenian *millet*, in particular had given their all, as it were, to educating their children in a collective effort, forming a large number of associations for promoting education, fund raising, and building solidarity among the youth of each village. However, for all the schools and efforts in promoting education, the reality in the rural areas, outside of a few villages, was that women's literacy rate was very low, even that of the Protestant women.

Regarding the daily social interactions between the ethnic-religious communities, the state officials and several other regional and international actors, the present study shows in each chapter the evolution of social relations in the Izmit district from 1877-1914 against a backdrop of

disastrous wars, mass migration, land disputes, rising nationalist sentiments, revolutionary activities, natural disasters and epidemics, boycotts, political turmoil, short-lived days of freedom, broken promises, and open conflict, revealing the nuances in each subdistrict determined by their distinct demography and socio-economic as well as geo-political conditions.

As it is discussed in Chapter Two, the relations between the people of the Izmit central *kaza* was affected to a great degree by the Armenian Question rather than the settlement of migrants per se since the Armenian population was concentrated the most in the district capital. As the most important religious and economic centres of the Armenian people, such as Armash and Bahçecik,[88] were in the Izmit central subdistrict, the increased post-migration competition over land in this region quickly took an ethnic-religious turn. However, amid the constant struggle for the possession of land, the villagers from different *millets* still found ways to act together against a greater common enemy, like the tobacco Régie Company whose monopoly had a crushing stranglehold on the tobacco producers.

Chapter Three reveals the extent and impact of (more often than not Circassian) banditry in the Adapazarı region, a phenomenon mentioned in virtually all of the sources, which had become an accepted reality in people's daily lives. The Circassian *beys* had obtained positions of power and a certain notoriety owing to their connections with high ranking bureaucrats in Istanbul by virtue of the female slave trade, and their self-admitted habit of marauding. As a result, the other communities, regardless of their ethnic, religious or other identities such as local and migrant, had developed pragmatic ways to defend themselves against bandits, often seeking the aid of foreign deputy consuls in the region whose names alone had become a kind of repellent against bandits, even when the

88 In terms of taxes levied, Bahçecik was by far the most prosperous Armenian village in the district with a total of 412,579 *kuruş* in 1909-10. Kurtbelen (in the sericulture centre Geyve) was in the second place with 153,500 *kuruş*; followed by Arslanbey and Armash in the Izmit *kaza* with 146,000 and 80,000 *kuruş* respectively. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 153.

consuls were not present in person. The pervasiveness of criminal ways and the Circassians' nonchalance against the legal authorities led the way in the other migrant groups' turn to crime when confronted with the dilemma of poverty or crime.

In contrast to Izmit and Adapazarı, Chapter Four demonstrates that the Geyve *kaza* had a very different atmosphere. As migration was not much of a factor in this region, the competition was more over economic activities rather than land. As mentioned before, Geyve was the district centre of sericulture and to a lesser extent tobacco cultivation (and smuggling). Consequently, the relations between the people and the regional actors revolved around these profitable activities, causing strife between the groups that practiced them more than the others, namely the Armenian and Orthodox Christian villagers, but also the silk factory and silkworm house owners.

In Chapter Five, although studied together in the same chapter, the differences between the *kazas* of Karamürsel and Yalova become apparent. While Karamürsel had received very little, in fact the least, number of migrants in the Izmit district in the period 1877-1914, Yalova had welcomed a considerably large number of new arrivals, especially taking into account its surface area and population. As a result, several long-lasting disputes over land, particularly large estate [*çiftlik*] land, took place in Yalova due not only to competition but sometimes also to the government's inability to identify empty lands,[89] with a variety of parties involved, from Balkan migrants to local Armenian villagers to foreign landowners and the state. These disagreements visibly turned more violent in the 1890s between the Muslim migrants (especially Bosniaks) and the local Armenians of both Karamürsel and Yalova. Yet paradoxically, the Orthodox Christians, the largest community of Yalova, managed for the most part to stay out of these bitter arguments and deadly clashes.

89 For instance, in the following case, the land where a group of migrants from Rumelia had been settled, was later understood to have been held under title deeds by the Armenian residents of Yalova's Kılıç village. BOA.DH.MKT. 2622/5, 07.09.1326 [3 Oct 1908]. This was a common mistake on the government's part that it repeated many times at different times in different places.

Moreover, as was the case elsewhere, in Karamürsel, too, the Régie Company brought together the (Muslim) tobacco growers who united to protest against the low prices forced upon them by the company.

Finally, Chapter Six argues that unlike the other subdistricts, life in Kandıra almost existed in a bubble outside of the developments that left a mark in this period except for migration. Kandıra's remoteness, lack of links to the other towns by road or railway at the time, rather homogenous (Muslim) population, and the absence of profitable industries like silk and tobacco prevented potential problems from arising to the extent that they affected the other *kazas*. This general lack, however, also meant more poverty, especially for poor migrant villagers, to which the government responded often with aids and provisions.

2

Izmit, *Sancak* and Central *Kaza*

On the eve of the First World War, the district [*sancak, liva or mutasarrıflık]* of Izmit consisted of six subdistricts [*kaza*], twelve *nahiyes*[1] and over 1,300 villages, with a population consisting mainly of local Muslims, Armenians, Greeks as well as migrants from Rumelia and the Caucasus. Izmit referred to the district (Izmit *sancağı*), the central *kaza* (Izmit *merkez kazası*) and the town (Izmit). Izmit, also called by its ancient name Nicomedia, had been the capital of the Kingdom of Bithynia and later of the Roman Empire.[2]

As described in several issues of the *Annuaire Oriental* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the town of Izmit was the trade centre of the district and an important port linking the Anatolian hinterland and the outer world. The port of Izmit, which occupied the entire gulf of

1 *Nahiye* was an administrative unit between *kaza* and village (smaller than a *kaza*, bigger than a village) that was introduced by the 1871 Provincial General Administration Regulation. Abdülhamit Kırmızı, *Abdülhamid'in Valileri: Osmanlı Vilayet Idaresi 1895-1908* [Governors of Abdulhamid: Ottoman Provincial Administration 1895-1908] (Istanbul: Klasik, 2007), 31.

2 Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye [Yearbook of the Sublime Ottoman State; henceforth, state yearbook] of 1912; Raphael C. Cervati, *l'Annuaire Oriental du Commerce, de l'Industrie, de l'Administration et de la Magistrature* [The Oriental Yearbook of Trade, Industry, Administration and Magistracy], (Istanbul: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1909 [1327]), 1666; 1896-97 [1313-4], 953.

the same name, was attended by many steamboats and it was in contact with almost all the principal ports of Europe for trade of agricultural products that arrived from Anatolia by way of the Anatolian railway. Moreover, Izmit had silk-spinning houses, steam mills, several state factories such as the *çuha* [broadcloth] factory for the army in Arslanbey. The principal buildings of the town at the turn of the twentieth century included the Sultan Abdülaziz Pavilion [*Köşk*], constructed in 1850; the clock tower situated next to the garden of the pavilion, commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Sultan Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne; the government palace on the Hamidiye Boulevard, a wooden construction in the old style; the mosques of Yeni Cuma and Feyziye; the military complex comprising a depot, a hospital and barracks; and the *idadiye* [middle] school built in 1885.[3]

The town was the place of residence of the *mutasarrıf* [governor] and a long list of other civil servants, religious leaders, company agents and foreign representatives. It was also the headquarters of a branch of the Agricultural Bank [*Ziraat Bankası*] and the principal station of the Anatolian railway. The district capital Izmit was situated at the bottom of the gulf of the same name in the Sea of Marmara, at approximately ninety kilometres to the east of Üsküdar on the Asiatic outskirts of Istanbul and at about 360 kilometres north-west of Ankara to which it was connected by the Anatolian railway. This location put Izmit in rapid communication with several important commercial places of the Empire's interior.[4]

Bureaucrat and historian Ali Cevat's depiction of the town of Izmit at the end of the nineteenth century highlights the region's geopolitical importance:

> The town of Izmit is very important for being the port of a few vilayets in Anatolia, whose importance increased since the

3 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1913, 1571.

4 Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographie administrative : statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure*. T4 (Paris: E. Leroux. 1894), 365.

extension to Ankara of the railway connected to Üsküdar. In Izmit, there is the state's excellent shipyard and a few building yards reserved for building of ships that operate in Marmara. The abundance of forests in its surroundings has made the town of Izmit a starting point in terms of sea trade.[5]

§ 2.1 Administrative Structure and Government

2.1.1 *Administrative Structure*

The administrative system in effect during the period of 1877-1914 was the result of the Idare-i Umumiyye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi [Provincial General Administration Regulation] promulgated on 22 January 1871, which reorganised the previous regulation of 1864 in the following hierarchy from top to bottom: *vilayet* [province], *liva* [district, equivalent of *sancak*], *kaza* [subdistrict], *nahiye* and *karye* [village]. *Vilayets* were headed by *valis* [governors]; *sancaks* by *mutasarrıfs* (below *valis* but also called governors); *kazas* by *kaymakams* [subgovernors]; *nahiyes* by *müdürs* [administrators]; and *karyes* by *muhtars* [village headman]. It could be said that the religion of the last three, *kaymakam* and below, generally reflected the majority of its inhabitants. With these changes in administration, the central government sought to extend its authority deeper into the *kaza* level, where it began to appoint *kaymakams* directly from the Ministry of the Interior in Istanbul.[6]

5 Ali Cevat, *Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı, Kısm-ı Evvel-Lugat-ı Coğrafiyye* [Dictionary of Ottoman History and Geography, Part One-Dictionary of Geography] (Istanbul, 1897 [1313]), 63-64.

6 Although not entirely identical, the regulation was modelled after the five layered French administrative organisation of Napoleon III: département (préfet), arrondissement (sous-préfet), canton (juge de paix), commune (maire), and section de commune. See Kırmızı, *Abdülhamid'in Valileri*, 29-32. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic:*

According to the official state yearbooks, the Izmit *sancak* [district], as it was then called, was under the administrative authority of Şehremaneti (Istanbul) from 1877 to 1887 and the Hüdavendigar province only for the year of 1887, until it was made independent at the end of 1887.[7] From 1888 onwards it was subsequently listed under *elviyeyi müstakile* [independent or autonomous districts]. While it was never made a *vilayet* [province], being an independent district meant that Izmit was no longer under the authority of a province, in this case Istanbul, but directly the Ministry of the Interior. It remained a *sancak* throughout the period in question (1877-1914) until 1924, when the new republican regime reorganised it as the province of Kocaeli.[8]

From 1877-82 the core *kazas* were Adapazarı, Kandıra, Geyve and Karamürsel. The 1883 yearbook is unique in that in addition to the "original quartet" it lists four new *kazas*: Sarıçayır, Şeyhler, Akhisar and Todurga or Dodurga. While the *kazas* and *nahiyes* of the district were omitted in the state yearbooks from 1884-1888, from 1889 onwards, the yearbooks provide a more detailed account on the administrative divisions. The *merkez* [centre] *kaza* appears for the first time in the 1889 yearbook along with the original four (Adapazarı, Kandıra, Geyve, Karamürsel). Afterwards, this group of five remained the same until 1900 when Yalova, previously a *nahiye* of the Karamürsel *kaza*, was made a *kaza* itself and thus giving the district its final administrative form until 1914.[9]

The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 83, 152.

7 Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye (state yearbook) from 1877-1912. BOA.İ.DH. 1059/83102, 04.03.1305 [20 Nov 1887]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1469/31, 26.03.1305 [12 Dec 1887].

8 A. Aksın and E. Özkan, "Kocaeli'nin 19. Yüzyıldaki Idari Yapısı" [Administrative Structure of Kocaeli in the 19th Century], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Suleiman Pasha and History of Kocaeli*, 2017, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 38, 2017), 1541-1551.

9 1883 state yearbook, 662; 1901 state yearbook, 557.

The *kaza* of Izmit, meanwhile, was made up of *nefs-i* Izmit, meaning the town centre and surrounding villages, and on the eve of the First World War, two *nahiye*s, Bahçecik (or Bardizag) and Ermişe (or Armash), both old Armenian settlements, as well as a total of 189 villages, a significant increase from the sixty-six villages in 1889. The village of Bahçecik was turned into a *nahiye* (centre of a small group of neighbouring villages) in 1885 and had thirty-four villages in 1889, which, by 1911, had decreased to twenty-nine. Although a decision had been made to turn it into a *nahiye* at the end of 1896, Armash first appeared in the state yearbooks as a *nahiye* in 1899, with fifteen villages to its name that increased up to thirty-nine by 1912.[10]

Villages under the administrative jurisdiction of Bahçecik included Döngel, Ovacık, Jamavayr, Zakar Köy, Hasarköy, Tatarköy, and the Greek Yeniköy. Other notable Armenian villages in the *kaza* of Izmit were Arslanbey, Manushag, Dagh and Khach. The town centre also had two neighbourhoods: Kadıbayır and Karabaş.[11]

Known migrant villages in the *kaza* of Izmit that were established during and after the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78 were Selimiye, Nimetiye, Uzuntarla, Mesruriye, Mamuriye, Ahmediye, Hamidiye, Şevketiye, Siretiye, Icadiye, Servetiye Düzlük and Servetiye Cami, Hasaneyn, Hisareyn (Asarköy), Yenimahalle, Nüzhetiye, Ferhadiye, Sofular, Ümniye, Lütfiye, Çubuklu Bala and Çubuklu Osmaniye, Karapınar, Kefre Kırma,

10 1889 and 1912 state yearbooks. Bahçecik was a "class 2" nahiye while Armash was "class 3"; BOA.İ.ŞD. 73/4276, 23.04.1302 [9 Feb 1885]; 1888-89, 1911-12 state yearbooks. BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 4/67, 12.07.1314 [17.12.1896]. It was intended for Armash to include the villages of Anbarcı, Ruçkan, Çeçeli, Mahmudiye, Eceldere, Pirahmed, Resullü, Kızılcıklı, Karapınar, Belenoran, Kurtdere, Zeytun-u Biruni and Sapakpınarı also known as Muhacir Yeniköy. BOA.İ.DH. 1346/1, 06.12.1314 [8 May 1897].

11 Ara Stepan Melkonian, "Armenian Bardizag," in *The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor,* ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 134; Raymond H. Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 551. According to BOA.DH.SN.THR. 12/23, 21.09.1328 [26 Sep 1910] there was an Orthodox Greek village in the Bahçecik *nahiye* called Cedid, which might be Yeniköy.

Ketenciler, Acısu (Teşvikiye), Tepetarla (Rahmiye), Maşukiye, Akzıgır, Hanin (or Hanit), Sirniye (Bıçkıdere), Kazgandere, Irşadiye, Şefkatiye, Ifraziye, Balaban, Hikmetiye and Şirinsulhiye.[12]

2.1.2 *Government*

From 1877 onwards, governors [*mutassarrıfs*] of the district of Izmit were:

12 The 1888-89 Izmit Muhacirin Iskan Defteri (Migrant Settlement Register) quoted in Sarı, "İskan Defterine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)"; BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892] quoted in I. Kalaycı and A. C. Çatal, "XIX. Yüzyılın Ikinci Yarısında Kocaeli'ye Yapılan Çerkez Göçleri" [Circassian Migrations to Kocaeli in the Second Half of the 19th Century], in *International Symposium on Karamürsel Alp and History of Kocaeli,* 2016, edited by Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik and Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 35, 2016), 453-473; commentaries of locals quoted in Bi, "XIX. Yüzyılda Kocaeli Vilayeti'ne İskan Edilen Kafkas Göçmenleri," 1313-1359 and in F. Y. Ulugün, "Kocaeli'de Tarihsel Göçler," 1269-1311.

Table 2.1 Governors of the Izmit district between 1877 and 1914.

Years	Name
June 1874 - 1877	Ahmed Tevfik Bey[13]
1877 - 1878	Mustafa Vehbi Efendi[14]
1878 - Jan 1881	Feyzi Bey[15]
Jan 1881 - Mar 1887	Siret Efendi[16]
May 1887- Feb 1895	Selim Sırrı Paşa[17]
Feb 1895 - July 1908	Musa Kazım Bey[18]
Aug 1908 - Sep 1908	Cemal Paşa[19]
Sep 1908 - Apr 1909	Ali Seydi Bey[20]
May 1909 - Sep 1909	Osman Paşa[21]
Sep 1909 - Feb 1910	Cemal Bey[22]
Feb 1910 - Sep 1912	Mehmed Nüzhet Paşa[23]
Sep 1912 - June 1913	Muhiddin Paşa[24]
June 1913 - Sep 1916	Mazhar Bey[25]

13 BOA.ZB. 9/1, 02.05.1291 [17 June 1874]; M. Güneş, "Tanzimat Dönemindeki Idare Düzenlemelerinin Kocaeli'ye Yansımaları" [Reflections of Administrative Regulations in the Tanzimat Period to Kocaeli], in *International Symposium on Karamürsel Alp and History of Kocaeli*, 2016, edited by Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik and Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 35, 2016), 555-561; 1876 state yearbook.

14 1877 state yearbook.

15 1878 state yearbook; Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879-1882*, 756; BOA.ŞD. 2438/19, 18.02.1298 [20 Jan 1881].

16 1881 state yearbook; BOA.İ.DH. 1023/80724, 24.06.1304 [20 Mar 1887].

17 BOA.DH.MKT. 1420/21, 21.08.1304 [15 May 1887]; A. Çetin, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kocaeli Sancağı ve Civarının Ünlü Şahsiyetleri" [The Kocaeli Sanjak and Its Famous Individuals in the Ottoman Period], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli*, 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1417-1439; 1888 state yearbook.

18 BOA.İ.DH. 1320/33, 11.08.1312 [7 Feb 1895]; 1895 state yearbook.

19 Izmit Redif (Reserve Militia) Commander who became the governor by proxy after the Young Turk revolution. See B. Cırık, "İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yıllarında İzmit Sancağı"

In addition to the *mutasarrıf*, the town of Izmit was home to various civil servants, company agents, foreign officials and religious leaders in a long list of administrative and ecclesiastical positions that changed frequently. The size of the administration grew steadily, especially after Izmit became an independent district. It is evident that long term stability was difficult to achieve and for this reason one year's list of names usually did not match another's. For example, for the year of 1877, the state yearbook lists five names under the district of Izmit:

- Governor [*Mutasarrıf*], Mustafa Vehbi Efendi
- Judge [*Naib*], Hasan Tahsin Bey
- Accountant [*Muhasebeci*], Mustafa Efendi
- Accountant of Religious Foundations [*Evkaf Muhasebecisi*], Rüşdü Efendi
- Head of Commercial Court [*Mahkeme-i Ticaret Reisi*], Süleyman Fehmi Efendi.

The following year, the addition of two positions, Bureaucrat/Official of Property Records [*Defter-i Hakani Memuru*], occupied by Ömer Hulusi Efendi and Forest Inspector [*Orman Müfettişi*], occupied by Razi and Agop Efendis, hints at the need to attend to the issue of land, intensified by the pressing problem of migration and settlement due to the Russian war of 1877-78. A decade later, in 1887, the administration of the district of Izmit comprised:

[The Izmit Sanjak in the First Years of the Second Constitutional Era], in *International Symposium on Karamürsel Alp and History of Kocaeli*, 2016, edited by Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik and Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 35, 2016), 893-902.

20 Cırık, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yıllarında İzmit Sancağı*, 901.

21 BOA.DH.MKT. 2819/18, 29.04.1327 [20 May 1909].

22 BOA.DH.MUİ. 7/71, 26.08.1327 [12 Sep 1909].

23 BOA.İ.DH. 1480/26, 16.02.1328 [27 Feb 1910]; 1910 state yearbook.

24 BOA.İ.DH. 1495/15, 29.09.1330 [11 Sep 1912]; 1912 state yearbook.

25 Or "Deli" Mazhar Bey as described by Kévorkian, served as governor from 10 June 1913 to 28 September 1916. He was apparently "a typical civil servant who obeyed the orders he received from the capital without crises of conscious." Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 552.

- Governor [*Mutasarrıf*], Siret Efendi (which means the yearbook was prepared before May as Selim Sırrı Paşa was appointed as governor in May 1887)
- Judge and Head of the Civil Court [*Naib ve Hukuk Reisi*], Kadri Efendi
- Izmit Property Records Official [*Izmit Defteri Hakani Memuru*], Aziz Faik Efendi
- Public Debt Central Administrator [*Düyunı Umumiye Merkez Müdürü*], Selim Efendi
- Head of Criminal Section of the Court of First Instance [*Mahkeme-i Bidayet Ceza Reisi*], Irfani Efendi
- Assistant Public Prosecutor [*Müdde'i-i Umumi Muavini*], Mithat Bey
- Chief of Commerce [*Ticaret Reisi*], Ahmet Fuat Efendi

The positions of accountant and forest inspector were curiously missing. In fact, 1887 was the first year in which no forest inspector was listed since 1880, which continued until 1891 when the position returned as the Forest Chief inspector. The post of Public Debt Central Administrator was introduced in 1886, which is relatively late considering the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was founded in 1881. There were also changes in the role of the judge [*naib*] and the judicial system. After new judiciary regulations in 1879, a Court of First Instance [*Bidayet Mahkemesi*] had been established in each district and *kaza* that generally contained separate civil and criminal courts.[26] The new title of the *naib* as Head of the Civil Court and the addition of a Head of Criminal Section of the Court of First Instance [*Mahkeme-i Bidayet Ceza Reisi*] and an Assistant Public Prosecutor, introduced in 1883 in Izmit, reflect that these changes in the judicial system took affect rather belatedly in the district.

It should be noted that the omission of certain positions appears odd, especially in earlier years when information was scarcer before the district became independent. These omissions may be indicative of the temporary nature of posts or vacancies at the time of the yearbook's preparation (such as the missing accountant in 1886-87). For instance, it may

26 Jun Akiba, "Sharī'a Judges in the Ottoman Nizāmiye Courts, 1864-1908," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LI (2018): 216-217.

be that the forest inspectors were appointed when the need arose and the position was no longer needed after the work was completed. Given that an existing position was recorded in the yearbooks even if it was vacant for the time being, the omitted positions in a given year were likely cancelled for that year.

The French *Annuaire Oriental* also provides comprehensive yearly lists of the local public administration that complement the state yearbooks. To give an example of how a relatively ordinary year is reflected in both sources, the year of 1893 can be selected. It was a year well into the reign of Sultan Adülhamid II, relatively stable in the district of Izmit in terms of migration, natural disasters, diseases, communal strife, and reforms; a year without any major events for the most part. As stated in the yearbook of 1893, under the district of Izmit were:

Table 2.2 Administration of the Izmit district in 1893.

Post	*Name*
Governor [*Mutasarrıf*]	Selim Sırrı Paşa
Judge and Head of Civil Section of the Court of First Instance [*Naib ve Bidayet Mahkemesi Hukuk Reisi*]	Tevfik Efendi
Accountant [*Muhasebeci*]	Mustafa Lebib Efendi
Administrator of Secretariat [*Tahrirat Müdürü*]	Faik Bey
Head of Criminal Section of the Court of First Instance [*Bidayet Mahkemesi Ceza Reisi*]	Abdülatif Bey
Assistant Public Prosecutor [*Müdde'i-i Umumi Muavini*]	Salim Efendi
Izmit Property Records Official [*Izmit Defteri Hakani Memuru*]	Kazım Efendi
Central Administrator of Telegraph and Post [*Telgraf ve Posta Merkez Müdürü*]	Hasan Efendi
Administrator of Religious Foundations [*Evkaf Müdürü*]	Mahmud Nedim Bey
Public Debt Central Administrator [*Düyunı Umumiye Merkez Müdürü*]	Hüseyin Edip Efendi
Administrator of Excise Taxes [*Rüsümat Müdürü*]	Galip Efendi
Forest Chief Inspector [*Orman Ser Müfettişi*]	Rüşdü Efendi

Post	*Name*
Public Works Chief Engineer [*Nafıa Baş Mühendisi*]	Cemal Bey
Agricultural Bank Branch Official [*Ziraat Bank Şubesi Memuru*]	Kirkor Efendi

SOURCE 1893 state yearbook.

The *Annuaire Oriental* meanwhile had a more comprehensive list for the same year:

Table 2.3 Administration of the Izmit district in the *Annuaire Oriental* of 1893.

Post	*Name*
Governor	Selim Sırrı Paşa
Council members:	Kösezade Mehmed Efendi, Cemal Bey, Melkon Dobrashian Efendi
secretary:	Aziz Efendi
Mufti	Hafız Kurra Efendi
Consular officer of Greece:	Panayotis Nicolaidis
dragoman:	Yerassimos Tzamarellos
Commanders of the gendarmerie	Colonel Tevfik Bey & Major Hurşid Bey
Cashier	Yorgaki Iatropoulos Efendi
Regional commander	Brigade general Sadettin Paşa
Commander of the shipyard	Lieutenant-colonel Emin Bey
Head of constructions at the shipyard	Colonel Ali Paşa
Civil court president	Tevfik Bey
Criminal court president	Abdüllatif Efendi
Examining magistrate	Mazhar Efendi
Assistant imperial prosecutor	Salim Efendi
Court members	Münir Bey, Saffet Bey, Alexan Efendi, Kevork Efendi (for commercial affairs), Karabet Marassian, Hanemoğlu Ahmed and Soukiassian Soukian Efendi

Post	*Name*
Mayor	Hafız Rüşdü Efendi
Doctor of the municipality	…
Head of customs	Kadri Bey
Head of religious foundations	Mahmud Bey
Head of cadastre	Faik Efendi
Head of posts and telegraphs	Hasan Efendi
Public Debt central administrator:	Edib Bey
deputy inspector:	Serope Nigotimossian
Engineer of the *sancak*	Cemal Efendi
Health office inspector	Şahab Efendi
Forest inspector:	Aslangül Boghos Efendi
deputy:	Memduh Bey
Port captain	Yusuf Efendi
Tobacco Régie agent	Khorassandjı
Steamship company officer	Halil Efendi
Head of the railway station	E. Pezzer

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1893 [1311].

Considering the fact that the state yearbooks could not be published after 1912 due to the Balkan Wars and the subsequent First World War, the *Annuaire Oriental*'s 1913 and 1914 issues carry extra weight. They feature only the same handful of names for both years under the district of Izmit in stark contrast to previous years, which reflects the impact of war.

Table 2.4 Administration of the Izmit district in 1913 and 1914.

Post	*Name*
Public Debt administrator:	Behçet Efendi
Chief secretary:	Ali Rıza Efendi

Post	*Name*
Tobacco Régie chief administrator:	Const. Savopoulos
Chief accountant:	Alex. Halil
Cashier:	A. Braggtotti
Correspondent:	Clitchen
Vekil (Minister):	…
Stock controller:	Takforian
Aide: Administrator of cultivation:	S. Chryssomalis
Expert:	Georges Comninos
Manager of the bureau of merchandise:	Constintin Sarafides
	Cosma Petrolecas
Head of the railway station	Theodore Kalfas
Vice consul of England	Amat Anatole

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1913 [1331] and 1914 [1332].

These yearly changes in the public administration give an idea about the affairs, developments and needs of the moment which manifest themselves in bureaucracy, demonstrating at the same time the evolution of Izmit's local government.

In the countryside, it is known that Bahçecik (Bardizag) always had an Armenian village headman [*muhtar*]. When it was turned into a *nahiye* after 1880 and linked directly to the central government, the government started appointing Muslim administrators [*müdürs*] as head of the new administrative unit. However, the two positions (*muhtar* and *müdür*) apparently coexisted even after Bahçecik became a *nahiye*. Among the Armenian village headmen of Bardizag were Garabed Nersesian from Izmit, Mıdırgich Efendi (Gazikian) from Istanbul and village natives Hovannes Arakelian, Hacı Artin Kiutnerian and Sarkis Djergayian.[27]

The *müdürs*, meanwhile, included Ali Fehmi (or Nuri) Bey; Kurd Ali Bey (Murtaza) during the Armenian crisis; Circassian Sefer Bey until the July 1908 revolution; journalist and author Hagop Der Hagopian, the only Armenian *müdür* who served from late 1908 to 1914; and Ali Suhuri Efendi

27 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 221-222.

during the First World War, who was described as a "two-faced person of dubious character, during whose term of office the deportation of the village population took place." According to Krikor Mkhalian, the people of Bahçecik were most satisfied with Ali Fehmi Bey and Circassian Sefer Bey.[28]

Table 2.5 Administration of the Bahçecik *nahiye*.

	Müdür	Mayor [*Belediye reisi*]	*Muhtar*	Head of the *ihtiyar meclisi* [council of elders]
1887-93	(Ali) Nuri (or Fehmi) Efendi		Mıgırdıç Efendi Gazikian	
1893-94		Mıgırdiç Efendi Sarkissian		Nişan Efendi Sinanian
1895	Ali Murtaza	Ohannes Efendi Kemhadjian		-
1896-97	Hayri Efendi (temporary)			
1898-1908	Sefer Bey	Ohannes Efendi Arakelian		
1908-1914	Hagop Der Hagopian	Sarkis Efendi Djergayan		
1914	Ali Suhuri Efendi			

The village of Armash became a *nahiye* in 1898-99 and like Bahçecik it had Armenian *muhtars* and Muslim *müdürs* at the same time.

28 Mkhalian, 222-224; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914.

Table 2.6 Administration of the Armash *nahiye*.[29]

	Müdür	*Muhtar*	Head of the council of elders
1896-97		Nerses Varjabedian	Artin Bodjekian (or Bodjokian)
1898	Kangalzade Osman Bey	Nerses Varjabedian	Artin Bodjekian
1900	Kangalzade Osman Bey	Nalband Kerakin	Artin Bodjekian
1901	Ismail Hakkı Bey	Nalband Kerakin	-
1902	Kangalzade Osman Bey	Nalband Kerakin	Hacı Soukias
1903-4	Kangalzade Osman Bey		
1905	Kangalzade Osman Bey		
1905-8	Ömer Efendi		
1909-12	Ragıp Efendi		

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896-1914.

2.1.3 *Religious Leaders [Rüesa-yı Ruhaniyye]*

In addition to government officials, Izmit's non-Muslim *millets* or ethno-religious communities were under the pastoral care of religious leaders. Between the years of 1877 and 1914, the town of Izmit was the residence of an Orthodox Greek metropolitan, an Apostolic Armenian archbishop, a Catholic Armenian parish priest, Protestant and Latin missionaries, and a Jewish rabbi.

Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios,[30] who served as the Izmit metropolitan of the Orthodox Christian community for most of the period

29 *Müdür* Kangalzade Osman Bey was replaced in 1905 with Ömer Efendi, who was secretary and chief of police at the time, due to his ill-treatment of the villagers. BOA.DH.MKT.525/23, 09.03.1320 [16 June 1902]; BOA.DH.MKT.948/76, 17.02.1323 [23 April 1905]. The following year Ömer Efendi was rewarded for his services in tax collection. BOA.DH.MKT.1902/21, 26.04.1324 [19 June 1906].

30 "Liste général des membres au 1er décembre 1903," *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 16, fascicule 72, 1903, 46-64, accessed 1 October 2019, www.persee.fr/doc/reg_0035-2039_1903_num_16_72_6200. Other spellings include "Philoteos Vrienios" in Cervati,

between 1877 and 1914, was under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.[31] Archbishop Bryennios was the second longest running religious leader in the district of Izmit during this period.

The title of the longest running religious leader belonged to the Apostolic Armenian prelate of the Nicomedia (Izmit) diocese, Bishop Stepannos Hovagimian, who remained as such during the entirety of the period in question.[32] Ohannes Aram Kondayan describes the bishop as a formidable man, nearly two metres tall with a strong built and a grey beard that reached his waist.[33] Bishop Hovagimian spoke three languages (including Turkish and French) and he was a well-respected leader who knew the members of his congregation very well, almost always travelling on horseback to reach all corners of his diocese.[34] For Mkhalian, too, Bishop Hovagimian

> … knew how to communicate with, and was respected by, the government in his relations with it and was loved and respected by the overwhelming majority of the people in his prelacy. He was also able to capture sympathy on every side – among the

Anuaire Oriental and "Filotios Efendi" in the state yearbooks. It should be noted the start and end dates of his post are not certain. The state yearbooks demonstrate that he served from 1879 to at least 1908, after which there is no more information on religious leaders. According to Cervati, on the other hand, he served until 1914. Friedrich Heyer argues Btyennios became the metropolitan of Nicomedia (ancient name of Izmit) in 1877.

31 1879-1912 state yearbooks; American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 80, 1884, 195.

32 1877-1912 state yearbooks; Cervati, *Annuarie Oriental*, 1881-1913. Other spellings of the archbishop's name include "Estepan Oakimyan" in the state yearbooks; "Stepan Ovaguimian" in Cervati, 1891; "Stepanos" in, Ohannes Aram Kondayan, *Sandıktaki Hatıralar: Çocukluk, Tehcir, Istanbul* [in Turkish], trans. Karin Karakaşlı (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2007 [2013]), 42 [Original: *May His Soul Lie in Light*, ed. Betty Ruth Kondayan (Lexington, VA: W&L Scholar, 2007)]; and "Stepannos Hovagimian" in Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 249.

33 Kondayan, *Sandıktaki Hatıralar*, 42.

34 Kondayan, 42, Mikhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 251; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia: A Study Complete with A Map and Statistics*, 232.

> province's non-Armenian tribes, the Muslims and Christians – showing great care for, and defending, their public and individual works and woes.[35]

However, apparently the bishop also could be extremely stubborn and conservative, who did not want to see "any other greatness, value and individuality around him, only slaves and yes-man."[36] He was also said to be against constitutional organisation. For him, a parish council made up of clergymen and notables that he liked was sufficient enough. Due to his alleged egotism, the bishop would go so far as to sabotage works for the benefit of the public if they were done by his enemies. However, he was fully dedicated to his people despite his faults and he was "one of the most active and constructive prelates."[37] Stepannos Hovagimian suffered the same fate as his people in 1915, travelling often on foot and witnessing the pain and death of his people during the forced journey to the Syrian desert. Kondayan claims that the bishop was seen in Halep's marketplaces selling goods on a tray hanging from his neck to aide his people. After the war, the bishop managed to return to Izmit but he had become a man stuck in the past.[38] After the establishment of the new Turkish republic in 1923, Bishop Hovagimian left to Bulgaria with his flock and settled in Sofia, where he served in his final years as the prelate of the Armenian community in Bulgaria.[39]

Table 2.7 Religious leaders in Izmit between 1877 and 1914.

Title	*Name*	*Years at post*
	Greek Orthodox	
Metropolitan	Diosnios Efendi	1877-1879

35 Mkhalian, 250.

36 Ibid., 252.

37 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 92, 232-233.

38 Kondayan, *Sandıktaki Hatıralar*, 46.

39 Kasabian, 233.

Title	*Name*	*Years at post*
	Philotheos Bryennios	1879-1909/14
Bishop (under Bryennios)	Constantin Assimiades	1912-1914
Armenian Apostolic		
Prelate	Stepannos Hovagimian	1876 to 1915[40]
	Armenian Catholic	
Parish priest or Chief priest [*Ser rahip*]	Vertanis Kalfayan (Balyan)	1889-1892/1895[41]
	Boghos Kaftancıyan	1894-1895
	Serope Abdullahyan	1896-1899
	Avedik Kazezian (Kazazyan)	1896-7/1900[42]-1901
	Davit Nazaretyan	1901/1902-1904/1905[43]
	M. Djermekian	1904-1905[44]
	Mesrob Sahaghian (Sehakyan)	1906-1912
	Avedik Kazezian, of the Mekhitarists of Venice	1912-14
	Protestant	
Missionary	Simon	at least from 1891-1895
Parish priest	Iknadiossian	1895-1897
	Philian	1900-1902
Pastor	Iskenderian	1903-1909
	Haroutioun Karnikian	at the latest from 1912-1914
	Jewish	

40 Mkhalian, Bardizag *and its People*, 249; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 231-233.

41 1892 in the state yearbooks; 1895 according to Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1895.

42 Serope Abdullahyan does not appear in the Annuaire Oriental. For this reason his start date was attributed to Avedik Kazazyan.

43 1902-1904 in Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*; 1901-1905 according to the state yearbooks.

44 M. Djermekian does not appear in the state yearbooks.

Title	*Name*	*Years at post*
Rabbi	Moshon	at least from 1891-1899
	Isaac Levy	at the latest from 1909-1914
	Latin/Roman Catholic	
Parish priest	Dominique	1896-1900
	Tranquille	1904-1905
	Gairot	1912-1914

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1881-1914; 1877-1912 state yearbooks.

2.1.3.1 Yegishe Tourian: Portrait of an Influential Clergyman

Another important religious figure in this period was Yegishe Tourian, who was a highly influential clergyman not only for Izmit Armenians but also for the Armenian nation as a whole, who served in Bahçecik from 1880-90 and went on to become both the Patriarch of Istanbul in 1909 and of Jerusalem in 1921.[45]

Tourian arrived in Bahçecik alone in 1880 as a lean twenty-year-old young man, upon invitation to serve as a church preacher and community schools' inspector, possibly to counter the rising influence of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. His parents and brother Akribas Efendi remained in their family home in Istanbul's Üsküdar *kaza*. He was first given an apartment in the lower part of the village near the Torosian family's new house, where floods often occurred and the weather was damp during winter. When Tourian's health and normally cheerful nature was badly affected by the cold and damp conditions, he moved to a house that belonged to Kalfa Bedros Azarian in the drier upper part of Bahçecik, which helped him to recover. After a year of struggling with his health, the young Tourian was joined by his maternal aunt Hacı (Hadji) Hanım

45 Collectif 2015, "Armash Monastery or the Holy Mother of God Destroyer of Evil"; "1461'den Günümüze Türkiye Ermenileri Patrikleri [Patriarchs of Armenians of Turkey from 1461 to the Present]," Türkiye Ermenileri Patrikliği [Patriarchate of Armenians of Turkey], accessed 23 April 2020, http://www.turkiyeermenileripatrikligi.org/site/patriklerimiz-patriklik-makami/.

who came to provide the care the Tourian family decided that he needed. Hacı Hanım, or *Yerousaghemabadiv Hadji* (Jerusalem-honoured Hadji) as Tourian called her, was a small and energetic woman and apparently a good cook who selflessly took great care of her nephew, nourishing him back to full health and allowing him to give all his attention to his studies and students.[46]

Mkhalian describes Vartabed (Archimandrite) Tourian as a confident, witty man and a good eater with particular Istanbulite tastes who loved aroma-rich dishes, always accompanied by a sweet. His favourite delicacies included Izmit's *salamoura*[47] cheese, beans and vegetables cooked in olive oil, *dolma* (vine leaves stuffed with rice) and aubergines. Tourian often surrounded himself with his students, colleagues and friends both at school and elsewhere, sharing with them his insights into their literary, theatrical and oratorical works in his trademark witty manner. In one instance, when one of his students wrote with an obvious contradiction "A star twinkled on the mist-bound horizon…", Tourian let out a hearty laugh and replied "I must congratulate you on your eyesight, being able to see a twinkling star in the mist…." Such was the nature of Tourian's relationship with his entourage. In summer, they would go on journeys in the region to other villages such as Manoushag, St. Minas or Ovacık and visit farms, mills, vegetable fields, vineyards and river banks. However, when Tourian broke his leg by falling to the ground upon the collapse of the rotten timber balcony of his home, these activities had to be put on hold. Although recovered under the supervision of Dr Garabed Atanasian, Tourian's leg remained weak. For treatment, he would occasionally visit Bursa's hot springs, staying in the house of his nephew's in-laws in the Setbaşı quarter.[48]

During his ten years of service, Yeghishe Tourian had major contributions to educational and spiritual life in Bardizag. His first project was the construction of a new school building, seeing as the worn-out old one was not sufficient enough for the needs of the growing number of students.

46 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 231, 243-245.

47 *Salamoura* refers to the method of preservation using salty water.

48 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 244-247.

Greek architect Mimiko Efendi oversaw the construction of the new three-storey building, consisting of two identical wings, one for boys, the other for girls, which cost 1,000 liras and took two years. The whole village took part in the construction and the sum was paid by donations from the wealthy as well as the poor during the silkworm season and by the church treasury. The girls' division was named the Shoushanian school, after the daughter of Armenian national hero Vartan Mamigonian, while the boys division was named the Nersesian school, after the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople. With the new school building completed, Tourian set out to single-handedly establish an organised five-year syllabus for the senior students at high school level. As there were not enough qualified teachers at the time, Tourian himself taught most of the advanced classes. He was initially aided by Karnig Giureghian from Üsküdar, who taught Turkish and French. But when Karnig Efendi left to pursue a career as a healer, which was permitted at the time in the absence of qualified doctors in the villages, Tourian replaced him with Apraham Madteosian, who was a self-made teacher from Izmit. After five years, Tourian's revamped school gave its first graduates, a class of seven students comprising K. Goudjoukian (later Archbishop Mgrditch Aghavnouni, *locum tenens* for the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1929), H. Sekgiulian, M. Semerdjian, H. Djergayian, Anania Hapelian (later a vartabed), H. Kiutnerian and Krikor Mkhalian, who would be the author of *Bardizag and its People*.[49]

It would not be exaggeration to describe Tourian's influence on these young men as a sort of enlightenment. With the exception of Djergayian and Kiutnerian, five graduates out of the seven mentioned above, along with Yervant Der-Antreasian, continued as assistant teachers under Tourian's leadership. They read and studied French classics from Chateaubriand, Voltaire, Rousseau to Moliere, Lafontaine, Victor Hugo and Lamartine. In Mkhalian's words,

49 Ibid., 232-235. For a short history on Vartan Mamikonian see Shnork Kaloustian, *Saints and Sacraments of the Armenian Church* (ACYOA Central Council, 1969), 23-25.; "Sarafian collection – Paris," Houshamadyan, accessed 18 April 2020, https://www.houshamadyan.org/oda/europe/sarafian-collection-fr.html.

> We felt that we were becoming new men with new concerns and new visions. Each of us, with the excuse and charm of finding new things, would tell the others, in our social get-togethers, of our reading and that there was a lot more beyond the responsibilities of our lessons.

This enthusiastic dedication to education, Mkhalian argues, made their school the finest educational institution in the Izmit district, even ahead of the famed American high school also in Bardizag, attracting students not only from other Armenian villages in the region such as Döngel, Ovacık, Arslanbeg, also from other *kazas* like Adapazarı, Ortaköy in Geyve, Merdigöz in Karamürsel, and even from Sölöz in the Pazarköy/Orhangazi *kaza* of the Hüdavendigar province, south of Lake Iznik (Nicaea).[50]

It is hard to say which high school was objectively the best as the American Board also claimed around the same time that their high school in Bardizag was "the principal school in this part of Asia Minor for preparing young men for college." The American high school's advantage was that the graduates were admitted to Robert College without examination.[51]

Aside from to his reformist work in education, Tourian was, foremost, a clergyman, a *vartabed*. His busy schedule at school did not stop him from his preaching duties in the church. Amid the presence of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, his religious leadership was crucial for Bardizag's Apostolic Armenian community. According to Mkhalian, in Tourian's day Protestant propaganda stopped completely and the "right-minded" missionaries shifted their focus to the Armenians' intellectual and religious education.[52]

The American Board's annual reports during Tourian's time in Bardizag (1880-90) seem to support Mkhalian's statement. But how much of it was directly a result of Tourian's influence is a question mark because in

50 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 235-257.

51 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 85, Feb 1889, 68.

52 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 237-238.

November 1880, the year Tourian arrived in Bardizag, the Board had already reported that it was "natural to look for the closing up of missionary work in this field at no distant day."

> It is anticipated that it will not be necessary to add to the number of missionaries among the Armenians, beyond supplying the place of Dr. Parsons [who was murdered earlier that year], of the Nicomedia station, and of Mr. Richardson, obliged to leave Broosa because of ill health. It may be necessary to keep up the present force for a few years longer, adding four or five more unmarried ladies to meet the demands of woman's work. In the meantime, attention will be turned more and more to other races in the Empire, -- as the Bulgarians, the Greeks, and the Arabic population in Mesopotamia …[53]

The American high school, on the other hand, "was never so flourishing as at present [in 1885]", with "seventy pupils as boarders, and forty or more day-scholars", as Mr. Pierce reported in 1885, confirming Mkhalian's assertion that education became the mission's main focus.[54]

An interesting and hitherto rarely mentioned factor for the decline in the activities of the American Board in Bahçecik was revealed by Rev. Dr. Greene in the 1889 issue of the Missionary Herald: "The Protestant community of Bardezag has suffered considerably from the proselyting efforts of native Baptist and Campbellite missionaries, but still numbers some two hundred persons, and the church has ninety-five members…"[55] Tourian also contributed to the artistic life in Bardizag. After a very amateur period using the boys' lecture hall as a theatre, he later had one of the basement halls of the school turned into a relatively more proper theatre with wooden benches and a room for actors, paid for out of his own yearly income of 15-20 Ottoman liras a year. Thus, with the newly built theatre, productions became of a higher quality especially with the

53 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 76, Nov 1880, 428.

54 American Board, 81, Apr 1885, 154.

55 American Board, 85, Feb 1889, 67. The presence and activities of Baptist and Campbellite missionaries in Izmit is an elusive subject in the sources examined for the present study.

involvement of Karnig Giureghian as a producer, who drew from his past work with the Üsküdar theatre troupe. In addition to the story of Adam and Eve, new plays began to be put on stage, including translations from foreign languages and even a few original local comedies about everyday life in Bardizag created by Mr Tarvok, K. Kiutian and H. Sekgiulian.[56]

With such a legacy behind him in the span of a decade, Yeghishe Tourian left Bardizag for Armash in 1890, upon the invitation of Archbishop Maghakia Ormanian to be the main teacher in the newly-established seminary in the Armash monastery.[57] Tourian's legacy and influence lasted long after his departure. The school kept Tourian's syllabus and his students continued his work in all domains of life in Bardizag.

Tourian achieved similar success in his new position. Archbishop Ormanian's seven years of service at the Armash monastery from 1889-1896, which Tourian was a part of, were apparently the high point in the history of the monastery. During this time several outbuildings were built, a silkworm breeding station was established, mulberry groves were planted and a watermill was installed. The 1895 massacres halted their work as Ormanian, Tourian as well as many teachers and students were forced to leave Armash. In their absence the leadership position at the monastery was filled by Father Nerses Der Partughimeossian. With Ormanian's election to the patriarchate in 1896, Tourian became head of the monastery in 1898, a post he held until 1904 when he left Armash to take up the prelacy of Izmir.[58]

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56 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 241-242.

57 Ibid., 277. Archbishop Ormanian served as patriarch of Istanbul from 1896 until the Young Turk revolution of July 1908. He replaced Madteos II Izmirlian after Izmirlian was deposed in August 1896 and exiled to Jerusalem over his criticism of the regime for the Armenian massacres of 1896 as well as his ties with the Armenian revolutionary organisations. Yeghishe Tourian briefly held the position as *locum tenens* in 1908 after Ormanian's (forced) resignation, until Izmirlian was re-elected on 4 November 1908. See Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 13-14, 33-35, 75-78; BOA.Y.A.RES. 80/106, 23.02.1314 [03 Aug 1896].

58 Collectif 2015, "Armash Monastery or the Holy Mother of God Destroyer of Evil." Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 242.

The Young Turk revolution of July 1908 brought the downfall of Patriarch Ormanian, who was then seen as the embodiment the Armenian *ancien régime*. He submitted his resignation to the Armenian National Assembly in Galata immediately after the Revolution. The mixed council of the Assembly, chaired by Kapriel Noradoungian, accepted his resignation after long deliberations and chose Yeghishe Tourian as the *locum tenens* of the Armenian patriarch, who held the position for about three months until Madteos II Izmirlian's re-election on 4 November 1908. Tourian, then archbishop, assumed an important role in the immediate celebratory postrevolutionary period in Istanbul. As temporary Patriarche, he officiated the Mass held on 13 August 1908 at the Holy Trinity Armenian Church in Balık Pazarı [Fish Market], Pera, where he delivered a patriotic speech in the presence of Ottoman officials, dignitaries and representatives of all the religious denominations. On his last day as the *locum tenens*, 4 November 1908, Archbishop Tourian met with Grand Vizier Kamil Paşa and delivered a petition in the name of the Armenian National Assembly recommending the government to send an investigative commission to the eastern provinces regarding the situation of Armenians there.[59]

Yeghishe Tourian served as the Patriarch of Istanbul in 1909-10 succeeding Madteos II Izmirlian who won the election for the post of catholicos, the head archbishop of the centre of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the town of Etchmiadzin (or Vagharshapat in present-day Armenia).[60]

59 Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 23, 75-78.

60 BOA.BEO. 3492/261829, 24.01.1327 [15 Feb 1909]; Der Matossian, 203.

§ 2.2 Population Statistics and Ethno-Religious Composition

2.2.1 *The Izmit District*

The district of Izmit had a population within the range of 195,000-325,000 between 1881-1914.[61] Its diverse composition during this period consisted of Turks (Turkmens), Armenians, Greeks, Tatars, Circassians, Georgians, Laz, Abkhazians, Albanians, Bosniaks, Bulgarians, Jews, Romanies as well as some Syriacs, Chaldeans, Roman Catholics (Latins) and foreign citizens.[62] The *sancak* was part of the provinces of Istanbul and Hüdavendigar until 1887-88 (when it was turned into an independent *sancak* directly linked to the Interior Ministry) and naturally its population was counted towards the greater province to which it was attached. That is why population or other district-specific data are not readily available for the period before the early 1890s. Furthermore, since the first official Ottoman census took over a decade to complete from 1881-93, the earliest population estimates after the 1877-78 Russian war can only be found in this census, thereby making it difficult to compare the Izmit district's population before and after the Russian war.

The French general secretary of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration Vital Cuinet gives the district's total population in 1893 as 222,760, of which 129,715 were Muslims, 48,635 Armenians, 40,795 Orthodox Greeks, 2,500 Jews and 1,115 Romanies.[63] Among the Muslims, 117,214 were locals or natives, 330 were nomads and 12,171 were migrants which falls well short of the 46,463 reported by the Daire-i Sadaret around the same time.

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61 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-185. Although they do not appear as separate categories in the official statistics, there were also Ubykh, Chechen, Dagestani and Pomak migrants in the district. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 113.

62 Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna. vol. 19, SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East (Oxon: Routledge, 2013) 9, 129; Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129.

63 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 306-307.

For Kemal Karpat on the other hand, the population of the district of Izmit based on census results between 1881 and 1893 was 195,675, comprising 133,123 Muslims, 37,220 Apostolic Armenians, 23,718 Orthodox Christians, 1,108 Protestants (most of whom were Armenians), 169 Jews, 133 Catholics (almost all of them were Armenians as well), thirteen Bulgarians and 191 foreign citizens.[64]

More than two decades later, in 1906-7, the overall population of the district had increased to 290,517 and the categorisation had become more detailed.[65] There were 200,560 Muslims, 35,866 Orthodox Christians, 51,265 Apostolic Armenians, 402 Catholic Armenians and only one Catholic Greek, 1,826 Protestants, ten Roman Catholics (or Latins), one Bulgarian, three Syriacs, eight Chaldeans, 341 Jews and 234 foreign citizens.
The 1914 Ottoman population statistics show the Izmit district was made up of 226,859 Muslims, 40,048 Orthodox Christians, 55,403 Apostolic Armenians and 449 Catholic Armenians, 1,937 Protestants (most of whom were Armenians), ten Roman Catholics (Latins), eight Bulgarians, three Syriacs, eight Chaldeans, and 428 Jews.[66]

As regards the population of Armenians, the Constantinople Patriarchate's census quoted by Raymond H. Kévorkian demonstrates there were a total of 61,675 Armenians (including Catholics and Protestants) in the district of Izmit on the eve of the First World War.[67] According to Minas K. Kasabian's personal census of 1909-10, the Armenians numbered

64 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129.

65 *Memalik-i Osmaniyyede Dehil-i Tahrir Olan Nüfusun Icmali* [The Summary of Ottoman Population Included in the Census], quoted in Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 168-169, which was a summary of the 1905-6 census data.

66 Based on the *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus Istatistiki* [Population Statistics of the Ottoman State in the year 1914] (Istanbul, 1919), quoted in Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 189. "According to the official introduction, these statistics were prepared by using the figures from the 1905-6 census and adding births and subtracting deaths registered during the intervening years."

67 Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272.

56,243, consisting of 54,380 Apostolics, 1,452 Protestants, 291 Catholics and 120 Seventh-Day Adventists.[68]

The Greek Orthodox population, on the other hand, was more equivocal. The estimates ranged from 25,000 in 1910 (Kasabian) to 40,048 in 1914 (Karpat) to 50,224 (Anagnostopoúlou) and 73,134 in 1912 (Soteriades).[69] Even for the year of 1893, the difference between the Ottoman census data (23,718) and Cuinet (40,795) was about 17,000.[70]

Similar inaccuracies between different sources can also be seen in Jewish and Romani population estimates. For larger communities, there are discrepancies of sometimes tens of thousands between different sources. Nevertheless, the consensus view is that Muslims made up most of the population, followed by Armenians (of all confessions) and Orthodox Greeks/Christians respectively, and then Jews, Romanies, foreigners, Bulgarians, Chaldeans, Roman Catholics and Syriacs in much smaller numbers.

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68 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 186, 193. This was without the inclusion of about 8,000 Hay-Horoms (or Hay-Hurums, literally Armenian-*Rums*), or the 200-300 Muslim Armenians in Açmabaşı village in Incirli. The Hay-Horoms, Kasabian wrote, "[did] not consider themselves Armenians and the government group[ed] them with the Greeks." According to Nakracas their population was more than 15,000 in the 19th century. Georgios Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni: 1922 Emperyalist Yunan Politikası ve Anadolu Felaketi*, trans. Ibram Onsunoğlu [The Origin of Anatolian and Orthodox Christian Migrants: the 1922 Imperialist Greek Policy and the Anatolian Disaster] (Istanbul: Belge, 2003), 156-157. Hay-Horoms were Armenian speakers who belonged to the Orthodox Greek denomination. See Arsen Hakobyan, "The Orthodox-Chalcedonian Armenians from the Caucasus to the Balkans (An Outline of their History and Identity)," in *The Balkans and Caucasus: Parallel Processes on the Opposite Sides of the Black Sea,* eds. Ivan Biliarsky, Ovidiu Cristea and Anca Oroveanu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 143-154.

69 Kasabian, 18; Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 189; Sía Anagnostopoúlou, *Asia Minor, 19th Century to 1919, The Greek Orthodox Communities: From the Romanity Millet to the Greek nation*, rev. ed. (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998), quoted in Nakracas, 154; Georgios Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor* (London: E. Stanford, 1918), 6.

70 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 307.

Table 2.8 Population of the Izmit district.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912			1914
	Karpat	*Cuinet*	*Karpat*	*Kasab.*	*Soteria.*	*A.poúlo.*	*Kévork.*	*Karpat*
Muslims	133,123	129,715	200,560	220,000	116,949			226,859
Hay-Horoms	23,718	40,795	35,866	8,000	73,134	50,224		40,048
Orthodox Greeks				25,000				
Catholic Greeks	133		1					-
Cath. Armenians			402	291				449
Apo. Armenians	37,220	48,635	51,265	54,380	48,635			55,403
All Protestants	1,108		1,826				61,675	1,937
(Pr. Armenians)				(1,452)				
(7th Day Adventists)[71]				(120)				
Roman Cath.	-		10					10
Bulgarians	13		1					8
Syriacs	-		3					3
Chaldeans			8					8
Jews	169	2,500	341	1,000	2,500			428
Romanies	-	1,115	-		1,115			-
Foreign Citizens	191		234					
Total	195,675	222,760	290,517	310,533	242,333			325,153

71 Kasabian (97-98) states that Adventists were unrecognised by the government and were regarded as Protestants. The author says Adventism entered Izmit in 1892 through an Armenian named Dzadour Baharian who spread it among the Protestant community in the region. The Adventists in the Izmit district were predominantly Armenians from Bardizag, Ovacık, Adapazarı, Tamlık and ShakShak as well as some Greeks from Sarıdoğan/Serdivan.

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 166-167, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 307; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 18, 190-193.

2.2.2 *The Merkez [Central] Kaza of Izmit*

As per Cuinet's estimation, the population of the Izmit central *kaza* [subdistrict] was 54,163 in the year of 1893, including the largest Armenian population in the entire district (24,321), while for Karpat (based on official census data around the same time), it was 39,789, which had increased to 71,349 by 1914.[72] There are two striking disparities between the two sources pertaining to the year of 1893. One is the Orthodox Christian population and the other is the Jewish population, which was concentrated in the town centre. Karpat argues the Izmit *kaza* consisted of 3,576 Orthodox Christians and 162 Jews, whereas according to Cuinet, there were 14,890 Orthodox Christians and 2,500 Jews.[73]

It is difficult to pinpoint the reason for such a big gap in the figures pertaining to Orthodox Christians and Jews as both authors give information consistent with these numbers elsewhere in their studies. Soteriades and Anagnostopoúlou's figures corroborate the Ottoman census data pertaining to the Orthodox Christian people. For Soteriades, 3,603 Orthodox Christians lived in the *kaza* of Izmit in 1912, whereas for Anagnostopoúlou, the number was closer to 5,290.[74] Either way, their figures are more consistent with the Ottoman census data than Cuinet's 14,890 which appears to be highly improbable, especially considering the fact

72 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 129, 185; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 307.

73 Cuinet, 356.

74 Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154. It should be noted that Anagnostopoúlou's figure includes Hay-Horoms.

that it is usually Soteriades who has inexplicably high figures for the population of Orthodox Christians.[75]

There is also the case of the Armenian village of Pirahmed/Khasgal that must be addressed here because it complicates accurately reading the population estimates. In spite of being within the jurisdiction of the Armash monastery, Pirahmed was officially a part of the Kaymas *nahiye* of the Kandıra *kaza*, certainly in 1893 as Cuinet states.[76] However, Armash was officially a *nahiye* of the Izmit *kaza* and since Pirahmed was under the authority of the Armash monastery it was generally grouped with Armash and therefore its population, too, was counted towards the total population of the Izmit *kaza* instead of the Kandıra *kaza*. This is evident in the population estimates of the Kandıra *kaza*. According to Karpat the Armenian population of the entire Kandıra *kaza* in 1914 was only 641 people which would be improbable if Pirahmed had been included in that figure because Pirahmed alone had a population of around 800 people before 1914 according to multiple sources.[77] Cuinet is the only one to include Pirahmed as part of the Kandıra *kaza*. To avoid confusion, Pirahmed was included in tables both in this chapter and in the Kandıra chapter, with a more detailed account in the latter.

Table 2.9 Population of the Izmit *kaza* [subdistrict].

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912		1914	
	Karpat	*Cuinet*	*Karpat*	*Kasabian*	*Soteriades*	*A.poúlou*	*Kévorkian*	*Karpat*
Muslims	19,248	18,223	37,290		18,223			40,403
Hay-Horoms	3,576	14,890	4,949		3,608	5,290		5,226

75 Soteriades's overall figure of the Greek population in the Izmit district in 1912, 73,134, also seem highly inflated when compared to the 40,048 in Karpat for the year 1914 and even the 40,795 in Cuinet for the year 1893.

76 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 389.

77 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 185; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 190-193.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912	1914	
Ortho. Greeks							
Catholic Greeks	133		1				-
Cat. Armenians		390	402	291			448
Apo. Armenians	15,837	17,770	21,538	23,619	18,550	25,399[78]	23,873
Protestant Armenians				883			
All Protestants	715	390	1,014				1,078
Rom. Catholics	-	100	3				3
Bulgarians	13		-				-
Syriacs	-		3				3
Chaldeans			8				8
Jews	162	2,500	236		2,500		307
Romanies	-	-	-				-
Foreign Citizens	105		145				
Total	39,789	54,163	65,589		42,876		71,349

By comparison, according to a document entitled "*İzmit'in 1332 senesi taksimat-ı mülkiye istatistiği*" [Izmit's administrative division statistic of the year 1916], the Izmit central *kaza* during the First World War comprised four *nahiyes* and had a population of 47,908 residing in 10,594 houses, which means 23,441 fewer people compared to two years ago

78 It appears that Kévorkian (272) used here the figure given by Karpat but when the numbers for each village in the Izmit *kaza* provided later in the book (551-552) are added together, the result equals to 24,756. He does say the 25,399 includes Catholic and Protestant Armenians but does not give figures for those. And Karpat's 25,399 comprises not just Protestant Armenians but all Protestants. It is true that in the Izmit district Protestants were mostly Armenians but there were also some Greeks and people of other ethnicities in this group.

before the war broke out and before the Armenian people were driven out.[79]

Table 2.10 *Nahiyes* and villages in the Izmit central *kaza* in 1916.

Locality	*Divans*	*Villages*	*Population*	*Households*
Central town	0	25	9,590	1,686
Central *nahiye*	10	54	7,183	1,547
Derbend *nahiye*[80]	6	57	11,635	2,774
Bahçecik *nahiye*	0	35	13,304	2,908
Ermişe *nahiye*	4	36	6,196	1,679
Total	20	207	47,908	10,594

SOURCE BOA.DH.UMVM. 157/96, 19.05.1337 [20 Feb 1919].

2.2.3 *Local Muslims (Manavs)*

To identify the places where local Muslims/Manavs lived before the nineteenth century waves of mass migration, documents were compared from before the beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 and from the end of the period in question (1877-1914), that is to say if possible, from 1914 as well as shortly after that. One such example is the Bab-ı Defteri [Ministry of Finance] Ceride Odası register from January 1833, according to which the town of Izmit had the following twenty Muslim neighbourhoods: Ömer Ağa, Karabaş, Cedid, Çukurbağ, Hacı Hızır, Tepecik, Cami'-i Şerif, Baş Çeşme, Vali Hoca, Hamza Fakıh, Sadık, Hacı Hasan, Akçakoca, Çarşı-yı Müslim, Ahmedcik, Tulkuk, Hacı Hürrem, Turgut, Debbağhane and Karaburç.[81]

79 BOA.DH.UMVM. 157/96, 19.05.1337 [20 Feb 1919].

80 The Derbend *nahiye* was established at the end of 1914. BOA.DH.UMVM. 13/2, 11.01.1333 [29 Nov 1914].

81 BOA.D.CRD.d. 40134 quoted in Tuğba Okuyan, "Izmit Temettuat Defterleri" [Izmit Profits Registers] (M.A., Sakarya University, 2004), 12.

More than a decade later, as the Izmit income surveys [*temettuat defterleri*] of the year 1844-45 demonstrate, the Izmit town centre consisted of the following eighteen Muslim neighbourhoods [*mahalleler*]: Hamza Fakıh, Hacı Hürrem, Yeni Mahalle, Ahmedcik, Ömer Ağa, Hacı Hızır, Hacı Hasan, Akça Mescid, Karabaş, Veli Hoca, Baş Çeşme, Turgut, Çarşı-yı Müslim, Kocabaş, Çukurbağ, Tepecik, Karaburç and Cami-i Şerif.[82]

Furthermore, the *divan*s (units made up of a few or many villages), *çiftliks* [estates] and villages in 1845 were:

Table 2.11 *Divans, çiftliks* and villages in the Izmit *kaza* according to the income surveys of 1844-1845.

Divan/village	Smaller villages belonging to *divan*	Households
Kurtderesi	Karga Hasanoğlu, Muradoğlu, Boyabadoğlu, Gedikli, Islam, Sancaklı, Ortaburun, Ayvalı	57
Yeniköy		117
Kullar		7
Emirhanlı	Emirhanlı, Sofuoğlu, Receb and Kozluca	15
Eşme		63
Resullü	Hacı Ahmed, Kulaksız, Dere, Camili, Aşağıdere, Nasuhlar, Kırma	93
Akpınar	Kulfallı, Hatib, Arızlı, Ahi	79
Çayır	Sapancı, Hacıoğlu, Çayır	40
Yatsıbağ	Duhancıoğlu and Tekye	10
Çepni		80
Durasan	Solaklar, Değirmenli and Durasan	33
Mihaliç		211
Yuvacık		209
Deretepe	Sekbanlı	17
Zeytinburnu	Cucioğlu, Tepe, Karabaki, Dombacıoğlu and Mollaoğlu	32

82 BOA.ML.VRD profits registers, quoted in Okuyan, "Izmit Temettuat Defterleri", 12, 14, 19.

Divan/village	Smaller villages belonging to *divan*	Households
Gökçeviran	Sadıklar, Çobanoğlu, Çeribaşılar, Toplar, Üçgaziler, Nebihoca, Kalemcioğlu, Kocalar	51
Karatepe		67
Köse		14
Kabaoğlu	Sarıcalar and Toylar	22
Saraylı		97
Hisareyn		36
Değirmendere		149
Cedid		
Çiftliks		
Kuloğlu		3
Uzun Bey		21
Hacı Mahmut		8
Veisli		3
Total		1534

SOURCE BOA.D.CRD.d. 40134 quoted in Tuğba Okuyan, "İzmit Temettuat Defterleri" [Izmit Income Surveys] (M.A., Sakarya University, 2004), 12.

When we compare the neighbourhoods from 1833 and 1845 with those from 1914 and 1916, we can see which among the neighbourhoods in the town centre survived after more than eighty years and determine the old ones before the beginning of mass migration in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Table 2.12 Comparison of neighbourhoods in the Izmit town centre over a period of approximately seventy years.

1916			*1914*			*1844-45*	*1833*
N.hood	*Pop.*	*Hou.*	*N.hood*	*Pop.*	*Hous.*	*N.hood*	*N.hood*
Abdüsselam	130	30	Abdüsselam	200	50	Ahmedcik	Ahmedcik
Ahmedcik	284	50	Ahmetçik	400	120	Akça Mescid	Akçakoca

1916			*1914*			*1844-45*	*1833*
Akça Mescid	444	89	Akça Mescit	800	200	Baş Çeşme	Baş Çeşme
Bağ Çeşme	266	59	Bağçeşme	600	150	Cami'-i Şerif	Cami'-i Şerif
Cami-i Şerif	242	13	Camii Şerif	500	120	ÇarşıyıMüslim	Cedid
Cedid	222	41	Cedit	650	220	Çukurbağ	Çarşıyı Müslim
Çarşıyı Müslim	142	27	ÇarşıyıMüslim	100	20	Hacı Hasan	Çukurbağ
Çukurbağ	650	144	Çukurbağ	820	260	Hacı Hızır	Debbağhane
Debbağhane	28	4	Hacıhasan	1200	400	Hacı Hürrem	Hacı Hasan
Hacı Hasan	761	124	Hacıhızır	1150	300	Hamza Fakıh	Hacı Hızır
Hacı Hızır	739	118	Hacı Hürrem	600	150	Karabaş	Hacı Hürrem
Hacı Hürrem	439	69	Hamza Fıkıh	120	30	Karaburç	Hamza Fakıh
Hamza Fakıh	108	30	Karabaş	850	280	Kocabaş	Karabaş
Karabaş	915	133	Karaburç	60	15	Ömer Ağa	Karaburç
Karaburç	181	35	Muhacir Cedit	200	50	Tepecik	Ömer Ağa
Muhacir-i Cedid	179	66	Ömerağa	1200	300	Turgut	Sadık
Ömer Ağa	686	124	Tabakhane	200	55	Veli Hoca	Tepecik
Tepecik	301	64	Tepecik	240	60	Yeni Mahalle	Tulkuk
Tulkuk	70	16	Tulkuk	60	15		Turgut
Turgut	92	19	Turgut	60	15		Veli Hoca
Veli Hoca	417	95	Velihoca	700	150		
Talat Bey	387	89	Armenian	3,500	600		
Mazhar Bey	153	37	Jewish	250	40		
Jewish	306	34	Orthodox Chri.	950	300		
Orthodox Chri.	1198	178					
Foreigner	250	-					
Total	9590	1686		15410	3900		

SOURCE BOA.DH.UMVM. 157/96, 19.05.1337 [20 Feb 1919]; BOA.ML.VRD and BOA.D.CRD.d. 40134 quoted in Tuğba Okuyan, "İzmit Temettuat Defterleri", 12, 19.

Based on the data above, it can be deduced that the old established localities in the Izmit *kaza* where Manav/local Muslims made up the majority of the population before the migration waves in the second half of the nineteenth century were:

Table 2.13 Local Muslim settlements in the Izmit *kaza*.

Neighbourhoods	Ahmedcik, Akça Mescid, Baş (Bağ) Çeşme, Cami'-i Şerif, Cedid, Çarşıyı Müslim, Çukurbağ, Hacı Hasan, Hacı Hızır, Hacı Hürrem, Hamza Fakıh, Karabaş, Karaburç, Ömer Ağa, Tepecik, Tulkuk, Turgut, Veli Hoca
Divans	Kurtderesi, Emirhanlı, Resullü, Akpınar, Çayır, Yatsıbağ, Durasan, Deretepe, Zeytinburnu, Gökçeviran, Kabaoğlu
Villages	Kullar, Eşme-yi Müslim, Çepni, Köse, Saraylı, Hisareyn, Değirmendere, Cedid
Çiftliks	Kuloğlu, Uzun Bey, Hacı Mahmut, Veisli

2.2.4 *Local Armenians*

Known old Armenian settlements in the Izmit *kaza* were Karabaş and Kozluk (formerly Kadıbayır) neighbourhoods in the western part of the town of Izmit; Bahçecik (Bardizag), Döngel, Ovacık (Yuvacık) in the south and southeast; Arslanbey (Arslanbeg) in the east; Armash (Ermişe; Akmeşe) and Dagh (Dagh [Mountain] Köy) in the northeast. Bahçecik's port Seymen (Segban) and Khaner (Vart), located halfway along the road between Bahçecik and Seymen, were also areas where some Armenian people resided later.[83]

83 As mentioned before, Khasgal (Pirahmed) although within the jurisdiction of the Armash monastery and often included as part of the *kaza* of Izmit in the literature on Armenian settlements, was actually within the borders of the *nahiye* of Kaymas in the *kaza* of Kandıra and for this reason it was not included in this chapter. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie,* 367; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 21-28, 53-54, 66-69,

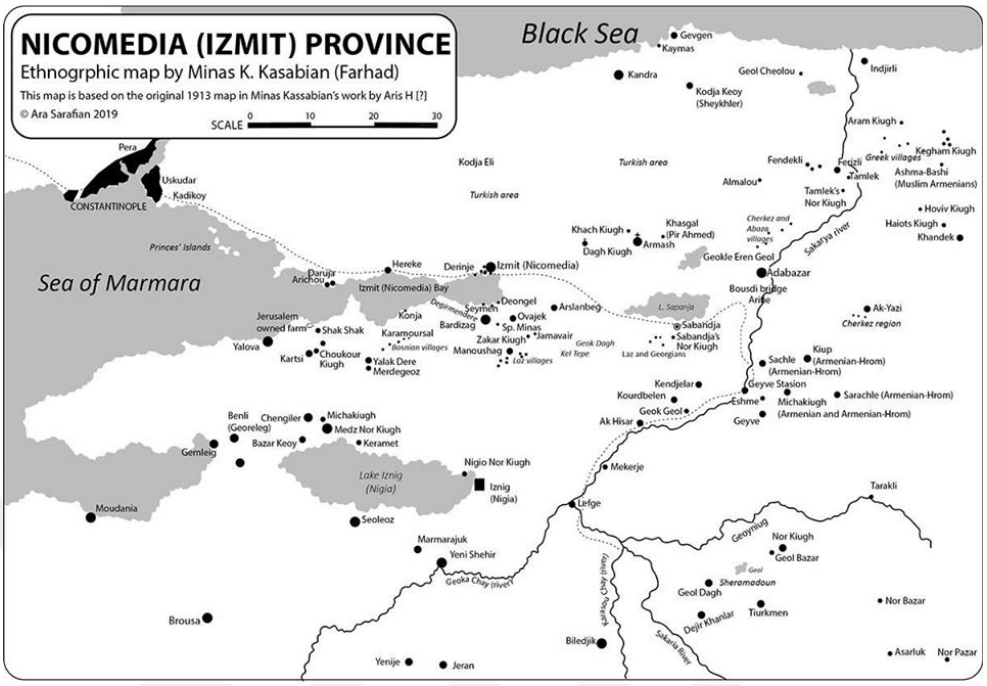


Figure 2.1 Armenian settlements in the Izmit district, 1913. SOURCE: Ara Sarafian, 2019, in Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, xvii.

There are different accounts on the Armenian migrants that first settled in the Nicomedia (ancient Izmit) region. In the opinion of Bishop Hovagimian, the first to settle in Izmit were Armenian migrants from Kemah (in Erzincan). Kasabian objects to this claim in his book, published in 1913, citing the journal *Sion*, in which there was apparently no reference

190; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551-2; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 231-270; İller Bankası, *İzmit Analitik Etütleri*, 8; Boghos Vartabed Natanian, *First Report on the Diocese of Nicomedia 1870: The Visitation Made by Archimandrite (Vartabed) Boghos Natanian*, trans. and annot. Ara Stepan Melkonian (London: Gomidas Institute, 2019), 15-28. As stated by Kasabian (69), the hamlet of Sourp was built by families from Manoushag who lived in both villages but were registered as residents in the former for Sourp was not recognised by the government as a village.

to Kemah in the part of the journal describing the Armenian migration to Rodosto (Tekirdağ).[84]

As told by Kasabian, the local written and oral traditions at the time (1909-12) held that there was an Armenian village made up of about seven families headed by Rev. Avedik that had fled from the Celalis[85] and arrived at the northern end of modern Armash to an area called Kshla (Kışla), which still existed in the seventeenth century.[86] For *kahana* [married priest] Hovhannes Mavian, their date of arrival was either 1591 or 1601.[87] He contended that when the Armenians first arrived there, the place was called Armağan-Shah by the Turks, which was later turned into Aramasha. Apparently, the village was still called Armasha by the villagers themselves in the 1910s, which would support this argument on the origin of its name.

There is another hypothesis which holds that the name Armash comes from Marash. It is based primarily on an article written by

84 Kasabian, 22.

85 *Celali* is a term that derives from Shi'ite sheikh Celal who led a rebellion against the Ottoman state in 1519 near Tokat in central Anatolia. Afterwards, subsequent rebellions in the Anatolian countryside began to be referred to as *Celali* rebellions, making the word *Celali* synonymous with bandit and rebel. The violent period between the 1570s and the 1640s in particular wreaked havoc on the rural Anatolian peasantry, uprooting thousands and depopulating sometimes entire villages. Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: The Celalis c. 1550-1700," in *The Ottoman World,* ed. Christine Woodhead (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 191-193, 199. For the causes and consequences of the *Celali* rebellions, see also Mustafa Akdağ, *Celali İsyanları (1550-1603)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963); William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000–1020/1591–1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983); and Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

86 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 27; Kışla is also mentioned in priest Mikayel Yeramyan's wrirtings on the History of Armash, quoted in Yakup Aygil and Yakup Özkan, *Bithynia Tümlüğü Içinde Akmeşe (Armaş)* [Armash Within the Bithynia Totality] (Istanbul: Gerçeğe Doğru Kitapları, 2012), 73-74.

87 Kasabian, 27. Kasabian quoted Mavian's work *History of the Monastery of Armash*, 1808, 1. The Armenians lived in the lower part of the village, while the "Turks" lived in the upper part.

someone named Krikor (or "Father-Son Krikors") and published in the journal of *Puzantion* between 31 January and 2 February 1912.[88] This account entitled "Literary remnants gathered by Teacher Maruke" argued that the Armenians had first migrated to the Armash region, known as Tosbit in the early fifteenth century, from Marash in 1410 and that they were called *Marash garipleri* [foreigners or strangers] by the local Greeks.[89] This article was known to Kasabian in 1912. According to him, the article was a rewrite, dated 1 March 1909, by Setrag Garabed Saprichian of his own previous transcription, dated 20 November 1889, from a book by Rev. Hovhannes of Siirt entitled *A Collection of Fragments of Bibliographies Collected by the Archimandrite (Vartabed) Marouk*, containing twenty-eight accounts from between the years of 900 and 1500. It was first published in the journal *Puzantion* and later in *Piutania* by *kahana* Serovpe Bourmayian.[90]

It is clear that Kasabian was not convinced by the authenticity and accuracy of this account by Krikor, which to him was at best a third hand copy of the original manuscript.[91] In spite of this, on the subject of the origin of Armash's name, he admits that it remained a mystery. Despite the possible Armenian presence in Armash in the early fifteenth century, the majority of the village population were descendants of eastern Armenian migrants who arrived during the Turco-Persian wars (and the Celali rebellions taking place around the same time) in the sixteenth and

88 Aygil and Özkan, 69-74. There are other arguments that add strength to the Marash-Armash connection in the same section.

89 Aygil and Özkan, 70-72; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 45. This region was burned down by the local Greeks in 1416 and apparently nothing could be saved.

90 Kasabian, 45.

91 See Kasabian, 45-47 for his critique of this account.

seventeenth centuries, especially in 1608, and the need for a monastery emerged because of this increase in population.[92]

There are other accounts that attest to the arrival of Armenian migrants at various regions in the district of Izmit before the seventeenth century. For example, multiple sources state that first Karabaş and later Kadıbayır (Kozluk) were neighbourhoods in the town in which Armenians lived.[93] These earliest arrivals in the town were master masons from Palu (in the Diyarbekir province at that time), who had been hired to work in the construction of mosques and bathhouses, one of them being the Pertev Pasha (also known as Yeni Cuma) Mosque. Since the construction of the Pertev Pasha (Yeni Cuma) Mosque had started upon the pasha's request sometime after his death, believed to be in 1572, and had been completed by the celebrated Mimar Sinan in 1579, it would seem that the Armenian masons had arrived before or in 1579.[94]

These masons from Palu that were allowed to settle down in the town centre initially had done so in the quarter known as Karabaş, where the

92 "Armash Monastery or the Holy Mother of God Destroyer of Evil," Collectif 2015: reparation, accessed 17 March 2020, https://www.collectif2015.org/en/100Monuments/Le-monastere-d-Armache-ou-de-la-Sainte-Mere-de-Dieu-Destructrice-du-Mal/.

93 Osman Köker and Richard G. Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor, with the Post Card Collection of O.C. Calumeno," in *The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor*, ed. Richard. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 238; O. Polatel, "Osmanlı Dönemi Izmit'in Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Hayatında Ermeniler" [Armenians in the Socio-Economic and Cultural Life of Izmit in the Ottoman Period], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 891-923; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 22.

94 Kasabian, 22; Rıfat Yüce, *Kocaeli Tarihi ve Rehberi*, ed. Atilla Oral (Istanbul: Demkar, 2007), 210; H. Gündoğdu and R. Işık, "Izmit Pertev Paşa Külliyesi'nin Klasik Osmanlı Mimarisindeki Yeri ve Önemi [Izmit Pertev Pasha Complex's Place and Importance in Classical Ottoman Architecture], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1587-1607.

Armenian community later flourished with the arrival of Persian Armenian migrants in the seventeenth century.[95] But afterwards, the Armenian community of the Karabaş quarter was moved to the Kadıbayır area to the west of the town. From then on, the Karabaş quarter was taken over by Muslims and referred to as a Muslim neighbourhood in official records while the Kadıbayır area began to be referred to as the Armenian neighbourhood (Appendix B). This is why Kadıbayır does not appear in state documents because it was referred to as the Armenian neighbourhood instead.[96] After 1915, the Armenian neighbourhood or Kadıbayır was divided into Talat Bey and Mazhar Bey neighbourhoods (Appendix B). Kozluk is the modern name of this former Armenian quarter.[97]

To the south of the town centre in the countryside across the Gulf of Izmit was the village of Bahçecik or Bardizag as it was called by its inhabitants. As told by two Bardizag natives,[98] the village was originally referred to as "Bahchadjoukh" [Bahçacuk], named after a village of the same name in the Sivas province as it was believed that the founding families were from Sivas.[99] Over time, Bahçacuk became Bahçecik, which was the village's official name used by the government. Bardizag or Bardezag on the other hand, was a relatively new usage, introduced sometime in

95 In the opinion of Kasabian (22), the Persian Armenians came from the Ararat plain due to deportations by Shah Abbas some 20-30 years after the arrival of the masons from Palu (which was around 1580). This is an accurate estimate by Kasabian because the migration from the Ararat plain took place approximately between 1603 and 1620. See, Houri Berberian, *Armenians And The Iranian Constitutional Revolution Of 1905-1911: The Love For Freedom Has No Fatherland*, rev. ed. (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2018).

96 Polatel, "Osmanlı Dönemi Izmit'in Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Hayatında Ermeniler," 894-898. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 22.

97 Iller Bankası, *İzmit Analitik Etütleri*, 8; Polatel, 894.

98 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 23-24; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 13-14.

99 Mkhalian says that while the origin of the first families was not a historical fact, the residents of Bardizag accepted Sivas as their place of origin.

the second half of the nineteenth century, appropriated and popularised by the American missionaries who used it formally.

There is also a story that ascribes the founding of the village's name to Sultan Murad IV, according to which the sultan, on his way to war with the Persians, likened the village (Bardizag) to a *bahçecik* [small garden] and Ovacık to a *yuvacık* [small nest], ergo the names. However, this story is believed to be false as Sultan Murad visited the village around 1633, which by then was a well-established settlement, one certainly with a proper name. Regarding the origin of the first families, it appears that there were in fact two groups. The first one comprising seven (or thirteen) families came from the village of the same name in Sivas after escaping from the Celali rebellions, which puts their date of departure sometime between 1596 and 1609 when the rebellions were arguably at their peak.[100] The second group comprising nineteen households, that arrived in Bardizag after the first one, probably migrated from Eğin[101] (Agn) or Arapgir as the Bardizag dialect was "exactly like that of Arapgir and Agn."[102]

According to the village tradition, the first group of families when they first arrived in the region worked alongside Turks at an estate nearby Bardizag that belonged to Halil Pasha who was of Armenian origin himself. Upon the pasha's orders, the first group of Armenian migrants were allowed to settle in Bardizag. When the second group arrived, they set up a village called Ören nearby and also worked at Halil's Pasha's estate [*çiftlik*], who later had them move in with the first group in Bardizag. Given that the village elders estimated Bardizag to be 320-330 years old when Kasabian was writing his book in 1910-12 and that the imperial decree recognising the existence of the village had been issued in 1625, the founding

100 Özel, "The Reign of Violence," 189-190.

101 Modern-day Kemaliye in Erzincan, Turkey.

102 This remark was made by the chief editor of *Azadamard*, Roupen Zartarian, during his visit to Bardizag in 1911.

date of the village would have to be somewhere between 1580 and several years before 1625.[103]

Seymen, on the southern shore of the Izmit Bay, was known as the port of Bardizag. It was an industrial area with shops, coffee houses, bakeries and warehouses.[104] And Khaner (Vart or Vartashen as Kasabian called it) was an area with a large field located between Bardizag and Seymen. With over sixty silkworm-rearing houses, it was used for silkworm breeding and later it became the agricultural centre for the Bardizag villagers.[105]

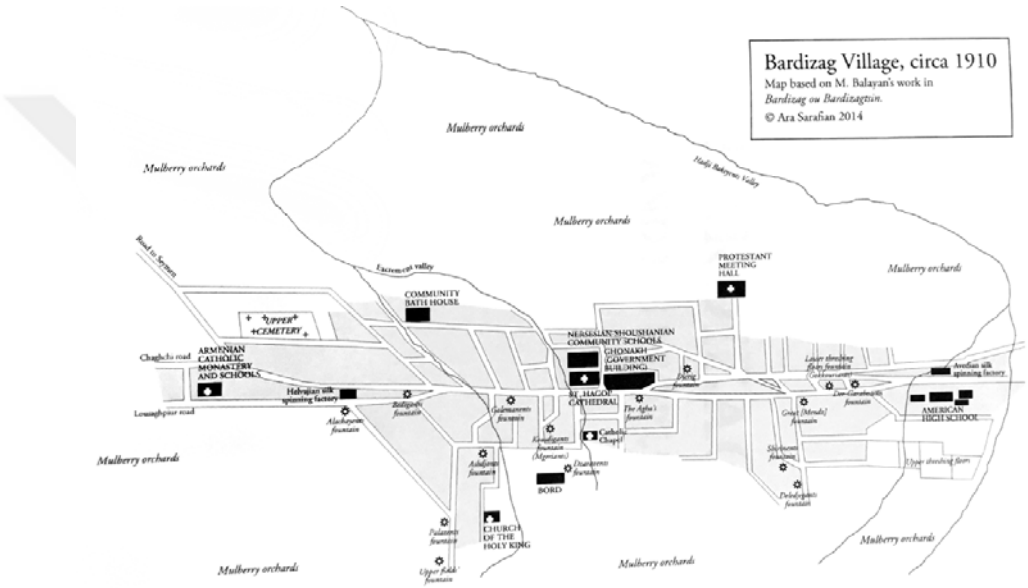


Figure 2.2 Bardizag village, circa 1910. SOURCE: Ara Sarafian, 2014, in Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, xxix.

103 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 5, 21

104 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 53; Mkhalian, 362. While Kasabian states six or seven families and some single men from Bardizag lived there, Mkhalian argues Seymen did not have a settled population. It could be that its inhabitants worked and spent a part of the year there, accompanied by their family members.

105 Kasabian, 53; Mkhalian, 12.

Dagh (Dağ Köy, literally Mountain Village) was founded by Armenian migrants from the Bilecik region (district of Ertuğrul in the Hüdavendigar Province) supposedly two years before Bahçecik. The families apparently first went to Armash but were directed to settle in the Alan Düzü [Flat Area] to the east, instead. Not satisfied with the climate, they then went south west near the Alevi village of Bayraktar[106] and with the agreement of the local villagers founded a new village in Giaour Alan [Non-Muslim/Infidel Area] between Bayraktar and Kirazoğlu further south, which probably was called as such after their arrival. Sometime later, they left once again due to unsatisfactory conditions and finally settled in the mountainous area to the north (west of Armash), after which they would name their village.[107]

Ovacık, situated to the east of Bahçecik, was founded by Eğin migrants around the turn of the seventeenth century as tradition held. Later, the village's population increased with the arrival of Armenian migrants from Erzurum (Garin).[108]

Arslanbey (Arslanbeg), located further to the east of Ovacık, was also founded around the same time (1600) by a group of seven Armenian families from the Karabağ (Artshakh) region in Persia that escaped from the Turko-Persian wars.[109] Tradition held that the families first settled near an estate owned by *bostancıbaşı*[110] Aslan Bey, who upon seeing the

106 The village was previously referred to as Emin Bayraktar Çiftliği. BOA.MVL. 835/102, 03.08.1276 [25 Feb 1860]; BOA.BEO. 3529/264631, 14.03.1327 [05 Apr 1909].

107 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 26-27.

108 Ibid., 24-25.

109 The founding date of Arslanbey appears to be supported by written records as well, in addition to oral tradition. Kasabian, 25. According to Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie,* 364) the village was previously known as *Iç-kara*, for which "Inner-land" would probably be an accurate translation, rather than inner-black (as *kara* can mean both a piece of land and the colour black).

110 Literally "head gardener" but in actual fact the *bostancıbaşı* was the commander of the *Bostancı* corps, "in charge of guarding the imperial palaces and their environs". Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II*, 24. See also, Abdülkadir

villagers struggling to maintain a peaceful existence due to banditry took them under his wing and invited them to resettle at the southern end of his estate. Evidently, this "new" village had been named after him, and later welcomed two families from Sivas and one from Erzurum.[111]

Unlike the rest of the oldest Armenian settlements in the region, the origins of Döngel's founders were unknown. It was a village located to the north-east of Bahçecik and near the south-eastern coast of the Gulf of Izmit whose inhabitants apparently had a unique character, which indicated perhaps a different origin than the rest.[112]

Even though it is difficult to determine the oldest among them, the earliest Armenian settlements in the region were Khasgal (Pirahmed), Karabaş/Kadıbayır (Kozluk) quarters in the town centre, Döngel, Bardizag, Dagh, Armash, Ovacık and Arslanbey. The villages founded later (after the 1850s) by Hemshin Armenian[113] migrants from Ordu were Zakar Köy, Manoushag, Jamavayr, Khach and hamlets Sourp and Düzlük.

Özcan, "Hassa Ordusunun Temeli: Mu'allem Bostaniyan-ı Hassa Ocağı" [The Foundation of the Hassa Army: Trained Imperial Gardeners Corps], *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 34 (1984). There was another estate called Çeltük near Arslanbey in the 18th century that had been given to the *Mu'allem Bostaniyan-ı Hassa Ocağı*. BOA.C.SM. 180/9014, 29.01.1160 [10 Feb 1747].

111 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 25. The villagers had to relocate once more, slightly to the south, after a devastating fire in 1886 that destroyed most of the village. BOA.Y.A.HUS. 197/52, 11.03.1304 [08 Dec 1886].

112 The villagers believed they were the earliest Armenian migrants in the region, possibly from the Cilicia region according to the author. Kasabian, 25.

113 The Hemshin Armenians, or Laz Armenians as Kasabian and Mkhalian both refer to, were Armenians originally from Hemshin, who fled to Ordu in the seventeenth century and remained Armenian Apostolic Christians as opposed to those that stayed in Hemshin and converted to Islam. Today, the term "Hemshin" or "Hemshinli" refers more to Islamicised Armenians and that is why it is important to differentiate between the Muslim Hemshin and the Armenian Apostolic Hemshin communities. Kasabian, 59; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 292. On the Hemshin people, see Hovann H. Simonian ed., *The Hemshin: History, society and identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).

Table 2.14 Local Armenian population in the Izmit *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Cuinet 1893	Kasabian 1909-10	Kévorkian pre 1914	Köker & Hov. pre 1914	Founding date	Origins
Karabaş/ Kadıbayır	4,250	4,289	4,635	>4,500	1579-82	Palu, Kemah, Yerevan
Bardizag	10,000	8,256	9,024	10,000	1580-1615	Sivas, Eğin/Arapgir
Döngel		419	419			possibly Cilicia
Ovacık		3,303	3,303		1595/1605	Eğin, Erzurum
Arslanbey	2,800	3,218	3,218	3,000	1600/1610	Karabağ, Sivas, Erzurum
Armash	1,500	1,505	1,505	1,500	1600	Marash
Dagh		389	380	400	1590	Kütahya
Khasgal/ Pirahmed	750	779	811	800	1560	Eğin
Total (w/o Pirahmed)	18,550	21,379	22,484	>22,083		

SOURCE Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie,* 357-368; Kasabian, 22-28, 66-72, 190; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551-552; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 238-240.

2.2.5 *Local Orthodox Christians*

Before the First World War the Orthodox Greek people in the *kaza* of Izmit lived in three Greek villages, one mixed village and in the Izmit town centre. The Greek villages were Neohorio (1,020 people; 219 houses), Karatepe (1,500 people; 239 houses) and Mihaliç (1,300 people; 288 houses). The mixed village was Eşme (900 Orthodox Greek people; 143 Orthodox Greek households) half of whose population was made up of Muslims.

And the town centre had a community of about 1,200 Orthodox Greek people in 210 houses.[114]

According to Anagnostopoúlou, some of the urban "Greeks" in the town centre were Protestants and spoke Armenian, which, for Nakracas, meant that they could be Hay-Horoms.[115] However, Hay-Horoms, literally Armenian-Greeks, were Armenian speakers who belonged to the Greek Orthodox denomination and not Protestantism. For this reason, if these Armenian-speaking Protestant "Greeks" that Anagnostopoúlou mentioned were indeed Hay-Horoms, they had to have converted to Protestantism.

It should be noted that the only source that directly refers to the Hay-Horoms is Kasabian, according to whose personal census there was about 8,000 Hay-Horoms in the Izmit district.[116] He did not include them in his figures on Armenians because they belonged to the Greek Orthodox denomination and, in his words, neither the Hay-Horoms themselves nor the government saw them as Armenians. Therefore, the Hay-Horoms almost certainly were counted as Orthodox Greeks in censuses.

Table 2.15 Local Orthodox Christian population in the Izmit *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Soteriades, 1912	Anagnostopoúlou, 1912	Karpat, 1914
Izmit town centre	210 houses		1,200	
Neohorio (Yeniköy/şehir)	219 houses		1,020	
Karatepe	239 houses		1,500	
Mihaliç (or Mihaliçion)	288 houses		1,300	

114 Mihaliçion was founded by migrants from the Mihaliç (Karacabey) village of the Bursa (Hüdavendigar) province. Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154; Ari Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri* [Orthodox Christian Settlements in Anatolia and the Thrace in the Early 20th Century], (2016, reprint, Istanbul: Literatür, 2017), 157-158.

115 Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154.

116 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 186.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Soteriades, 1912	Anagnostopoúlou, 1912	Karpat, 1914
Eşme	143 houses		900	
Total	1099 houses	3,603	5,920	5,226

SOURCE Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154; Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 189; Ari Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri* 157-158.

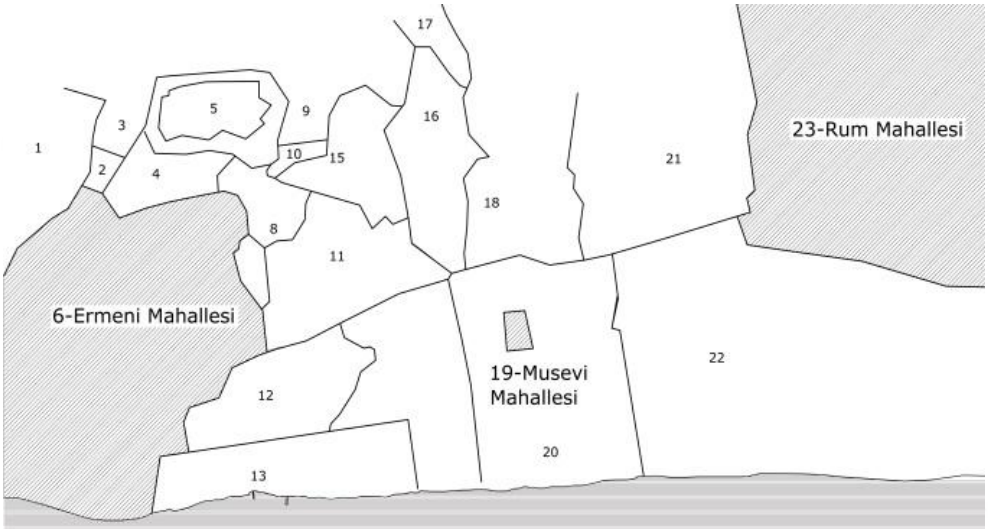


Figure 2.3 Old neighbourhood borders in the Izmit town centre in the nineteenth century. SOURCE: E. Yeşim Özgen Kösten, "Kentsel Kimliğin Değişen Görüntüleri: Eski Kent, Yeni Merkez-Izmit" [Changing Views of Urban Identity: Old City, New Centre-Izmit], *NWSA-Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2015): 8, http://dx.doi.org/10.12739/NWSA.2015.10.1.3C0125.

§ 2.3 Migration and Migrant Settlements

According to a document from 1881,[117] the number of migrants who had (temporarily) settled in the district of Izmit during the four-year period following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 was 21,486, of which 9,425 were from Batumi (mostly Georgians and Laz), 8,574 from Sokhumi (mainly Abkhazians), 1,960 were Circassians, and 1,527 were Rumili/Rumeli Turks.[118]

Table 2.16 Muslim migrants who had been sent to the district of Izmit.

Migration period	*Ethnicity*	*# of migrant settlers*	*Waiting to be settled*
Reigns of Abdülmecid & Abdülaziz	Tatar-Nogay	377	-
	Circassian	3,960	
Mes'ele-i zaile		1,960	
(The war that ended; meaning the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish war or the *93 Harbi*)	Batumi	9,425	-
	Sokhumi	8,574	
	Rumeli Turk	1,527	
	Total:	25,823	-
	From 1877 on:	21,486	

SOURCE Ipek, *Kocaeli'nde Göç ve İskan*, 1258.

Table 2.17 Muslim migrant population in the Izmit district in 1881.

Locality	Before the 1877-78 war	During and after the 1877-78 war				Total
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian		Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
***Nefs-i* Izmit**	286	197		3,829	386	946	5,644
Adapazarı	91	1,741	1145	1,300	492	406	5,175

117 BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881] quoted in Paşaoğlu, 371. The presence of "Rumeli Turk" and "Albanian-Bosniak" as separate categories indicates the absence of (or lack of information on) the latter in the Izmit district.

118 Ipek, *Kocaeli'nde Göç ve İskan*, 1258.

Locality	Before the 1877-78 war		During and after the 1877-78 war				Total
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian		Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
Sapanca		1,724	248	191	80		2,243
Hendek				862	3,242	56	4,160
Ab-ı Safi					796		796
Kandıra				378			378
Şeyhler					2,059	48	2,107
Kaymas					791	44	835
Karasu				1,532			1,532
Ak Abad				65			65
Ağaçlı				68			68
Geyve		298			714		1,012
Akhisar			45		14		59
Taraklı							0
Karamürsel			72			27	99
Yalova			450	1,200			1,650
Total	377	3,960	1,960	9,425	8,574	1,527	25,823

SOURCE Ipek, "Kocaeli'nde Göç ve İskan," 1258.

Another official report by the Daire-i Sadaret [Grand Vizierate] dated 14 July 1893 states that a total of 46,463 people had migrated to and settled in the district of Izmit by 1891, which demonstrates a further 20,640 people migrated to the district during the decade since the report from 1881 cited above.[119]

119 BOA.Y.A.HUS. 277/136, 29.12.1310 [14 July 1893]; General Directorate of the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Archives, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kafkas Göçleri I* [Caucasian Migrations in Ottoman Documents I] (Istanbul: Ottoman Archive Department, 2012), 499-502.

It appears that the district was closed to the settlement of migrants by 1896, citing lack of available land.[120] However, the Balkan Wars also had an impact on the region, with an estimated 5,000-7,000 Muslims (Turks, Bosniaks and Albanians) settling in the district of Izmit between 1912-15.[121]

In addition to Muslims, Ottoman archival documents and Armenian sources demonstrate some Orthodox Christians and Hemshin Armenians from the north-eastern part of the Ottoman Empire, too, migrated to the district of Izmit. For example, seventy Greek Orthodox people from the Trabzon province settled in Izmit the 1890s, and between 1878 and 1897 hundreds of Hemshin Armenians migrated from the Ordu *kaza* of the Trabzon province to Izmit. There was also outmigration from Izmit to Salonika after the Balkan Wars in 1913.[122]

2.3.1 *The Izmit Kaza [Subdistrict]*

2.3.1.1 Muslims

The number of Muslim migrants who had settled in *nefs-i* Izmit (town centre and surrounding villages) during and after the 1877-78 war was 5,161.

Table 2.18 Muslim migrant population in the Izmit district centre in 1881.

Locality	*Before the 1877-78 war*	*During and after the 1877-78 war*				*Total*
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
Nefs-i Izmit	286	197	3,829	386	946	5,644

120 Nedim Ipek, *Kocaeli'nde Göç ve İskan*, 1258. BOA.DH.MKT. 1729/106, 17.10.1307 [06 June 1890] mentions the lack of empty land for the settlement of migrants six years earlier than Ipek's account.

121 H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makus Talihi: Göç* [Bad Fortune of the Balkans from the Ottoman to the Republic: Migration] (Istanbul: Kum Saati, 2001), 203; Murat Bardakçı, *Talat Paşa'nın Evrak-ı Metrukesi* (Istanbul: Everest, 2013), 35; Ulugün, *Kocaeli'de Tarihsel Göçler*, 1278-1280.

122 BOA.Y.PRK.ASK. 102/11, 07.07.1312 [04 Jan 1895]; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 66-70.

Locality	*Before the 1877-78 war*	*During and after the 1877-78 war*				*Total*
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
Total	483			5,161		

SOURCE BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881] quoted in Paşaoğlu, "Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre," 371.

The following were some of the villages that were established by the migrants.

Table 2.19 Some of the Muslim migrant villages and their founding families.

Village	*Year of establishment*	*Founding families/tribes*	*Ethnicity*
Uzuntarla	1878 (gained village status in 1879)	Hacemko Murat and his family; initially 10-15 households	Circassian
Ketenciler	1877/8	Group from Hakurine Hable from Cherkessia	Circassian
Maşukiye	1862-63	Murat Bey from the Voçbe tribe	Ubykh
Hikmetiye	1864 or 1899	Families from Duripş or Süleyman Bey	Abkhaz
Tepetarla (Rahmiye)	after the 1877-78 was	Migrants from Bulgaria	Turk, also very few Ubykh and Laz
Selimiye	1889	Families from Aşşu, Sokhumi	Abkhaz
Servetiye		Abdioğulları tribe	Laz
Hamidiye		Kadızade and Gürcüzade tribes	Georgian
Mamuriye		Families from the Maradit village in Borçka	Georgian
Icadiye			
Siretiye			
Nimetiye			
Lütfiye			
Nüzhetiye			

Village	*Year of establishment*	*Founding families/tribes*	*Ethnicity*
Hasaneyn			
Hisareyn			
Ferhadiye			
Şevketiye			
Ümniye			
Ahmediye			
Irşadiye			
Yenimahalle			

SOURCE Bi, *XIX. Yüzyılda Kocaeli Vilayeti'ne*, 1329-34; Ulugün, *Kocaeli'de Tarihsel Göçler*, 1291-1293; Mehdi Nüzhet Çetinbaş, *Uzuntarla'dan Portreler* (Istanbul: Kafkas Vakfı Yayınları, 2018), 13-14.

Another highly pertinent source is the Iskan-ı Muhacirin Defterleri[123] [Migrant Settlement Records] that kept records of migrant settlements, lands given to the migrants as well as their personal and familial information. As stated by the Izmit Iskan-ı Muhacirin Defteri of 1888-89, a total of at least 1,314 households of Georgian, Laz, Abkhaz, Circassian, Turk and Tatar migrants from Rumelia, Batumi, Sokhumi and Kazan had settled in thirty-three villages of the district of Izmit.[124] The Batumi Georgians

123 Nedim Ipek, "Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri (1877–1890)" [Turkish Migrations from Rumelia to Anatolia] (Ph.D., Istanbul University, 1991), 284.

124 Sarı, *İskan Defterlerine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)*. These villages were Selimiye, Nimetiye, Uzuntarla, Mesruriye, Mamuriye, Ahmediye, Hamidiye, Şevketiye, Siretiye, Icadiye, Servetiye, Hasaneyn, Yenimahalle, Nüzhetiye, Ferhadiye, Sofiye (Sofular), Ümmiye, Lütfiye, Kızılcıklı, Çubuklu Osmaniye and Bala, Camili, Kefre Kırma, Karapınar, Ketenciler, Teşvikiye (Acısu), Rahmiye, Şefkatiye, Ifraziye, Balaban, Nusretiye, Hikmetiye, Şirinsulhiye and Çepni.

settled in sixteen[125] of those villages; the Batumi Laz in eight[126] villages; the Rumelia Circassians in four;[127] the Batumi Abkhazians in four;[128] and the Turks, Kazan and Tatar migrants in three villages.[129]

Table 2.20 Caucasian Muslim migrant villages in the Izmit kaza according to the Iskan-ı Muhacirin Defteri [Migrant Settlement Record] of 1888-1889.

Village	Abkhaz		Batumi Abkhaz		Batumi Georgian		Batumi Laz		Total	
	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land
Selimiye			29	131			14	88	43	219
Nimetiye					26	79			26	79
Mesruriye							34	208	34	208
Mamuriye					33	215			33	215
Ahmediye					26	130			26	130
Hamidiye					91	676			91	676
Şevketiye					18	166			18	166
Siretiye					34	295			34	295
Icadiye					21	131			21	131
Servetiye							18	208	18	208
Hasaneyn					52	309			52	309
Yenimahalle					53	341			53	341
Nüzhetiye					63	369			63	473
Ferhadiye						104				

125 Nimetiye, Mamuriye, Ahmediye, Hamidiye, Şevketiye, Siretiye, Icadiye, Hasaneyn, Yenimahalle, Nüzhetiye, Ferhadiye, Ümmiye, Lütfiye, Çubuklu Osmaniye and Bala, Balaban, Şirinsulhiye.

126 Selimiye, Mesruriye, Servetiye, Sofiye, Çubuklu Osmaniye and Bala, Şefkatiye, Ifraziye, Çepni.

127 Uzuntarla, Ketenciler, Acısu, Rahmiye.

128 Selimiye, Karapınar, Nusretiye, Hikmetiye.

129 Camili, Nusretiye, Çepni.

Village	Abkhaz		Batumi Abkhaz		Batumi Georgian		Batumi Laz		Total	
	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land	houses	land
Sofiye (Sofular)							34	250	34	250
Ümniye					18	115			18	115
Lütfiye					40	274			40	274
Çubuklu Osmaniye					•	141			54	275
Çubuklu Bala							•	134		
Karapınar	40	173							40	173
Şefkatiye							50	361	50	361
Ifraziye							62	272	62	272
Balaban					5	16			5	16
Hikmetiye	84	276							84	276
Şirinsulhiye[130]					64	328			64	328
Çepni+							•	•		36
Total	124	449	29	131	≈571	3689	>239	≈1533	>963	5826

+ also present on the Rumeli migrants table; mixed village of Laz, Rumeli Turk & Rumeli Tatar migrants.

SOURCE Sarı, *İskan Defterlerine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)*, 2252-2253.

130 On the origin of its name, see A. Koçak, "Kocaeli Köy Adları Üzerine Bir İnceleme" [A Study on Kocaeli Village Names], in I. *Uluslararası Kocaeli ve Çevresi Kültür Sempozyumu bildirileri: 20-21-22 Nisan 2006* 2, edited by Işıl Altun (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 740-755.

Table 2.21 Rumeli Muslim migrant villages in the Izmit *kaza* according to the Iskan-ı Muhacirin Defteri [Migrant Settlement Record] of 1888-1889.

Village	Rumeli		Rumeli Circassian		Rumeli Abkhaz		Rumeli Turk		Tatar Rumeli/Kazan		Total	
	house	land	house	land	house	land	house	land	house	land	house	land
Uzuntarla			78	530							78	530
Kızılcıklı	22	49									22	49
Camili							•	•	Kazan	•	22	14
Kefre Kırma	•	59										59
Ketenciler			104	586							104	586
Teşvikiye (Acısu)	•	76	•	71							39	147
Rahmiye			55	178							55	178
Nusretiye+					•	•	•	•	Rumeli	•	31	50
Çepni							•	•	Rumeli	•		36
Total	≈48	184	≈256	1365	≈10	≈16	>17	≈35	>17	≈35	>351	1649

+ Sarı later refers to Nusretiye as "Tatar Nusretiye". It appears that, as Hakan Kırımlı says,[131] it was first a Tatar village in 1860-1, then became mixed with the arrival of Batumi Georgians (although they are not on the *iskan-ı muhacirin defteri* above), Rumeli Abkhazians and Rumeli Turks and gradually lost its Tatar population.

SOURCE Sarı, *İskan Defterlerine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)*, 2252-2253.

131 H. Kırımlı, "Kocaeli Havâlisine Kırım Tatar Muhacir İskânları" [Settlements of Crimean Tatar Migrants around Kocaeli], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1361-1364.

Table 2.22 Land distribution in villages where Muslim migrants settled according to the İskan-ı Muhacirin Defteri [Migrant Settlement Record] of 1888-1889.

Village	*Neighbouring villages*	*Estimated total land (dönüm)*	*Cultivated by migrants (dönüm)*	*Unopened cultivatable (dönüm)*	*Forest/ coppice (dönüm)*
Selimiye	Lütfiye, Hamidiye, Ihsaniye	4,000	757	1,009	2,234
Nimetiye	Hasaneyn, Bahçecik, Yeniköy, Akhisar in Bahçecik	1,500	621	279	600
Uzuntarla	Eşme, Ketenciler, Acısu, Mesruriye	3,860	1,911	1,959	
Mesruriye	Şevketiye, Ahmediye	5,000	754	650	3,590
Mamuriye	Siretiye, Ferhadiye, Nüzhetiye, Ümniye in Bahçecik	4,000	595	3500	
Ahmediye	Mesruriye, Lütfiye, Sofiye	5,000	524	1,000	3,476
Hamidiye	Selimiye, Icadiye, Ihsaniye	8,000	3,656	-	4,344
Şevketiye	Mesruriye, Icadiye, Yenimahalle	4,000	380	700	2,920
Siretiye	Ümniye, Mamuriye, Hasaneyn, Nüzhetiye, Yenimahalle in Bahçecik	4,200	1,152	750	2,300
Icadiye	Hamidiye, Şevketiye, Yenimahalle	3,000	625	375	2,000
Servetiye	Bahçecik	3,000	651	349	2,000
Hasaneyn	Akhisar kadim köyü, Siretiye, Ümniye in Bahçecik	6,000	1,250	2,200	2,500
Yenimahalle	Siretiye, Icadiye, Şevketiye in Bahçecik	6,300	910	1,500	3,890

Village	*Neighbouring villages*	*Estimated total land (dönüm)*	*Cultivated by migrants (dönüm)*	*Unopened cultivatable (dönüm)*	*Forest/ coppice (dönüm)*
Nüzhetiye-Ferhadiye	Ümniye, Hasaneyn, Mamuriye in Bahçecik	6,000	2,360	3,640	
Sofiye (Sofular)	Ahmediye, Lütfiye, Senaniye	5,700	710	1,300	3,690
Ümniye	Nüzhetiye, Mamuriye, Ferhadiye, Hasaneyn in Bahçecik	1,500	758	742	
Lütfiye	Ahmediye, Sofiye, Selimiye	5,000	1,043,5	957	3,000
Kızılcıklı	-	-	200	-	-
Çubuklu Osmaniye	Gökçeviran, Yasıbağı, Kuloğlu, Kısalar in *nefs-i* Izmit	3,000	520	1,600	880
Çubuklu Bala	Part of the Resüllü *Divanı*				
Camili		-	117	-	-
Kefre Kırma					
Karapınar		625	565	60	-
Ketenciler	Uzuntarla, Karabaki villages, Kirazoğlu & Emin Bayraktar Çitfliks	4,082	2,025	507	1,550
Teşvikiye (Acısu)	Maşukiye, Uzuntarla, Rahmiye	1,500	500	220 (given to Rumeli mig.)	780
Rahmiye (Circassian Şapsığ tribe)	Çepni	1,500	-	-	-
Şefkatiye	Ifraziye, Arslanbey	1,300	600	150	550
Ifraziye	Çepni, Arslanbey, Şefkatiye	500	350	200	-
Balaban	In Çepni, Tatar	-	82	-	-
Nusretiye	Çepni, Şirinsulhiye	1,400	-	-	-

Village	*Neighbouring villages*	*Estimated total land (dönüm)*	*Cultivated by migrants (dönüm)*	*Unopened cultivatable (dönüm)*	*Forest/ coppice (dönüm)*
Hikmetiye	Maşukiye, Şirinsulhiye	2,800	1,500	500	800
Şirinsulhiye	Hikmetiye, Nusretiye	1,400	300	700	400
Çepni	Ifraziye	-	262	-	-
	Total	94,167	25,678,5	≈18,905	≈48,446

SOURCE Sarı, *İskan Defterlerine Göre Izmit Muhacir Köyleri (1888-1889)*, 2233-2250, 2254.

In another document from 1892, migrant villages included the following. This list appears to show Muslim migrants mostly or all from the Caucasus, made up of 918 households, which is close to the 963 households of Caucasian migrants in the Migrant Settlement Record of 1888-89.

Table 2.23 Some of the Muslim migrant villages in the Izmit *kaza* in 1892.

Locality	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Household size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity*
Hikmetiye	60	155	2,6	2,800	Abkhaz
Tepetarla (Rahmiye)	54	131	2,4	1,500	Circassian
Icadiye	25	110	4,4	2,000	Batumi Georgian
Ketenciler	117	345	3	4,042	Circassian
Şevketiye	20	61	3,1	4,000	Batumi Georgian
Ahmediye	29	108	3,7	5,000	Batumi Georgian
Selimiye	50	239	4,8	4,000	Batumi Georgian

Locality	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Household size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity*
Çöğün (Osmaniye)	32	96	3	3,000	Batumi Georgian
Şefkatiye	52	255	4,9	1,300	Batumi Laz
Uzuntarla	93	321	3,5	3,860	Circassian
Maşukiye	102	208	2	4,500	Circassian
Akzıgır	38	132	3,5	1,200	Batumi Georgian
Ihsaniye (Tanye)	71	225	3,2	800	Tatar
Hanin (or Hanit)	51	161	3,2	6,000	Batumi Georgian
Sirniye (Bıçkıdere)	39	104	2,7	4,200	Batumi Georgian
Karapınar	41	183	4,5	625	Circassian
Mamuriye	38	112	3	4,095	Georgian
Kazgandere	6	17	2,8	700	Georgian
Total	918	2,963	3,2	53,622	
by ethnicity					
Circassian	407 (44,3%)	1,188 (40.1%)	2,9	14,527 (27.1%)	
(Batumi) Georgian	328 (35.7%)	1,140 (38.5%)	3,5	34,195 (63.8%)	
Abkhaz	60 (6.6%)	155 (5.2%)	2,6	2,800 (5.2%)	
Batumi Laz	52 (5.7%)	255 (8.6%)	4,9	1,300 (2.4%)	
Tatar	71 (7.7%)	225 (7.6%)	3,2	800 (1.5%)	

SOURCE BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892] quoted in Kalaycı and Çatal, *XIX. Yüzyılın Ikinci Yarısında Kocaeli'ye Yapılan Çerkez Göçleri*, 453-473, 462-463.

Furthermore, some of the Muslim migrant villages mentioned in a Muhacirin-i Islamiye Komisyonu [Muslim Migrant Commission] document from 1906 were Burhaniye, Orhaniye, Süleymaniye, Bünyan-ı Hamid, Kadiriye, Şerefiye, Necatiye, Hamidiye, Mecidiye, Mecid-i Sani, Aziziye,

Selimiye-yi Sani, Süleymaniye-yi Evvel, Süleymaniye-yi Sani, Ertuğrul, Orhaniye-yi Sani, Bayezid, Mamuratül Hamid and Asar-ı Osmaniye.[132]

2.3.1.2 Hemshin Armenians (Laz Armenians)

There were six Hemshin Armenian (Apostolic) settlements in the Izmit *kaza* on the eve of the First World War. These were Zakar Kiugh/Köy [Village], Manoushag (Menemshe; Menekşe), Khach [Cross] Köy, Jamavayr (Kilise Yeri), Döngel's Sourp and Bardizag's Düzlük. Zakar was founded in 1878, Manoushag in 1884 and Khach in 1897 by different Hemshin Armenian migrant groups from Ordu. Jamavayr and the hamlets Sourp and Düzlük, on the other hand, were established by villagers from Manoushag: the former either in 1891 or 1894; Sourp in 1904 and the latter probably around the same period of time, the 1890s or 1900s.[133]

The main reason behind the Hemshin Armenian migration from Ordu to Izmit was economic. The driving factor was the denial of land exacerbated by the arrival of Muslim migrants due to the Russian war of 1877-78. At that time, most of the Christian peasants in and around Ordu earned their livelihood with subsistence farming on lands owned by the local notables, *ağas* and *beys*. The Hemshin Armenians of Ordu, like other local peasants, were uneducated, owned close to nothing but paid heavy taxes in spite of it. Such serf-like conditions coupled with drought and famine drove some of the Christian population of Ordu, Armenians and Greeks alike, to seek habitable areas with available land elsewhere towards the west. That is how the Hemshin Armenian people migrated to the Nicomedia region via the Ereğli-Akçakoca-Karasu route.[134]

The oldest among the Hemshin Armenian villages in the Izmit *kaza* was Zakar Köy. It was situated to the southwest of Bardizag, as were the

132 BOA.Y.MTV. 291/143, 09.11.1324 [25 Dec 1906].

133 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 66-72.

134 Ibid., 59-62; Oktay Özel, "Migration and Power Politics: The Settlement of Georgian Immigrants in Turkey (1878–1908)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 478-480.

other Hemshin Armenian villages with the exception of Khach, which was located near Armash in the north-east. According to Kasabian, it was founded in 1878 by seven families from Ordu, six of whom belonged to the Minasoğlu bandit band, notorious in and around the Trabzon province, with dozens of more families from different villages joining later.[135] The name Zakar apparently came from the nearby area called Sakarbıçkı, the western boundary of Bardizag, which the Nicomedia prelate at the time found appropriate to give during his visit to the newly established village.[136]

Further down south from Zakar was the village of Manoushag (also called Menemshe or Menekşe [Violet]), high on the mountains, surrounded by dense forests and made up of four parts that included the main church parish, the *jamou deghe* [church place] to the east, Subatımı to the south, and Elmasu at an hour's distance.[137] The village was founded by five Hemshin Armenian families around 1884 and welcomed in its second year fifteen others from Ordu.[138] The highlands upon which Manoushag was established did not allow the village to flourish as it was

135 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 68. The six Minasian (Minasoğlu) were Khachig, Marel, Haroutiun, Stepan, Avak Hadji and Ohan. The seventh was Khachig Koeseian/Köseyan; On the (in)famous Minasoğlu *çetesi* [gang], see BOA.DH.ŞFR. 192/18, R10.03.1312 [22 May 1896] and BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 16/60, 22.04.1314 [30 Sep 1896]. Among those that arrived in subsequent years were thirteen families from Ordu's Ulubey *nahiye*, ten from "Karlendjek", five from "Giughere", two from "Iskare", and one family from Şebinkarahisar's Ahmed village.

136 There were two villages in the Sakarbıçkı area: Zakar Köy and Döşeme. Zakar was a Hemshin Armenian village. Döşeme was either Georgian or Laz village. Döşeme is known today as Nüzhetiye. The mosque in Nüzhetiye is still referred to as Sakarbıçkı Mosque. Kasabian, 68; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 222, 293, 361.

137 Kasabian, 68-69; Menemshe was the name of a well-known pilgrimage site near the village of Manoushag. Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 293.

138 The first families included the Zadigians, Ichmezians and Keshishians from Tepe and Sabanca, five hours (on foot) from Ordu. Among the later arrivals were the Avedisians, Dertlyians and Minasians from Ordu and Çamaş.

more suitable for grazing than agriculture. Today the places that made up Manoushag are all known as *yaylas* [plateau; highland] recommended for trekking. The village had also been a pilgrimage site since the 1830s owing to Hovhannes Goudjoukian (Küçükyan), a famous member of the Gdouts monastery in Van, who was exiled to Kayseri in 1839 by the patriarchate's decision after he had been accused of inciting competition with the Monastery of Armash, the main site of pilgrimage in the Nicomedia diocese.[139]

The last of the three original Hemshin Armenian settlements in the Izmit *kaza* was Khach [Cross], a village situated up north about one and a half hours (on foot) north-west of Armash in a mountain valley, founded by migrants from Ordu.[140] This particular group of migrants made quite a journey within the district of Izmit due to unsatisfactory living conditions that included several different areas before eventually settling down in the village's final location by virtue of an unusual invitation. Their first destination was the small hamlet of Tamlık (or Damlık)'s Nor Köy [new village] in the *kaza* of Adapazarı. Afterwards, they moved down south-west to Uzunçayır, a short distance away from the Hacıosman village in Iznik; then towards the east to a place called "Baba Field" (probably Ahibaba) between the Kurtbelen and Gök Mountains in Geyve, where they were visited by the Armenian prelate of Nicomedia in 1891 who named the village Galots [Fields]. Still unsatisfied with the conditions, the Galots group wished to move elsewhere. Their wish came true when during summer a group of Yörüks on their yearly move to summer pastures up on the Gök Mountain range came across the Galots and told them about the monk Nerses Der-Partoghimeosian, a Michaköy (in Geyve) native and member of the Armash Order, who had previously offered the

139 Kasabian, 68.

140 Ibid., 66. The Hemshnli people migrated from the villages of Tepe, "Giucheren" (Göçören/Göçeren) and Kırma.

Yörüks to settle near his estate, an offer the nomadic Yörüks had refused.[141]

Vartabed Der-Partoghimeosian's estate was in Bıçkıdere, an area in the Kandıra *kaza* bordering the Izmit *kaza*, on land he and his business partner, paper merchant Khachadour Efendi Khorasandjian[142] of Istanbul had bought from the local Köseoğlu Turks. Together they had set up an animal breeding association in 1879 that they ran at their estate in Bıçkıdere where the monk Der-Partoghimeosian lived a solitary life.[143] Apparently, the monk wished to have neighbours and that was the reason for his invitation to the Yörüks, who happened to extend that invitation to the Galots Armenians.

After negotiations, seventeen houses of the Hemshin Armenian migrants moved to the estate owned by Der-Partoghimeosian and Khachadour "Khachig Ağa" Khorasandjian in 1897. However, their move was apparently being watched closely by the Migrant Commission and it was not until the intervention of the monk Der-Partoghimeosian that the *mutasarrıf* [governor] of Izmit, Musa Kazım Bey (1895-1908) permitted it. Thenceforth the village, known to most Armenians as "Khach" after

141 Kasabian, 66-67.

142 There are several Ottoman archival documents pertaining to the *Kağıtçı* [Paper seller or Stationer] Horasancıyan (Khorasandjian) family who owned a shop in Istanbul, with one specifically about merchant Haçik (Khachig) Horasancıyan receiving a medal. BOA.HR.TH. 266/71, 05 Apr 1902; BOA.DH.MKT. 604/33, 26.07.1320 [29 Oct 1902]; BOA.MF.IBT. 464/19, 04.12.1331 [04 Nov 1913]. There are also invoices dated 1931 and 1934, from S. A. Horasancıyan, a stationary shop founded in 1867, to Mehmed Sadık Efendi and his company Afitap, a famous stationary store in Istanbul. For one of the invoices see, SALT Araştırma, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/94120?mode=simple. On *Kağıtçı* Mehmed Sadık Efendi, see "Afitap – Ece Ajandası," Yüz Yıllık Hikayeler, accessed 24 May 2020, http://yuzyillikhikayeler.com/en/touch-the-history/afitap-en.

143 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 67.

Khachig Khorasandjian for his contributions to its development, prospered and maintained its location.[144]

The rest of the settlements were founded by villagers who resided in Manoushag, and like Manoushag (Zakar as well) they were also mountain settlements. The oldest and only one big enough to be called a village among them was Jamavayr, also known as Kilise Yeri [Church Place] or Kilise Düzü [Church Flatland] because of the ancient Greek churches in the area. Surrounded by Muslim villages made up of Laz migrants from Rize, Jamavayr was situated south-east of Ovacık and was founded in 1894 by Melkonians from Manoushag and Krikor Minasian. The village included a small hamlet to the northeast called Çatal Dere [Fork Stream], consisting of nine Hemshin Armenian families built at the same time as Jamavayr.[145]

The hamlet of Sourp [Holy], named as such because of the nearby ruins of a pilgrimage site, was located five minutes away from Döngel and for this reason it was also known as Döngel's Sourp (or Döngeli Sourp). Founded by families from Manoushag in 1904 with the approval of the residents of Döngel, the hamlet of Sourp was not recognised by the government as all of its residents also lived and were registered in Manoushag. As for the small hamlet of Düzlük, according to Minas Kasabian it was located within Bardizag with only five or six families from Manoushag. However, it should be noted that he is the only source attesting to the existence of this settlement.[146]

144 Ibid. Khach was officially referred to as *Mecidiye-i Gayr-i Müslim köyü* [the non-Muslim village of Mecidiye], a nearby Laz migrant village, or as Kasabian wrote, *Mecidiye karyesinin Ermeni mahallesi* [the Armenian quarter of Mecidiye]. BOA.DH.İD. 94/36, 12.01.1330 [02 Jan 1912].

145 Kasabian, 69-70. Çataldere still exists by the same name today; Jamavayr or Kilise Yeri/Düzü is now called Camidüzü.

146 Ibid.

Table 2.24 Hemshin Armenian Apostolic villages in the Izmit *kaza* before 1914.[147]

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, pre 1914	Köker&Hov. pre 1914	Founding year	Origins
Zakar	404; 65 houses	404		1878	Ordu
Manoushag	591; 30 houses	591	900	1884	Ordu
Khach	202; 33 houses	202		1897	Ordu
Jamavayr (inc. Çataldere)	264; 41 houses	264		1891/1894	Manoushag
Döngel's Sourp	28 houses			1904	Manoushag
Bardizag's Düzlük	5-6 families				Manoushag

SOURCE Kasabian, 66-72, 190; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551-552; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 240.

§ 2.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

2.4.1 *Economy*

Izmit's economy was largely driven by wood, cereal and charcoal trade at the end of the nineteenth century. That seemingly began to change by 1901, from which point onwards the principal commercial goods were cereals, cocoons, silk, tobacco, linseed and flax.[148] The *Annuaire Oriental* shows that the main exports in the early 1890s were cereals, cocoons, tobacco, maize, fruits (especially grapes), chicken, eggs, cheese and *kaymak* (clotted cream), while imports comprised manufactures, colonial foodstuffs, hardware, haberdashery and construction materials. At the turn of

147 While Kasabian states that Manoushag and Sourp consisted of thirty and twenty-eight houses respectively for a total of fifty-eight houses on pages 68-69, his total for the two settlements was sixty-one houses in Table 4 on page 190. Moreover, he has two different founding dates for Jamavayr: 1894 on page 69, and 1891 on page 72.

148 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1901-1914.

the twentieth century, the exports saw the inclusion of silkworm seeds, vegetables, burr walnuts, linseed and fish, whereas imports had the addition of cotton yarn, leather, hide, drugs, coffee, sugar, edibles, woollen fabric, wine and liquors, machines, soap, oil and glassware. Finally, by 1914, the new exports had included raw silk (with an annual exportation of 200,000-300,000 kg) and flax; while the sole new import was petrol.[149]

Industrial manufacturing also contributed to Izmit's economy. Industrial activities were driven by the demand from nearby factories such as the Hereke factory, famous for its silk textiles and the imperial *çuha* [broadcloth] factory near Arslanbey that manufactured clothes for the army.[150] Commercial movement of goods via the Izmit port also gives an idea about the economy and Izmit's importance for international trade as well. Cereals, cocoons, opium, pears, apples, grapes, tobacco, eggs, timber, charcoal and linen were leading exports in 1893 from Izmit to Istanbul, Marseille, Greek ports and the Arabian Peninsula.[151] Additionally, mohair and wool from Ankara first made their way to the Izmit port before being shipped to Istanbul. Some of the mohair was kept in Izmit to be used in the nearby factories. The most important imports arriving in Izmit in the same year included sugar, cereals, manufactures, tin, pottery and glass, coffee and iron via Istanbul; petrol from Russia; salt from Marseille; and some olive oil from Darıca. Lastly, the main product transported via the Anatolian railway was cereals by an enormous margin, followed by fresh grapes, wool, flour and dough, various fresh and dry fruits, vegetables, manufactures, tobacco, furniture, mineral and vegetable oil, spices, barrels, minerals, salt and locally produced wine.[152]

149 Ibid., 1891-94; 1898-1900; 1913-14.

150 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914; BOA. Y.MTV. 146/86, 25.04.1314 [3 Oct 1896].

151 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 348-349.

152 Cuinet, 351.

Despite some claims to the contrary,[153] the *Annuaire Oriental* demonstrates that in the town of Izmit, the economy was very much in the hands of non-Muslims, particularly Armenians and Orthodox Greeks for the entirety of the period from 1877 to 1914. While Muslim presence gradually increased over time, Armenians and Orthodox Christians[154] had the upper hand in the urban and rural centres of Izmit.[155] On this subject, Abdülbaki Feyzi wrote in October 1912 during his visit to Izmit:

> Those who graduate from Greek, Armenian schools either start to trade or run to learn an art because they do not have ambitions in officialdom …

153 Polatel ("Osmanlı Dönemi Izmit'in Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Hayatında Ermeniler," 908-11), for example, argues that the Armenians of Izmit were active actors of the town's commercial life rather than its dominant force. He demonstrates this point with a map from the Izmit municipality's archive, dated 12 December 1898, of shops in *Buğday Meydanı* (Wheat Square), one of the town's main marketplaces, according to which half of the shop owners were "Turks". On a related note, another one of the town's marketplaces was *Adalar Çarşısı* [Islands Market]. See F. Y. Ulugün, "1891 Şark Ticaret Yıllığı'nda Izmit Sancağı Üzerine" [On the District of Izmit in the 1891 Oriental Yearbook of Commerce], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Suleiman Pasha and History of Kocaeli,* 2017, edited by Haluk Selvi et al. (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 38, 2017), 1817-1861. Kasabian estimates 75 per cent of all artisans in the Izmit district were Armenians. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 128.

154 It would appear that Izmit's Orthodox Christian community was not severely affected by the two boycotts; first, of Greek goods in 1909-10; and second, targeting the Empire's own *Rum millet* in 1913-14. The several archival documents on this subject show that the government tried to discourage the boycotts and protect its (other) Christian communities. BOA.DH.MKT. 2904/53, 02.08.1327 [19 Aug 1909]; BOA.DH.ŞFR. 42/34, 22.07.1332 [16 June 1914]; BOA.DH.ŞFR. 42/199, 11.08.1332 [5 July 1914]. For a more elaborate discussion on the boycotts, see Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Rum Politikası 1908-1914." Ph.D., Dokuz Eylül University, 2008, 190-213.

155 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914. For instance, in 1913, out of approximately 450 individuals (shopkeepers/owners, artisans, traders, etc.) and companies in the district capital Izmit, only 49 of them were Muslim men. The overwhelming majority were Armenians followed by Greeks, foreign citizens and several Jewish men.

> Since the community had a great enthusiasm for this charm, large mulberry groves were being grown, and a lot of money was entering the region from the cocoon harvest. A large amount of vegetables is grown in the gardens in the east and west of the region and sent to Istanbul. They say that the soil in the gardens is cultivated well, and that vegetables are grown under the windows before everywhere. All these jobs are in the hands of our Christian citizens …
>
> … Trade and art are virtually non-existent. And almost all of what exists is in the hands of Christian citizens, little has fallen on the Turks' share. The abundance and fullness of the coffeehouses can be seen. It is not possible not to feel sorry for the wretched who spend their time here from morning to evening due to unemployment, swallowing poisonous air. There are many who cannot do anything and spend their lives in misery due to the numbness of indolence. Eyes are burning in front of these pathetic signs. Their bodies, weakened by the lack of food, do not have much trouble catching malaria. In general, bodies are weak and faces are bloodless. While it is essential to dry the marshes where the bay ends, nobody has tried to do so until now.[156]

After the restoration of the constitution in 1908, new organisations and associations mushroomed in Izmit and elsewhere. Thereafter, individuals from different communities collaborated in business more, forming joint organisations.[157] The economic growth and accordingly the rise of the

156 Feyzi, "Yurdumuzda Gördüklerim-Izmit," 59-60.

157 For instance, several enterprises were founded in Izmit after the July 1908 revolution such as: Vasıta-i Servet [Means to Wealth] in September 1908, half of whose shares were owned by Armenians and the other half by Muslims, Greeks and Jews; Ottoman Balık Pazarı Company of Nicomedia, on 5 March 1912; and the Ottoman Joint Ownership Company of Izmit in 1908, the last two being all-Armenian companies according to Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 149). There was also the Ikbal-i Bahri [Maritime Good Fortune] Izmit Bay Joint-Stock Steamship Company with a diverse

non-Muslim population in Izmit motivated England, Austria, United States, Russia and Greece to open consulates or appoint consuls in the region.[158] Moreover, because of the economic growth, *Ziraat* [Agriculture] and Ottoman banks opened branches in Izmit in 1892 and 1896-97 respectively.[159]

A comparison of professions a decade apart enables us to see the evolution of the town's businesses, developments in technology and changes in the production levels of certain commodities and natural produce. For instance, the emergence of agricultural machines, gunsmiths, sewing machine brands, steamship and insurance companies, banks and jewellers indicates developments in technology, business models, finance, crafts and of course trade, pointing out at the same time the integration of the Ottoman Empire into the world capitalist system. The appearance of cocoon, linseed, tobacco leaves, even cotton waste merchants and silkworm seed producers on the other hand, points to an increased level of yield and waste. Examples like these are corroborated by the production or exportation figures, as in the case of raw silk mentioned above. There were

excecutive board comprising: Mehmed Kadri Bey and Garabed Efendi Basmadjian of Istanbul; Hacı Salih Şevket Efendi, Onnik Efendi Bulutyan, Hüsamettinzade Süleyman Lütfi Efendi and Marko Berbite Efendi of Izmit; Hacı Adem Beyzade Ibrahim Bey, Izzet Efendi and Hacı Hafızı Beyzade Mehmed Bey of Karamürsel; Hacı Artin Kuitnerian and Kevork Kuitnerian Efendis of Bahçecik; and Esad Efendi of Değirmendere. Polatel, "Osmanlı Dönemi Izmit'in Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Hayatında Ermeniler," 911-912; BOA.MV. 178/72, 24.07.1331 [29 June 913]. On a related note, Hafız Mehmed Efendi (probably the same person as Hacı Hafızı Beyzade Mehmed Bey of Karamürsel above) was the agent of the Idare-i Mahsusa (the modern Turkish Maritime Organisation) from 1909-14. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909-14.

158 A. A. Yiğit, "19. Yüzyılda Izmit ve Çevresinde Gayrimüslim Nüfusun Yoğunlaşması ve Sonuçları," 1634. The Ottoman archive, too, mentions a *seyyar konsolos vekili* (traveling deputy consul) of England, Lefton Orlow. BOA.HR.TH. 35/75, 11 July 1880 and BOA.İ.HR. 335/21565, 06.08.1297.

159 1892 state yearbook; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896-97. Ziraat Bank branch agent in the Izmit district was Servet Efendi in 1892 whereas that of the Ottoman Bank was A. S. Patrikios and Co. In 1896-97.

also professions that went out of fashion such as tanner and tailor of local clothes, neither of which had any practitioners left in 1913.[160]

In the countryside, the majority (about seventy per cent) of the Armenian people residing in the villages within the Izmit *kaza* were engaged in agriculture: especially sericulture, tobacco cultivation and viticulture. A smaller number (about twenty per cent) of people were involved in crafts such as charcoal burning, timber preparation, carpentry, basketmaking. And a wealthy minority (about ten per cent) were occupied in minor trade or commerce. Some villagers were working as factory and silkworm house workers and some women and girls as domestic workers.[161] On the other hand, animal husbandry was on the decline due to the increase in competition for land.[162] For instance, in Bardizag, villagers were mostly involved in viticulture (although more for local consumption than for profit except for some families who sold their wine to shops in Istanbul), sericulture (and by extension mulberry growing to feed the silkworms), and tobacco farming, the last two, especially sericulture, being the backbone of the village's source of income. Additionally, Nişan Sinanian's farm was a famous cheese producer which made cheese one of the village's exports. However, with limited farming and animal husbandry due to lack of available land, Bardizag was not self-sufficient in food.[163]

160 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891, 1902 and 1913.

161 There were a total of 3,501 non-Muslim women and girls (1,747 Apostolic Armenians; 1,028 Hay-Horoms; 276 Greeks) and 155 non-Muslim male officials (105 Apostolic Armenians; 46 Hay-Horoms; 3 Greeks) working in the district's silkworm houses and silk spinning factories in 1910-12. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 127-48; Natanian, *First Report on the Diocese of Nicomedia 1870*, 17, 25-28.

162 There were 129,094 livestock in the central *kaz*a in 1893, which was nearly 100,000 less than each of the other *kazas* with the exception of the Karamürsel *kaza*. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 363.

163 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and Its People*, 289-290, 371-377. Viticulture, once a more profitable activity in Bardizag, was on the decline during Mkhalian's time (1870s-1910s) due to

Popular trades in Bardizag between the 1890s and 1910s were silkworm breeding, carpentry (including cabinet and furniture making), basketmaking, shoemaking and repairing, blacksmithing, woodwork (charcoal burning and lumbering) as well as farriery (horseshoe-making), locksmithing, tailoring, *aba* (a fabric woven from wool or other animals' hair) making, coopering, rope and string making, saddlery, painting, feltmaking and milling (grinding). Yet, lack of available work in the village pushed many artisans and tradesmen to seek work and settle outside of Bardizag, mainly in the district capital Izmit, Adapazarı or Istanbul. At certain times of the year, a group of men were working as *çapacı or rençper*, that is to say literally hoer or day labourer, hired for digging over the land, taking care of cultivated land and help with building work.[164]

In addition to the above trades there was a growing number of grocers in Bardizag, numbering twenty-four individuals in 1914 and various merchants trading in the village's most profitable crops and products. Besides agriculture and trades, employment could be found in the nearby factories such as the imperial broadcloth factory, where dozens of people from Bardizag were working as manual workers as well as officials. The silk spinning factories and houses in the village employed hundreds of

phylloxera, a pest of vines. While Mkhalian firmly states that sericulture and tobacco farming, with annual yields of approximately 60-100 and 40 tons respectively, were Bardizag's primary sources of income and writes about them in vivid detail, Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 131) surprisingly omits both of them from the table showing important crops in 1910-11 for each Armenian village. While it is true that a sericulture crisis was taking place in Bardizag at that time, it is highly unlikely the yield was zero. It is also important to note that the Régie Company's (founded in 1883) monopoly over tobacco production gave rise to tobacco smuggling. For a case study on the relationship between the Régie Company and the increase in smuggling elsewhere in the Empire, see also Mustafa Batman, *Tobacco smuggling in the Black-Sea region of the Ottoman Empire 1883-1914* (Istanbul: Libra, 2016). On a related note, Kasabian (128) was not fond of the Régie either: "*The Régie is the worst*; it is the force that destroys villages' economy. Its usurious practices from one end of Turkey to the other are so general that it is unnecessary to talk of them here."

164 Mkhalian, 380-381. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1893-1914.

workers consisting of mostly women and girls. Additionally, hundreds of women were also working in domestic services as maids, wet-nurses and housekeepers for wealthy families in Istanbul. [165]

Other women's work included preparation of cloth, which required year-long intensive labour; preparation of all kinds of foodstuffs ranging from cereals, vegetables, sweets, pastries to animal fat, pickles and wine; carrying water from the fountains; caring for children, elderly and livestock; and, of course, domestic work in their own homes. Women and girls' contribution to Bardizag's economy was fundamental for two reasons. Not only was their labour in sericulture and in daily life allowing the men to carry on with their respective occupations, by doing the majority of the work pertaining to sericulture, the village's biggest source of income, they arguably were carrying the village's economy on their shoulders.[166] This was a point of view shared by American missionary Laura Farnham, who observed in 1882 that the women performed almost all of the physical work during the silkworm season.[167]

Yet, in spite of their immense contribution, these women and girls were working for very low wages, significantly less than the men, under very difficult conditions. For example, a woman silk spinner had to work for more than ten hours a day for a daily wage of 1-5 *kuruş*, while a *rençper* earned 7-8 *kuruş* by working six to seven hours a day. As a result, women

165 Cervati, 1914. Some of the higher-ranked employees at the imperial broadcloth factory from Bardizag were *usta başı* [craft supervisor] Hampartsoum Ghazarosian; secretary and accountant, and later Ghazarosian's successor as *usta başı* Yeremia Seferian; office official Hagop Drezian; bakery overseer Mihran Ghazarosian; master of the dyeing house Garabed Drezian; and master weaver Haroutiun Seferian. Mkhalian, 378-385; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 134-147. Both authors describe domestic work outside of one's own home as a great sacrifice, as a last resort in case of early widowhood, poverty or a lazy husband.

166 Mkhalian, 385-386.

167 Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," 171.

workers had health problems such as jaundice and exhaustion.[168] It appears that sericulture was highly taxing on the workers and not profitable in the long run for the local silkworm house and silk spinning factory owners. While the workers' physical and mental health were deteriorating, the local owners were struggling to keep their businesses going in the 1910s under heavy interest rates for the loans they had taken out from the bankers in Istanbul due to lack of capital and aid from the government.[169] Sericulture had already proven to be a risky business when a silkworm disease had ruined the silkworm industry and as a result Bardizag's economy in the 1860s, leaving its people in debt and the first silk spinning factory owners bankrupt.[170]

Moreover, the war against Russia in 1877-78 had crippled trade and industry at the time. Most people in the Armenian villages were engaged in traveling sales, going from village to village, especially to the Muslim villages, on horseback (even though the number of horses had been greatly diminished due to war) for trading manufactured articles with local produce.[171]

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168 Mkhalian, 379. The following song was written by the suffering women workers and published in the Bardizag newspaper *Meghou*:
"Girls, girls why have you turned yellow?
We'll be crowed over by a cockerel, mother, we got yellow from there.
A bird has passed over the factory;
Over the girls' hearts, mother, a black thing has passed.
Our agha's factory is at the side of the road,
The girls' wounds, mother, are in their hearts,
The factory's doorstep is smoothed,
The girls' hearts, mother, are worn out, worn out."
Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 135.

169 Kasabian, 135-136.

170 These factory owners were Mr Saroukhanian from Istanbul and the Mgerian brothers, Sarkis, Mıgırdiç and Artaki. Mkhalian,173-174.

171 For instance, there were only about twelve horses left in Armash, where there were 120 the year before. American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 74, July 1878, 231.

After French scientist Louis Pasteur's method proved successful in saving the French silkworm industry in the 1870s, the Ottoman government followed suit, albeit nearly two decades later. In order to educate silkworm breeders on this new method, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration opened the Bursa Sericulture School [Bursa Harir Darüttalimi] on 14 April 1988, with Kevork Torkomian as its director, who had studied the Pasteur method at the Montpellier Agronomic School in France.[172] These efforts revived sericulture in Bardizag in the 1890s. The recovery of the silk trade drew Hovhannes Helvadjian to Bardizag for an attempt at running a silk spinning factory. Helvadjian rented the old Saroukhanian factory, which at the time belonged to European bankers after Sarouhkanian had gone bankrupt due to the silkworm disease that destroyed the industry in the 1860s. At the same time, Kachig Avedian, a baker who quickly grew wealthy, had seen the potential in the silk trade and took up silkworm trading, rising fast to become a rival to the Helvadjians.[173]

Seeing this resurgence in sericulture, the European owners finally decided to sell the factory to Helvadjian, who was already their renter. But after his excessive demands, they sold the factory to Avedian instead, behind Helvadjian's back. In the meantime, Mgerians' old factory, also owned by the European banks after their bankruptcy along with Saroukhanian in the 1860s, was standing idle. Upon missing his chance to buy the Saroukhanian factory, Helvadjian wanted to build his own as he thought purchasing the old Mgerian factory would be costlier. However, it proved to be the opposite. Helvadjian had to pay tens of thousands of

172 H. W. Conn, "Louis Pasteur," *Science* 2, no. 45 (1895): 606, accessed 19 August 2020, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1624392; Krikor Mkhalian was one of the graduates of this course, with a first class sericulture certificate dated 27 February 1889. Mkhalian, 228-229, 466; Cafer Çiftçi, 1837-1908 Sürecinde Bursa'da Koza Üreticiliği ve İpekli Dokumacılık Sektörü [Cocoon Production and Silk Weaving Sector in Bursa between 1837-1908], *Uludağ University Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences* 14, no. 4 (2013), 8-9.

173 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and Its People*, 229.

liras to do everything from the ground up, including purchasing and transporting with great difficulty a steam cauldron from Europe that cost a fortune. Furthermore, he went to great lengths to provide water for his factory, whose new-found source of water at one point caused the public fountains in certain parts of the village to dry up. Naturally, it was such a serious problem that the village council, the diocesan prelate Stepannos Hovagimian and eventually the government had to intervene. In the end, Helvadjian had to pay a yearly sum to be able to use some of the water for his factory. But the problems did not end there.[174]

As the Helvadjians were from Izmit, their main residence was in the town. The one responsible for the factory in Bardizag was Hovhannes Efendi's son, Garabed. As manager of the factory, Garabed Helvadjian spent weekdays in Bardizag with his family. One Sunday evening, on their way back to Bardizag from Izmit, Garabed Helvadjian and his wife were ambushed near Uzunçayır by robbers. The robbers released his wife but abducted him and demanded 1,000 liras in ransom. Father Helvadjian agreed to pay and his son was released but not long after this incident, Hovhannes Helvadjian died, leaving his silk spinning factory and other businesses to his sons.[175]

About a year after the father Helvadjian's death, the price of silk saw a rapid increase, which meant that the Helvadjians would be wealthier than ever with their vast cocoon stock. The family took a gamble. They decided to hold on to their stock and took out loans to purchase even more, expecting the price to increase further. However, the opposite happened; the price of silk plummeted and along with it their whole enterprise. In this way, the Helvadjians suffered the same fate as their predecessors in Bardizag and ended up in bankruptcy.[176] The Helvadjian factory was later bought and managed by Ardashes Mgerian, son of Sarkis

174 Ibid., 254-255, 256-258.

175 Ibid., 273-274.

176 Ibid. This was probably around 1910-12 when the value of one *kile* of cocoons had dropped to 70-80 *kuruş*. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 134.

Mgerian (previous generation's victim of the silk industry), until the First World War.[177]

The other Armenian villages within the *kaza* of Izmit, Arslanbey, Armash and to a lesser extent Döngel, Ovacık, Dagh, Khach and Jamavayr were all engaged in sericulture as well. Ovacık and Döngel were the leading tobacco growers in the region, followed by Dagh and Zakar while Armash had the highest production of cereals (wheat, oats and maize). Manoushag (and its hamlet Sourp), on the other hand, was the sole butter producer in the *kaza*.[178]

Table 2.25 Bardizag's agricultural production and exports, 1891-1914.

	Production	Exports
1891-93	cocoon (60 tons), tobacco, wine, cherries, quinces, apples, charcoal	wheat, maize, cocoons, timber, charcoal, cheese
1893-94		
1895-98		+ tobacco and wine
1900-12	cocoon up to 100 tons; 200 tons in the entire *nahiye*	
1913-14	cocoon down to 15 tons; 35 tons in the entire *nahiye*	+ cherries

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914.

177 Ibid. 274-275. According to Kasabian, this factory was still operating in 1910-12 as the Mgerian and Basmadjian factory. The author also states that the Helvadjians were still running, not their factory, but their silkworm houses in 1911-12. Apparently the increasing popularity of tobacco growing in Bardizag forced the Helvadjians to bring in Hay-Horom women as workers. Kasabian, 127, 134-135, 142. Der Sahagian brothers had a silk spinning factory in operation at that time as well, in the Greek village of Yeniköy which was under the jurisdiction of Bardizag, that employed Greek and Armenian women and girls. Mkhalian, *Bardizag and Its People*, 379.

178 Natanian, *First Report on the Diocese of Nicomedia 1870*, 17, 25-26; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1893-1914; There was a silk spinning factory in Arslanbey too. Kasabian, 131.

Table 2.26 Agricultural production of some other Armenian villages in the Izmit *kaza*.

	1893	1903	1913
Arslanbey	maize, linseed, tobacco, cocoons, chestnut, charcoal, timber	maize, linseed, tobacco, cocoons, chestnut, charcoal, timber, firewood	maize, linseed, tobacco, cocoons, chestnut, charcoal, timber, firewood
Döngel	cocoons, tobacco	cocoons, tobacco	cocoons, tobacco, wheat, linseed
Ovacık	tobacco (250 tons), 1st quality cocoons, firewood	tobacco (350 tons), 1st quality cocoons, fire-wood, timber	tobacco, (650-900 tons), 1st quality cocoons, firewood, timber, charcoal

SOURCE Cervati, 1893-94, 1903, 1913.

Table 2.27 Factories and workers in the Izmit *kaza*, 1910-1912.

Site	*Factory*	*Owner*	*Former owner*	*Workers (including officials)*			
					Orthodox Christian		
				Armenian	Hay-Horom	Greek	Muslim
Near Arslanbey	broadcloth [*çuha*]	the state		284	-	5	56
Arslanbey	silk spinning	Garabed Der Garabedian		168	-	-	-
Bardizag	silk spinning	Ardashes Mgerian & Basmadjian	Hovhannes Helvadjian	147	-	-	-
		Kachig Avedian	Saroukhanian	82	43	-	-

Site	*Factory*	*Owner*	*Former owner*	*Workers (including officials)*			
					Orthodox Christian		
				Armenian	Hay-Horom	Greek	Muslim
Yeniköy	silk spinning	Der Sahagian brothers		37	35	21	-
Total				718	104		56

SOURCE The building where silk was spun into yarn is called silk spinning factory by Mkhalian (229, 254-256, 379); *filature* [textile mill] by the Annuaire Oriental (1912: 1443); and silkworm house by Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 142-143).

Table 2.28 Silk spinning factory workers in the Izmit *kaza*, 1910-1912.

Site	*Factory owners*	*Armenian workers*		*Hay-Horom workers*		*Greek workers*		*Ages of ♀ workers*	*Working hours*	*Girls aged 10-16*	*Wages of girls aged 10-16 in kuruş*	*Wages of older workers in kuruş*
		♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂					
Arslanbey	Der Garabedian	160	8	-	-	-	-	10-45	10.5	50	1.5	2.5-4
Bardizag	Mgerian & Basmadjian	140	7	-	-	-	-	13-60	10	35	2.3	3-6
	Avedian	75	7	42	1	-	-	13-60	10.5	30	2.3	3-6
Yeniköy	Der Sahagian	32	5	35	-	21	-	12-35	11	25	2-2.5	5-6.5

SOURCE Kasabian, 142.

As stated previously, all kinds of organisations proliferated after the restoration of the constitution in July 1908. In Bardizag alone, there were ten

organisations formed around this time, eight of which after July 1908. These were:[179]

- Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA): organised in 1907 under the presidency of Robert Chambers from the American Protestant mission.[180]
- The Defence of Village Cultivable Land: initiated by Krikor Mkhalian a few years before July 1908 to protect agricultural land and products.
- The Village Economy Union of Bardizag: established in 1909 to protect and improve village agriculture.[181]
- The Builders' Association: initiated and headed by Krikor Bodourian to trade in timber in 1908.
- Savings Bank of Bardizag: a branch of the Builder's Association, founded in 1910.
- The Armenian General Benevolent Union Bardizag branch: founded in 1908-9 and headed by Dr. H. Der-Stepanian and Krikor Mkhalian.
- The Basketmakers' Union of Bardizag: formed in 1910 to unite and defend the rights of basketmakers.
- Bardizag's People's Bank or Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Bardizag: founded in August 1911 and headed by Krikor Mkhalian with the object of loaning money with reasonable interest rates to villagers in need.

179 Mkhalian, 311-321; Kasabian, 148-151; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1912, 1443-1444, 1913, 1434.

180 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 104, June 1908, 284. While the American mission itself reports that it was organised sometime in 1907, Kasabian (216) says the association in Bardizag was founded in the 1890s and was closed at the time of his writing around 1910-12. He also mentions other branches of the YMCA in Izmit: Young Men's Christian Association of Nicomedia, founded in 1878; Young Women's Christian Association of Nicomedia; Young Ladies Diligence Association of Nicomedia, founded in 1886; and the Young Ladies Diligence Union of Bardizag, founded in the 1890s.

181 As Ara Stepan Melkonian states, this may be the same organisation as the Defense of Village Cultivable Land for both aimed first and foremost to protect the village agriculture. Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 313.

- The Cooperative Retail Association of Bardizag or The Dashnaktsagan Retail Cooperative: established in May 1911 by and for the members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, with its managing duties given to the Head of the Builders' Association, K. Bodourian.
- Hnchagan: formed before 1913, headed by Hovannes Ashdjian.
- The Steamship Company: initiated by Krikor Mkhalian and founded in 1912 to replace ferries with steamships.[182]
- The Public Garden Association: formed by the young people of Bardizag with the object of creating public spaces aimed for families to spend their leisure time.

The Orthodox Christians in the countryside were involved in agriculture, commerce and various trades. In Yeniköy, for example, most of the villagers were occupied in agriculture while some villagers, especially women and girls, were working at the Der-Sahagian and the Avedian silk spinning factories under supervisors from Bardizag, and to a lesser extent at the Arslanbey imperial broadcloth factory.[183]

As regards the Muslim villagers, like most people in the countryside, agriculture was their main occupation and the imperial broadcloth factory provided employment for some as workers, but what set them, or one or several groups of them, apart from their non-Muslim counterparts

182 Mkhalian (317) says this old ferry service was operating between Izmit and Seymen, Bahçecik's port. According to the Annuaire Oriental (1912, 1443), there were two steamship company agents in 1912 from Bardizag: H. Davitian (for the service running between Bahçecik, or rather its port Seymen, and Istanbul) and A. Manoughian. It is not clear whether these companies were one and the same because Mkhalian does not mention Istanbul as a stop or either of the agents listed in the Annuaire Oriental. Moreover, there were two known services between Izmit and Istanbul at the time, operated by the Ikbal-i Bahri [Maritime Good Fortune] Izmit Bay Joint-Stock Steamship Company and the Ipranosyan Brothers Shipping Company. Polatel, 911.

183 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 158; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 379; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 143. There were 104 Orthodox Christians working at the three factories in 1910-12. See Tables 2.27 and 2.28.

was perhaps animal husbandry and dairy farming. Circassians, for instance, who were traditional cattle raisers, continued this activity after migrating to the Ottoman domains, becoming meat and dairy product suppliers in the region. They were able to do so because, in addition to being given land by the government, they were a feared people and consequently had little trouble finding or occupying grazing land for raising cattle.[184]

As the Muslim people of the Izmit region were made up of a considerable number of different ethnic groups, their occupations were similarly diverse. Moreover, the experience of migration could be different from one community to the other, and also within each community. Therefore, how a group or a person fared economically depended on their unique experience of migration. For example, the post-migration occupations of a Crimean Tatar notable who was able to bring substantial capital by selling their property and that of an ordinary worker or villager from the Balkans who brought close to nothing could be quite different. In other words, class played a big role in determining the future occupation of a migrant in their new homeland.[185]

This applied to non-Muslim migrants as well. As a case in point, one has to look no further than the occupations of Hemshin Armenian villagers who had settled in the Izmit *kaza* after 1878. Kasabian states that Hemshin Armenians, "being in a more primitive state," were forced to concentrate on animal husbandry. Migrant Muslim villagers that settled in mountainous areas also took up local occupations such as charcoal burning and timber preparation. As a result, there was a growing number of firewood, charcoal and timber traders in the district capital Izmit that in the early twentieth century made up more than half of all of the people involved in these trades. By cultivating empty lands and compelling the

184 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 75-76.

185 In his book, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 28, Ryan Gingeras discusses the migrant experience not being the same for the rich and the poor.

government to drain swampy areas, the migrants helped stimulate economic activity, particularly agricultural and textile production. For instance, the establishment of migrant villages around Bardizag reinvigorated the village's economy.[186]

2.4.1.1 Locals and Migrants in Business: Some Examples

BULUTYAN BROTHERS

The Bulutyan (Boulouthian) pharmacy, first of the Bulutyan business ventures, was founded in 1886. In 1893-94, Onnik and his younger brother Alexandre (Aleksan) Bulutyan ventured into the new fizzy drinks business in Izmit with the Kurdian family by establishing the joint company, Bulutyan, Kurdian and Co.[187]

It seems that 1896 was a big year for the Bulutyans for they expanded into other business fields. Onnik Bulutyan was among the first group of agents in 1896 who began to represent insurance companies in the town of Izmit. He became an agent for *Union de Paris* that sold fire and life insurance. The same year Onnik and Aleksan also began working as sales representatives. The older brother Onnik was chosen as the honorary representative of the *Annuaire Oriental* administration in Izmit for 1896-97, marking the second year in a row in which he was selected for the position. From 1898 onwards, it would appear that the Bulutyans began to be referred to as "O. A. Bulutyan Brothers" or simply "Bulutyan Brothers." As the years went by, the Bulutyan brothers increased their presence

186 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 127-128; Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 76; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 385; Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, 216-223.

187 It is also argued, albeit without a source, the pharmacy was actually founded by father Serope Bulutyan in 1866. See M. Sandalcı and E. T. Kocacık, "Yolu Izmit'ten Geçen Eczacılar" [Pharmacists Whose Path Passed Through Izmit], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1479-1496. It is interesting that the Annuaire Oriental listed father Bulutyan as a pharmacist only from 1895 to 1900. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1893-94, 830.

and influence by adding an ever-growing list of titles to their professions. By 1901, in addition to the *Union de Paris*, they were agents for two maritime insurance companies, the *Assurances Generales Maritimes de Paris* and *La Foncière*. Even though the latter lasted only about a year, together they continued to act as agents for the *Union de Paris* and the *Assurances Generales Maritimes de Paris* until 1914, when the older Bulutyan brother Onnik supposedly passed away.[188]

It is worth mentioning that another Armenian man named Zareh Cavezian was also an agent for the two aforementioned insurance companies along with the Bulutyans from 1902 until the July 1908 Young Turk revolution. Moreover, the two parties, Bulutyans and Cavezian, briefly served as agents for a third insurance company between 1904 and 1908, the *Haut-Rhin (Oberrheinische of Mannheim)*. In 1902, the trio of businessmen, Bulutyans and Cavezian, started working as correspondents for the American Express Bank, which appears to have had a branch in Izmit until the 1908 revolution. The following year, the same trio began working as steamship company agents, a job the Bulutyans maintained as correspondents for the company *Navigazione Italiana* until 1914. In addition to their work as agents for several foreign companies, it would seem that the Bulutyans and Zareh Cavezian further extended their reach into different business fields, including cereals, linseed and silk cocoon trade. Having been selected as the honorary representatives of the *Annuaire Oriental* in 1903 is a testament to the power and influence of the Bulutyans and Cavezian in Izmit's professional life during that period. Their business continued to expand after the July 1908 revolution, with active roles in cocoon and silk trade as well as textile and cotton waste. The Bulutyan Brothers, this time without Cavezian, also took over the role of agents for the Ottoman Imperial Bank starting presumably sometime after the 1908 revolution and lasting until at least 1914, which was a

188 Cervati, 1896-97, 1901-2, 1914. Onnik Bulutyan died in 1914 according to Sandalcı and Kocacık, *Yolu Izmit'ten Geçen Eczacılar*, 1480.

position previously held by the A. S. Patrikios and Co until 1900 and the tobacco Régie after that.[189]

In an interview with Aleksan Bulutyan from 1950 conducted for the periodical *Farmakoloğ* [Pharmacologist],[190] the younger Bulutyan brother, who had moved to Istanbul after the war and become head of the *Şark Ecza Deposu* [Orient Pharmaceutical Warehouse], told an anecdote that is especially relevant today.

> … If you allow me, let me tell you about an interesting case, although it is not that important:
>
> It was forty years ago. A large cholera epidemic occurred in Izmit. A doctor came to town from Istanbul. It is without doubt this person cannot be called an inspector. However, he had the authority of an inspector and could also give directives to the highest offices in the subject of struggle.
>
> At that time, there were six pharmacies, ten or twelve independent doctors in Izmit. The person I called inspector summoned all the doctors. He told them to look after whoever applied to them, and that in return they would receive monthly fifteen gold coins from the state. The same person invited us to his presence after a while. At that time, there were no procedures for us pharmacists such as Sunday duty, night shift. He said
>
> -You know, there is cholera in the city; people will need to apply to pharmacies frequently. I want you to keep your pharmacy open at all times of the day.
>
> All my colleagues looked at my face. I said:

189 Cervati, 1898; 1901-5, 1909, 1914.

190 Quoted in Sandalcı and Kocacık, *Yolu Izmit'ten Geçen Eczacılar*, 1480-1481.

> In order to be present in our pharmacies twenty-four hours a day, we will have to bring beds from our homes, light a lamp, fire, cook food, and provide food and accommodation expenses to apprentices and journeymen at pharmacies. In short, we will be exposed to many burdens and expenses. The doctor will only be looking at the person who comes to his home or office. Will you not pay us as much as the doctors?
>
> -No! Because they are doctors, while you are merchants. You will earn money by selling your medicines.
>
> I replied:
>
> I do not think so, sir. We are not merchants, just like the doctors that we studied together at the same desks we are competent in science and art. Just as they are worthy of receiving the price of their science and art by sitting in their warm places, we too want the price of the art and scientific knowledge that we will provide on your order, day and night, without taking into account the countless troubles and costs that we will endure.
>
> -Unfortunately, we will not be able to give you money.
>
> If so, I humbly state that, we will, if necessary, abandon our diploma, close our pharmacy and not waive our rights in this matter, which is a matter of professional dignity.

When asked whether his firm stance against the state bureaucrat had any consequences, Aleksan Bulutyan said,

> No! Maybe he was a very reasonable person, maybe other authorities found us right, nothing happened even though none of us kept our pharmacy open at night. However, the work required by the struggle had not stopped. Because at that time, every

> pharmacist had practically a second small pharmacy also at home. Necessary items were kept in the home medicine cabinet so that it rarely felt necessary to go to the pharmacy. Medicines made at night were noted in the light of the lamp, and were recorded in the morning.[191]
>
> At that time, there was neither a Ministry of Health nor a rational inspection mechanism in Turkey as today. Only once or twice a year, two persons appointed by the Council of Health in Istanbul would come; they would take a look at drugs, records, and the cleanliness of the pharmacy and leave. The records at that time were also very simple. The whole work was nothing more than recording the prescriptions in a superficial manner. There were also no drug restrictions like now. Druggists would bring as much cocaine and morphine as they wanted, and sell as they wished.

APRAHAMIANS

Although the beginning of their professional activities cannot be determined, two members of the Aprahamian family, Ohannes and Melkon Aprahamian, first appeared as a grocer and a spirits (distilled alcoholic drinks) merchant respectively in the 1891 issue of the *Annuaire Oriental*, which was the year the Izmit district was included in the yearbook of commerce for the first time.[192] Since then, the Aprahamian family enterprise grew steadily. It appears that by 1894, Ohannes had begun selling comestibles, while Agop had taken over the groceries business; meanwhile, Zenop had begun selling poultry and eggs. The next year, the family established a company named Aprahamian and Co, and ventured into trade in a variety of fields including firewood, charcoal, timber and colonial commodities. Another Aprahamian named Roupen also started a

191 Sandalcı and Kocacık, *Yolu Izmit'ten Geçen Eczacılar*, 1480-1481.

192 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891. It should be noted that there were also two Abrahamians (Hapet and "S."), written with the letter "b", doing business in Adapazarı after 1908. Melkon's family name was written with a "b" until 1903 where it appeared as "Aprahamian" with a "p" for the first time. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether these families were one and the same, and if not, to which family Melkon belonged.

business in 1895, as the sole leather and hide merchant in the town of Izmit. In 1896, the firm began trading in cereals and linseed as well as serving as sales representatives, meanwhile Izmit's only leather and hide merchant Roupen Aprahamian began making shoes and selling haberdashery. Moreover, the following year, it would seem that Hratchia Aprahamian started working as a lawyer, which he continued to do until 1904.[193]

Evidently, almost each passing year, a new Aprahamian took up a new profession and expanded the family enterprise, all the while maintaining their previous occupations. In keeping with this tradition, the year 1900 saw H. A. Aprahamian open up a cord shop and the company began trading in flour. Continuing the tradition of yearly expansion, the next year both Ohannes and Roupen were listed as merchants, which was a separate, broader category, indicating a broader range of activities as merchants. In 1902, the Aprahamian company seemingly withdrew from timber and colonial commodities trade, leaving the latter to K. Aprahamian as an individual. Likewise, two years later Zenop Aprahamian returned to the timber business as an individual, rather than as part of the company, hinting at perhaps a problem concerning the company. Given the company's withdrawal also from the flour trade in 1904 and the emergence of new names individually, such as Hatchik Aprahamian in manufactures, there is reason to believe individual enterprise gained traction among the members of the Aprahamian family after 1902.[194]

After the Young Turk revolution of July 1908, the Aprahamians had quit timber, groceries and manufactures businesses altogether. Roupen Aprahamian apparently had quit selling shoes and haberdashery. H. K. Aprahamian no longer had a cordage shop. K. Aprahamian as an individual was trading in colonial commodities instead of the company as a whole like in the previous years. And Melkon Aprahamian had stopped trading in spirits, a business he had been doing since at least 1891. In contrast to the Bulutyan brothers, the revolution badly affected their

193 Cervati, 1893-98.

194 Ibid., 1900-2, 1904.

business activities. On the eve of the First World War, the only remaining Aprahamians in business in the town of Izmit were A. Aprahamian trading in cereals and linseed and Zenop, still a poultry and egg merchant since 1894.[195]

PATRIKIOS

Orthodox Greeks were particularly dominant in the bakery business and the flour and oil trade. By 1891, the Patrikios brothers were already an established name as owners of the only steam mill in Izmit as well as ten ovens located in the town's *Buğday Meydanı* [Square]. The brothers also worked as commissionaires and cereal merchants and traded in flour. From 1895 onwards, the Patrikios brand was referred to as the A. S. Patrikios and Company. The company added sales representation to their list of services in 1896 and became agents for the Izmit branch of the Ottoman Imperial Bank the same year, both of which lasted until 1900. However, it is not clear whether the new A. S. Patrikios and Company included both brothers or not as a separate G. S. Patrikios and Sons company was later established most likely after 1908.[196]

The A. S. Patrikios and Company had turned into A. S. Patrikios and Sons presumably sometime after 1908, serving as agents for the Mannheim maritime insurance company and as correspondents for the Weiner Bank-Verein. They continued to trade in cereals and flour until after 1914 and started to trade in linseed as well after 1908. The newly established G. S. Patrikios and Sons also traded in flour as it would appear that they jointly owned the mill and ovens in the Buğday Square with the A. S. Patrikios and Sons.[197]

MORALIZADE BROTHERS

As for the Muslims, they, too, naturally were present in Izmit's economic life, albeit to a lesser extent compared with the Armenians and Orthodox

195 Ibid., 1909, 1914.

196 Ibid., 1891, 1895-96, 1900.

197 Ibid., 1909. Andrei Patrikios' sons Perikli, Avilsos and Okenpos, owners of the flour factory in the Buğday Square, had been exempted from the customs duties in May 1908 for machines and equipments they wanted to import from Europe and America for their factory. BOA.Y.A.RES. 156/35, 09.04.1326 [11 May 1908].

Greeks. Edhem Moralı, presumably a Circassian migrant, was a *bakkal* [épicier/grocer], who did business from 1891 to 1904. After seemingly a five-year hiatus, the Moralı name returned to the grocery business as the Moralızade ("zade" meaning "son") brothers in 1909, indicating that Edhem, probably the father, had either retired or died and left the family business to his sons. At that time, one of the brothers, Nuri, was also a merchant trading in construction materials and timber. After the First World War, Nuri maintained the grocery store and continued working alone.[198]

SAATÇI ABDÜLRAHMAN AĞA

In terms of consistency, watchmaker Abrülrahman Ağa was among the best in Izmit. Started off most likely well before 1891, he was still working as a watchmaker in the early 1920s.[199]

PARANSEM

Mrs Paransem also appears as a constant figure amid the male-dominated economic scene of Izmit. She was among the few qualified midwives with a diploma and was active between 1893 and 1914.[200]

2.4.2 *Education*

Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye [Yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education] or more simply *maarif salnameleri* [yearbooks of education] are of great value regarding education. They provide detailed information on the number and different types of schools for each community, including teachers, pupils, opening dates, construction costs, and courses given.

During the Hamidian era there was much emphasis on education and the number of schools increased dramatically. The different types of

198 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891, 1904, 1909, 1921.

199 Ibid., 1921.

200 Ibid., 1891-1914.

schools in the Izmit district consisted of *sıbyan* [children] or *ibtidai* [elementary], *rüşdiye* [adolescence] and *idadi* [middle] schools; *medreses* (Muslim religious schools); non-Muslim community schools; and foreign schools.[201]

In the year of 1897, there was a total of 687 elementary level (651 *sıbyan* and thirty-six *ibtidai*) schools with 17,234 students in the district. At the turn of the twentieth century the district had six (two *rüşdiye* and four *ibtidai*) schools for Orthodox Christians; six Armenian Apostolic and two Armenian Catholic schools; two primary schools for the Jewish; one American Protestant school; one French Jesuit (Assumptionist) school; and one Mekhitarist Armeno-Catholic middle school.[202]

Curiously, in the *merkez kaza* [central subdistrict] of Izmit, the *maarif salnamesi* of 1903 shows only one state elementary school, one state *rüşdiye* and one state *idadi* school as well as three *medreses*. The elementary school, located in the Hamidiye village was opened in the 1890-91 year, which is likely an indication that not all schools were registered in the yearbooks. Furthermore, the absence of a *rüşdiye* school in the town between 1898 and 1903 is also unusual. Demiryürek argues that the old *rüşdiye* school known to have existed until at least 1885 may have been turned into another school, the Izmit *inas* [girls] *rüşdiye mektebi,* that had

201 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye* [Yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education] of 1898-1901 and 1903; H. Demiryürek, "Maarif Salnamelerine göre Izmit Sancağı'nda Eğitim-Öğretim: 1898-1904" [Education in the District of Izmit According to the Yearbooks of Education: 1898-1904], in *International Symposium on Ghazi Akça Koca and History of Kocaeli,* 2015, edited by Haluk Selvi and M. Bilal Çelik (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 30, 2015), 1211-1228.

202 Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti İdaresinde Bulunan Mekatib-i İbtidaiye, Rüşdiye, İdadiye, Aliye ile Mekatib-i Hususiye ve Ecnebiyye'nin ve Dersaadet'te Tahrir-i İcra Kılınan ve Taşrada Mevcud Bulunan Kütüphanelerin İstatistiki, "1311-1312 Sene-i Dersiye-i Maliyesine Mahsus", Matbaa-i Amire, 1318, quoted in Demiryürek, *Maarif Salnamelerine göre Izmit Sancağı'nda Eğitim-Öğretim*, 1212. In contrast, according to the 1903 yearbook of education the number of *ibtidai* schools in the district was twenty three. 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 717-720; 1902, 954-955; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 357.

114 students in 1903. The only state *idadi* school in the Izmit *kaza* opened in 1885, providing courses such as French, Turkish, Farsi, Arabic, natural sciences, algebra, history, geography, accounting, religion, calligraphy and painting. The school had 111 Muslim and thirty non-Muslim students in 1903, but according to Abdülbaki Feyzi, who visited Izmit in October 1912, the *idadi* school had about 200 students then, which he found to be too low for a town of 5,000.[203] There were three *medreses* in the town centre: Fevziye in the Hamidiye street with sixty students; Sultan Orhan in Yukarı Pazar with forty-five students; and Pertev Paşa in Yeni Cuma with twenty students. Moreover, the town had two libraries, Mehmed Pertev Paşa and Hacı Ismail Efendi as well as the Mavian printing house, founded in 1878.[204]

The two *Rum* (Orthodox Christian) *rüşdiye* schools, one for girls and one for boys, were also situated in the town centre and they were under the authority of the Orthodox Christian metropolitan. As reported in the education yearbook, the school for boys had been built in 1877-78. Yet the *Annuaire Oriental* shows only one Orthodox Christian school in the town for the entire period from 1877-1914, the Hagios Vassilios elementary school for boys and girls, with 150 students and Yorghandas as the principal in 1903. Çokona, on the other hand, argues that the town's first *Rum*

203 Abdülbaki Feyzi, "Yurdumuzda Gördüklerim-Izmit," *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 27 (28 October 1912): 58-59, in *Türk Yurdu, vol. 2 (vol. 3-4)*, ed. Murat Şefkatli (Ankara: Tutibay Yayınları, 1999).

204 Demiryürek, *Maarif Salnamelerine göre Izmit Sancağı'nda Eğitim-Öğretim*, 1214-1215. There is also a document from 1882 underlining the importance of taking the necessary precautions in order to increase the number of students in the Izmit *rüşdiye*, which was "unbecoming for the population and importance of the town." BOA.MF.MKT. 74/134, 13.04.1299 [4 Mar 1882]. 1885 state yearbook shows the *rüşdiye* school having 88 students; 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 715-720.

school was built in 1795. There were also four elementary schools in the Greek villages in the countryside such as Mihaliç, Eşme and Yeniköy.[205]

The Armenian Apostolic Lusavorchian (Lousavorich) and Kayanian (Kaianian) and the Armenian Catholic Hnchtarian *idadi* schools were located in the town centre. The two Apostolic schools are listed in the education yearbooks as *idadi* except the last issue in which they appear as joint *ibtidai* and *rüşdiye* schools, while the latter Catholic school is listed as an *idadi*. The other Armenian schools in the kaza were the two *ali* [high] schools of the Armash monastery; the Karakian *rüşdiye* also in Armash; plus, the two schools in Bardizag, the Nersesan-Shushanian mixed Apostolic *rüşdiye* school and the Catholic *idadi* school.[206]

It is interesting that despite having been built in 1835, the Lousavorichian school is shown as being without an official permit in 1903, as were any other Armenian school in the district, except for the Vienna based Mekhitarist Armeno-Catholic school classified as foreign that had obtained a permit the same year it was built (1890).

Kasabian, on the other hand, states that in 1910-11, according to his personal statistics, there were fifty-six (thirty-six boys', twenty girls')

205 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 718; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1877-1914; 1903, 1392; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 158. The school was damaged in a fire in 1885; it was later rebuilt, with a new library.

206 Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 238; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1903, 1391 and 1904, 1391; 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 718; 1901, 952-955; 1900, 1630-1633. The "Karakian" school in Armash mentioned in the education yearbooks could be the "Naregian" in Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 203. There are inconsistencies pertaining to the type of the schools. In the 1901 yearbook of education, the Lusavorchian is shown as an *idadi* school but in the 1903 issue it comprises both an *ibtidai* and a *rüşdiye.* Moreover, in the five issues of the yearbook of education, the Lusavorchian was a mixed school in three years (1899, 1901, 1903) and a boys school in two (1898, 1900). In the latest issue for the year 1903, it appears as a mixed school having 588 students. By comparison, the Annuaire Oriental shows the Lusavorchian and the Kayanian had a total of 560 students, although this number remained the same over many years, giving the impression that it was not updated and was most likely inaccurate.

Armenian Apostolic schools and ten kindergartens; nine (five boys', four girls')[207] Armenian Protestant schools and one kindergarten; three (two boys', one girls') Armenian Catholic schools; five (three girls', two boys') foreign (three American, one German and one international) establishments; and three special kindergartens in the Izmit district.[208]

The Izmit central *kaza* included ten of the above Armenian Apostolic schools (in the town centre, Bardizag, Zakar Köy, Döngel, Ovacık, Arslanbey, Jamavayr, Dagh Köy, Armash and Khach Köy) and four of the kindergartens (in the town centre and Bardizag); nine of the Protestant schools (in the town centre, Bardizag and Ovacık) and one kindergarten (in the town centre); all three Armeno-Catholic schools (in the town centre and Bardizag); four foreign special establishments (in Bardizag and the town centre); and one of the special kindergartens (in the town centre) which was closed before the 1911-12 school year.[209]

Organisations supporting education were not new, though the restoration of the constitution in July 1908 gave new impetus to this cause. Many Armenian organisations dedicated to promoting education and helping pupils in need opened during this time. Some of these included the Nicomedia Benevolent Association, originally founded in 1864 and reopened in 1908; the Askanazian Union of Nicomedia, founded in 1875; the Nicomedia School Building Assistance Group, founded in 1908; the Women's Poor Relief-Kindergarten Association of Bardizag, founded in 1904; the Community Schools Alumni Association of Bardizag, founded in

207 This appears to be incorrect because there are three boys', three girls' and two mixed Protestant schools on page 210. Moreover, the two boys' and one girls' American schools as well as the German Girls' Orphanage on page 199 were all Protestant establishments. Therefore, there should have been a total of twelve Protestant schools in the district: five boys', five girls' and two mixed.

208 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 201-202.

209 Ibid., 203-212. The foreign establishments were the American Boys' High School, the Favre Boys' Home and the German Girls' and the international day-school in the town of Izmit governed by nuns.

1907; the Tourian Community Schools' Union of Bardizag, founded in 1908; the Pro-Education Union of Bardizag, founded in 1910; the Women's Meeting Hall Union of Arslanbey, founded in 1902. In addition, the Armenian political parties briefly (the ARF and the Hnchagian) held classes in Izmit and Bardizag in 1910 to hundreds of men and women young and old.[210]

2.4.3 *Social Interactions*

Forced migration and the ensuing competition for land and resources was one of the key factors that changed the composition of society in the Izmit district and accordingly the social relations in the region. Examples of land disputes intensified due to migration are in plenty in the Presidency Ottoman Archive [Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi]. In the Izmit central *kaza*, where most of the province's Armenian people lived, it appears that social relations were affected more by the Armenian Question than the competition for land.[211]

For example, on one occasion two men from the Circassian village of Ketenciler, Kamil and Batumlu Numan's son Mehmed, were charged with assault in May 1896 after attacking some members of the Armenian communities in Bahçecik and Ovacık, stealing the belongings of the one from Bahçecik and injuring the other from Ovacık. The government reportedly took the necessary measures to bring justice and the incident was not mentioned again.[212] The description of Mehmed as Batumlu Numan's son makes it highly likely that in spite of him being from the Circassian Ketenciler village, he or both of the assailants were either Georgian or Laz, as Batumi usually denoted the two of them. Regardless of their ethnicity, that the incident took place in 1896 and it was an assault rather than a

210 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 213-217.

211 The Armenian people in the Izmit kaza numbered 25,399 in 1914 according to the Patriarchate's census results, which was 10,230 more than in Adapazarı, and more than the rest of the four *kazas* combined. Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272.

212 BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 655/21, 14.12.1313 [27 May 1896]; BOA.HR.TH. 176/33, 16 June 1896.

land related disagreement points to the deteriorating Turkish-Armenian relations as the cause.

Similarly, there was another instance[213] from 1896, in which Lokmanoğlu Mehmed and Ahmedoğlu Mehmed from the Georgian migrant village of Döşeme had an altercation with Avedis and Sarkis from the Hemshin Armenian village of Zakar over the latter's Mauser branded guns. As it was forbidden for non-Muslims to possess firearms, the two Mehmeds demanded that Avedis and Sarkis hand over their guns. When the young Armenians refused, the Georgians tried to seize hold of their guns but one of the Mehmeds was shot and killed during the ensuing fight, while the other one escaped. Afterwards, Avedis and Sarkis fled to the mountains and chose to live there as fugitives. Apart from being a Muslim migrant-local Armenian confrontation during a time of high tension, the incident then evolved into an example of life as an outlaw in the countryside against the backdrop of increasing political activity and ethno-religious tension. Over time, Avedis and Sarkis took up tobacco smuggling through collaboration with a tobacco smuggler called Parnag from Bardizag, who had been a Régie Company overseer. Furthermore, the two men became involved in banditry, targeting rich Muslim or Orthodox Christian villagers in the region while initially excluding their fellow Armenians. But after cultivating links with the Hnchag party members in Bardizag and adopting socialist principals, Avedis and Sarkis began targeting the wealthy regardless of their ethnicity.

With this new-found philosophy, they ambushed and robbed one of the Bardizag silk-spinning factory owners Avedian. Avedian, who had to hand over to the robbers a large sum of money (about 500 "Austrian Kremitzes"), reported the incident to the local government, accusing Sarkis, Avedis and Parnag, their known collaborator in tobacco smuggling. It was Parnag who incurred punishment every time the two bandits were accused of a crime. Even though he was released after the Avedian incident, when the police raid on Sarkis's house in Zakar proved

213 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 293-297; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 110.

unsuccessful in capturing the two fugitives, Parnag was arrested once again, this time along with Sarkis's wife, who was carrying some of the stolen money in her belt which the police found during the raid. After multiple arrests and mounting pressure during detention, Parnag agreed to hand over his comrades to the government in order to save himself. In the end, Sarkis and Avedis were shot and killed in 1904 in the yard of the house that belonged to Parnag's brother-in-law.[214]

That this incident happened in 1896 during the Armenian crisis of 1894-96 between neighbours who apparently had been on good terms until then is once again indicative of the communal division along ethnic lines. Moreover, the language used at the time by local eyewitnesses (such as Mkhalian) and the people directly involved in illegal activities reveals that banditry and (tobacco) smuggling were regarded as proper occupations, however dangerous and illegal they might be.[215]

It is also possible to see the effects of the Armenian crisis in the increased level of suspicion the government displayed towards foreign activity, especially in the Armenian villages. For example, American missionaries in Bahçecik was under more scrutiny during this period, highlighted by the visible increase in the number of documents in the Ottoman archive pertaining to the activities of the American Board. At the time, the principal of the American Boys' High School in Bahçecik was Robert Chambers who had returned from the United States to take up residence in Bahçecik in 1891, after having been forced to leave the

214 Mkhalian (297) says despite the official report stating that they were killed by police officers, they were in fact killed by their own friends who wanted to prevent more losses.

215 For example, when asked about his occupation, a Circassian man answered the American Protestant missionary George E. White who had hired the Circassian man to take him to an outstation: "When I find a traveler like you to escort, I escort him but my regular business is smuggling. In our village every man has a trade: some are farmers, some are smugglers, and some are robbers." American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 101, January 1905, 27-28.

Erzurum mission due to ill-health in 1888.[216] He was accompanied by his wife Elizabeth "Bessie" Chambers and their two sons, Robert and Lawson.[217] Even though he is referred to as an English citizen in the Ottoman archive, the Chambers were actually from Canada.[218]

Mr Chambers was a tall man who spoke and preached in fluent Armenian. In spite of being a Protestant missionary, he was a highly esteemed and well-liked figure in the eyes of the local Armenian community as a whole in Bahçecik.[219] In contrast, the government was not pleased with him. His actions were being watched carefully in and out of Bahçecik and he was eventually blamed for inciting the Armenians to act against the state.

Robert Chambers' name actually first appeared in the Ottoman archive in relation to Bahçecik because of a rather shocking crime involving his then-ten-year old son, who had been assaulted by two Armenian men in 1894. While the assailants had been arrested and were sent to the court, the government appeared to be more concerned that the assault would be attributed to Muslims than the actual crime itself. To prevent this, the local government was warned accordingly to take the necessary precautions so that the event would be described accurately in the

216 Peter Bush, "The Armenian Genocide and the Chambers family, 1879-1923," *Presbyterian History* 59, n. 2 (2015): 1-2; American Board, 88, Apr 1892, 160 and 92, Jan 1896, 22-23.

217 Bush, "The Armenian Genocide and the Chambers family," 1; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 264.

218 BOA.HR.TH. 164/79, 04 Nov 1895; Bush, "The Armenian Genocide and the Chambers family," 1.

219 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 264-272. Although improved over time, the relations between Protestant and Apostolic Armenians used to be very tense. For instance, in the spring of 1877, a group of boys from the Apostolic Armenian community at Izmit had attacked the Protestant chapel and school, breaking the windows and furniture, destroying bibles and books. Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby, 27 September 1877, no. 436, in Great Britain, Foreign Office, Turkey, No. 23 (1878), *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Turkey* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1878), 392.

press.[220] After this incident, the government took an interest in Mr Chambers, which is demonstrated by the frequent reporting of his activities that coincided with the Armenian crisis of 1894-96. In November 1895, he was warned for hanging English and American flags at his school and was told to remove them.[221] In 1896, he was called to the courthouse, which he described as harassment, upon the accusation that he had in his possession a *Hnchag*[222] journal, and for the previous warnings regarding the English and American flags that he apparently had ignored.[223]

The following year, Mr Chambers' older son Robert was stopped at customs on his way to Izmit. The books in his possession were seized and subsequently returned after the removal of two "harmful" pages.[224] Such a series of incidents perhaps signalled what was coming. Eventually, Mr Chambers was accused by the government of provoking the Armenian people against the state. The government sought to have him removed from his position, or in the case that it would not be possible, and it was not, at least warned.[225] After these encounters with the state that alienated both sides, Mr Chambers' activities continued to be observed closely. When, in May 1899, he wanted to turn into a school the new house that he had planned to build for himself, the investigation revealed that the permit he had obtained was unauthorised by the local government.[226] As a result, the government ordered the construction to be stopped, the

220 BOA.HR.TH. 146/45, 13 Sep 1894; BOA.HR.SYS. 2790/12, 22 Sep 1894. The crime was described with the words *tecavüz*, which means "assault" or "encroachment" but not necessarily of a sexual nature, and *namus dışı şiddet* [dishonourable violence], which has a stronger sexual connotation.

221 BOA.HR.TH. 164/79, 04 Nov 1895.

222 Or Hunchakian; the Armenian social-democratic party, founded in 1887.

223 BOA.HR.TH. 186/5, 22 Dec 1896.

224 BOA.HR.TH. 199/61, 26 Aug 1897.

225 BOA.DH.MKT. 40/24, 05.05.1315 [2 Oct 1897]; BOA.HR.TH. 201/55, 02 Oct 1897.

226 BOA.İ.HUS. 75/38, 17.01.1317 [28 May 1899].

building to be expropriated and all the provinces and *livas* to be notified of the situation in order to prevent similar attempts from being made.[227]

However, as a foreign citizen and a religious leader Mr Chambers was not an ordinary man. Despite all the trouble he had caused the government over a five-year period, which may have cost dearly to another person, Robert Chambers was simply told that he needed a valid permit and a licence to use the new building as a school.[228] About three months later, he was indeed given the necessary permit for his new building.[229] This time, however, the objection came from the Ministry of Education, stating that Mr Chambers needed either to continue using his old school building for the purpose of education or obtain a licence to be able to use the new building as a school, since a building permit was not enough to use the said building as a school.[230] Finally by the turn of the century, Mr Chambers had succeeded in his effort to turn what was initially intended to be a house into a school after more than a year of struggle with the state.[231]

In quite a different example pertaining to land from the twentieth century, in December 1902, it was reported that Circassian migrants who had been brought to Armash for settlement began damaging the forest, that is to say cutting trees or opening up land for cultivating or grazing, that belonged to the Armash monastery.[232] The government then ordered the local authorities to put an end to the attack and allocate the Circassian *muhacirs* [migrants] land if it had not been done already. Two and a half years later, three new migrant villages in Armash were officially named as Inamiye, Fevziye and Tevfikiye, which means that not only had the

227 BOA.DH.MKT. 2211/3, 05.02.1317 [15 June 1899].

228 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 71/32, 29.01.1317 [9 June 1899].

229 BOA.BEO. 1358/101830-1, 12-3.04.1317 [20-1 Aug 1899].

230 BOA.MF.MKT. 477/14, 10.07.1317 [14 Nov 1899].

231 BOA.HR.İD. 2030/67, 22 May 1900; BOA.BEO. 1664/124726, 04.02.1319 [23 May 1901].

232 BOA.DH.MKT. 660/77, 03.12.1320 [3 Mar 1903]; BOA.BEO. 2664/199726, 12.07.1323 [12 Sep 1905].

Circassians succeeded in securing land but they had quickly established themselves in an Armenian *nahiye* within a few years.

Damaging or destruction of forests by migrants was a frequent situation that prompted the government to take action by sending more watchmen/guards [*bekçi*] when necessary. It was reported on 3 April 1913 that extra forest guards from the Rumeli provinces would be sent to Izmit to stop the ongoing damaging of forests by migrants throughout the Izmit district.[233]

As stated in a document from November 1889, there was a proprietary rights issue in the Değirmendere area involving the Circassian landowner Ismail Paşa and the local community of villagers from Değirmendere and Saraylı. According to the correspondence, Ismail Paşa tried to take by force the fields owned by the villagers in the area where he also owned some land, seizing the products and produce of the villagers allegedly with forty to fifty men armed with Martini and Manchester brand of rifles.[234] A bureaucrat was appointed to investigate the situation and through him the villagers sent a petition asking for protection as well as compensation of up to 200,000 piastres. Upon a judicial inquiry into the allegations carried out by *kaymakam* Ahmed Bey, the report comprising the investigation's findings revealed that Ismail Bey had purchased 767 *dönüms* of land in the said area and not only had he created a farm with complicated borders in spite of the fact that forty to fifty of the local people had gardens there, he also had damaged the gardens of the locals by raising three to four hundred livestock on the land that he had bought.[235]

When the locals complained, the Izmit Court of First Instance ordered Ismail Bey first in 1879 to pay 41,000 piastres, then again in 1884 a further 131,000 piastres for a total of 172,000 piastres. However, the two orders of

233 BOA.MV. 175/127, 25.04.1331 [3 Apr 1913].

234 BOA.Y.PRK.UM. 15/109, 05.04.1307 [29 Nov 1889].

235 "… hududu karma karışık olarak çiftlik teşkil etmiş ve arazi dahilinde ve ittisalinde ahaliden kırk elli kişinin bağ ve bahçeleri bulunduğu halde taht-ı tasarrufunda bulunacağı arazinin mafevkinde olarak yetiştirdiği üç-dört yüz res hayvanın eşhas-ı merkumenin taht-ı tasarrufunda bulunan araziye iras-ı zarar ve ziyan etmekte bulunmuş ve bağ ve bağçelerini büsbütün tahrib eylemiş olduğu …"

the court were left outstanding because of the villagers' lack of strength [*adem-i iktidarlarından dolayı*] to follow the case. In the meantime, Ismail Bey continued to seize by force further land in Değirmendere, sometimes barring villagers from attending to their own land. He confiscated the watercourse of Adalıderesi stream, preventing its public use, and blocked the villagers from using the Gölcük pastureland reserved for their animals.

Even though Ismail Paşa had not employed forty to fifty armed men as claimed by the villagers, the fifteen guards and herdsmen that he did employ were not known to the local government. They owned ordinary guns, harassed and insulted the villagers and tried to coerce them into selling their lands for a minimal fee. To end the suffering of the villagers, Ismail Paşa was ordered to respect the previous court orders and pay a total sum of 172,000 piastres to the villagers, return the confiscated pieces of land to their rightful owners, and open to public use the Adalıderesi watercourse and the Gölcük pastureland. In addition, the court advised Ismail Paşa to choose his men from among the trust-worthy people, making sure that the villagers would not be harmed by them even for a day. And finally, in the case that he would take the case to a higher court, the court ensured that it would be seen quickly to protect the villagers.

This case reflects the patterns in the nature of border disputes discussed above. But the accused in this situation is the powerful party as opposed to migrants who are often depicted as the root of such issues. Moreover, the powerful Ismail Paşa used intimidation and force to extend the boundaries of his land as well as confiscating further land instead of "occupying and waiting" which was a method used by hopeful cultivators who lacked power.

The ambiguities of land ownership were not limited to legal persons. Sometimes the government had to investigate whether or not a piece of land belonged to the state. Such was the case for the estate of Beşir Ağa, also known as Vezir Çiftliği, located in the Kadı village of the central *kaza* of Izmit. In the year of 1888, the estate, described as one of the most beautiful in Izmit, was known to be under the responsibility of Frenchwoman Madame Angélique de Benin. Although there was a court order by the

Anatolian Kazaskerliği ruling that the estate should be handed over to the grandchildren of Cabirzade Ibrahim Ağa, Safvet and Akıbe Hanıms, the Italian consulate had objected to the decision stating that the estate was actually used by Monsieur Justinian.[236]

After consideration of all existing information including court decisions and objections, the Bab-ı Ali Meclis-i Mahsus reported that the Anatolian Kazaskerliği had assumed the farmland was *arazi-i mevkufe* (land possessed in mortmain); however, according to an examination based on Defter-i Hakani registers, the Beşir Ağa or Vezir Çiftliği was in fact *tahsisat kabilinden*, that is, owned by the treasury and whose revenue allocated by the Sultan to a special service. The report concluded that a new investigation would be carried out before presenting the findings to the Sultan.

The Régie Company, after its foundation in 1883 by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, was another source of tension between the state and the villagers that resulted in unlikely alliances between non-Muslim and Muslim communities. The company had a monopoly over tobacco production and limited cultivation to certain regions and to a few "trustworthy" landowners, thus excluding the ordinary villagers from this highly profitable trade. In Bardizag, which was one of the permitted cultivation areas, some young men defied the Régie's exclusive control over the trade and were engaged in tobacco smuggling. These young men, known as *ayıngacıs*, collaborated with local tobacco raisers and formed alliances with Muslim villagers who assisted them in safely transporting their contraband to the Anatolian inlands. Local farmers developed strategies to circumvent the Régie Company rules in order to preserve the good quality crops for smuggling which was significantly more profitable. They would either "come to an understanding with the Régie's assessor, and reduce the harvest assessment" (which suggests bribes) or replace high quality harvest to be given to the Régie with bad ones.[237]

236 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 308; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 497/79, 14.11.1305 [23 July 1888].

237 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 375-376. Biber Ardash was a famous *ayıngacı* leader from Bardizag.

The smugglers, on their part, frequently engaged in deadly clashes with the Régie Company guards [*kolcus*] and inspectors during their journeys, from which they usually emerged victorious. On one occasion, however, an *ayıngacı* called Kurd Sarkis, en route to Istanbul by boat carrying contraband tobacco, had come across a Régie inspector boat and had been killed during the clash. Sometimes, the whole village cooperated against the combined forces of the Régie and the government to protect the smugglers. For instance, one time when Régie inspectors were notified by a local spy from Bardizag that there was contraband tobacco in one of the houses and went to check the house, they were repelled by women and girls carrying sticks and staves. The women and girls then transferred the stock of tobacco elsewhere and when the inspectors came back, this time accompanied by government forces, they were not able to find anything.[238]

§ 2.5 Two Murders and A Fall From Grace

2.5.1 *The murders of missionary Rev. Justin W. Parsons and Garabed Dudukian, and the trial of their murderers (1880)*

This tragic case is interesting because despite the justified and oftenmentioned notoriety[239] of the Circassian bandits in the missionary

238 Ibid., 376-377.

239 It was also self-confessed as the following anectode by American Protestant missionary Rev. George E. White demonstrates:
'On another trip home from an outsatation, a party of us engaged four Circassians with their horses to carry us. As we prepared to mount, the Bey said: "Let us go the mountain road, for the mountain road is short and direct …"
One of my companions, an Armenian, slowly shook his head in protest against the mountain road. I said, "If you know any good reason why we should not take that road, state it, or else let us go as our men desire."
"Well," he burst out, "they say there are robbers on that road."
"*We're* the robbers," answered our guide, cheerfully; "there is no danger when we are along and *protect* you."' American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 101, Jan 1905, 29. Hiring Circassian riders for protection on the road was used as a way to avoid being robbed by them.

reports and elsewhere, and Rev. Justin Parsons' previous encounters with them, Mr Parsons and Garabed Dudukian, a local Armenian man from Bahçecik, were not killed by them, but a couple of young Yuruk (or Yörük; nomadic shepherd people) men for petty theft. The case also reveals more about the societal norms and the workings of the Ottoman judicial system in the Izmit district from the point of view of non-Muslim individuals.

Justin Wright Parsons was born at Westhampton, Massachusetts in the United States of America on 26 April 1824. He graduated from Williams College in 1848 and married Catherine Jennings, who was a resident and graduate of Oberlin, the following year on 11 December 1849. He then sailed for the Ottoman Empire on 24 April 1850 and served there for thirty years until his death on 28 July 1880. Not much is known about Garabed Dudukian (or Diudiuk Keiyian) other than the fact that he was one of the Protestant Dudukian brothers from Bahçecik who accompanied Mr Parsons as his guide in their journeys.[240]

According to an obituary from October 1880 in the Missionary Herald, Parsons was "[q]uiet in manner, shunning the gaze of men, seldom speaking except as he had some weighty word to utter," and "perhaps not as well known as others of less worth have been." He had lived in Bahçecik for twenty-five years and had known the people and the region very well. Parsons was also described as "a man of very short stature who was all movement and life," and who along with fellow missionary Laura Farnham that arrived in Izmit in 1872 championed girls' education in Bahçecik. Together they opened the Bahçecik (Bardizag) American Girls' School in 1873.[241]

Prior to 1880, Mr Parsons had had a few encounters with Circassian bandits about which he had written in his letters to the mission. In one instance that took place in the summer of 1877, the reverend, his wife, the

240 American Board, 76, Oct 1880, 372; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 184.

241 American Board, 76, Oct 1880, 372; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 182; Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," 161-165.

school headmistress Laura Farnham and "an Armenian attendant" (not mentioned by name but could be Garabed Dudukian) came across a Circassian robber on a mountain road, who pointed a gun at them, saying "Your money or your life."[242] The group gave the robber all they had which amounted to no more than three liras. Not satisfied, the robber slapped Mr Parsons with the back of his sword and proceeded to search their pockets and bags. When convinced there was nothing else, he wanted to take two of their horses; however, with a sudden change of heart, the Circassian man simply backed off and left.

About nine months before his death, Mr Parsons wrote again about his encounters with Circassian bandits on his missionary journey in the region. His words reveal the level of notoriety the Circassian bandits had in the region: "In going from place to place in this part of Turkey, the first consideration is how to avoid the Circassians; the second is how little of value can be taken."[243]

Despite the danger and a previous close encounter, Parsons and Garabed Dudukian did not avoid but instead actively sought the Circassian people. They visited Circassian villages to offer their books to all who could read. And as Parsons himself attested, the Circassian people did not harm them, which is not surprising given that obviously not all Circassian people were bandits.

In the summer of the following year, on Wednesday night, 28 July 1880, Mr Parsons and Garabed Dudukian were murdered. As recounted by E. E. Bliss in the Missionary Herald,[244] Parsons and Dudukian were on their way back from Iznik (Nicaea) to Bahçecik, after one of their habitual missionary tours among the Armenian villages of the region. The two men stopped at a Yörük encampment in the afternoon and had a few words with a local imam there, offering him a copy of the Scriptures, which he declined.

After leaving the camp, upon Garabed Dudukian's suggestion the two men agreed to spend the warm night in the open air, where after sunset

242 American Board, 73, Oct 1877, 304.

243 American Board, 76, Jan 1880, 23.

244 Ibid., 384. See also BOA.Y.A.HUS. 165/64, 27.08.1297 [04 Aug 1880].

they were visited by an Armenian from Bahçecik who was on his way to a business meeting with the Yörüks nearby.

The rest went like the following "as told by the guilty men themselves".[245] That same night three young Yörük men from the encampment, in pursuit of strayed cattle, passed by Mr Parsons' camp where he and his companion were asleep. That was when the idea of murdering and robbing them was conceived. But, one of the three Yörük men objected to the idea and so all of them went back on their way to look for their strayed cattle.

However, on their return, the Yörüks saw that Mr Parsons and Garabed Dudukian were still sleeping and decided to follow through with their plan to kill and rob them. They shot and killed Dudukian through the heart and Parsons through his arm and body.

Apparently, they did not intend to kill "the old man with a beard" (Parsons) but feared they would be identified and punished if they let him go. After taking their money, about five dollars, the Yörük men left the bodies unburied among the bushes, which they later explained, "Why should we bury them? They were *gavurs* [infidels]. Who will ever make any inquiries in regard to them?"[246]

The bodies were found three days later on Saturday morning and the funeral took place on Sunday, attended by the whole of Bahçecik community. As for the murderers, they were quickly arrested and tried three months later in October. The government's response and the subsequent trial as seen by Krikor Mkhalian and the Missionary Herald are important because they provide the perspectives of a local Armenian man from Bahçecik and the American mission on life as a non-Muslim in the Empire in relation to the state and other communities, and the workings of the Ottoman criminal justice system in a case involving local Muslim defendants and a foreign Christian victim.

245 American Board, 76, Oct 1880, 384.

246 American Board, 76, Oct 1880, 385.

The report by Dr E. E. Bliss, dated 2 August 1880, that appeared in the October 1880 edition of the Missionary Herald initially praised the Turkish authorities for their "very commendable promptness and zeal in seeking out and arresting the guilty parties."[247] However, a few days later Dr Bliss and Mr Greene of the American mission quickly noted the "Turkish recklessness" in handling the affair. The said recklessness referred to the officials' treatment of the crime as a thoughtless act of "boys".

The Americans underlined the necessity of punishing the guilty parties so as to emphasise the severity of the crime and redeem the character of the Ottoman administration, thus sending a message about violence against Christians. In other similar cases involving killings of Christians or non-Muslims, Mr Greene reproached the government for their unwillingness to punish Turkish murderers. It would appear that despite arrests, closed trials and prison sentences, murderers were hardly ever executed if they were Muslim.

Likewise, Mkhalian argues that the government was more concerned about the potential political pressure by the European powers than the actual crime itself, which (the killing of Christians) he suggested was a common occurrence. He also pointed out that such violence was a part of the Armenian existence in the Ottoman Empire.[248]

The trial of the three Yörük men, named Ali, Eyüb and Süleyman, took place on Saturday, 9 October 1880 before the central criminal court of Istanbul, which was located near the Hagia Sophia Mosque.[249] According to the noticeably disapproving missionary report on the trial, the judges were more than an hour late and after finally arriving they took their time for refreshments.

Two of the prisoners were brought in by policemen, meanwhile the third one initially could not attend due to sickness, but was later brought in after a decision was made to bring him in in a sedan chair, which

247 Ibid., 384.

248 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 185.

249 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 76, Dec 1880, 504.

further delayed the start of the trial for a total of two hours after the appointed time.[250]

The court consisted of five judges. The presiding judge and two others were from the *ulema*; the vice-president was a Greek; and the fifth was an Austrian who had turned Muslim. The American legation was represented by one English and one Armenian lawyer while the defence was made by an Armenian lawyer. After an hour of pleas and half an hour of the judges' deliberation, the court found Ali guilty of "murder in the first degree, and the others of aiding and abetting the act." In the end, the judges condemned Ali to death by hanging, whereas Eyüb and Süleyman were each given fifteen years of imprisonment with hard labour.[251]

The Americans had doubts in spite of the death sentence over whether the decision would actually be carried out.

> No capital punishment can be inflicted here except by virtue of an express firman of the Sultan. It is said that from sixty to eighty criminals are under sentence of death in the prisons here, but no firmans are issued for their execution. This case is one of special importance, involving the question whether the extreme penalty of the law will be inflicted upon a Musulman for the murder of a Christian.[252]

It is not known whether the death sentence of Ali was carried out or not. In Mkhalian's account (which was written much later than that of the Americans' who were present at the trial) two men and not three were arrested and both were given sentences of fifteen years imprisonment. He does not mention a death sentence; however, he does shed more light on the two men's fate: "One of them died in prison, and the other, having completed his sentence, was released."[253]

250 American Board, 76, Dec 1880, 504.

251 Ibid., 505.

252 Ibid.

253 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 185.

2.5.2 *The downfall of Selim Sırrı Paşa, governor of Izmit (1887-1895)*

One of the most high-profile stories concerning the district of Izmit is the ousting of Selim Sırrı Paşa, its first governor as a newly-autonomous district. It ties together local and international forces and demonstrates the position of the Ottoman Empire *vis-à-vis* the European powers at the end of the nineteenth century.

Although Selim Sırrı Paşa had been given a medal before the end of his first year at office in April 1888, he had his fair share of complaints, accusations of abuse of power, and corruption charges on the local scale that he had managed to avert as early as 1889.[254]

The first major crisis broke out after a complaint was submitted to the Ministry of the Interior in April 1890 about Karamürselli Rıza and Yalova *belediye reisi* [mayor] Hasan, who had been appointed to oversee the Dağhamamı (or Dağ Hamamları, literally "mountain baths" that refer to the thermal springs) road construction in the Yalova *nahiye*.[255] A few days later, it was revealed that the governor Selim Sırrı Paşa was among the accused in the allegations of corruption concerning the Yalova Dağhamamı road construction.[256] The accusers were Yalova *mal katibi* Nuri and *tapu katibi* Hasan Tahsin (not to be confused with the Yalova *belediye reisi* Hasan).

In the meantime, Selim Sırrı Paşa was already in trouble for his "bad behaviour" reported to the government by the military council in the Izmit district, for which he was pending trial.[257] The crime of which the governor was accused in the Dağhamamı case was stealing from the public revenue generated by the Yalova *nahiye*.[258]

254 BOA.İ.DH. 1078/84573, 07.08.1305 [19 Apr 1888].

255 BOA.DH.MKT. 1713/49, 10.08.1307 [01 Apr 1890]. hamamı held a special importance for being a very popular and busy thermal resort/spa during the "thermal season". Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909, 1684.

256 BOA.DH.MKT. 1717/5, 20.08.1307 [11 Apr 1890].

257 BOA.Y.PRK.ASK. 58/35, 01.03.1307 [26 Oct 1889].

258 BOA.DH.MKT. 1718/32, 25.08.1307 [16 Apr 1890].

Upon complaints by Yalova *mal katibi* Nuri and *tapu katibi* Hasan Tahsin that they were being harassed by the governor for exposing his theft and misappropriation of funds in the Yalova Dağhamamı road construction project, the government decided to send *tahkikat memurları* [investigating bureaucrats/officers] Abdülmecid Efendi, Mirliva Hakkı Paşa and Mirliva Ahmed Rüşdü Bey to investigate the accusations against Selim Sırrı Paşa.[259]

Meanwhile, the scope of the case had expanded when the *kaymakam* of the Karamürsel *kaza*, which included Yalova as a *nahiye* at that time, Muharrem Efendi also got involved in May 1890 by filing a complaint against the governor, stating that he stole money during the road construction project.[260]

The governor was not the only accused in the increasingly tangled corruption case, but certainly the most powerful. Around the same time, it was reported that the committee appointed to investigate the allegations of embezzlement against one of the project overseers, Karamürselli Rıza Efendi who had also been accused along with the *belediye reisi* Hasan Efendi, could not be carried out due to pressure by the gendarmerie who had forced the committee to go back.[261] The reason for the said obstruction of the committee was the alleged close relationship between Selim Sırrı Paşa and Rıza Efendi.

However, at the time, as the person in the most powerful position in the Izmit district, Selim Sırrı Paşa was not an easy man to take down and it would seem that he used his influence not only to protect himself but also Rıza and Hasan Efendis. As reported in June of 1890, the Yalova *belediye reisi* Hasan Efendi had also been charged with embezzlement and had been removed from office by the *kaymakam* of Karamürsel, only to be restored by the governor Selim Sırrı Paşa.[262] As with Rıza Efendi,

259 BOA.DH.MKT. 1719/22, 27.08.1307 [18 Apr 1890]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1722/6, 14.09.1307 [04 May 1890]; BOA.Y.MTV. 43/70, 15.09.1307 [05 May 1890].

260 BOA.DH.MKT. 1722/81, 17.09.1307 [07 May 1890].

261 BOA.DH.MKT. 1723/4, 19.09.1307 [09 May 1890].

262 BOA.DH.MKT. 1735/44, 04.11.1307 [22 June 1890].

Selim Sırrı Paşa once again had stood against the government's will in order to help a man charged with embezzlement.

Without any such protection, the accusers Yalova *tapu katibi* Hasan Tahsin and *mal katibi* Nuri, on the other hand, had already, unjustifiably, lost their jobs by July of 1890 despite requesting to be returned to duty, and Hasan Tahsin was even sent to jail the following year for embezzlement, to which he objected to no avail.[263]

In the meantime, the government was still investigating why the Yalova *belediye reisi* Hasan Efendi had not been removed from office due to corruption charges.[264] Complaints about Selim Sırrı Paşa and Hasan Efendi continued to be made in autumn and new information was being received regarding deeper corruption engrained in the municipal administrations of the Izmit district.[265]

At which point, the Ministry of the Interior seemed to have had enough with the wrongdoings of Selim Sırrı Paşa and asked the approval of the Grand Vezirate to put an end to his behaviour.[266] Even though it was intended that Selim Sırrı Paşa exchange his post first in March 1891 with Mersin governor Mustafa Neşet Paşa, and then two years later in July 1893 with Çatalca governor, the situation dragged on for years.[267]

In a surprising turn of events, the investigation on the Yalova *belediye reisi* Hasan Efendi concluded in November 1890 that he was actually innocent and as a result he was allowed to continue with his job.[268] However, since the corruption in the Yalova road construction was also an established fact, the Karamürsel *kaza niyabetliği* informed the Ministry of the Interior that the culprits were being protected by the Izmit

263 BOA.DH.MKT. 1742/119, 28.11.1307 [16 July 1890]; BOA.ŞD. 1550/8, 26.11.1308 [03 July 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1848/42, 01.12.1308 [08 July 1891].

264 BOA.DH.MKT. 1746/104, 14.12.1307 [01 Aug 1890].

265 BOA.DH.MKT. 1758/80, 23.01.1308 [08 Sep 1890]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1772/69, 04.03.1308 [18 Oct 1890].

266 BOA.DH.MKT. 1772/72, 04.03.1308 [18 Oct 1890].

267 BOA.Y.PRK.A. 6/43, 16.08.1308 [27 Mar 1891]; BOA.Y.MTV. 80/17, 03.01.1311 [17 July 1893].

268 BOA.DH.MKT. 1779/55, 25.03.1308 [08 Nov 1890].

Mutasarrıflığı [District], upon which the ministry demanded in June 1891 a comprehensive explanation of the situation.[269]

The allegations against Selim Sırrı Paşa on a regional scale was growing stronger each year to seemingly no effect. In June of 1891, in addition to the corruption charge he was also accused of increasing the tax burden on the people as well as nepotism, which prompted yet another investigation that finally led to a decision in July 1893 to replace him with the Çatalca governor. Moreover, in March 1892, he was accused, while the court was on holiday, of threatening and causing the death of a woman called Şerife from Sapanca who had committed suicide three years earlier.[270]

Having successfully retained his position in spite of the endless complaints, accusations and investigations for nearly five years, Selim Sırrı Paşa made one last counterattack to prevent the inevitable. He sent a telegraph to the Ministry of the Interior on 23 August 1894 stating that Refik Bey, who was carrying out the investigation on the governor, gathered information from untrustworthy people and requested that somebody else be appointed at the head of the investigation instead of Refik Bey, to no avail.[271] It would seem that Refik Bey's report had convinced the ministry as Selim Sırrı Paşa along with *naib* Tevfik and *muhasebeci* Lebib Efendis were all found guilty and ordered by an *irade* to be removed from their positions.[272]

But the last blow that definitively brought down Selim Sırrı Paşa was more than a local wrongdoing. With one simple report in February 1895,

269 BOA.DH.MKT. 1838/55, 24.10.1308 [02 June 1891].

270 BOA.Y.PRK.A. 6/9, 18.11.1308 [25 June 1891]; BOA.Y.PRK.DH. 5/5, 13.05.1309 [15 Dec 1891]; BOA.Y.PRK.AZN. 6/16, 29.08.1309 [29 Mar 1892].

271 BOA.DH.ŞFR. 168/33, 11.06.1310 [23 Aug 1894].

272 BOA.Y.MTV. 103/78, 25.02.1312 [28 Aug 1894]; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 307/103, 29.02.1312 [01 Sep 1894]; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 308/91, 10.03.1312]11 Sep 1894]. Lebib Efendi was then appointed to Basra Defterdarlığı. BOA.Y.A.HUS. 311/77, 27.04.1312 [28 Oct 1894]. Naib Tevfik Efendi remained at his post, at least until April 1895. BOA.DH.MKT. 358/67, 08.10.1312 [04 Apr 1895].

the expulsion of the governor, who had managed to fought off countless accusations before, was complete. The reason was his refusal to allow a French Catholic priest to continue building a church that he had started without a permit.[273] After this incident, when Selim Sırrı Paşa returned to Izmit in April 1895 to pick up his family in the company of *naib* Tevfik Efendi, he was accused of attempting to provoke Muslim and Armenian people, and was asked to leave never to return again.[274]

To understand the nature of the situation, the event shall be explained in its broader context. First, the aforementioned French priest was a religious leader of the Latin (Roman Catholic) community in the Izmit district, and a member of the Assumptionist Church.[275] Secondly, he was a French citizen protected by the capitulations. Thirdly, the land where the church was intended to be built was no ordinary land; it was owned by Aristidi Tubini who was from the powerful Levantine Tubini family.[276]

The Tubinis, along with the Lorando family, were bankers of French nationality and supporters of the Assumptionist Church, to whom the Ottoman Empire had become indebted in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[277] This debt later turned into a diplomatic crisis between the

273 BOA.Y.PRK.UM. 31/65, 08.08.1312 [04 Feb 1895]. See also Atilla Oral, *Selim Sırrı Paşa* (Istanbul: Emkar, 2010).

274 Which likely cost Tavfik Efendi his job. BOA.DH.MKT. 358/67, 08.10.1312 [04 Apr 1895].

275 The Augustinians of the Assumption (The Assumptionists) were founded by Emmanuel d'Alzon (1810-1880) in Nimes, France in 1845. Ismail Taşpınar, "Katolik Assomptionistler Tarikatı ve Türkiye," *Sakarya Üniversitesi Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10, Dinler Tarihi (2004): 93-113.

276 BOA.ŞD. 1564/11, 30.01.1315 [01 July 1897]. See also BOA.İ.DFE. 5/39, 05.07.1314 [10 Dec 1896]. Aristidi or Aristide Tubini (1843-1908) served as the Borax Consolidate firm's agent in Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century. He seemed "to 'have known' everyone at the Palace and among the business and other circles in the city …" Norman J. Travis and Edward John Cocks, *The Tincal Trail: A History or Borax* (London: Harrap, 1984), 257.

277 For a detailed study on the Lorando and Tubini families, see Semih Sefer, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Faaliyet Gösteren Banker Lorando ve Tubini Aileleri" [Banker Lorando and

Ottoman Empire and France to such an extent that it lead the French to threaten to invade the Midilli (Lesbos) island in 1901, which they did on 7 November 1901.[278] It is also important to note that it was Aristidi Tubini who brought the debt question to the attention of the French consulate on 9 January 1893 that accelerated the crisis.[279]

According to *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, the story of the aforementioned dispute between Selim Sırrı Paşa and the French priest went like the following.[280] The Fathers of the French Assumption were managing a school and a small hospital in Izmit. When they decided to build a chapel, they asked for an authorisation through the French ambassador. In the meantime, they did small repairs to the interior of their establishment.

On 29 January 1895, in the wrong belief that the construction of the chapel had started before the arrival of the authorisation, a police superintendent accompanied by six agents and eight soldiers presented himself to the establishment and asked to enter inside. The Superior, Dominique, having refused it, the superintendent forced the door and ordered the destruction of one of the great walls. The Superior father was arrested and detained for one hour at the government building.

On 2 February, the French ambassador to Istanbul, Paul Cambon, went to the Sublime Porte and requested the dismissal of the governor of the Izmit district, Selim Sırrı Paşa, and the police superintendent as well as requesting an official letter of apology for the incident. Indeed, the two

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Tubini Families Operating in the Ottoman State] (M.A., Istanbul University, 2017), especially 93-139 about the debt and diplomatic crisis.

278 Sefer, 126-8. For diplomatic communications on the Lorando-Tubini affair, see Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Etrangères (MEAE), *Archives diplomatiques : recueil de diplomatie et d'histoire*, 1901, 380 : Affaire Lorando-Tubini ; les Quais.

279 Sefer, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Faaliyet Gösteren Banker Lorando ve Tubini Aileleri," 93.

280 Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris, 12 February 1895, 2.

civil servants in question were dismissed and the local authorities issued an apology to father Dominique.

Another account of this story in *Revue générale de droit international public* from 1895 gives more details.[281] It states that during the cholera epidemic of the summer of 1894 the priests got an authorisation from a health authority to build a wall to separate the school from the adjacent house. Then, the priests came up with the idea of putting a roof over the wall to form at the same time a covered courtyard. Upon observation of the municipal authority that the roof was not part of the permitted construction, the priests showed willingness to ask for a regular authorisation and pay for any relating rights.

What happened was also told in a letter by Father Chaurand: "In the month of December 1894, a part of the courtyard was covered, the rest was to be completed in the course of January. A valid *tezkere* (permit) had been given to us for the buildings of December; we were then refused, claiming some *bahşiş*."[282] This refusal having been reiterated, the Frenchmen via their ambassador addressed themselves to the *mutasarrıf* Selim Sırrı Paşa who undertook to "ironing out" the difficulties and said to the Fathers to continue their work. The priests hastened to take advantage of this permission and counted on the protection of the Capitulation with France of 28 May 1740 (art. 35, 1), and thought that they "would not worry them", and that they "would not demand any money from them" (they meaning the authorities). However, the municipal authority, offended, denounced the priests as "constructing a church clandestinely." With that pretext, the order was given to the police to invade the place and to demolish the church. This was what happened on 31 January 1895 the *Revue* claims.

281 Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Droit, économie, politique, Antoine Pillet and Paul Fauchille, *Revue générale de droit international public : droit des gens, histoire diplomatique, droit pénal, droit fiscal, droit administratif*, 1895, 628-629.

282 Ibid, 628.

According to the witness account above, the *Revue* states that the police seemed to have shown in this occasion "a great brutality and a great animosity against the Christians in general."[283] Father Marie-Xavier (Dominique), superior of the mission, was dragged in the streets, head exposed, and drove with his domestic to the *mutasarrıf*'s konak where he was held for one hour. On 2 February, the ambassador of France in Istanbul demanded of the grand vizier the necessary compensation. According to the Capitulations, France was officially invested in the protection of Catholic priests. Moreover, in this case the mistreated superior was of French nationality. There were also two reasons to intervene in accordance with the article 82 of the Capitulation of 1740 stipulating the protection of "*religieux* under the authority of the French Emperor" and the article 76 guaranteeing the inviolability of the French in general. The embassy told at the same time to send to Izmit "*stationnaire* Pétrel" (an escort vessel stationed in Istanbul between 1875-95).[284] Mr Outrey, second dragoman of the embassy was tasked with publicly reinstalling the insulted superior which was done "with solemnity" according to the *Revue*. The minister of foreign affairs apologised. The *mutasarrıf* Selim Sırrı Paşa, who appeared to have played a double role in all these affairs, was discharged. Finally, an indemnity of 250 *livres turques* (5,750 francs) was given to the Fathers for the material damage.

It is hardly surprising when seen in this broader context that the combined forces of simultaneous local and international affairs that took place during the period 1889-95 caused the downfall of Selim Sırrı Paşa. As for *père* Dominique, it seems that he was sent back to France in late 1899 during the governorship of Selim Sırrı Paşa's successor Musa Kazım Bey because of his missionary activities in Izmit and Geyve.[285]

283 *Revue générale de droit international public,* 1895, 629.

284 For more information on Pétrel, see https://www.guimet-photo-turquie.fr/notices/notice.php?id=86.

285 BOA.DH.MKT. 2267/41, 04.07.1317 [8 Nov 1899].

3

The *Kaza* of Adapazarı

Adapazarı was one of the *kazas* [subdistricts] of the Izmit *sancak* covering the central and eastern parts of the district. It was bordering the centre *kaza* of Izmit in the west; the *kaza* of Kandıra in the north and northwest; the Kastamonu province in the east and the *kaza* of Geyve in the south. The town of Adapazarı (literally "island market") was located between the Sakarya River and Çark Suyu. Çark Suyu carried the overflow of the Sapanca Lake and provided water to the town's fountains while the Sakarya River nourished the region's soil. But the latter also caused frequent floods that damaged fields and houses and created an unhealthy humid climate especially during summer.[1]

Adapazarı was the commercial centre of the district along with the district capital Izmit, to which it was connected via the road and the Anatolian railway. It had a busy market that would take place on Mondays and Fridays. The grand bazaar would fill the streets with ox carts and draw residents of the other *kazas* in the district as well as neighbouring provinces such as Kastamonu who would bring their various produce to buy imported goods, spices, petrol and manufactures. There were about

1 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 372-374 ; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914

a thousand shops in the market in 1893 comprising manufactured fabric merchants, grocers, butchers, *helvacıs* (halva producers), haberdashers, shoemakers, cafés, boilermakers, blacksmiths, tailors, moneychangers, bakers, cobblers and pharmacists.[2] The town also boasted the old Justinian bridge, called Beş Köprü, which was considered to be a Byzantine architectural masterpiece.[3]

Journalist Ahmet Şerif's description of Adapazarı in October 1913, published in the newspaper Tanin, is worth quoting in full to capture the zeitgeist of the region in the immediate aftermath of the Balkan Wars:

> There is no better exhibition than the Adapazarı *kaza* for those who want to see diverse races and kinds of people and examine their ways of life inside a small frame.
> As soon as setting foot in Adapazarı, you would see Rumelian and Caucasian, Bosnian and Crimean, Turk and Kurd, Laz and Yörük side by side, and be astonished.
> The impact of the kinds' unsuitableness between them, the concentration of the population in this way is felt strongly in the *kaza*'s general life. Because all of these kinds of people still live by their ways of life and habits of their old homelands. For this reason, that this does not affect the administration is not possible.[4]

§ 3.1 Administrative Structure and Government

3.1.1 *Administrative Structure*

In its nineteenth century sense, Adapazarı had been a *kaza* of the Izmit *sancak* since 1852.[5] From 1896 until after the July 1908 revolution, it was classed as the only "second class" *kaza* in the district as opposed to the rest that were "third class." From that point onwards all of the *kazas* were

2 Cuinet, 374-376; Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 375.

3 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914.

4 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 348.

5 Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları* [Ottoman Place Names], (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017), 8.

elevated to second class status with the exception of Karamürsel which remained as third class.

The state yearbooks demonstrate that from 1877-80 the *kaza* of Adapazarı had two *nahiyes*, Ab-ı Safi and Sarıçayır; from 1881-82, Ab-ı Safi, Hendek, Sarıçayır and Sabanca; in 1883, Ab-ı Safi, Sabanca, Hendek and Akyazı; from 1888-99, Sabanca, Akyazı and Hendek; and from 1900 onwards, Sabanca, Akyazı, Hendek and Karasu which (Karasu) was previously a *nahiye* of the Kandıra *kaza*. The last two yearbooks (1911 and 1912) show that Hendek was listed as a "class 1" *nahiye* while the rest as "class 2."[6]

According to the yearbooks, there were 205 villages in the *kaza* from 1889-95 of which fifty-two was in *nefs-i* Adapazarı (town centre with its neighbourhoods and surrounding villages); seventy-three in the Sabanca *nahiye*; forty-eight in the Akyazı *nahiye*; and thirty-two in the Hendek *nahiye*. It is extremely unlikely that the number stayed the same for seven consecutive years despite the ongoing migration at the time, which indicates that the official yearbook was not regularly updated.

In spite of the irregular updates, the number of villages increased steadily over the years and with the addition of the Karasu *nahiye* in 1899, the total stood at 267 villages. After a more attentive period from 1896-1902 with five updates, the total was fixed at 273 until after the July 1908 revolution. The last state yearbook figures on the *kaza* of Adapazarı in 1912 had 304 villages: 106 in *nefs-i* Adapazarı; fifty-eight in Hendek; fifty in Karasu; sixty-one in Akyazı; and twenty-nine in Sabanca (Sapanca). Ahmet Şerif, on the other hand, provides a more recent official picture from November 1913, according to which the total stood at 368 villages: 154 in the *kaza* centre; sixty-nine in Hendek; sixty in Akyazı; fifty in Karasu; and thirty-five in Sapanca.[7]

6 1877-1912 state yearbooks.

7 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 348. The author's commentary on this subject is important. He states that in addition to the official figures on villages and population, there are many more people and new settlements not shown in official records, such as the Bosniaks and new migrant villages without tax obligations.

3.1.2 *Government*

The *kaza* of Adapazarı was headed by a Muslim *kaymakam* [subgovernor] who was appointed by the government. The two largest non-Muslim communities (Armenians and Greeks) were represented in the administrative council and the Court of First Instance. The *belediye reisi* [mayor] could also be a non-Muslim individual. The administrative council comprised three or four members: two Muslims and one or two Christians (one Armenian and/or one Greek). Likewise, the Court of First Instance generally consisted of three to four members (two Muslims, a judge [*naib*] who was head or president of the court and one member, and one or two Christians) as evidenced by its composition from 1892-94 and from 1909-12. However, the political atmosphere, namely the Armenian crisis of 1894-96, seems to have played a part in the *kaza* administration as the Armenian mayor was replaced by a Muslim one in 1895. Moreover, there is no information on the administrative council or the Christian members of the Court of First Instance from 1895 until after the Young Turk revolution of July 1908.[8]

Table 3.1 Administration of the Adapazarı *kaza*, 1877-1914.

Year	*Kaymakam*	*Administrative council*	*Mayor*
1877	Halil Kamil Efendi		
1878	Nazmi Efendi		
1879	Cevad Bey		
1882-83	Mahmut Sabit Bey		
1884	Mehmed & Şakir Beys		
1885-86	Mahmud Bey		
1887	Mustafa Hulusi Efendi		
1887-89	Mehmed Emin Bey		

8 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914; 1877-1912 state yearbooks.

Year	*Kaymakam*	*Administrative council*	*Mayor*
1890-91	Mecdi Efendi	Süleyman Efendi, Hacı Rıza Bey, Nisham Efendi Miskdjian, Constanti Efendi Teknecioğlu	Stepan Efendi Dimidjian
1892-94	Gazimihalzade Mehmed Nüzhet Bey (later Pasha)	Süleyman Efendi, Hacı Rıza Bey, Onnik Bazbazian, Dimitraki Efendi	Stepan Efendi Dimidjian
1895-97			Galib Efendi
1898			Süleyman Efendi
1899-1902	Rıfat Bey		Ibrahim Bey
1903-05			Süleyman Bey
1906-08			
1909	Hüsnü Bey	A. Michailidis Efendi, Hamdi Bey, Mustafa Efendi	-
1910-11			
1912	Sırrı Bey	Hacı Torik Nergararian, Sefer Bey, Hacı Mehmed Efendi	Stepan Dimidjian
1912-13	Fevzi Bey		
1913-14	Nuri Bey & Halis Bey		Bosniak

SOURCE BOA.ŞD. 690/22, 03.09.1296 [21 Aug 1879]; BOA.İ.DH. 789/64120, 28.08.1296 [17 Aug 1879]; BOA.İ.ŞD. 65/3841, 08.01.1301 [9 Nov 1883]; BOA.İ.DH. 930/73729, 06.12.1301 [27 Sep 1884]; BOA.Y.A.RES. 26/41, 27.02.1302 [16 Dec 1884]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1424/52, 14.09.1304 [6 June 1887]; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914; 1877-1912 state yearbooks; Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 355.

At the *kaza* level, the Court of First Instance [Bidayet Mahkemesi] usually had a single president judge, generally a *naib* (sharia judge appointed by the Şeyhülislam's Office or the Bab-ı Meşihat) who was responsible for both civil and criminal cases.[9]

In the case of Adapazarı, the state yearbooks demonstrate that it was indeed the *naib* that presided over both sections of the Court of First

9 Akiba, "Sharī'a Judges in the Ottoman Nizāmiye Courts, 1864-1908," 216-217.

Instance until after the July 1908 revolution, when he became the head of the civil section while a separate judge, *ceza reisi*, appointed by the Ministry of Justice was put in charge of the criminal section of the court.

However, Ahmet Şerif, writing in November 1913, says that it was a few months before his visit to Adapazarı that the *kaza* Court of First Instance had been divided into civil and criminal sections as a result of the efforts of a bureaucrat from the Ministry of Justice. He adds that a *reis* [head] and a council were appointed to each section and that the formerly elected members of the court were began to be selected, in his words "supposedly", by examination. Based on the criminal court case to which he attended during his visit, Şerif observed that the members of the criminal court were businessmen, likely traders in textiles [*manifaturacı*], who were neither qualified for nor interested in the task at hand, which further complicated the application of justice.[10]

By comparison, in the district capital Izmit the civil and criminal sections of the court had separated around 1883, a few years after the promulgation of new judiciary laws and regulations in 1879.

Table 3.2 Judiciary of the Adapazarı *kaza*, 1889-1912.

	Court of First Instance		
Year	Muslim		Christian
	State yearbooks	*Annuaire Oriental*	*Annuaire Oriental*
1889-90	Ali Rıza Efendi (*naib*)		
1891	Süleyman Necati Efendi (*naib*)	Süleyman Efendi (president), Ömer Efendi (examining magistrate)	
1892			

10 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 364-368. The author goes so far as to say that the establishment of the Adapazarı *kaza* criminal court was unlawful and thus its decisions void. For him, the biggest problem that prevented the justice system from operating smoothly was the insufficient number of officials, which was a broaders issue concerning almost all local government departments.

		Court of First Instance	
1893	Mehmed Rıza Efendi (*naib*)	Ali Rıza Bey (president); Süleyman Efendi, (judge); Hulusi Efendi (examining magistrate)	Hacı Sirayan Efendi (judge)
1894	Ibrahim Hafzi Efendi (*naib*)		
1895		Ibrahim Hafzi Efendi (president)	
1896	Hasan Hüsnü Efendi (*naib*)	Hasan Hüsnü Efendi (president)	
1897			
1898-99	Yusuf Ziyaeddin Efendi (*naib*)	Rıza Efendi (president)	
1900-01	Mehmed Asıf Efendi (*naib*)		
1902	Mehmed Rasih Efendi (*naib*)	Ali Rasih Efendi (president)	
1903		Mehmed Efendi (president)	
1904	Süleyman Faik Efendi (*naib*)		
1905	Şevket Efendi (*naib*)		
1906-08	Ismail Efendi (*naib*)		
1909		Ali Rıza Efendi (president); Süleyman Sudi Efendi (member)	Hacı Christo (member)
1910	Ali Rıza Efendi (*naib*); Adil Efendi (criminal court president), Reşad Efendi (assistant public prosecutor)		
1911	Ahmed Efendi (*naib*); Adil Efendi (criminal court president)		

		Court of First Instance	
1912	Ahmed Seyit Efendi (*naib*); Adil Efendi (criminal court president), Mustafa Haydar Efendi (assistant public prosecutor)	Ali Efendi (president), Hacı Efendi (member)	Agop Kavaldjian, Yorghi Efendi (members)

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914; 1889-1912 state yearbooks.

In addition to the above officials, there was also an accountant, a *tahrirat müdürü*[11] [secretary general or chief of correspondence], a doctor, a head of posts and telegraphs, a Public Debt deputy inspector (later assistant director), a mufti (until 1896), and the Régie Company employees comprising mostly foreigners and non-Muslims.[12]

3.1.3 *Religious Leaders*

The local spiritual leaders in Adapazarı, at least those on record, included a representative of the Greek Orthodox metropolitan, an Armenian Apostolic vicar general before the Nicomedia (Izmit) prelate Stepannos Hovagimian himself took over, and a Protestant missionary. While the absence of a Catholic representative is understandable for apparently there was only one Catholic individual in the entire subdistrict in 1914, the lack

11 On an interesting note, father of the celebrated Turkish author Sait Faik Abasıyanık, Mehmed Faik Efendi, worked as Adapazarı assistant secretary general [*tahrirat katibi refiki*] from 1899-1903 and as secretary general from 1905-1910. BOA.DH.MKT. 2265.2, 28.06.1317 [3 Nov 1899]; BOA.DH.MKT. 799/31, 13.09.1321 [3 Dec 1903]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1010/13, 24.07.1323 [24 Sep 1905]; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909, 1678; Sevengül Sönmez, *A'dan Z'ye Sait Faik* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 8.

12 Cervati, 1891-1914. For example, the Régie Company employees in 1896 were: Maximilien Vuccino (agent); Alex Parnakian (accountant); Edouard Volgo (stock controller); Güzel Yanko Efendi (expert). There were Muslim employees too, such as in 1909 when Edhem Bey was the *müdür* and Ibrahim Efendi was the expert.

of a rabbi is odd given that there were over one hundred Jewish people living in the subdistrict before the First World War.[13]

Table 3.3 Religious representatives in Adapazarı, 1891-1914.

Title	*Name*	*Years at post*
	Greek Orthodox	
Proxy metropolitan	Hacı Foti Panayotides	1891
	Dimitraki Efendi	1892
	Father Stavro	1893-1898
	Father Janni	1900-1905 (at the least)
	Father Damianos	1909-1914
	Armenian Apostolic	
Vicar general	Reverend Father Ohannes Pirenian	1891
	-	1892
Bishop	Stepannos Hovagimian	1893-1915
	Protestant	
Missionary	Reverend Alexandre Diedjizian	1891-1893
	Hovsep Djedjizian	1895-1912
	A. Adanalian	1913-1914

SOURCE Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914.

§ 3.2 Population Statistics and Ethno-Religious Composition

Adapazarı was the most populated *kaza* in the district, even more so than the Izmit central *kaza*, with the highest number of Muslims (nearly 77,000 people) and the second highest number of Armenians (over 16,000 people) out of a total population of over 102,000 on the eve of the First World War.

It should be noted that Karasu was a *nahiye* within the administrative authority of the Kandıra *kaza* until 1899; however, due to its remoteness

13 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 184.

to the Kandıra *kaza* centre, the villagers requested that it be moved within the authority of the Adapazarı *kaza* instead, which the sultan approved in April 1899.[14] Therefore, it is logical to assume that the population of Karasu was counted towards the *kaza* of Adapazarı from 1899 onwards, which could explain some of the increase in the 1906-7 figures.[15] On the subject of the official statistics, Şerif notes that despite the official total of 99,718, the actual population of the Adapazarı *kaza* was estimated to be closer to 120,000. He draws attention to the disorderly state of the register office [*nüfus dairesi*] where only two officials were responsible for a great deal of work that they seemed incapable of doing alone. That, for the author, was why the official data could not be trusted.[16]

Table 3.4 Population of the Adapazarı *kaza*.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912		1913	1914	
	Karp.	*Cuinet*	*Karpat*	*Kasab.*	*Soter.*	*A.poúl.*	*Şerif*	*Kévork.*	*Karpat*
Muslims	40,318	41,374	73,048		32,374		76,544		76,864
Hay-Horoms Orthodox Greeks	2,517	2,997	7,695		14,333	11,604	6,761		7,957
Catholic Greeks	-		-						-
Cath. Armenians		-		-				16,336	1
Apos. Armenians	10,702	12,810	15,869	>15,905	14,220		16,650	(+ 40	16,461
Prot. Armenians				513				houses)	
All Protestants	314	1,410	628						655
Latins	-		-						-
Bulgarians	-		-						-

14 1881-1912 state yearbooks. BOA.İ.DH. 1362/47, 21.11.1316 [2 Apr 1899]; BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 20/41, 04.04.1316 [22 Aug 1898]. The former is the sultan's decision; the latter is the Karasu community's request for annexing Karasu from Kandıra to Adapazarı because of its remoteness from Kandıra.

15 The Armenian Apostolic settlements in Karasu were: Ferizli, Tamlık Tamlık's new village, Aram Köy/Kızılcık and Kegham Köy (comprising Kovuk Pelit, Çukur, Tepe, Dere). Açmabaşı was also in this region but it was a Muslim Hemshin Armenian village.

16 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 349-350.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912	1913	1914	
Syriacs	-		-					-
Chaldeans			-					-
Jews	6	-	101		2,500	113		113
Romanies	-	1,007	-		1,007			-
Foreign Citizens	67		84			1000s		
Total	53,924	59,598	97,425		61,934	99,718		102,051

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 166-167, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154-7; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 373; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 190-193; Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin* [Tanin in Anatolia], ed. Mehmet Çetin Börekçi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 349, 352.

3.2.1 *Local Muslims (Manavs)*

The 1845 income surveys [*temettuat defterleri*] demonstrate that the Adapazarı *kaza* centre consisted of the following nineteen neighbourhoods: Abdal, Bağcılar, Bocol, Bıyıklı, Boyacılar, Bozbey, Burma, Dağcılar, Derzi, Tatos, Hocaoğlu, Hocazade, Kölemen, Kuyumcu, Mehmed Efendi, Malacılar, Pabuççular, Ozanlar, Yahyalar.[17] Its then-*kasaba* (meaning small town, which corresponded to the rank of *nahiye* after the 1864 and 1871 provincial regulations) Sapanca had five neighbourhoods: Böcekler, Burgular, Gedikoğlu, Tekeler, Yahşiler.[18] Akyazı (Akyazı *ma'a* Hendek), itself a *kaza* at that time, had the following eleven neighbourhoods: Arap İmam, Aşağı Mahalle, Balıklı, Başpınar, Cennet, Çorbacı, Dereboğazı, Hancı Ali, Kemal Efendi, Komarlar and Yeşiller of which Balıklı (Balıklı Ihsaniye

17 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 2826, 2833, 2835, 2839, 2857-58, 2859-60, 2862, 2864, 2866, 2871, 2875-77, 2881, 2884-85, 2889, 4574, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845]. On the history of Manavs in the region, see Resül Narin, *Sakarya Türkmen/Manav Tarihi: Yedi Asırlık Bir Tarih* (Sakarya: Sakarya Yerel Kültür Derneği Yayınları, 2018).

18 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 2828-29, 2848, 2853-54. 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

and/or Necatipaşa), Başpınar, Dereboğazı, Kemal Efendi (Kemaliye) and Yeşiller retained their names to this day.[19]

Out of the thirty-five neighbourhoods, local Muslims or Manavs accounted for most of the population in twenty-one of them. While only five of those were in Adapazarı (Bağcılar, Dağcılar, Hocaoğlu, Pabuççular and Yahyalar), all of Sapanca's and Akyazı *ma'a* Hendek's neighbourhoods are recorded in the *temettuat defterleri* as Manav settlements.

For the same year, forty-four villages in Adapazarı (including Sapanca) are listed in the profits registers, all but three (Cedid, Tamlık and Ikizce) belonging to local Muslims: Abalı, Anahtarcılar, Aşağıdere, Beylikkışla, Bileciler, Budaklı, Cedid, Çalılar, Çaybaşı, Çaykışla, Çimkeler, Çökekler, Dağdibi, Damlık (Tamlık), Demirciler, Doğancılar, Göktepe, Hacılar, Hacı Ramazanlar, Hasan Bey, Içeller, Ikızce, Ilyaslar, Kamışlı, Karaabdiler, Karakamış, Karaköy, Karaman, Kasımlar, Kazaylar *ma'a* Güneşler, Kurtbeyler, Nevruzlar, Poyrazlar, Rüstemler, Solaklar, Söğütlü, Süleyman Bey, Taşkısığı, Taşlık, Tavuklar, Tebe, Trabzonlar, Turnaderesi and Yukarıdere.[20]

Furthermore, eighteen villages and village groups (*divans*) are listed under Akyazı, Hendek and Karasu. These are Buna *divan*, Kurt, Süpren and Tuzak villages in Akyazı *ma'a* Hendek; Akyazı *divan*, Çarığıkuru, Yeknuvid and Yuvalık villages in Hendek; Belazar, Darıçayırı, İncilli, Kocaali, Lahna *divans* and Akkum, Kuyumcular, Melen, Sinanoğlu and Yemlak villages in Karasu.[21]

Moreover, there are *temettuat* registers on areas in the vicinity of Adapazarı that were not under its administrative authority in the 1840s

19 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3816, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845]; Sevan Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*, accessed 12 October 2020, https://nisanyanmap.com.

20 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 2814-15, 2827, 2830-31, 2836, 2838, 2840-41, 2842-46, 2849-51, 2852, 2855-56, 2863, 2865, 2868, 2869-70, 2873-74, 2878-80, 2882-83, 2886-88, 4572-73, 4575, 4577, 4580-81, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845]; 2837, 2867, 2890, 15.10.1261 [17 Oct 1845]; 2847, 5.10.1261 [7 Oct 1845].

21 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3000-3, 3812-15, 4017-26, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

such as Söğütlü, Ferizli, Sarıçayır and Ab-ı Safi (Karapürçek). Settlements in these regions are Akarca and Fındıklı *divans*, Beşdeğirmen estate [*çiftlik*] and Sıraköy in Söğütlü; Doğancı *divan*, Hocaoğlu, Karadiken, Mahmutlar, Sebiller villages in Ferizli; Bedil, Osmanbey, Ramaslı, Sart, Tersiye, Vakıf villages in Sarıçayır; and Hacı, Horozlar, Karapürçek, Kayalar, Kürt, Molla, Yortan villages in Ab-ı Safi.[22] Additionally, the 1853 population registers [*nüfus defterleri*] reveal that there were several settlements not mentioned in the profits registers of 1845.[23] Among these, the Manav localities in Adapazarı were Hasırcılar, Semerciler, Tığcılar, Yorgalar neighbourhoods and Çelebiler, Çıracılar, Kasaplar, Osman Efendi, Sarıcalar and Tersiye-i Kebir villages. And finally, Serdivan *temettuat* register of 1845 gives the names of three more Manav villages in that particular village group: Çubuklu, Dağköy, Meşeli.[24]

Many of these settlements survived to this day, including: Semerciler, Pabuççular, Tekeler, Yahyalar neighbourhoods; Abalı, Aşağıdere and Yukarıdere, Beylikkışla, Bileciler, Budaklar, Çaybaşı, Çaşkışla, Çökekler, Dağdibi, Demirciler (Demirbey), Doğancılar, Garip (Karib), Göktepe, Güneşler, Hacılar, Hacı Ramazanlar, Ikizce, Ilyaslar, Kamışlı, Karaabdiler, Karakamış, Karaköy, Karaman, Kasımlar, Kurtbeyler, Poyrazlar, Rüstemler, Solaklar, Söğütlü, Süleymanbey, Taşkısığı, Taşlık, Tepe (Tebe), Tığcılar, Trabzonlar (Trabzonlu) and Turnaderesi villages in Adapazarı and Sapanca. Moreover, Balıklı (Balıklı Ihsaniye and/or Necatipaşa), Başpınar, Dereboğazı, Kemal Efendi (Kemaliye) and Yeşiller neighbourhoods and Süpren (Düzyazı) and Tuzak village in Akyazı *ma'a* Hendek; Çarığıkuru (part of Çamlıca today) and Yuvalık villages in Hendek; all but one (Belazar) of Karasu's *divans* and villages mentioned above; all of the

22 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3865-71, 4596-4600, 4607, 4743, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

23 BOA.NFS.d. 8681-85, 08.12.1269 [12 Sep 1853]. Serdivan was part of the Kaymas *kaza* in 1845 and not Adapazarı. That is why it was not included in the registers of Adapazarı or Sapanca despite its proximity to them.

24 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 4180, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

settlements in Serdivan, Söğütlü and Ab-ı Safi; all but one village in Ferizli; and all but two villages in Sarıçayır.[25]

Ahmet Şerif states the official records in 1913 showed that there were 42,836 old Muslim people [*eski Islam halkı*] in the Adapazarı *kaza* who resided in 147 villages and neighbourhoods; one Yörük village of 173 people and five Kurdish villages with a total population of 1,072. The same year, the *kaza* centre was divided into fifty-four neighbourhoods of which twenty-three belonged to the Muslims, including the migrants.[26]

In light of these pieces of information, it may be said the following are most of the known Manav settlements in the *kaza* Adapazarı.

Table 3.5 Local Muslim settlements in the Adapazarı *kaza*.

Neighbourhoods	
Adapazarı	Semerciler, Pabuççular, Tekeler, Yahyalar
Akyazı *ma'a* Hendek	Balıklı (Balıklı Ihsaniye and/or Necatipaşa), Başpınar, Dereboğazı, Kemal Efendi (Kemaliye) and Yeşiller
Divans and villages	
Adapazarı & Sapanca	Abalı, Aşağıdere and Yukarıdere, Beylikkışla, Bileciler, Budaklar, Çaybaşı, Çaşkışla, Çökekler, Dağdibi, Demirciler (Demirbey), Doğancılar, Garip, Göktepe, Güneşler, Hacılar, Hacı Ramazanlar, Ikizce, Ilyaslar, Kamışlı, Karaabdiler, Karakamış, Karaköy, Karaman, Kasımlar, Kurtbeyler, Poyrazlar, Rüstemler, Solaklar, Söğütlü, Süleymanbey, Taşkısığı, Taşlık, Tepe (Tebe), Tığcılar, Trabzonlar (Trabzonlu) and Turnaderesi
Serdivan	Çubuklu, Dağköy, Meşeli
Söğütlü & Ferizli	Akarca, Fındıklı, Doğancı (*divans)*, Beşdeğirmen (*çiftlik*), Sıraköy, Hocaoğlu, Karadiken, Sebiller
Akyazı & Hendek	Tuzak, Çarığıkuru, Süpren (Düzyazı), Yuvalık

25 Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*; Narin (179) states Yemlak was located where Manavpınarı in Karasu is today.

26 Twenty-seven belonged to the Armenians; three to the Greek Orthodox; and one to the Jews. Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 349, 352.

Neighbourhoods	
Ab-ı Safi	Hacı, Horozlar, Karapürçek, Kayalar, Kürt (Tektaban), Molla, Yortan
Sarıçayır	Bedil, Osmanbey, Ramaslı, Vakıf
Karasu	Darıçayırı, Incilli, Kocaali, Lahna (*divans)*; Akkum, Kuyumcular, Melen, Sinanoğlu, Yemlak

3.2.2 *Local Armenians*

The old Armenian settlements in the Adapazarı *kaza* consisted of about half of the neighbourhoods in the Adapazarı town centre; Sapanca to the southwest; and Ferizli, Tamlık (Damlık) and Tamlık's new village in the Karasu *nahiye* to the north (after Karasu was moved within the administrative authority of the Adapazarı *kaza* in 1899).[27]

According to tradition as well as their dialect, Kasabian contends that the origin of the first Armenian settlers of Adapazarı was thought to be the Eğin region. Another theory argues that the first settlers were Armenians from Sivas who ran away after the town's capture by Tamerlane (Timur Leng) around 1400. Apparently, they named their newly established village in the Adapazarı region Donigashen, after a village elder. However, Kasabian, at the time of writing in 1910-12, says he did not hear of such a legend or the name Donigashen, though he did come across an article mentioning the story entitled "From Constantinople to Adabazar" by Krikor Markarian dated 1888 and published in *Arevelk*.[28]

27 Şerif (352, 354) writes that even as late as November 1913, half of the nieghbourhoods (twenty seven out of fifty-four) in the Adapazarı *kaza* centre belonged to the Armenians and that Armenians made up the majority of the population in the *kaza* centre. A decade earlier, there were 2,500 Armenian households in the town. BOA.DH.MKT. 687/2, 17.01.1321 [15 Apr 1903]; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 26-31; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 552-555.

28 Kasabian, 29, 45-46; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 19.

Irrespective of their origins, the Armenian community in the Adapazarı town centre amounted to nearly half of the town's population. Some of the twenty-seven Armenian neighbourhoods mentioned in Şerif could be the old ones listed in the profits registers of 1844-45 and in the population registers of 1853 many of which lasted into the twentieth century: Abdal, Bocol, Bıyıklı, Boyacılar, Bozbey, Burma, Celul, Derzi, Eytan, Gazeller, Hocazade, Ivedik, Karakalpak, Karib, Kölemen, Kurt, Kuyumcu, Malacılar, Peşkirci-i Kebir, Peşkirci-i Sağır, Peşkirci-i Cedid, Subaşı, Sufiler, Tatos and Tuzla. There was also an Armenian neighbourhood named Avadis in 1902.[29]

Kasabian mentions four Armenian quarters in the town centre clustered around their churches: Saint Hreshdagabed (Holy Archangel), Saint Garabed, Lousavorich (Saint Gregory the Illuminator; also called Nemtseler or Nemçeler) and Saint Stepannos (or Ghazerler) to the east.[30] He states that the quarter known by the government as Ghazerler was named after an Armenian Romani called Ghazaros, who had arrived in Adapazarı around 1760. Evidently, Ghazerler and the aforementioned Gazeller were one and the same, the latter being the common usage in the Presidency Ottoman Archive.[31] As for Nemçeler, the quarter was named as such because its founders were believed to be Armenians from Austria or Galicia.

Situated south of the lake of the same name to the southwest of Adapazarı, the *nahiye* of Sapanca (a derivative of Sophon) had a mixed population, with a small Armenian community of about sixty-five houses. While the exact date of their arrival is not known, it was thought that the Armenian inhabitants of Sapanca had arrived individually or in small groups from different regions such as Ankara, Eğin and Erzurum.[32]

29 BOA.DH.ŞFR. 284/19, R02.03.1318 [15 May 1902].

30 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 29, 175-77, 204-205. He says St Hreshdagabed and St Garabed were wealthy quarters whereas Lousavorich and St Steppanos were poorer, the latter the poorest.

31 BOA.ŞD. 1616/1, 08.06.1330 [25 May 1912].

32 As well as from Kurtbelen and Kıncılar in the Geyve *kaza* a few years before 1910. Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 26.

The old villages in the north-eastern Karasu *nahiye* along the western bank of the Sakarya River were Ferizli, Tamlık and Tamlık's new village. Ferizli or Feruzlu was a village of 150 houses in 1910, founded in early seventeenth century by families from Persia (Adjemians) and Erzurum (Erzurumtsians). At half an hour distance to the southeast was the village of Tamlık comprising sixty-five houses, probably established around the turn of the eighteenth century. And at half an hour south of Tamlık was its small hamlet of nine houses known as Tamlık's Nor Köy which was surrounded by Muslim migrant villages. It was thought that its founders were from Eğin and they had established the village around the same time as Tamlık. However, by 1910 the village was close to ruin.[33]

Table 3.6 Local Armenian population in the Adapazarı *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Adapazarı town centre (in 4 quarters or 27 neighbourhoods)	12,030 Apostolics 420 Protestants 13 Adventists	12,450	17th-18th centuries	Eğin, Persia, Ararat (and possibly Sivas)
Sapanca	288	<360	Later than 1710	Bayburt, Enguri/ Ankara, Erzurum
Ferizli	872	872	1610	Persian Armenia, Erzurum
Tamlık (Damlık)	376 Apostolics 40 Protestants 10 Adventists	416	1690-1710	Not known
Tamlık's new village	43		1700	(Armenian Romanies[34]) Eğin

33 Kasabian, 30-31.

34 Also known as Lom or Bosha/Posha, though the latter might be considered to be a derogatory term. See, Adrian Marsch, "Ethnicity and Identity: Who are the Gypsies?" *European Roma Rights Center Country Reports Series* 17 (2008): 25.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Total:	14,092	<14,098		

SOURCE Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272, 551-52; Kasabian, 26, 65-66, 72, 190-193.

3.2.3 *Local Orthodox Christians*

The Orthodox Christian community in the *kaza* of Adapazarı was made up of mostly Greek-speaking but also Armenian-speaking as well as some Turkish-speaking people of the Orthodox Christian faith. They were residing in neighbourhoods in the town centre including Mehmed Efendi, Ozanlar and Subaşı, and in the countryside: Sapanca, Serdivan (Sarı Doğan), and Ikizce.[35]

It may be said that Serdivan (or Sarıdoğan) was the most developed and populated Greek village in the entire district. It was often the subject of articles written by Protestant missionaries as a typical Greek village. As stated in these descriptive pieces, Serdivan was a village of about 300 villages (in 1888) or 1,500 inhabitants (in 1904) most of whom were descendants of a colony from Salonica that migrated many years ago.[36]

35 Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 156-158; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 158-159. The presence of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians in Adapazarı is mentioned by Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 46) and Çokona (158); BOA.DH.MKT. 2453/7, 29.10.1318 [19 Feb 1901]; BOA.DH.EUM.VRK. 8/38, 04.07.1329 [1 July 1911].

36 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 84, April 1888, 183, and 100, Aug 1904, 319.

Table 3.7 Local Orthodox Christian settlements in the Adapazarı *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	American Board, 1904	Çokona, early 20th century	Kasabian, 1909-10	A.poúlou, 1912	Origins
Adapazarı town centre (Mehmed Efendi, Ozanlar, Subaşı quarters)		1,500	1,565	5,000	Niğde, Niksar, Kayseri, Bursa, Bilecik, Konya
Sapanca		800		178	
Serdivan (Sarıdoğan)	1,500	3,000		1,387	Salonica
Ikizce		35 houses		187	
Total		5		11,604	

SOURCE American Board, Aug 1904, 319; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 158-159; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 19, 29-30; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 157-158.

§ 3.3 Migration and Migrant Settlements

3.3.1 *Muslims*

The *kaza* of Adapazarı received the largest number of migrants among the subdistricts of the Izmit district during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly during and after the Russian war of 1877-78. By 1881, some 12,374 people from the Caucasus and Rumelia had arrived in the region: 4,858 Circassians; 4,610 migrants from Sokhumi (mostly

Abkhazians); 2,353 migrants from Batumi (mostly Georgians and Laz); 462 Rumeli (or Rumili) Turks; and ninety-one Tatar-Nogays.[37]

After the Balkan Wars in 1913, the total had increased to at least 32,263 people of which 16,155 were Circassians and Abkhazians; 9,458 were Georgians and Laz; and 6,650 were Rumeli migrants.[38]

Table 3.8 Muslim migrant population in the Adapazarı subdistrict before 1914.

	Before 1877-78		*During and after the 1877-78 war*					*1913*			
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	*Total in 1881*	Rumeli	Laz & Georgian	Circassian & Abkhaz	
Adapazarı	91	1,741	1,145	1,300	492	406	5,175				
Sapanca		1,724	248	191	80		2,243				
Hendek				862	3,242	56	4,160				
Ab-ı Safi					796		796				
Total	91	3,465	1,393	2,353	4,610	462	12,374	6,650	9,458	16,155	

SOURCE BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881]; Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 349.

On the eve of the First World War there were more than 159 migrant settlements (villages and neighbourhoods) in the Adapazarı *kaza*. Seventy-three of them belonged to Circassians and Abkhazians; fifty-six to

37 BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881]. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the presence of "Rumili Turk" and "Albanian-Bosniak" as separate categories points to the absence of the latter in Adapazarı, at least in this particular document.

38 Şerif (*Anadolu'da Tanin*, 349) says that the official statistics at the time (and also the document cited above) did not include the many Bosnian migrants who resided in the *kaza* centre and in the villages. For instance, the town's Cami-i Cedid neighbourhood included Bosniak and Tatar migrant communities and was divided into Hamidiye (for the Bosniaks) and Mecidiye (for the Tatars) quarters in 1901. BOA.ŞD. 1577/23, 15.10.1318 [5 Feb 1901].

Georgians and Laz; thirty to Rumeli migrants; and many others not included in the official records to Bosniaks as well as to Tatars.[39]

Some of these new migrant settlements and some of the old ones where migrants settled included Beşkodra (Circassian), Mahmudiye (Georgian), Şadiye (Circassian), Salihiye (Circassian), Karaağaç, Icbariye, Kurudil, Bedil (Abkhazian), Kavaklı, Yeniköy, Bezrok, Tepealtı (in Sofular), Süleymaniye, Dibektaş, Soğuksu, Ikizce Müslim (Varna), Icadiye, Salahiye (Aydos, Karinabad, Şumnu), Rüstemler, Kızılcaorman, Ahmedler, Hüseyinşeyh, Fahriye (Batumi), Karaboğaz (Bosniak), Hamidabad, Beynevit (Abkhazian, Bosniak), Kuzuluk, Şerefiye, Boztepe, Sivritepe (Abkhazian), Limandere (Abkhazian), Tepetarla (Abkhazian), Bıçkıdere (Abkhazian) and Uzunçınar (Tırnova).[40]

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39 Şerif, 349.

40 BOA.HR.TH. 63/14, 21 Apr 1886; BOA.Y.PRK.DH. 2/13-14, 21.06.1304 [17 Mar 1887]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1601/90, 04.07.1306 [6 Mar 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1610/22, 24.07.1306 [26 Mar 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1854/100, 24.12.1308 [31 July 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1915/7, 24.06.1309 [25 Jan 1892]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1965/69, 28.11.1309 [24 June 1892]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2015/32, 05.04.1310 [27 Oct 1892]; BOA.DH.MKT. 327/15, 05.07.1312 [2 Jan 1895]; BOA.A.}MTZ.RŞ. 12/5, 25.10.1312 [21 Apr 1895]; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 503/22, 04.05.1316 [20 Sep 1898]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2290/92, 25.08.1317 [29 Dec 1899]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2365/111, 28.02.1318 [27 June 1900]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2394/1, 27.04.1318 [24 Aug 1900]; BOA.DH.MKT. 512/33, 16.02.1320 [25 May 1902]; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 521/30, 22.12.1320 [22 Mar 1903]; BOA.DH.MKT. 718/16, 07.03.1321 [3 June 1903]; BOA.HR.UHM. 31/6, 20 Oct 1903; BOA.İ.DH. 1423/16, 12.04.1322 [26 June 1904]; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 529/25, 07.03.1324 [1 May 1906]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1281/13, 18.07.1326 [16 Aug 1908]; Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 380; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 62, 66; A. Arslan, "Sakarya'da Bir Muhacir Köyü: Uzunçınar ve Demografik Yapıdaki Değişim" [A Migrant Village in Sakarya: Uzunçınar and Change in Demographics], in *International Sakarya Symposium: Sakarya From Past to Present – History, Culture, Society*, 2017, edited by Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, Mükerrem Bedizel Aydın and Arif Bilgin (Adapazarı: Sakarya Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 41, 2018), 643-665; S. Nart and H. Tutar, "Kültür Aktarımında Toplumsal Hafızanın Rolü: Bıçkıdere Köyü Örneği [The Role of Collective Memory in Cultural Transfer: Bıçkıdere Village Example], in *International Sakarya Symposium: Sakarya From Past to Present – History, Culture, Society*, 2017, edited by Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, Mükerrem Bedizel Aydın and Arif Bilgin (Adapazarı: Sakarya

The following were also known migrant villages established after the 1877-78 war: Yanık (Circassian and Ubykh), Kırkpınar (Ubykh), Erdemli (Laz, Georgian); Laz villages Çaybaşı Yeniköy, Değirmendere, Karataş, Balkaya, Dibektaş, Fevziye, Hacımercan, Ikramiye, Memnuniye (Karagöl), Şükriye (Dereköy), Kuruçeşme, Ünlüce (Babadayı), Kocadöngel; mixed villages Akçay, Kurtköy, Uzunkum, Güldibi, Ilmiye, Nailiye, Hocaköy; and Batumi migrant villages in Akyazı: Karapürçek, Ahmedler and Göçücek.[41] A document dated 7 June 1892 proves the existence of a further twenty-four Caucasian migrant villages:

Table 3.9 Some of the Muslim migrant villages in the Adapazarı *kaza* in 1892.

Village	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*House-hold size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity/ Origins*
Soğuksu	93	285	3,1	-	Abkhaz
Halil Bey	46	174	3,8	720	Abkhaz
Canbolat Bey	40	135	3,4	-	Abkhaz
Körpedil	74	234	3,2	-	Circassian
Şadiye	59	236	4	270	Circassian
Teviye	41	165	4	228	Circassian
Ahmediye	52	170	3,3	226	Circassian
Maksudiye	100	368	3,7	-	Circassian

Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 41, 2018), 667-675; Barbaros Turgut Boztepe (Boztepe native and former member of parliament), "Akyazı'nın Tarihi." *Akyazı Haber*, 20 February 2017, https://www.akyazihaber.com/akyazi/akyazinin-bilinmeyen-tarihi-35397-detay.

41 Bi, *XIX Yüzyılda Kocaeli Vilayeti'ne İskan Edilen Kafkas Göçmenleri*, 1334; Ulugün, *Kocaeli'de Tarihsel Göçler*, 1291-1292; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 526/25, 09.01.1323 [16 Mar 1905]; Alexandre Toumarkine, "Entre Empire ottoman et État-nation turc : les immigrés musulmans du Caucase et des Balkans du milieu du XIXe à nos jours" (Ph.D., Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 2000), 243; Alexandre Toumarkine, "Les Lazes en Turquie (XIXe-XXe siècle)" (M.A., Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1991), 189.

Village	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*House-hold size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity/ Origins*
Uzuncaorman	77	128	1,7	1,800	Caucasian
Tahir Bey	95	308	3,2	2,510	Caucasian
Kadir Bey	68	274	4	850	Caucasian
Teşvikiye (Kalamış)	80	205	2,6	2,636	Caucasian
Kemaliye	49	194	4	-	Caucasian
Mağara (Ilyasiye)	55	242	4,4	-	
Soğucak	59	280	4,8	-	Rumeli
Akba (or Anlık)	12	32	2,7	-	Circassian
Hüseyin Şeyh	56	222	4	1,503	Circassian
Çakallık	37	260	7	890	Circassian
Aktüfek	51	245	4,8	-	Circassian
Yortan	14	67	4,8	-	*ahali-i kadime* (natives), Rumeli, Batumi
Sarıyar	-	-	-	1,010	Circassian
Şekeriye	59	198	3,4	1,380	Batumi Georgian
Irfaniye-i Sani	25	82	3,3	139	Circassian
Güzel Ahmet Bey	25	101	4	-	
Total	>1,267	>4,605	3,6	>14,162	
by ethnicity					
Circassian	>507 (38%)	>2,014 (43.7%)	4	>4,266 (30%)	
Caucasian	369 (29.1%)	1109 (24.1%)	3	>7,796 (55.1%)	
Abkhaz	179 (14.1%)	594 (12.9%)	3,3	720 (5.1%)	
Batumi Georgian	59 (4.7%)	198 (4.3%)	3,4	>1,380 (9.7%)	
Rumeli	59 (4.7%)	280 (6.1%)	4,8	-	
Mixed	14 (1.1%)	67 (1.5%)	4,8	-	

Village	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*House-hold size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity/ Origins*
Not known	80 (6.3%)	343 (7.5%)	4,3	-	

SOURCE BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892].

Moreover, another document from 1895 on the Bosniak migrants in Adapazarı demonstrates that between 1881 and 1895, 263 families (1,104 people) settled in the Aziziye, Cami-i Cedid, Çukurahmediye, Pabuççular, Yahşiler neighbourhoods and the Çaykışla village.[42]

Migrant villages were often described as beautiful. For example, Şerif calls their houses "beautiful" on three different occasions as well as using the words "elegant," "striking," "neat" and "vibrant" to describe their villages. Mkhalian, likewise, underlines multiple times the cleanliness of the Circassian villages. In stark contrast, Şerif describes a few villages of Rumeli migrants (Turkmens) on the Adapazarı-Bolu road as nothing like the others. "Ne o güzel evler, ne o ferahlık veren tabiat, ne de o kanlı canlı adamlar var. Muhacirlerin çoğu, sarı (benizli), ümidsizlik ve keder içinde. Çocuklar sıska ve tam sağlıklı değildir" [There is neither those beautiful houses, nor that refreshing nature, nor those heathy men. Most of the migrants are jaundiced, in a state of hopelessness and sorrow. Children are scrawny and not fully healthy].[43]

3.3.2 *Armenians*

There were a handful of villages established by Hemshin Armenian people in the north-eastern parts of the Adapazarı *kaza* towards Bolu as well as small communities in Hendek, Sapanca and Arifiye. The villages in the eastern Hendek *nahiye* were Hendek's Hayots Kiugh [Armenian Village] also known as Hendek's Ermeni-i Cedid Karyesi [Armenian New Village] and Hoviv Kiugh [Shepherd Village] or as it was called in Turkish, Çobanyatak [Shepherd bed].

42 BOA.Y.PRK.MYD. 17/6, 15.03.1313 [5 Sep 1895].

43 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 376, 379-381; Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 186.

The second cluster of villages further to the north were the Incirli group of villages in the Karasu *nahiye*, which was moved from under the administrative authority of Kandıra to Adapazarı in 1899. These were Aram Köy (or Kızılcık) and Kegham Köy comprising the four villages of Kovuk Pelit (Poun Kegham), Çukur, Tepe and Dere (Kara Pelit). Açmabaşı was also in this region but it was a Muslim Hemshin Armenian village.[44]

Sapanca's new village was situated half an hour south of Sapanca. It was founded in November 1874 by seven families from the Kurtbelen village of Geyve. Several others joined them over the years, notably seven families from Geyve's Kıncılar village in 1879. The village began to be surrounded by Georgian and Laz migrant settlements starting in 1880 which increased competition for land, causing strife among the locals and the Muslim migrants.

Like Sapanca's new village, there were a few new communities created by people from among the local communities in other parts of the district. Hendek and Arifiye featured two such communities of Armenian people mainly from Adapazarı and Geyve's Kurtbelen and Kıncılar villages who began migrating to Hendek and Arifiye in the 1870s.[45]

3.3.2.1 Hemshin Armenians[46]

Hendek's Hayots Village [Ermeni-i Cedid Karyesi] was a mixed Armenian village of 190 houses in 1910. It was founded in April 1874 by a community

44 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 51-53, 62-66; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 552-555. Köker and Hovannisian ("Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 241) include two more villages in this region: Sokköy and Bıçkıköy. As stated by Kasabian (65), Sök Köy [Uproot Village] was a corruption of the name Süt Köy [Milk Village: a then-destroyed older Turkish/Turkmen settlement] that the local people had given to the area where Hendek's Hayots village then stood in its stead. Therefore, Sök Köy and Hayots Köy did not exist at the same time and only the latter belonged to the Armenians. Moreover, Bıçkı was a village in Düzce and not Adapazarı according to the Presidency Ottoman Archive: BOA.MF.MKT. 61/1, 22.03.1296 [16 Mar 1879].

45 Kasabian, 51-53.

46 Ibid., 62-66.

consisting of two migrant groups (one from Şebinkarahisar's Ahmad village; another from Ordu's Ulubey *nahiye*) and some artisans from Kıncılar who worked in Hendek. Despite some initial resistance by Hendek's Circassian *müdür*, with the Patriarchate's help the mixed community obtained permission to establish the new village.

Further to the north-west and surrounded by Muslim migrant villages was Hoviv or Çobanyatak: a Hemshin Armenian Apostolic village of forty-nine houses in 1910, which was founded in 1884 by migrants from Ulubey.[47]

The Incirli group of villages were located to the north of Hendek along the Kastamonu border, towards the Black Sea. It appears that Kasabian refers to the cluster made up of four villages in this region (Kovuk Pelit/Poun Kegham, Dere, Tepe and Çukur) as Kegham Köy. The oldest among them was Kovuk Pelit (or Poun Kegham), established in 1876 and named as Kegham in 1884 during the prelate Hovagimian's visit by an accompanying deacon. The other three villages were established in subsequent years, Tepe being the latest and the most difficult to obtain a permission.[48]

The furthest in the north and the closest to the Black Sea among the Armenian villages was Aram Köy, consisting of forty-three houses in 1910.

47 The first settlers of Hoviv included Hacı Giragos Mahdesian from Ordu's Hapsamana (Gölköy), Köse Sahag Ghazarian and Sarkis Mahdesian from "Farsana" (probably Fatsa). There were also some families from Şebinkarahisar that migrated to Hayots and Hoviv villages in September 1904 which shows migration continued well into the twentieth century. DH.TMIK.M. 182/74, 10.07.1322 [20 Sep 1904].

48 The first settlers of Tepe were migrants from Ulubey who settled in the area in 1902 without the government's permission. For that reason, two years later, twelve people from the village were jailed in Istanbul for ninety days. The government sent troops in May 1908 to demolish the houses. It was through the prelate Hovagimian's efforts that the village was saved from destruction, who also helped villagers obtain a permission. As of 1910, some of the houses still had temporary status without a land deed.

The founding families[49] were from Ordu's Felekli (Feloğlu)[50] group of villages who came to the site at the end of 1873. The village was initially called Kızılcık because of the cornel trees in the area but the prelate Hovagimian renamed it Aram Köy during his visit because apparently Garabed Emeksizian from one of the founding families said, in Turkish, that he "found (the site) by looking" [arama ilen buldum].[51]

In addition to the villages above, ten households of Armenians migrated, albeit briefly, to Hendek's Soğuksu village from the Milas *kaza* of the Trabzon province a few months before May 1875. But they requested to go back only a few months later.[52]

Table 3.10 Hemshin Armenian migrant settlements in the Adapazarı *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Sapanca's new village	52 Apostolics 30 Protestants		1874	Kurtbelen, Kıncılar
Arifiye	15-20 houses			Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, Adapazarı
Hendek			1870-75	Adapazarı, Kıncılar

49 Sahag Mahdesi and Garabed Emeksizian, Toros Arzoumanian, Sahag and Hagop Papazian, Arakel Minasian, Stepan Terzian.

50 These must be the villages on lands owned by Felekzade (Felo) Süleyman Ağa who served as mayor of Ordu from1893-1901. Ilhan Ekinci, "Büyük Ayanların Gölgesinde -Ordu Kazası'nda Ayanlığın Gelişimi- [Under the Shadow of Great Notables -Development of Notables in the Ordu Subdistrict]," *History Studies* 5, no.4 (2013): 153.

51 Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 63) says the Hemshin Armenians often spoke Turkish because their dialect was difficult to understand.

52 BOA.ŞD. 1536/42, 02.04.1292 [8 May 1875]; BOA.ZB. 8/6, R01.02.1291 [13 Apr 1875].

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Hendek's Hayots village[53]	1,007	1,007	1874	Ordu, Şebinkarahisar, Kıncılar
Hoviv (Çobanyatak)	288	288	1884	Ulubey, Ordu, Çarşamba,
Aram Köy/Kızılcık	347	347	1873	Ordu
Kegham Kiugh:	602 (112 houses)	596	1876-1903	Ordu
Kovuk Pelit/ Poun Kegham	37 houses		1876	Ordu
Dere Köy/ Kara Pelit	29 houses		1897	Ordu
Tepe Köy	16 houses		1902	Ulubey (Ordu)
Çukur Köy	30 houses	40 houses		(probably) Ordu
Açmabaşı	200-300 (45 houses)	42 families		Muslim Hemshin

SOURCE Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 51-53, 62-66, 72-73; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 552-555. Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 240-241.

3.3.3 *Orthodox Christians*

Pontic Orthodox Greeks and "Armenian-Greeks" or Hay-Horoms from the regions of Ordu, Trabzon, Şebinkarahisar and Niksar migrated to the north-eastern Karasu *nahiye* of the *kaza* of Adapazarı in the second half of the nineteenth century before the Russian war broke out in 1877. The Karasu region was attractive because there was available land for

53 It had five parishes in 1910 including one called Tapanez, founded in 1885 by migrants from the Ulubey *nahiye* of Ordu. The village welcomed new families over the years from various places such as Adapazarı, Kurtbelen, Michaköy, Devrek, Bolu, Nazlı Han. Kasabian, 65.

agriculture and animal husbandry, the population was scarce and it was not far off trade centres such as Adapazarı, Izmit and Istanbul. Moreover, the area had thick forests and several mines that presented more work opportunities. It was these Orthodox Greek migrants that first applied for government permission to migrate and paved the way for the subsequent Hemshin Armenian migration that began after 1873.[54]

Table 3.11 Orthodox Christian migrant settlements in the Adapazarı *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Nakracas, late 19th century	Çokona, early 20th century	Origins
Kurumeşe		50 houses	
Subatak	248	70 houses	
Yassıgeçit	788	200 houses	
Ardıçpelit (Ardıçbeli)	256	35 houses	
Çataloba	130	18 houses	Pontic Greeks and Hay-Horoms from Şebinkarahisar, Niksar, Trabzon, Ordu
Paralı	365	80 houses	
Aşağı Yenidağ (Yenidoğan)	139	50 houses	
Yukarı Yenidağ (Yenidoğan)	170	40 houses	
Kurudere (Kurupınar)	561	120 houses	
Kestanepınarı	311	105 houses	
Kirazlı	712	140 houses	
Aktaş	275	58 houses	
Karapelit	356	75 houses	
Çobanyatak	751	45 houses	

54 Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 158; Kasabian, 61-62; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 159-160.

Locality	Nakracas, late 19th century	Çokona, early 20th century	Origins
Total	4,452	11,000	

SOURCE Çokona, 159-160; Nakracas, 158; BOA.ŞD. 1594/13, 03.05.1326 [3 June 1908]; BOA.BEO. 3674/275495, 25.11.1327 [8 Dec 1909]; Kasabian, 61.

§ 3.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

3.4.1 *Economy*

As Şerif observed in late 1913, Adapazarı was not an ordinary Anatolian town.[55]

> The railway gives the first correct information to a man who visits Adapazarı for the first time. Really, the railway line that leaves the Arifiye Station always being full on return and departure, the daily amount of imports and exports remind you that you are not entering an ordinary Anatolian town. The moment you exit the station, you see, big and small, thousands of timbers stacked up, with many such piles raised in the area.

Adapazarı's leading exports in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were timber, fresh fruits (especially grapes), eggs, potatoes, garlics, onions, tobacco, maze, cereals, chickens, hemp tow, nuts, cocoons, linseed, millet, cowhide, linen cloth (exported to Jaffa) and wax; whereas the imports were silkworm seeds, sugar, coffee, petrol, flour, fabrics, manufactures, glassware, hardware, perfumes, salt, pepper, broadcloth [*çuha*], fez, leather and *shayak* [coarse woollen cloth].[56]

The Adapazarı-Geyve-Kandıra region was called *ağaç denizi* [sea of trees] because of its dense forests that provided ample amount of wood

55 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 350.

56 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914.

for timber and charcoal production to be used within Izmit, Istanbul and nearby regions, and to be exported.[57] Within the *kaza*, timber was obtained from Karasu, Sapanca, Akyazı, Süleymaniye and Hendek forests. Hornbeam timber from the Karasu forests was one of the principal exports to Italy, Greece, Alexandria and Beirut.[58]

The town boasted a busy market with over a thousand shops. Apart from its famous market, there were four dyers and two textile mills (with 130 workers) in Adapazarı in 1893. Furthermore, the Karaağaçdibi neighbourhood had eight distilleries, fifteen coffeehouses, ten grocery stores, three bakeries and five butchers. In the Nemçeler (Lousavorich) quarter, on the other hand, the number of tanneries had gone down from one hundred to sixty by 1880 and to six in 1893, indicating a decline in animal husbandry. The Hendek *nahiye*, too, had a big market, many coffeehouses and a timber factory. It was one of the leading regions in tobacco farming.[59]

Kasabian argues that after the extension of the railway line from Haydarpaşa (in Istanbul) to Ankara and Eskişehir was completed between 1892 and 1896, the district capital Izmit began losing its importance as the province's economic centre, overtaken by the fertile Adapazarı which neighboured the Kastamonu province.[60]

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57 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 315-318; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1900. At the turn of the twentieth century, Izmit was among the Empire's most important centres of firewood and charcoal production with one of the largest total forest areas and one of the highest forest-generated net revenues per hectare. See Selçuk Dursun, "Forest and the State: History of Forestry and Forest Administration in the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D., Sabancı University, 2007), 121, 292-294.

58 Although the Tripolitanian War of 1911-12 against Italy and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 had slowed down exportation in 1913. Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 351-352.

59 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 375-376; Şerif, 380.

60 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 129. The author, writing in 1910-12, contends that this was due to firstly, increased tariffs by the German railway company on goods transported from Anatolia to Izmit and secondly, the individual development of Armenian villages, Bahçecik in particular, as small centres of trade. In contrast with the latter hypothesis, Mkhalian, writing about twenty years after Kasabian, states that Bahçecik was regarded as economically poor, without important external trade links

As the *Annuaire Oriental* demonstrates, when compared with Izmit, there was indeed a noticeable rise over the years in the number of professionals, shopkeepers, traders and businesses in Adapazarı, where overall they outnumbered those in Izmit. For example, in 1913 there were more timber, cereal, cocoon, cotton, flour, poultry and eggs and glassware merchants; more butchers, bakers, boilermakers, booksellers, casters, hairdressers, confectioners, grocers, farmers, clothmakers, tailors, furriers, shoemakers, manufacturers, goldsmiths, tanners, silk mills, silk producers, silk spinners and woodworkers; more money changers and brokers; more lawyers, doctors, dentists and pharmacists; more hotels, inns and cafes and hardware shops; and a theatre, the Theatre Massis, in Adapazarı.[61]

Out of more than 500 individuals and companies in the *kaza* centre listed in the *Annuaire Oriental* of 1913, about 400 were Armenians; about sixty were Orthodox Greeks; thirty-four were Muslims; about five were foreigners; and at least one was Jewish.[62]

The Armenians outnumbered the other communities in effectively all of the trades with the exception of mills. Mill owners in Adapazarı appear to be Greeks throughout the period in question (1877-1914), along with the late addition of a few Muslim individuals in the twentieth century.[63] The main agricultural activities of Adapazarı Armenians were sericulture, tobacco growing, cereal farming, timber preparation (especially by Hemshin Armenians) and timber production. Animal husbandry was

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and limited cultivable land. However, he writes later that the establishement of new migrant villages in the vicinity stimulated Bardizag's economy and made the village a minor centre of trade. Mkhalian, *Bardizag and Its People*, 371, 385.

61 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1913, 1373-1377, 1572-1576.

62 As Şerif (*Anadolu'da Tanin*, 351) says, Armenians appear to be the community most invested in commerce in Adapazarı (and elsewhere in the district) while Bosniaks stand out among the migrants on the Annuaire Oriental's list. One Boshnak Mehmed worked as a grocer and there were two textile trading companies owned by Bosniaks: Boshnak Dervish and Sons and Boshnak Ibrahim Bey and Brothers. Cervati, 1913, 1373-1374.

63 Cervati, 1891-1914.

popular only in Ferizli as available grazing land was a growing problem, but also because the local Armenian people were involved more in the skilled trades as opposed to those that were regarded as primitive.[64]

Şerif writes that in November 1913 there were twelve silk spinning factories operating in Adapazarı, ten of which were entirely Armenian enterprises while two were Muslim companies with Armenian shareholders. The 1913 *Annuaire Oriental*, on the other hand, lists eight silk spinning factories, six of which were owned by Armenians, and two were jointly owned by Armenians and Muslims: Takvor Ashdjian; S. N. Kuyumcuyan Brothers; Agop Daglerian and Company; Hacı Artaki Medarian and Company; Boghos E. Mouradian; Hacı Bedros Mouradian; and Tcharkdjian Brothers. A year earlier, there were ten active and five closed silk spinning factories as stated by Kasabian, seven of them belonging to Armenians and three jointly to Armenians and Muslims.[65]

Table 3.12 Silk spinning factory workers in the Adapazarı *kaza*, 1910-1912.

Site	*Factory owners*	*Armenian workers*		*Hay-Horom workers*		*Greek workers*		*Ages of ♀ workers*	*Working hours*	*Girls aged 13-16*	*Wages of girls aged 13-16 in kuruş*	*Wages of older workers in kuruş*
		♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂					
Adapazarı	B. Mouradian	150	8	-	-	-	-	13-40	11.5	42	2	3-5
	A. Zarkdjian (Çarkdjian)	110	6	-	-	-	-	13-40	11.5	30	2	3-4.3
	Menderian & Seyid	50	6	-	-	60	-	13-40	11.5	30	2	3-4.75
	Menderian & Seyid	100	5	-	-	-	-	13-40	11.5	28	2	3-4.75

64 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 127-128.

65 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 352; Kasabian, 141-143; Cervati, 1913. It seems that the Armenians began to gain the upper hand from the Greeks in silk spinning factory ownership around the turn of the century. Cervati, 1891-1914.

Site	*Factory owners*	*Armenian workers*		*Hay-Horom workers*		*Greek workers*		*Ages of ♀ workers*	*Working hours*	*Girls aged 13-16*	*Wages of girls aged 13-16 in kuruş*	*Wages of older workers in kuruş*
	Hagop Dailerian (Daglerian) & Hamid Bey	50	8	-	-	50	-	13-40	11.5	30	2	3-5
	Kuyumcuyan Brothers	70	4	-	-	-	-	13-40	11.5	20	2	3-4.5
	Mıgırdiç Djergayan	-	9	-	-	35	-	13-40	11.5	10	2	3-4.5
	Hacı Artin Anbarlian	35	3	-	-	-	-	13-30	11.5	10	2	3-4.5
	Garabed Topuzian	35	3	-	-	-	-	13-40	11.5	10	2	3-4.5
Tepeköy	Mgerian & Basmadjian	-	2	-	-	110	3	14-50	10.5	30	2-3	3-5.5

SOURCE Kasabian, 141-142. Cervati, 1891-1914.

After the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, silkworm factory workers, made up of mostly women (especially Armenian and Greek women), had the courage to begin protesting against the factory owners. Despite the short-lived unions elsewhere in the district, Adapazarı Silkworm Houses' Women Workers' Union was still going strong in 1912 with ninety members. The union aimed "[t]o protect and spread its members' economic and class interests and to assist in [their] educational development" and despite being non-political, to be able to receive help from the

existing socialist revolutionary parties, the latter evidently referring to the Armenian parties, Hnchagian and Dashnaktsutyun.[66]

Other organisations led by Armenians in Adapazarı included the Eastern Agricultural Union of Adapazarı, founded in July 1910 with the aim to buy land and encourage agricultural activity; the Savings Bank of Adapazarı, a joint enterprise founded in January 1909; and the short-lived Carpenters' Union of Adapazarı, founded in 1901 but turned into the all-Armenian Roupen Partigian and Company in October 1904, which competed with the established decade-old Singer brand using Naumann sewing machines. The carpenters withdrew after the change, leaving the company which originally had thirty members with twelve members.[67]

While the urban Greeks were engaged in skilled trades, commerce and professions that required higher education (doctor, dentist, lawyer), the local and migrant Orthodox Christians in the countryside were involved in agriculture, animal husbandry (especially poultry and eggs), silkworm and tobacco farming, timber and charcoal production, carpentry and some beekeeping. Some villagers were also working in the copper, lead and zinc mines in Karasu and at the silk spinning and timber factories in the region. In the Greek village of Serdivan, for example, the villagers were engaged mostly in farming and silk raising, exporting corn, tobacco and silk cocoons.[68]

66 Ibid., 145-146. Their objectives were: to increase daily wages and determine the lowest wage; to regularise working hours and conditions; to improve its members' economic condition and health; to provide assistance to or find work for members who are unemployed or poor; to encourage and strengthen a spirit of solidarity among the women workers regardless of race or religion; to educate and increase the intellectual capacities of the workers; to prevent the employment of girls aged under fourteen years old in factories; to organise a strike if necessary while helping the women workers overcome their economic struggles.

67 Ibid., 148-150.

68 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 159-160; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-1914; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 158. BOA.DH.MKT. 710/34, 21.02.1321 [19 May 1903]; American Board, *The Missionary Herald*

3.4.1.1 Locals and Migrants in Business: Some Examples[69]

MOURADIANS

The Mouradian family had a strong presence in Adapazarı before the First World War. Among their earliest business ventures were hardware, textiles and fur trading. Bedros Mouradian was a fur merchant with a firm that he founded in 1877, who was also trading in animal hide and cocoons. Ohannes Mouradian was a trader in hardware and glassware and Boghos Mouradian was engaged in the textiles trade in the early 1890s. Bedros and Boghos became silk spinning factory owners in 1895 and 1900 respectively. They maintained their ownership until the war and continued to trade in fur, cocoons as well as cereals, the latter being the latest addition after 1908. Ohannes was joined by Movses, likely his son, in the hardware and glassware businesses sometime after 1908. And another Mouradian named Hatchadour was listed as an architect from 1909-1914.

PARTIGIANS (PARTIKIANS)

Ohannes Partig was the first of the Partigians who was a baker in Adapazarı in the 1890s. By 1914, there were five Partigians working as bakers: Ohannes, Roupen, (Kara) Agop, Boghos and Stepan. Roupen was the first to join Ohannes and took up baking around 1896. Agop and Boghos joined them about five years later in 1901 and lastly Stepan in 1905. Apart from his baking business, Roupen Partigian took over the former Carpenters' Union of Adapazarı as mentioned above and turned it into the Roupen Partigian and Company in October 1904. He ventured into the sewing machine market and competed against the established Singer brand with Naumann sewing machines. Antranik Partigian, meanwhile, began working as a goldsmith and watchmaker around 1904. All of the members of the family were active economic actors in Adapazarı before 1915.

100, Aug 1904, 319. Rev. Charles T. Riggs of the American Board (Aug 1904, 322) writes that Serdivan villagers generally were not very poor but even the wealthy could hardly be considered rich.

69 Cervati, 1891-1914.

ANANIA KILIÇOĞLU [KILITSOGLOU/ KILIDJOGLOU]

Anania Kılıçoğlu appears as the sole watermill owner in Adapazarı before the twentieth century and among the very few after it. He had a bakery along with his watermill and was also trading in flour. It is understood that he was actually not the sole owner of the said watermill, but shared it with English subjects Thompson and Elizabeth, with whom he had an ongoing dispute pertaining to the ownership of the mill. The two parties were putting the blame on each other for unlawful intervention and requesting the other to be expelled despite sharing the proprietary right to the watermill. The problem seems to be that from the point of view of the English couple, Anania Kılıçoğlu had extorted two and a half years-worth of the harvest, which they requested to be compensated. After multiple petitions and telegraphs from both sides blaming each other, the government finally ordered over six years later in October 1900 the dispute to be settled by having the two sides reach a compromise.[70]

While the details of the comprise were not revealed, it would appear that it had cost Anania Kılıçoğlu his bakery as he was no longer listed as a baker after 1900. Nevertheless, Kılıçoğlu remained as owner of the disputed watermill and later branched out, trading in cocoons as well as being the Adapazarı agent of the Western insurance company for a year after 1908. Moreover, he and Teophilos Başoğlu (or Yaşoğlu) had plans to build a flour factory in 1906, for which they were exempted from paying the customs duties for the machines and tools necessary to import from abroad.[71] During the same period, the two men became partners in flour mill ownership as well. Whether it was the same watermill or a different one is difficult to say. However, Kılıçoğlu had another joint ownership of a flour mill with B. Elefteriadis in the 1910s.

MIGRANTS

70 BOA.DH.MKT. 203/29, 29.07.1311 [5 Feb 1894]; BOA.BEO. 357/26707, 02.08.1311 [8 Feb 1894]; BOA.ŞD. 1562/16, 24.09.1312 [21 Mar 1895]; BOA.BEO. 785/58861, 15.12.1313 [28 May 1896]; BOA.BEO. 1540/115428, 29.04.1318 [26 Aug 1900]; BOA.BEO. 1560/116926, 12.06.1318 [7 Oct 1900].

71 BOA.İ.RSM. 23/30, 18.02.1324 [13 Apr 1906].

A *bakkal* [grocer] called Mehmed Boshnak [Bosniak] was one of the most constant figures among Adapazarı's economic actors who appeared in every issue of the *Annuaire Oriental* from 1891-1914. Other Bosniak enterprises included the textile trading companies of Boshnak Dervish and Sons and Boshnak Ibrahim Bey and Brothers. As for the non-Muslim migrants, it is worth noting that there were a butcher called Sarkis Lazian in the 1890s and a garment-maker called Peniamin [Benjamin] Lazian in the 1910s, both of whom probably Hemshin Armenians.

3.4.2 *Education*

The yearbooks of education [*maarif salnameleri*] demonstrate that in the early twentieth century there were eleven *ibtidai* (elementary), three *rüşdiye* (adolescence) schools; six *medreses* (Muslim religious schools); nine Greek Orthodox and seven Armenian schools in the *kaza* of Adapazarı. The state *ibtidais* were located in Sapanca, Mahmudiye, Hacı Mercan Ağa, Feyziye, Hamidiye, Mümtaziye, Cedidiye, Adiliye, Çeşme and two unnamed villages; the state *rüşdiyes* in Adapazarı, Sapanca and Hendek; and the *medreses* in Adapazarı town centre, Sapanca and Hendek. The seven *ibtidai* and two *rüşdiye* Greek Orthodox schools were situated in the town centre, Sapanca, Ikizce, Pelit, Kirazlı and three unnamed villages. The three joint *ibtidai* and *rüşdiye* Armenian Apostolic schools were Nerses, Aramian-Kaianian, and Roupen according to the 1903 yearbook of education, while the three *idadi* (middle) Armenian Apostolic schools were Surp Hreshdagabed, Surp Garabed and Surp Lousavorich according to the 1902 yearbook of education. And the only Armenian Protestant school in town was the Kilise Sokağı *rüşdiye*.[72]

However, as stated by Kasabian, Hreshdagabed, Garabed and Lousavorich were not schools but Armenian quarters named after their churches in the Adapazarı town centre where the Aramian-Kaianian, Nerses(ian-Santghtian) and Roupen(ian-Hripsimian) schools were

72 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 715-720; 1902, 954-955. Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 210) says there was a Protestant school in Sapanca's new village too.

located respectively. Therefore, as it appears in Kasabian, it seems that the three schools listed in the 1902 yearbook of education (Hreshdagabed, Garabed and Lousavorich) and the three listed in the 1903 yearbook of education (Aramian-Kaianian, Nerses and Roupen) were the same schools. According to the author, the Armenian Apostolic schools in Adapazarı were the aforementioned three schools in the town centre (with their kindergartens); Mesrobian-Nounian school in the Saint Stepannos quarter; Dadian school in Tamlık; other schools in Aram Köy, Kegham Köy, Hayots Köy, Hoviv Köy, Sapanca, and the new Adapazarı Community Central School, established in 1910, which he calls the best among them.[73]

The *kaza* of Adapazarı had more schools than the other *kazas* in the district, but despite the increase in numbers and the promising signs for the future thanks to the Second Constitutional period, the quality of education in the state schools, Şerif argues, was not up to the standard demonstrated by their Armenian counterparts. The reporter had visited a girls' and two boys' schools in the town of Adapazarı in November 1913. According to his description, the girls' school building was poor looking, "dark, airless, damp and void of sanitary requirements" which could "only be a shelter to a family that barely earn their living." Nevertheless, he adds that the girls were clean and neat and in contrast to the general shyness displayed by children in the countryside, the Adapazarı girls' school students were the complete opposite. They were "so earnest and free, so hasty and excited that they want to eat you with their eyes, thinking 'Oh, if they ask us something!' When you do, they answer without hesitation, in a manner to defend all her rights strongly against you. Heads up, shoulders down, noses not runny!"[74]

Unlike the pupils, the parents' attitude towards girls' education was not enthusiastic. Some people were quite hostile to the school and even

73 Kasabian, 199-205, 212. The author also mentions a special kindergarten in Adapazarı, opened in 1910 and run by Manishag Mrs Stepanian. As reported by Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, 374), there were eight Armenian Apostolic and two Armenian Protestant schools in 1893.

74 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 357-358.

the government apparently did more to hinder than support the reconciliation efforts of the school's head teacher, who had been the target of insults. The teacher herself stated that when she wanted to invite the girls' mothers to the school to show them what their daughters do there, and organise conferences on the subjects of women's and motherhood responsibilities and household management, the Education Commission sent her a warning, ordering her to stop. On another occasion, the Ministry of Education wanted to replace her with another teacher despite her being the school's founder and working diligently. She was only able to retain her post owing to the then-inspector's intervention.[75]

As opposed to the girls' school which was accessible through a narrow, dirty and muddy street, the state boys' *rüşdiye* school and the private Rehber-i Terakki [Guide of Progress] school were on the same street as the government building and accordingly in a better state than the girls' school, with gardens and cleaner buildings. At the state school, Şerif observed, the teachers did not have the same vibrant enthusiasm their pupils possessed. They were using the rote learning method of memorisation based on repetition. The Rehber-i Terakki, on the other hand, resembled the girls' school with its earnest and free students and equally eager teachers who rejected rote learning techniques. However, in spite of the positive aspects of the private Rehber-i Terakki, which was the best among the schools Şerif visited, it still did not measure up to the standard demonstrated by the Armenian schools.[76]

For the Armenian community, education was of vital importance. Laura Farnham, an American Protestant missionary and principal of the Armenian girls' school in Adapazarı between 1885 and 1910, "marvelled at the fact that the more downtrodden and impoverished the [Armenian] people became, the more determined they were to educate their children. It was as if education constituted their only hope for a better future."[77]

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75 Ibid., 359-360.

76 Ibid. 360-364. The Rehber-i Terakki was the school the renowned writer Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906-1954) attended, possibly around the same time as Şerif was there.

77 Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," 181.

Evidently, the Armenian communities of different denominations were actively supporting education with various organisations. For example, Adapazarı Armenian Pro-Education Association, founded in 1883, aimed to bring to the town the highest standards of education and the arts, founding Adapazarı Central Community School in 1910. Likewise, Adapazarı branches of Protestant Young Men's and Young Ladies' Christian Associations, founded in 1883 and 1890 respectively, sought to educate and provide help for young people. More recent educational associations founded in Adapazarı after the July 1908 revolution included Armenian Pro-Reading Association, Women's Pro-Education Association and Roupinian Progressive Union, all of which were founded in 1908; and the Central Students' Union, founded in 1909.[78]

For all the efforts to promote education, even in an exemplary Greek village like Serdivan, the reality was that very few (Protestant) women could read and illiteracy was common among women and girls.[79]

3.4.3 *Social Interactions*

As elsewhere in the Izmit district, Circassian banditry appears as one of the main determinants of social relations in Adapazarı, in Mkhalian's words, "from the first days of their migration until our [the Armenians'] final deportation [in 1915]." As an earlier and the largest group of settlers in the region, the Circassians held considerable power not only *vis-à-vis* the other migrant communities that arrived later, but also over the local people and even the local government officials. By the 1880s, many Circassians (especially *beys*) had already obtained positions in the local administration and in the gendarmerie as well as establishing relationships with pashas in Istanbul through the female slave trade. Nonetheless, their integration into Ottoman society did not stop banditry, which is often

78 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 213-216.

79 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 100, Aug 1904, 322-323; 1905, 136.

described as a "habit" free from religious prejudices.[80] Many an account including certain Circassian men themselves refer to this habit of marauding as part of their customs.[81]

As reported by the British consul of the Izmit region, Lieutenant Kitchener, who was in Adapazarı in 1879, the Circassian population of Adapazarı at the time was about 40,000-45,000 according to his estimation (which would have been more than the entire Muslim population of the *kaza* in 1893) and accordingly most of the Circassian banditry was taking place in the Adapazarı *kaza*, On 20 June 1879, a group of delegates representing local Turks and Christians of Adapazarı made a plea to the British consul for disarmament of the Circassians. Their request was sent to the then-British ambassador in Istanbul, Austen Henry Layard, who, with the government's approval, wrote two letters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 1879, requesting the authorities to stop the settlement of Circassians in Adapazarı. The fact that even Muslims sought help from a foreign political actor pertaining to local affairs is a sign of the shortcomings of the government in this regard. As a case in point, further reports by Kitchener reveal that a villager named Ahmet from Mollaköy was jailed in Adapazarı where he had come to make a complaint about the damage done to his village by the Circassian bandits. In another instance, even though the Şevkiye village *muhtar* and *imam* had caught the

80 As British consul J. E. Blunt opined, "It is universally admitted that the Circassians … are even remarkably free from religious prejudices. The fact that the offences they commit are offences against ptoperty rather than against persons, goes to confirm the opinion that they are actuated by covetous rather than by fanatical motives. As a rule the Circassian is not prone to shed blood ; and whilst addicted to theft, especially in the form of cattle and horse-stealing, he is as ready to rob his co-religionists as the Christians when he has a chance of doing so with impunity." Consul Blunt to Mr. Layard, 30 June 1877, inclosure 1 in no. 70, in Great Britain, Foreign Office, Turkey, No. 23 (1878), *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Turkey* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1878), 47-48.

81 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 186; American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 105, Jan 1905, 27; Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879*-1882, 757, 765.

bandits and handed them over to the local government forces, the bandits were released shortly after. Kitchener's reports include similar complaints about Circassian banditry from different communities and individuals, showing that it was a common problem for the local and migrant people as well as the government officials. On the other hand, it is understood that the British consul became a somewhat frightening figure for the bandits who in one instance ran away from the scene when a group of Armenians yelled "the English consul is coming."[82]

A closer look into the instances of banditry in the Presidency Ottoman Archive reveals the blurred line between bandits and the *zaptiye* forces [gendarmerie]. For example, a document dated 6 May 1879 reports that the criminals who robbed two travellers on the Izmit-Adapazarı road were Circassians from the cavalry gendarmerie. Protestant missionary George E. White's pertinent observation in January 1905 suggests it was common practice to convert criminals into functionaries of the state: "Some of the ablest administrators throughout the provinces belong to the same [Circassian] race, for the weary Ottoman officials find it cheaper to put the head of a band of horse thieves into office than into prison."[83]

However, banditry or ill treatment of certain groups was not exclusively a Circassian habit. Local bureaucrats had their fair share of civilian abuse, especially to collect taxes. Kangalzade Osman Bey from the Adapazarı municipality was one such example. Accompanied by a group of soldiers, he had confiscated the cattle of Abkhazian migrants in October 1889, leaving the animals to die. The same Osman Bey was involved in another case of tax abuse years later in May 1894, this time with the Hendek *nahiye müdürü* Hasan Şevket Bey.[84]

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82 Şaşmaz, 755-759; Bilal N. Şimşir, *The Turks of Bulgaria (1878-1985)* (London: K. Rustem and Brother, 1988), 33, 38, 328, 356; BOA.DH.MKT. 1433/94, 29.10.1304 [21 July 1887].

83 BOA.DH.MKT. 1326/8, 14.05.1296 [6 May 1879]; American Board, The Missionary Herald, 101, Jan 1905, 29. This bandit conversion method was applied to other communities as well, such as the Abkhazians, a group among whom were ordered to be employed in the local gendarmerie in Adapazarı: BOA.Y.PRK.ASK. 56/27, 15.11.1306 [13 July 1889].

84 BOA.DH.MKT. 1663/91, 08.02.1307 [4 Oct 1889]; BOA.BEO. 412/30853, 26.11.1311 [31 May 1894].

Apart from the burden of tax collection, migrants were sometimes neglected to the point of destitution. On 30 August, a group of delegates representing about 2,000 Abkhazian migrants from Suhumkale (Sokhumi) pleaded with the English consul Kitchener to help them return to Suhumkale where they had houses, fields and relatives, stating that despite the government aid they were poverty-stricken and unable to feed their children, some of them driven to stealing as a result. Once again, Kitchener passed their plea to ambassador Layard in Istanbul, requesting that they be permitted to go back to their homeland or given houses and work in Adapazarı. The delegates added that most of the people in their community were Christians, but since they did not know how to reach the Russian ambassador, they had come to Kitchener. It is noteworthy that the report proves the existence of such a large group of Christian Abkhazians in Adapazarı, which is an underexplored group.[85]

On the subject of stealing, it is noticeable that apart from the Circassians, Abkhazian migrants, too, were involved in many instances of animal theft in the Adapazarı *kaza*. The Abkhazian migrants in Hendek, for example, were stealing the animals of the local people as well as those belonging to Batumi and Circassian migrants that went on for several years between 1891 and 1894 despite the community representative Mehmed Emin's multiple petitions, who was eventually jailed by the Adapazarı *kaymakam* Mehmed Nüzhet Bey in 1894. Along with the earlier example of Ahmet from Mollaköy who was jailed in Adapazarı when reporting Circassian banditry, it appears as though those fighting for the rights of villagers in Adapazarı ended up in prison instead of the offenders.[86]

Competition for land and property was another principal determinant that shaped or rather put a strain on relations, causing a great

85 Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879*-1882, 758.

86 BOA.DH.MKT. 1819/93, 07.08.1308 [18 Mar 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 216/59, 10.09.1311 [17 Mar 1894]; BOA.BEO. 460/34446, 18.02.1312 [21 Aug 1894].

number of disputes some of which the government resolved, some others it disregarded. The many examples in the Presidency Ottoman Archive demonstrate confrontations pertaining to the use and ownership of land and property between migrant groups, between locals and migrants, between bureaucrats and villagers, between foreigners and villagers and so forth.[87] Non-Muslim villagers were often on the receiving end of such confrontations. For instance, Kasabian argues the government ignored the continuous pleas of Armenian villagers from Ferizli and Hoviv in the 1880s when Muslim villagers appropriated some of their cultivated lands held under title deeds.[88] Sometimes, the issue was not the land itself but the crops that grew on it. In the case of Adapazarı villagers versus *kaymakam* Emin Bey, the latter was accused of subsidising migrants by selling a herb called *kelbe* that grew on land belonging to the villagers, which cost the *kaymakam* his job and the villagers their crop without actually finalising the case in court.[89]

Other times, disputes were caused by the government but without its knowledge in the beginning if the reports are to be believed. For instance, a disagreement that had taken place between two migrant villages in Sapanca, the Georgian Mahmudiye and the Circassian Şadiye, was revealed to the government by a petition in February 1887.[90] Upon receiving news of this dispute, a committee of civil servants was appointed the following month to investigate and write a detailed report on the matter

87 BOA.DH.MKT. 1420/89, 23.08.1304 [17 May 1887]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1563/61, 08.03.1306 [12 Nov 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1061/40, 28.01.1324 [24 Mar 1906].

88 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 122. The author contends that in Ferizli, the Abkhazian migrants took over the Balıklı fields in 1880, while near Hoviv, a group of Abkhazian and Rumelia migrants and local Turks seized a piece of land along with the crops belonging to the Armenian villagers in 1884.

89 BOA.DH.MKT. 1606/119, 17.07.1306 [19 Mar 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1609/41, 22.07.1306 [24 Mar 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1692/43, 03.06.1307 [25 Jan 1890].

90 BOA.Y.PRK.ŞH. 2/63, 13.05.1304 [07 Feb 1887].

which was completed shortly afterwards.[91] The investigations initially revealed that the conflict was caused by a land dispute that later escalated into a more violent hostility between the two villages.[92] The Ministry of the Interior sent word to the *mutasarrıf vekili* [deputy governor] of Izmit, requesting that a call be made to summon several prominent members from both sides to Dersaadet (Istanbul) for a serious warning in order to end the enmity between them.[93] However, according to the hearing in Dersaadet and further enquiries into the situation, the cause of the hostility was revealed to be a decision to transfer one of the villages elsewhere. Neither side had wanted to give up their land and go through with the experience of migration and settlement all over again, however nearby the new location might be.[94]

Besides intercommunal material competition, intrareligious sectarian tension was another cause of strife, especially in villages where Protestantism had a strong presence. In the Greek Orthodox village of Serdivan, the missionaries had converted a small number of people in the 1880s, including an eighteen-year-old bread seller called Sabbas and a wealthy villager called Hacı Yorgi among others. On Easter of 1885, this small group of villagers and their families were excommunicated by the Nicomedia Greek Orthodox metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios when the bishop was in the village for his pastoral visit, who warned the other villagers "to have nothing to do with them: not to baptize or bury them, not even to greet them on the street." Such was the gravity of "heresy." When the village headman [*muhtar*] revealed himself to be one of them in support of this group, he too was excommunicated, losing both his position as *muhtar* and his liquor business as it was against the Protestant principles at that time. If the missionary report is to be believed, a year after this incident, a missionary and a local preacher were attacked in the

91 BOA.İ.DH. 1022/80629, 16.06.1304 [12 Mar 1887]. This document also mentions some Abkhazians in addition to the Circassians, against the Georgians; BOA.Y.MTV. 25/62, 18.06.1304 [14 Mar 1887].

92 BOA.Y.PRK.DH. 2/17, 24.06.1304 [20 Mar 1887].

93 BOA.DH.MKT. 1405/98, 24.06.1304 [20 Mar 1887].

94 BOA.DH.MKT. 1408/89, 06.07.1304 [31 Mar 1887].

street, the local host's house being subjected to "a storm of stones for hours." Moreover, the Orthodox villagers did not allow the burial of a little child after his death which required the police's intervention. Despite such strong hatred towards the Protestant community a short while ago, Rev. James W. Seelye reported in 1888 that relations between the two communities were improving to such an extent that the villagers wanted to elect Hacı Yorgi as village headman the previous spring, which he declined due to his many other responsibilities.[95]

A third determinant of social relations in this period was the Armenian Question that escalated in the 1890s, particularly after the revolutionary activities by the Armenian parties Hnchagian and Dashnaktsutyun in Istanbul. Although Adapazarı had not been touched by violence directly, the effects of this period were being felt nonetheless. For Laura Farnham, the headteacher of the girls' school in Adapazarı at that time, change was inevitable for "Turkey" as tension was rising between its Muslim and Christian, especially Armenian, subjects. Under the heightened surveillance by the government, Farnham wrote in the fall of 1890:

> … You probably heard of the riot in the Armenian Church a few weeks ago. And indeed the Turks have reason to be afraid, for their subjects are getting very restless under Turkish rule and oppression. I think there cannot but be great changes in Turkey before long. I cannot believe that the Turkish government will stand long."[96]

95 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 84, Apr 1888, 183-186. The growing interreligious tension during this period between Muslims and non-Muslims was one of the reasons that brought Orthodox and Apostolic communities closer together with the Protestant community. Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," 181-182.

96 Mergeurian, 177. The riot in the Armenian Church refers to the day of the Kumkapı demonstration in the capital in July 1890 when the said incident took place in the church, where a group of Hnchag members lead by Harutyun Cangülyan took over the dais from

But at the same time, paradoxically, the Adapazarı Armenians were reputedly in a "very good state" and thanking the government for it.[97] However, after further acts of terror in Istanbul by the Armenian revolutionary organisations and the Armenian massacres of 1894-96 especially in the eastern provinces, Farnham reported six years later in the fall of 1896 about the state of Adapazarı:

> We have not suffered here from massacre, and yet not one week passes but some home is made desolate … Saturday and Sunday were anxious days. The city was surrounded by Circassians and Georgians, and an attack was expected every minute. It was only averted by the ability, energy, and tact of the Kaimakam (Governor) [more accurately subgovernor]. He was almost without troops and after telegram after telegram was sent, the soldiers did not reach here until late Sunday night. On Monday the Circassians and Georgians were sent off to their villages. All the Armenians went to express their gratitude to the governor and were greeted with the greatest courtesy, and assured that he would do all in his power to protect them. The governor also expressed the wish that his American ladies would make "honorable mention" of his efforts, which I did in a note to Mr. Terrell [Alexander Terrell, U.S. Minister to the Ottoman Empire].[98]

There are two related documents on this subject in the Presidency Ottoman Archive dated August and September 1896 that mention the gathering of a group of Abkhazians in Adapazarı. As stated by the reports, the

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Patriarch Aşıkyan to read their declaration and subsequently forced the patriarch to go with them to the Palace, which resulted in multiple shootings inside and outside the church. Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi* (Istanbul: Belge, 1987), 458-459.

97 BOA.Y.PRK.AZN. 4/52, 19.01.1308 [4 Sep 1890].

98 Mergeurian, "Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar," 181.

Abkhazians had gathered to "provoke an incident" [*hadise çıkarmak*] but Miralay Cemal and his forces arrived at the area, dispersed the crowd and restored order.[99]

After a brief moment of unity celebrating the restoration of the constitution in July 1908, approximately one year later, Adapazarı had once again become a breeding ground of banditry and crime, aggravated later by the Balkan Wars in 1912-13.[100] In fact, lawyer Mehmed Tevfik had alleged that nearly three years after the revolution, constitutionalism had yet to be applied to Adapazarı and that the tyrannical rule of the *kaza* Administrative Assembly [Idare Meclisi] had not come to an end. A bulk of documents between July 1909 and October 1912 demonstrate the gravity of the public disorder during this period. Not only had robberies and murders increased significantly, but the government had been accused of being indifferent to the alarming situation.

It was under these circumstances that Bandit leader Abaza Kazım and his band were wreaking havoc in Adapazarı in the summer of 1909. It is understood that the band was being protected by local men headed by Elbos (or Albus) and Kanbolat and that there was not enough local gendarmerie to deal with them all. Since the local government was turning a blind eye to what was happening, the Interior Ministry ordered deployment of two units of cavalry from the Action Army [Hareket Ordusu] and more gendarmes forces from the district centre in Izmit. When the accomplices were caught, it was revealed that despite having been sent twice to Adapazarı, the Izmit gendarmerie major Zekeriya Bey had not done anything but incite the public against the local government. In the end, it was the Adapazarı gendarmerie captain and the police inspector who had been found guilty of laxity in August 1909. As for the bandit

99 BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 655/24, 22.03.1314 [31 Aug 1896]; BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 13/44, 24.03.1314 [2 Sep 1896].

100 Although Şerif (*Anadolu'da Tanin*, 374) says that the subdistrict was not affected very much by the war in terms of the general distribution of wealth, the number of people paying military service tax, and the quality of crops.

leader Abaza Kazım, he was caught a little over a year later in Şile. It would seem that the Abaza Kazım situation had given new impetus to the Adapazarı gendarmerie to redeem itself. A few months later, gendarmerie commander Miralay Ali Faik Bey successfully suppressed the Çakırcalı gang with a group made up of forty Laz men who were compensated for their efforts.[101]

In spite of all of the examples above, there was of course more to the daily lives of the people than conflict, competition and discord. There were many occasions of cooperation, exchange, accommodation and celebration. The Adapazarı market was one such place where people from the region and its environs got together on a weekly basis. About forty to fifty thousand ox carts were arriving at the market each year, dirtying and muddying the streets. Religious festivals such as Easter, church fairs, Armenian Sunday gatherings known as *tangaran* were other occasions where villagers got together to celebrate. The Easter festival in the Subaşı neighbourhood, held in the Dübektaşı Square, was a public event attended by Christians of different denominations where Armenian and Greek orchestras entertained the guests. The church fair in Kurudere, likewise, was a public event whose oil wrestling competition attracted contestants from neighbouring Orthodox Christian and Muslim villages. Apart from these religious gatherings, school graduation ceremonies were often turned into public events with speeches and musical and gymnastic performances in front of an audience attended frequently by government officials.[102]

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101 BOA.DH.MUİ. 148/7, 03.09.1329 [28 Aug 1911]; BOA.DH.H. 61/27, 24.10.1330 [6 Oct 1912]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2870/47, 19.06.1327 [8 July 1909]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2877/55; 89, 28.06.1327 [17 July 1909]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1306/27, 03.07.1327 [21 July 1909]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2888/12, 13.07.1327 [31 July 1909]; BOA.DH.EUM.KADL. 5/16, 18.01.1329 [19 Jan 1911]; BOA.DH.MUİ. 2/2, 22.10.1327 [6 Nov 1909]; BOA.MV. 161/39, 15.02.1330 [4 Feb 1912].

102 Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, 351; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 159-160; Hasmik Khalapyan, "The Armenian Theatre in Asia Minor, 1860 to 1912," in *The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 214.

Villagers also cooperated for different reasons. In the Greek village of Serdivan, a group of young men started an anti-smoking movement in 1904 to save money and possibly also to spite the tobacco monopoly, the Régie Company, whose low prices for the past season had angered the tobacco raisers of the village. As a joint effort of the Orthodox and the Protestant youth, the movement proved to be a success.[103] This was not the first time that villagers acted against the Régie monopoly. Bahçecik had been a centre of tobacco smuggling especially before the 1890s, and it was also a common practice in Adapazarı. In the Hendek *nahiye*, for example, smugglers were blatantly buying tobacco from raisers and selling it to places such as Ankara and Konya, which frequently caused clashes between smugglers and Régie guards [*kolcus*].[104]

§ 3.5 A Territorial Dispute

3.5.1 *The draining of Gökçeviran wetlands and its repercussions (1890-1909)*

Draining wetlands was an important task for the Ottoman government to open up cultivable land and to prevent illnesses such as malaria. The Gökçeviran (or Gökçeören) Lake and the swamp lands in its surroundings were a cause for concern the government had intended to resolve in 1890, which later became more urgent in the face of mounting pressure to find available land to settle migrants. It is understood the government initially had given draining concessions on the land of about 40,000 *dönüms* to Ebuziya Tevfik Efendi in 1890; however, the rights were then transferred to Fenerler [Lighthouses] director Monsieur Kolas and inspector general

103 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 100, Aug 1904, 321-322.

104 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 375-377; BOA.DH.MKT. 1372/52, 17.01.1304 [16 Oct 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1384/99, 17.03.1304 [14 Dec 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1758/32, 21.01.1308 [6 Sep 1890].

Monsieur Emile Bodoin (Bodovi) of France in 1893.[105] But, it appears the draining concessions were also granted (previously or at the same time as the other Frenchmen) to former Haydarpaşa Railway Company director Monsieur Lüdwig Sefelder, who had received some of the title deeds [*tasarruf senedleri*] of the area in question by the Adapazarı cadastral secretariat [*tapu kitabeti*] upon the unlawful insistence of the Izmit Mutasarrıflığı without informing the government, angering, at the same time, the villagers residing in the area who complained that the work interfered with their coppices.[106] Nevertheless, regardless of the number of people sharing the concessions, the majority of documents on this subject point to Emile Bodoin as the man in charge of the draining work who was to build a canal to redirect one of the branches of Çark Suyu, the river responsible for floods in the region, and drain the lake within three years, which he did in two years.[107]

The government was made aware of the growing dispute between Mr Bodoin, the migrants and the local government after the French embassy, on behalf of Emile Bodoin, intervened in the fall of 1895, requesting that the migrants' encroachments on the land be stopped.[108] By that time, the unrest in the area over the ownership of land had become more palpable with the arrival of a new group of Bosniak migrants made up of 170 households.[109] According to reports, the migrant villagers were expanding the borders of the land reserved for them, burning forests and occupying parts of the drained land owned by Emile Bodoin, where he had

105 BOA.Y.PRK.MYD. 23/91, 29.12.1318 [19 Apr 1901]; Mustafa Sarı and Bahadır Ünal, "Adapazarı'nda Gökçeören Bataklığını Kurutma Çalışmaları ve Muhacirlerle Yaşanan Sorunlar (1890-1908)" [Drying Works of Gökçeören Swamp in Adapazarı and Problems Encountered by Immigrants], *Journal of Academic Inquiries* 9, no. 2 (2014), 143-144.

106 BOA.DH.MKT. 410/26, 19.02.1313 [11 Aug 1895]; BOA.DH.MKT. 411/53, 22.02.1313 [14 Aug 1895].

107 BOA.BEO. 995/74595, 21.03.1315 [20 Aug 1897].

108 BOA.BEO. 681/51069, 24.03.1313 [14 Sep 1895].

109 BOA.Y.PRK.MYD. 17/6, 15.03.1313 [5 Sep 1895].

established an estate and hired guards to protect it. Furthermore, the government was unable to collect taxes for the pieces of land the migrants had seized as it had agreed to exempt Emile Bodoin from paying taxes for the land he drained.[110] The migrants, on the other hand, were claiming that the reason for the state's inability to find available land for them was not due to lack of land; it was because the available lands were reserved for notables and bureaucrats, who were given hundreds of *dönüms* of land free of charge. What is more, the migrants were being forced to sign documents in order not to make any future claims on the lands.[111]

While the migrants were requesting the disputed lands to be given to them, claiming that it was the Frenchman who exceeded the borders of his land, the French side was claiming the opposite, the embassy requesting multiple times for Bodoin to be compensated for the damage done to his property and demanding the lives of Bodoin's employees to be protected against the migrants' continuous attacks and threats.[112] Upon these complaints, it appears that the government initially ordered the Bosniak migrants to be sent to Hüdavendigar and Ankara provinces, and an engineer to be sent to the area to determine the amount of land. At the same time, the Seraskerlik (equivalent to Ministry of National Defense) had sent Hilmi Efendi and Aziz Bey to investigate the claims, whose report was in support of the migrants' claims.[113]

Further investigations revealed that the land Emile Bodoin drained and opened up for use amounted to 15,000 *dönüms*, approximately 4,000 of which was occupied by the Bosniak migrants who claimed they were cultivating the fields for nearly a decade (probably to be able to claim

110 BOA.BEO. 681/51069, 24.03.1313 [14 Sep 1895]; BOA.BEO. 692/51882, 24.04.1313 [14 Oct 1895].

111 BOA.Y.PRK.MYD. 17/6, 15.03.1313 [5 Sep 1895].

112 BOA.BEO. 793/59437, 01.01.1314 [12 June 1896]; BOA.MV. 93/4, 11.03.1315 [10 Aug 1897]; BOA.Y.MTV. 166/206, 14.04.1315 [12 Sep 1897].

113 BOA.BEO. 995/74595, 21.03.1315 [20 Aug 1897]; BOA.Y.MTV. 166/206, 14.04.1315 [12 Sep 1897].

tasarruf [use] rights for these lands as the requirement was at least ten years).[114] As it was evidently too late and difficult to relocate the villagers and take back the occupied areas, to settle the dispute and with the agreement of Emile Bodoin, the government decided to buy the occupied lands for the price of 27,000 *liras* to be paid by the Fenerler revenue and hand over the title deeds to the villagers. A final investigation conducted by Mehmed Bedri and Mehmed Vasıf Beys argued the actual cost of the draining work was in fact much lower than the previous estimates and therefore the amount to be paid to Emile Bodoin should be 10,000 liras instead of 27,000.[115]

Although it is not known what sum was paid to Emile Bodoin, disputes over the Gökçeviran region continued. The more migrant groups arrived, the more it became necessary to drain further parts of the area. It was reported in September 1908 that Crimea and Rumelia migrant groups had settled in the area where the Bosniaks were living and that the government had to relocate the funds it reserved for further draining work to the migrants because they had become destitute.[116] Moreover, the area was frequently hit by floods, as it happened in April 1909, which gave new impetus to the draining and cleaning work to continue. It was stated that the Fenerler General Inspector Emile Bodoin once again had planned to drain the wetland, inciting further disagreements with the migrant villagers. The petition sent by Ömer bin Ali representing Karaboğaz, Aralık, Kuruçeme and Yazlık villages reveals not only did the Frenchman and Başmabeynci Hacı Ali Paşa's son Kolağası Mehmed Bey coerced them into giving up their lands and houses in the area, but also the Adapazarı Administrative Assembly [İdare Meclisi] somehow lost the

114 BOA.BEO. 1719/128869, 29.05.1319 [13 Sep 1901]; Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics," 158.

115 BOA.Y.PRK.MYD. 23/ 91, 29.12.1318 [19 Apr 1901]; Sarı and Ünal, 151-153.

116 BOA.DH.MKT. 2618/53, 03.09.1326 [29 Sep 1908].

report on rendering justice pertaining to the case [*ihkak-ı hak mazbatası*].[117]

As stated by the latest correspondence on the subject by the Ministry of Trade and Public Works, dated May 1909, Anatolian Railways Chief Engineer Mr Waldrob had prepared a report on the draining of the lake to be used if a serious demand were to be made. It is therefore understood that the draining work had stopped at that moment and the migrants most likely had not lost their properties.[118]

117 BOA.DH.MKT. 2806/41, 17.04.1327 [8 May 1909].

118 BOA.DH.MKT. 2850/52, 01.06.1327 [20 May 1909].

4

The *Kaza* of Geyve

The *kaza* of Geyve made up the south-eastern parts of the Izmit district, surrounded in the north and north-east by Adapazarı and Izmit; in the west by Karamürsel and Yalova; in the east by the Kastamonu province; and in the south by the province of Hüdavendigar (Bursa). Although not as large as that of Adapazarı, a weekly market was held each Thursday in the town of Geyve as well.[1]

Like its northern neighbours Izmit and Adapazarı, the town of Geyve had a railway station as part of the Anatolian railway line, about thirty kilometres from Adapazarı and forty kilometres from Izmit.
During his visit to the region in the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi wrote on Geyve:

> Actually, its name is Gekve. This is a tiny castle built by the queen named Gekve, one of the relatives of Alexander, who built the Izmit Castle, for sheep shepherds. It is named after the queen. Later, it was softened and called Geyve … In this area, there is a big bridge of Sultan Bayezid-i Veli over the Sakarya River. This used to be a big city. However, during the time of Murad Han the Fourth, the Sakarya river overflowed and flooded the city, then it became

1 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909-14.

> prosperous again. It has three hundred houses, one mosque, one bathhouse and three inns, seven children's schools, and the houses are covered with wood and tile. The city is an arrow range away from the Sakarya River. It has an enormous tiled inn that has about twenty shops around it. Since there are many vineyards and gardens, pickled grapes and Sakarya melon are famous…[2]

§ 4.1 Administrative Structure and Government

4.1.1 *Administrative Structure*

Geyve was the steadiest *kaza* in the Izmit district in terms of its administrative structure. In fact, it was the only subdistrict whose organisation did not change during the period 1877-1914. From the first state yearbook in which the Izmit district's *nahiyes* were included (1879) to the last (1912), Geyve always appeared as a *kaza* with the same two *nahiyes*: Akhisar and Taraklı.[3]

The number of villages in the *kaza* remained relatively steady as well, increasing from 108 in 1889 to 111 in 1901 to 133 in 1903 to 136 in 1906 and to 142 in 1910-12. In the *kaza* centre or *nefs-i* Geyve, the number of villages went up from thirty-six in 1889 to fifty-six in 1912. In the Akhisar *nahiye*, their number rose from forty-three to fifty-two in the same amount of time; and in the Taraklı *nahiye*, from twenty-nine to thirty-four if the state yearbooks are to be believed. In other words, twenty new villages were established in *nefs-i* Geyve between 1889 and 1910. Meanwhile, seven new villages each were established in Akhisar and in Taraklı between 1889 and 1906. Two of Taraklı's villages were moved within the administrative authority of Akhisar in 1910.

With the introduction of the class system in the 1896 yearbook, Geyve first appeared as a "class 3" *kaza* and remained as such until 1910 when it

2 Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, eds. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 741.

3 1877-1912 state yearbooks.

became "class 2." As for the *nahiyes*, the class labelling in the state yearbooks were introduced only in 1911, which shows Akhisar as "class 1" and Taraklı as "class 2."

4.1.2 *Government*

As a subdistrict Geyve was governed by a *kaymakam* [subgovernor] and its two *nahiyes* by *müdürs* [administrators] appointed by the central government. The state yearbooks demonstrate the existence of some of the other officials in the *kaza* including a Régie Company *memur* [official] and a Muslim *naib* [judge], who, as previously explained, was the sole president of the Court of First Instance until the July 1908 revolution. After 1908, the Geyve Court of First Instance was divided into civil and criminal sections, each having its own president, *naib* and *ceza reisi* respectively. The court also had an assistant public prosecutor [*müdde'i-i umumi muavini*].[4]

Table 4.1 Administration of the Geyve *kaza*, 1877-1914.

Year	*Kaymakam*	*Judge* [*Naib*]	*Ceza reisi*	*Assistant public prosecutor*	*Régie official*
1880	Mahmud Bey				
1880-83	Eşref Bey				
1883-84	Hakkı Bey				
1884-87	Nuri Bey				
1887-88	Ahmed Rüşdü Efendi				
1889		Ali Hafzi Efendi			
1889-92	Behçet Bey	Mehmed Tahir Efendi			
1893-94		Ilyas Fevzi Efendi			

4 1889-1912 state yearbooks; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909-14. In the Annuaire Oriental, although the *kaymakam*, mufti, judge and *defterdar* [treasurer] positions appear in the 1909 and 1912 issues, they are left blank; the only official listed under Geyve is the Régie Company official.

Year	*Kaymakam*	*Judge* [*Naib*]	*Ceza reisi*	*Assistant public prosecutor*	*Régie official*
1895	Ismail Hakkı Efendi	Abdülrahman Aziz Efendi			
1896	Ali Nihat Bey				
1897	Ismail Hakkı Efendi	Mehmed Efendi			
1898					
1899-1900	Mehmed Necib Bey	Hasan Tahsin Efendi			
1901-02	Cemal Bey	Fahreddin Efendi			
1903-04	Hüseyin Cemil Bey	Osman Refik Efendi			
1905	Mesud Bey	Ali Necmeddin Efendi			
1906	Hüseyin Hüsnü Bey	Mahmud Mehdi Efendi			
1907-08		Ali Efendi			
1908-09	Kamil Bey	Ibrahim Hilmi Efendi			
1909-10	Hasan Halis Efendi				
1910-11	Kalaati Efendi		Münir Efendi	Fazıl Efendi	Sefer Efendi
1911-13	Ömer Asaf Efendi	Ibrahim Fahreddin Efendi			
1913-15	Said Bey				Agop Efendi

SOURCE BOA.İ.DH. 815/65788, 07.11.1297 [11 Oct 1880]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1340/34, 25.04.1300 [5 Feb 1883]; BOA.İ.DH. 884/70452, 02.07.1300 [9 May 1883]; BOA.İ.DH. 931/73816, 08.01.1302 [28 Oct 1884]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1440/61, 27.11.1304 [17 Aug 1887]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1568/41, 22.03.1306 [26 Nov 1888]; BOA.BEO. 527/39519, 05.06.1312 [4 Dec 1894]; BOA.BEO. 700/52447, 16.05.1313 [4 Nov 1895]; BOA.İ.DH. 1336/46, 19.02.1314 [30 July 1896]; BOA.BEO. 1155/86580, 18.02.1316 [8 July 1898]; BOA.BEO. 1493/111925, 28.01.1318 [28 May 1900]; BOA.BEO. 1953/146441, 21.08.1320 [23 Nov 1902]; BOA.BEO. 2530/189688, 13.01.1323 [20 Mar 1905]; BOA.BEO. 2802/210132, 16.02.1324 [11 Apr 1906]; BOA.BEO. 3352/251345, 09.06.1326 [9 July 1908]; BOA.BEO. 3471/260301, 23.12.1326 [16 Jan 1909]; BOA.DH.MUİ. 143/37, 15.04.1329 [15 Apr 1911]; BOA.İ.DH. 1487/42, 12.06.1329 [10 June 1911]; BOA.İ.DH. 1501/10, 18.10.1331 [20 Sep 1913]; BOA.DH.ŞFR. 459/53, R14.11.1330 [27 Jan 1915]; 1889-1912 state yearbooks; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909-14.

§ 4.2 Population Statistics and Ethno-Religious Composition

The *kaza* of Geyve had a total population of 48,187 in 1914, making it the third most populated subdistrict in the Izmit *sancak*. Likewise, on the eve of the First World War, it had both the third highest number of Armenian people (8,363) after the Izmit central and Adapazarı *kazas*, and the third highest number of Orthodox Christian people (7,108) after the Yalova and Adapazarı *kazas*.[5]

The most striking discrepancy between the figures is seen in the population of the Orthodox Christians. Soteriades' estimate of 12,883 around 1912 is, as it was in the other subdistricts, noticeably higher than the rest.[6] This tendency to inflate the numbers in favour of the subject of one's research is a common occurrence. For example, while the official census results have the highest estimates pertaining to Muslims; the Armenian sources have the highest numbers for Armenians; and the Greek sources have the highest estimates for the Orthodox Christians and so on. For this

5 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 184-185.

6 Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6.

reason, even though it has its critics,[7] it may be said Cuinet's study serves as an "independent" alternative to the "community statistics" for he was neither Armenian nor Greek. He was, nevertheless, a foreigner and his work is limited to only 1893. Compared with Karpat's figures for the same year, which are based on the official data, Cuinet's estimates skew towards non-Muslims (6,752 Armenians to 5,873; 6,481 Orthodox Christians to 4,520), except the one Jewish person and one foreign citizen counted in the official census but not mentioned by Cuinet.[8]

Table 4.2 Population of the Geyve *kaza*

	1893		Early 1900s	1906-7	1909-10	1912	1914	
	Karpat	*Cuinet*	*Çokona*	*Karpat*	*Kasab.*	*Soteria.*	*Kévorkian*	*Karpat*
Muslims	22,133	21,666		31,303		18,900		32,508
Hay-Horoms							2,168	
Orthodox Greeks	4,520	6,481	over 8,000	6,394		12,883		7,108
Catholic Greeks				-				-
Cath. Armenians	-	-		-	-			-
Apo. Armenians	5,873	6,752		8,182	8,628	6,889	8,628	8,363
Armenian Protestants					96			
All Protestants	79	132		184				204
Rom. Catholics	-			-				-
Bulgarians	-			-				-
Syriacs	-			-				-

7 Sarkis Karayan, for example, argues Cuinet's work is heavily based on the Ottoman official statistics and hence far from perfect regarding especially the Armenian population size in the central and eastern provinces of Asia Minor. Sarkis Karayan, "Vital Cuinet's La Turquie d'Asie: A Critical Evaluation of Cuinet's Information about Armenians," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 11 (2000): 53.

8 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 393.

	1893		Early 1900s	1906-7	1909-10	1912	1914	
Chaldeans				-				-
Jews	1	-		-				4
Romanies	-	108		-		108		-
Foreign Citizens	1			-				
Total	32,601	35,145		46,063		38,780		48,187

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 166-167, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154-157; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 393; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 191-193; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 162-163.

4.2.1 *Local Muslims (Manavs/Turkmens)*

As previously mentioned, Geyve's administrative structure did not change much during the period 1877-1914. In fact, it appears to have remained mostly the same for a much longer period than that. When the old settlements in Geyve recorded in the 1845 income surveys [*temettuat defterleri*] are compared with the modern map of Geyve, it is revealed that almost all of the old settlements remained intact nearly two centuries later. Of the twenty-eight settlements in the Geyve *temettuat defterleri*, all but one belonged to local Muslims (*ahali-i Islam*) or Manavs in 1845. The only non-Muslim settlement was the mixed Saraçlıüstü (non-Muslim) village where Orthodox Christians made up the majority. The twenty-six villages, one *divan* (village group) and one neighbourhood recorded in these registers were: Akdoğan, Akeski, Alıplar, Arıgat, Bağcağız, Bayat, Bozviran, Ceceler, Çengel, Çukurviran, Epçeler, Güney, Hacılar, Hırka, Hisarlık, Kafirsındığı, Kozan, Kuruderesi, Matlah, Safi, Saraçlıüstü (Orthodox Christian and Muslim), Sarıgazi, Sekiharman, Taşoluk, Temürler (Demirler), Umurbey, Yaylak villages; Uzunkavak

divan; and Cemi-i Kebir neighbourhood.[9] All of these settlements are still present today, some of them with negligible name changes, except for Kafirsındığı (now Halidiye) and Matlah and Uzunkavak which do not exist anymore.[10]

Akhisar (Akhisar-ı Geyve) 1845 *temettuat defterleri* list the following villages: Ahiler, Akçaşehir, Altıntaş *ma'a* Oruçlu, Asibalı, Bacı, Bayır Akçaşehir, Cedid, Çardak, Eğriçay, Elperek, Hüseyinli, Inciler, Ingirse, Kadı, Karapınar, Katırözü, Kıncılar (Muslim and non-Muslim), Kirazca, Köprübaşı, Kurtbelen (Muslim and non-Muslim), Maden, Mekece, Melekşe, Nerse, Oruçlu, Örenli, Özbek, Palanda, Paşalar, Sondul, Şahmelek, Şükre, Şeyhvarmaz, Tesniye, Yakacık. While the majority of them lasted to this day, four has entirely different names: Kazımiye (Ingirse), Çilekli (Katırözü), Pınarlı (Sondul), Akıncılar (Şükre). And ten of them seem no longer to exist: Asibalı, Cedid, Inciler, Kıncılar, Kurtbelen, Maden, Nerse, Palanda, Tesniye and Yakacık.[11]

Taraklı (Yenice-i Taraklı) 1845 *temettuat defterleri*, meanwhile, show it was made up of four neighbourhoods and twenty-four villages, all belonging to local Muslims: Cami-i Kebir, Hacımurat, Hisar and Yusufbey neighbourhoods; Aksu, Belbaş, Belekviran, Beyler, Çay, Davutlar, Gölviran, Hacıaliler, Hacıosmanlar, Hacıyakup, Hark, Içdedeler, Katran, Kavak, Kozcağız, Kösteller, Kükürdiye, Poydalar, Sa'd Alanı, Selim, Taşradedeler (Dışdedeler), Doğancıl, Tuzla and Ulucak villages.[12] Apart from all of the four neighbourhoods that retained their names to this day,[13] the following five villages of the twenty four listed in 1845 appear not to exist today: Belbaş, Belekviran, Gölviran, Kösteller and Sa'd Alanı.[14]

9 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3666, 3668-69, 3671, 3674, 3678, 3680, 3682, 3688, 3696, 25.03.1261 [3 Apr 1845]; BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3667, 3670, 3672-73, 3675-77, 3679, 3681, 3684-87, 3689-90, 3692-95, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

10 Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*.

11 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3697-3735, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

12 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 4823, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

13 Cami-i Kebir became its Turkish equivalent Ulucami.

14 Today, Taşradedeler is known as Dışdedeler and Kavak is part of Bilecik. Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*.

Table 4.3 Local Muslim settlements in the Geyve *kaza*.

Neighbourhoods	
Geyve	Cemi-i Kebir
Taraklı	Cami-i Kebir, Hacımurat, Hisar, Yusufbey
Villages	
Geyve	Akdoğan, Akeski, Alıplar, Arıgat, Bağcağız, Bayat, Bozviran, Ceceler, Çengel, Çukurviran, Epçeler, Güney, Hacılar, Hırka, Hisarlık, Kozan, Kuruderesi, Matlah, Safi, Sarıgazi, Sekiharman, Taşoluk, Temürler (Demirler), Umurbey, Yaylak and Uzunkavak (*divan)*
Akhisar	Ahiler, Akçaşehir, Altıntaş, Asibalı, Bacı, Bayır Akçaşehir, Çardak, Eğriçay, Elperek, Hüseyinli, Kadı, Karapınar, Kirazca, Köprübaşı, Mekece, Melekşe, Oruçlu, Örenli, Özbek, Paşalar, Şahmelek, Şeyh-varmaz
Taraklı	Aksu, Beyler, Çay, Davutlar, Hacıaliler, Hacıosmanlar, Hacıyakup, Hark, Içdedeler, Katran, Kavak, Kozcağız, Kükürdiye, Poydalar, Selim, Taşradedeler (Dışdedeler), Doğancıl, Tuzla, Ulucak

4.2.2 *Local Armenians*

The old Armenian villages in the *kaza* of Geyve were Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, both in the Akhisar *nahiye*, and Ortaköy (Michaköy), founded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The establishment of Eshme and the settlements in Küçükköy (in Gökgöz), Akhisar and near the Geyve train station, on the other hand, took place during the 1840s, 1860s and 1880s.[15] However, these new communities were created by villagers from Kurtbelen, Kıncılar and Michaköy (Ortaköy) and therefore by the locals themselves and not migrants, at least not in the sense, for example, that the Caucasians were. In other words, there were not any villages in the Geyve subdistrict founded by migrant Armenians in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the new villages will be discussed in more detail in the next section on migrants and migrant settlements.

15 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 31-34, 49-53.

By 1910, Kurtbelen and Kıncılar were villages of 783 and 450 houses respectively, situated to the northwest of Geyve on the mountain-side, each with a thick forest nearby that belonged to the village. The name of Kurtbelen, which translates to Wolf Pass (Kailaplour or Wolf Hill in Armenian), apparently came from the wolves in the area that sometimes descended on the village in winter. Kurtbelen's village tradition in 1910 held that the founding families of both Kurtbelen and Kıncılar, numbered between fifteen and twenty, were from Divrig (Divriği) in Sivas. This information had been given to the people of Kurtbelen by former Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople and later Catholicos of all Armenians, Bishop Mgerdich Khrimian. Kasabian states that when a group of villagers headed by married priest Rev. Stepannos Mgerian visited Bishop Khrimian in Jerusalem during his exile, the bishop told them the records held in the Patriarchate showed that the villagers in Kurtbelen were from Divriği and some of them from Zeytun. However, in Kasabian's view, the Divrig origin story was simply a misunderstanding of married priest Rev. Hagop's work on Kıncılar's history, which referred to a village called Tvnig in Garin (Erzurum) as the origin of the group that had arrived in the region around 1577 and founded Kıncılar and Kurtbelen. Moreover, it was stated by the same work that some of Kıncılar's founders were also from Agn (Eğin). Regardless of the origin story, Kurtbelen received other families over the years from Persia (Melikian, Adjemian, Ahmadian, Djaferian, Saraydarian, Beyzadian), Van (Vanlı, Sefer, Zartar), Erzurum (Köleyan), Sivas (Yağcıyan) and Cilicia. And the last of the three oldest villages, Ortaköy, also known as Michaköy, was located on the other side of the railway to the northeast of Geyve. It was a mixed village comprising Hay-Horoms (ethnic Armenians of the Orthodox Christian faith) and a declining number of Apostolic Armenians who were living in about 200 houses in 1910. The founders of the village were from Agn and had arrived in the area in the early seventeenth century, around 1610.[16]

16 Ibid., 31-34. Some of the Protestant pastors such as Simon Tavitian and Kıncılar's senior pastor Hampartsoum Mgerdichian were also of the opinion that the founders were from Divriği.

Table 4.4 Local Armenian population in the Geyve *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	American Board, 1892	Kasabian, 1909-10		Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Kurtbelen	4,000	790 families (+ 30 Protestants)	Total: 3,923 (+ 30 Protestants)	3,923	1577	Erzurum, Cilicia
Küçükköy (in Gökgöz)		27 families			1840	Kurtbelen
Kıncılar	2,000 (100 Protestants)	2,265 (+ 66 Protestants)		2,265	1577	Agn, Erzurum
Michaköy/ Ortaköy		1,203		(2,168)[17]	1610	Agn
Eshme		965			1866	Michaköy
Akhisar		272		272	1860	Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, Michaköy
Geyve station		15 houses			1882	Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, Michaköy
Total		8,628 (+ 96 Protestants) + 15 houses		6,460		

17 Kévorkian and Paboudjian argue the community living in the Geyve-Ortaköy-Eshme region were all Hay-Horoms who were categorised by the government and the patriarchate as Greeks.17 However, Kasabian, from whose work Kévorkian and Paboudjian draw heavily, states this group was a mixed one comprising Hay-Horoms and to a lesser extent Apostolic Armenians who numbered 2,168. It appears Kévorkian and Paboudjian took this to mean that the Geyve-Ortaköy-Eshme region consisted entirely of Hay-Horoms because they give the same figure (2,168) for the Hay-Horom population in this area.

SOURCE Ibid., 53, 73, 191-192; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 555; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 140; American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 88, July 1892, 291. Köker and Hovannisian ("Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 241) give the Armenian population of Geyve as 10,000.

4.2.3 *Local Orthodox Christians*

The Orthodox Christians in the Geyve *kaza* were residing in two regions. The first one was what might be called as the Ortaköy group to the north-east of Geyve comprising the Geyve town centre and the train station area, and Ortaköy (Michaköy), Saraçlı (Saraçlıüstü or Hudi), Burhaniye, Eshme, Kulfallar villages. The second one was the north-eastern group consisting of Küp and Saçlı (Sazlı). According to multiple sources, in the nineteenth century nearly the entire Orthodox Christian community of the Geyve subdistrict was made up of Orthodox Armenians (Hay-Horoms) as opposed to Greeks, whose ancestors had migrated from Agn in the seventeenth century.[18] It has also been argued the region received Hay-Horom migrants in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly to Ortaköy.[19]

Ortaköy, Saraçlıüstü, Küp and probably Saçlı were old settlements while Burhaniye and Kulfallar were likely more recent settlements and as mentioned above Eshme was a mixed village established in 1866. It cannot be said with as much certainty as in the case of the Armenian settlements whether the new Orthodox Christian communities were created by the locals who moved elsewhere within the Geyve *kaza* or by new migrant groups that arrived from outside of the Izmit district, such as Agn. In any case, it is more likely that the new villages in the *kaza* were

18 Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 156-157; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 162-163; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 31, 51, 53, Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 555. Çokona also mentions Köprü, a mixed village with a small Orthodox Christian population.

19 Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*.

established by the locals themselves considering the fact that Geyve did not receive big groups of migrants in the nineteenth century or later.

Regarding the population of Orthodox Christians, Çokona says in the early twentieth century there were sixty houses in central Geyve; 5,000 people in Ortaköy; 1,000 in Saraçlı; 400 in Burhaniye; 750 in Eshme; eighty houses in Küp; and twenty houses in Köprü.[20] Kévorkian gives the population of Küp as 1,064, though he considers it part of the Adapazarı *kaza* and not Geyve.[21] The current *muhtar* of the Kızılkaya neighbourhood, on the other hand, states that Küp and Saçlı were former villages of Kızılkaya, which is in Geyve.[22] Furthermore, Nişanyan argues "Köp" was the former name of modern day Kamışlı neighbourhood which is located not far from Kızılkaya to the east. Either way, Küp appears to be located somewhere between Kızılkaya and Kamışlı, both of which are in Geyve. From a solely geographic point of view, the area with Kamışlı and Kızılkaya (and hence Küp) is much closer to Geyve than Akyazı or Adapazarı.[23]

Table 4.5 Local Orthodox Christian settlements in the Geyve *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Soteriades, 1912	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Geyve town centre	60 houses		2,168		Agn
Eshme	750			1866	
Geyve station	15 houses			1882	Michaköy
Ortaköy (Michaköy)	5,000			1610	
Saraçlı (Hudi)	1,000				

20 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 162-163.

21 Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 552.

22 Mehmet Aydoğan, "Mesire Alanı Yapılsın," *Adapostası*, 14 January 2020, accessed 14 October 2020, http://www.adapostasi.com/70220-mesire-alani-yapilsin-haberi.html.

23 Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*. There are villages further up north that are historically part of Geyve and that means Küp was most certainly within the administration of Geyve subdistrict too.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Soteriades, 1912	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Burhaniye	400				
Kulfallar					
Küp	80 houses			Early 17th century	Agn
Saçlı					
Köprü	20 houses				
Total:	7,150 + 175 houses	12,883			

§ 4.3 Migration and Migrant Settlements

4.3.1 *Muslims*

As stated earlier, the Geyve *kaza* did not receive a large number of migrants, evidenced by the fewer number of new villages established during the period 1877-1914, especially compared to the *kazas* of Adapazarı and Izmit. The official records demonstrate, between 1877 and 1881, forty-five Circassians and 728 Abkhazians from Sokhumi migrated to Geyve and Akhisar as a result of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78.[24] By 1892, about 330 further migrants comprising Circassians, Georgians and Rumeli Turks had arrived in Geyve's Cami-i Kebir neighbourhood and Boğa, Bahaiye, Alimbey and Ma'bet villages.[25] A year later, the number of Muslim migrants [*muhacirs*] in the Geyve *kaza* was 710 according to Cuinet, which would be below the documented arrivals of twelve years earlier.[26] It may be that some of the migrants were temporarily settled in Geyve and later left for elsewhere, bringing down the total over a decade later. Or it could be simply an underestimation on Cuinet's part. Either way, it may be said

24 BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881].

25 BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892].

26 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 393.

that the number of Muslim migrants in the Geyve *kaza* was not more than a thousand during the period 1877-1914.

Table 4.6 Muslim migrant population in the Geyve subdistrict in 1881 and 1892.

1881						
Locality	*Before the 1877-8 war*	*During and after the 1877-8 war*				*Total*
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
Geyve		298		714		1,012
Akhisar		45		14		59
Taraklı						0
Total		343		728		1,071

1892					
Locality	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Household size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity/ Origins*
Cami-i Kebir n.hood	10	48	4,8	-	local people, Rumeli
Alimbey village	-	-	-	-	Batumi Georgian
Boğaz village	49	179	3,7	-	Circassian
Bahaiye village	-	-	-	349 *dönüms* + 3 *evlek* (1/4 *dönüm*)	Rumeli
Ma'bet village	22	103	4,7	53,4	local people, Rumeli
Total	81	330	4,1	402,4 *dönüms* + 3 *evlek*	

SOURCE BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881]; BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892].

Among the new villages founded by migrants were Eskiyayla (sixty houses of migrants from Osmanpazarı, (Bulgaria) and Maksudiye (Laz

and Georgian).[27] They also had settled in Kumbaşı (Circassians, before 1877), Balaban Çiftliği (Batumi migrants), Fındıksuyu, Kayabaşı (Tekeli clan from Tırnova), Karaçam (Batumi migrants) and Hamidiye (Circassians).[28] Moreover, there were individuals from Rize (Ahmed), Kars (Ahmed *ağa*) and Edirne (Ayşe).[29]

4.3.2 *Armenians*

The foundation of Eshme and the settlements in Küçükköy (in Gökgöz), Akhisar, and the Geyve train station took place in the nineteenth century, more than two centuries after the first Armenian settlements in the Geyve region. Although these new communities were created by the local people from the old villages, they were, in a way, also migrants, albeit to a lesser extent than the Caucasia and Rumelia migrants.

The oldest among the new communities was Küçükköy in the local Muslim village of Gökgöz which was located to the south of Kurtbelen and had three parts comprising its upper and lower quarters (with eighty houses of local Muslims in 1910) and Küçükköy. Kasabian maintains Gökgöz had been an entirely Turkish village until 1840 when a member of the Todagants family from Kurtbelen bought a silkworm house and garden in Küçükköy and settled there. From that point onwards the Todagants were followed by other families from Kurtbelen such as the Temarnozents and the Yesayians, quickly (and from the government's point of view, without permission[30]) turning Küçükköy into an Armenian village

27 BOA.İ.DH. 1422/31, 01.03.1322 [16 May 1904]; Toumarkine, "Entre Empire ottoman et État-nation turc : les immigrés musulmans du Caucase et des Balkans du milieu du XIXe à nos jours", 189.

28 BOA.MVL. 560/73, 06.11.1284 [29 Feb 1868]; BOA.BEO. 441/33058, 20.01.1312 [24 July 1894]; BOA.DH.MKT. 343/32, 16.08.1312 [12 Feb 1895]; BOA.DH.MKT. 411/27, 21.02.1313 [13 Aug 1895]; BOA.ML.EEM. 496/52, R09.12.1320 [22 Feb 1905]; BOA.DH.MKT. 990/54, 21.05.1323 [24 July 1905].

29 BOA.DH.MKT. 2324/42, 25.11.1317 [27 Mar 1900]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2565/88, 24.08.1319 [6 Dec 1901]; BOA.DH.İD. 181/3, 15.05.1331 [22 Apr 1913].

30 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 217/15, 03.01.1324 [27 Feb 1906].

of twenty-seven houses by 1910. The *nahiye* of Akhisar, like Küçükköy, was an existing old settlement, to which the local Armenians mainly from Kurtbelen and Kıncılar as well as one family from Ortaköy started moving in 1860.[31]

By contrast, Eshme was a wholly new village with 180 houses in 1910. It was situated to the east of Küçükköy, on the other side of the Geyve train station and near Ortaköy (Michaköy) from which it had originated in 1864-66.[32] Kasabian states that some of the villagers from Ortaköy were not fond of the cold climate in their mother village and wanted to move closer to the plain where their sericulture activities were taking place. He says that this move, spearheaded by Khachadour Donigian's family, initially met with strong resistance from the village notables, the Armenian prelate of Izmit as well as the local government, all of whom were against the idea of founding a new village. In the end the separatist group managed to carry through their plan and establish Eshme. The author refers to Eshme as the most beautiful of villages in the Geyve subdistrict. Its natural charm coupled with its economically advantageous location, being only fifteen minutes away from the train station, was making Eshme an attractive place, which drew a growing number of Apostolic Armenian residents of Ortaköy who were allegedly on bad terms with their Hay-Horom neighbours there, leaving their mother village to the latter.[33]

In addition, there was a small community of Apostolic Armenians living alongside local Muslims and Hay-Horoms near the Geyve train station, to where they began moving in the 1880s.[34]

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31 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 49-50. The author says Küçükköy had its own village headman [*muhtar*] between 1884 and 1908 but was linked to Kurtbelen afterwards.

32 It is stated in the following document dated January 1909 that the village was established forty-five years ago, ergo around 1864-65: BOA.DH.MKT. 2712/82, 27.12.1326 [20 Jan 1909]. Similarly, Kasabian gives its foundation date as 1866.

33 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 50-51.

34 Ibid., 53.

Table 4.7 New settlements of local Armenians in the Geyve *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Foundation date	Origins
Eshme	965	1864-66	Michaköy
Akhisar	272	1860	Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, Michaköy
Küçükköy (in Gökgöz)	27 families	1840	Kurtbelen
Geyve station	15 houses	1882	Kurtbelen, Kıncılar, Michaköy

SOURCE Ibid., 49-51, 53, 73-74, 191.

4.3.3 *Orthodox Christians*

While it is argued that Orthodox Christians, namely Orthodox Armenians or Hay-Horoms, migrated to Ortaköy in the second half of the nineteenth century,[35] the only known new, though probably not migrant, community in the Geyve subdistrict formed after the Russian war of 1877-78 was the fifteen houses of Hay-Horoms living near the Geyve station in 1910 in a mixed community with Muslims and Apostolic Armenians.[36]

35 Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*. Fifty families in mid-nineteenth century and fifty-five families during the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war. The Annuaire Oriental also shows that not only did the population of Ortaköy increase from 6,500 to 9,500 between 1898 and 1914, its Orthodox Christian population rose from 1,000 to 6,000 between 1909 and 1914. The latter is surely an error since the Muslim population of the village (4,500 in 1909) is no longer mentioned after 1909 and seems to be added to the Orthodox Christian population instead, bringing its total to 6,000, a sixfold increase in five years.

36 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 53.

§ 4.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

4.4.1 *Economy*

The main agricultural products of the Geyve *kaza* in order of annual yield were: maize, wheat, millet, oats, barley, rice and other cereals; silk cocoons, fruits, fresh grapes, garlic and onions, fresh vegetables; cheese, honey, linseed, chestnuts and other nuts, potatoes; cotton, raw silk, wax, legumes, tobacco, sesame and opium. Geyve was the leading silk cocoon producer in the Izmit district with a 769,767 kg yield in 1893.[37] The Orthodox Christian and Armenian villages in particular, such as Ortaköy, Saraçlı, Kıncılar and Kurtbelen were important cocoon and silk producers and exporters.[38]

As Gingeras states regarding South Marmara, in the East Marmara, too, the development of silk manufacturing industry gave rise to first, an elite class of especially Orthodox Christian and Armenian merchants and factory owners with ties to both the Anatolian hinterland and abroad; and second, a working class of factory workers and silk spinners, the latter being mostly women and girls.[39] Consequently, during the period 1877-1914, it could be said that non-Muslims had the upper hand in the profitable economic activities in the Geyve subdistrict as well. For instance, in 1912, out of the seventy-four traders and professionals listed in the *Annuaire Oriental* under Geyve town centre, Ortaköy, Kıncılar and Saraçlı, about forty of them were Orthodox Greeks, twenty-six were

37 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 396

38 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1898-1914. Ortaköy was exporting between 150,000 and 400,000 kilograms of cocoons. It is understood that around the turn of the twentieth century, the government proposed a tax amnesty to some of Geyve's silkworm farmers for income tax and to silkworm houses for property tax (although some local tax collectors continued to demand them, for example, in Ortaköy). BOA.DH.MKT. 2523/125, 04.05.1319 [19 Aug 1901]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2175/134, 26.10.1316 [9 Mar 1899].

39 Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores*, 21.

Armenians, eight were Muslims and one or two possibly foreign citizens.[40] Apart from agriculture and sericulture, the villagers were also working at the copper mine in the Saçlıdağ area near Ortaköy, the manganese mine in Kurtbelen and some of them in Shahbazyan's brick factory in Istanbul.[41] Moreover, Zeytun Armenian residents of Kurtbelen were ironsmiths for generations.[42]

Table 4.8 Means of subsistence and main exports in the Geyve subdistrict.

Locality	*Main Agricultural & Forestry Products and Exports*	*Main/Other Economic Activity*
Geyve	cereals, silk cocoons, fresh fruits (especially grapes and its famous melons), garlic, fresh vegetables, onions, cheese etc.	Thursday market: silk, opium, cereals, cotton exported to France and England by Istanbulite negotiators
Ortaköy	cocoons, silk, tobacco, timber	sericulture
Saraçlı	cocoons, raw silk	sericulture
Akhisar	cereals, sesame, opium, tobacco	manganese mine in Kurtbelen, rights owned by Oussep (Osep) Haçadourian Efendi from Istanbul
Kıncılar	cocoons	sericulture
Taraklı	cereals, opium, silk	Sunday market: wheat, corn, fruit, vegetables, opium, cocoon, raw silk, wooden & bone spoons sent to Istanbul

40 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1912.

41 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 398; BOA.HRT.h. 900, 10.05.1311 [19 Nov 1893]; BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 82/35, 23.11.1317 [25 Mar 1900]. The government prohibited seasonal Armenian workers from working at Shahbazyan's brick factory after learning that they were engaged in tobacco smuggling. BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 141/16, 04.01.1321 [2 Apr 1903].

42 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 32.

SOURCE Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 392-400; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1898-1914; BOA.A.}DVN.MKL. 27/25, 02.07.1303 [6 Apr 1886].

In 1912, there were twenty-one working (and five closed) silk spinning factories in the non-Muslim villages of the Geyve subdistrict as well as fifty-three silkworm houses owned by Armenians in Gökgöz of which twenty-seven were permanently lived in and twenty-six were reserved only for sericulture.[43]

Table 4.9 Silk spinning factory workers in the Geyve *kaza*, 1910-1912.

Site	*Factory owners*	*Armenian workers*		*Hay-Horom workers*		*Ages of ♀ workers*	*Working hours*	*Girls aged 13-16*	*Wages of girls aged 13-16 in kuruş*	*Wages of older workers in kuruş*
		♀	♂	♀	♂					
Ortaköy/ Michaköy	Hacı B. Değirmenciyan	88	4			14-40	12	26	1.5	2.5-4
	Hacı T. Garabedian	85	5			14-45	12	21	1.5	2.5-4.5
	Çavuşoğlu			47	2	13-45	12	3	1.5	2.5-3
	Anastas Y. Ekmekçioğlu[44]			97	4	13-45	12	30	1.5	2.5-4
	Anastas Y. Ekmekçioğlu			70	3	13-45	12	10	1.5	3-4
	Apostol Misioğlu			35	2	13-40	12	15	1.5	3-4
	Stavridis			75	5	15-45	12	10	2.5	2.5-3.5
	Teophilos Yaşoğlu			75	5	15-45	12	10	2.5	2.5-3.5

43 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 50, 140-143. There were an additional six silkworm houses near Kurtbelen owned by Kurtbelen villagers.

44 Ekmekçioğlu Anastas Efendi was a member of the Geyve administrative assembly [*meclis-i idare*] who was officially recognised for his contributions to issues pertaining to the government and for employing workers in his silk factories without discrimination. BOA.DH.MKT. 1031/47, 14.10.1323 [12 Dec 1905].

Site	*Factory owners*	*Armenian workers*		*Hay-Horom workers*		*Ages of ♀ workers*	*Working hours*	*Girls aged 13-16*	*Wages of girls aged 13-16 in kuruş*	*Wages of older workers in kuruş*
	An. Yoaniais/ Joannides			135	6	13-45	12	40	1.5	2.5-4
Saraçlı	Çilingiroğlu			48	2	14-40	12	10	1.5	2.5-3.5
	Hacı Kosti			70	3	13-40	12	20		2.5-3.5
	Vassilaki Kahyaoğlu			74	3	15-40	12	15		2.5-3.5
	Manol			15	1	13-40				2.5-3.5
	Lazari Paskalides			70	3	10-40	12	14		2.5-3.5
	Ali Rıza[45]			70	3	15-40	12	5		2.5-3.5
Kurtbelen	A. Garabedian	188	7			13-45	11	56	1.5	2.5-4.25
	A. Garabedian	108	3			13-45	11	35	1.5	2.5-3.5
Kıncılar	Hacı K. Değirmenciyan	135	5			13-45	12	40	1.5	2.5-4.5
	Hacı Oksen Şamlıyan	80	3			13-45	12	25	1.5	2.5-4.5
Eshme	Avadis Garabedian	56	4			14-30	10.5	10	2	3-4.5
Burhaniye	Rasim Efendi			70	1	13-40		20	1.5	2.5-4

SOURCE Kasabian, 140-141; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909-14; BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 128/3, 13.04.1320 [20 July 1902].

Being the heart of the silk industry in the region made Geyve the centre of the workers' struggle after the July 1908 revolution. In the early days of

45 Ali Rıza Efendi was in legal trouble in the early 1890s due to his silk factory's profits tax. BOA.DH.MKT. 1989/47, 25.01.1310 [19 Aug 1892]. Yet, he was the tax (*aşar* [tithe]) collector of Saraçlıüstü. BOA.BEO. 179/13367, 14.09.1310 [1 Apr 1893]. His name does not appear in the Annuaire Oriental as a silk spinning factory owner between 1909-14.

freedom following the restoration of the constitution, women workers, too, raised their voices. First the Armenian women and then a more heterogenous group of women workers mobilised in Geyve under the influence of political activists and organisations such as the ARF. The demands and rules put forward by the Kurtbelen women workers in 1909 could be summed up as:[46]

1 Gradual reduction of working hours, first to 10.5 hours a day between October and March with two breaks equalling one hour and a half; then to 9.5 hours a day after March with two one-hour breaks.
2 Payment of the same daily wage both in winter and summer.
3 Determining the daily wage that would remain fixed the whole year in the first fifteen days following the harvest.
4 Weekly payments in accordance with the following rates: "five-strand" workers two kuruş; spinning wheel workers three-five kuruş.
5 The presence of an agreed representative to monitor the fineness of silk yarn and the house/factory owner's responsibility to notify the workers if the silk is poor quality in the following order: first, a warning; then, a public declaration and one day prohibition to work; next, a daily forty-para fine and one-week prohibition to work; and lastly, rejection of the product and barring the workers from working. And acceptance on the part of the workers in case of a justified warning.
6 Prohibition of talking directly and loudly, but not singing.
7 Paying attention to maintaining a good standard of work: not to handle silk with wet hands, tying the silk thread firmly and the twists correctly.
8 Mutual respect between the house/factory owner and his workers, the workers' union, and the workers' representatives.
9 Availability of fresh water at all times, especially in summer.
10 Respecting the agreement proposed by the workers. Accepting responsibility in case of a disagreement caused by a breach of the agreement, and accepting the ARF as the mediator between the opposing sides.

46 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 144-146.

Kasabian argues that in the end, to protect their own interests and positions of power, the local landowning *ağas* in the large Armenian villages were able to undermine the work of the workers' movement by pitting the two Armenian political parties, the Dashnaks and the Hnchags, against each other.[47]

4.4.1.1 Local in Business

ANASTAS EKMEKÇIOĞLU AND A. JOANNIDES

Ortaköy is the only village that appears long enough in the *Annuaire Oriental* to give an idea about long-lasting figures in business. From the village's first inclusion in the French directory in 1898 to 1914, Anastas Ekmekçioğlu and A. Joannides appear in each issue as silk spinning factory owners, the latter also as the representative of the *Annuaire Oriental* administration in both 1902 and 1903.[48]

4.4.2 *Education*

As stated in the 1899, 1901 and 1903 yearbooks of education [*maarif salnameleri*], in the Geyve subdistrict there were three registered *ibtidai* [elementary] schools, two in Akhisar[49] and one in the Çarşı neighbourhood; two *rüşdiye* [adolescence] schools, one each in Geyve and Taraklı; seven *medreses* (Muslim religious schools), five in Taraklı, one in Geyve and one in an unnamed location; three Armenian Apostolic schools; two Greek Orthodox *rüşdiye* schools in Ortaköy and Saraçlı; and one Protestant *rüşdiye* school in Kilise Street.[50] Among the Armenian schools, the

47 Kasabian, 146-147.

48 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1898-1914.

49 One of these schools was in the Muslim section of the Saraçlı village. Silk spinning factory owner Ekmekçizade Ali Rıza Efendi was honoured by the government for his contribution in its construction, and also for his many other contributions to public works. BOA.MF.MKT. 489/43, 29.10.1317 [2 Mar 1900].

50 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 716-720; 1901 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 952; 1899 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 1453. It is

Sahakyan is stated to be both an *ibtidai* and a *rüşdiye*, whereas the level of education at Aramyan and Kaiyanyan, and Arşarunyan schools is not mentioned. Kasabian, by contrast, lists six Armenian Apostolic schools in Eshme (Aramian), Ortaköy/Michaköy, Akhisar (Nersesian Santghtian), Gökgöz, Kıncılar (Arshagounian) and Kurtbelen (both an *ibtidai* and a *rüşdiye*) as well as three kindergartens in Akhisar, Kıncılar and Ortaköy/Michaköy.[51]

The Armenian community's support for education was also strong in Geyve. Among the educational organisations formed or re-established after the July 1908 revolution were: Pro-Education Associations of Akhisar and Kurtbelen, founded in 1908 and 1910; Akhisar branches of Women's Benevolent Association and Young Ladies' Pro-School Union, founded in 1909; School Students' Association of Kıncılar, founded in 1908; Michaköy's Ladies Pro-Education Association, School Students' and Girls' School Students' Unions, founded in 1908, 1909 and 1910 respectively.[52]

4.4.3 *Social Interactions*

The lack of migration to Geyve during the period 1877-1914 is instantly recognisable by the lack of land-related disputes involving migrants. Instead, complaints against bureaucrats and conflict between Armenians and Greeks seem to be much more common occurrences. One of the few land disputes involving Circassian migrants had taken place several years before the Russian war of 1877-78. As previously stated, 298 Circassians had settled in the Geyve subdistrict by 1877. Twelve families among them were settled by the government at a *çiftlik* [estate] in Kumbaşı belonging to Agop Pekmezyan and Gülbeng Gülbengian without their knowledge.[53] Naturally, the two Armenian owners of the *çiftlik* land, then, had

stated that in 1882 the two *rüşdiyes* in Geyve and Akhisar were turned into *ibtidais* due to lack of pupils. BOA.MF.MKT. 75/106, 12.05.1299 [1 Apr 1882].

51 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 205, 211-212.

52 Ibid., 214-217.

53 BOA.MVL. 560/73, 06.11.1284 [29 Feb 1868].

requested from the government that the worth of the land occupied by the Circassian migrants be paid to them, to which the sultan had responded favourably, ordering with an *irade* (imperial decree) a sum to be paid as compensation and the land to be purchased for the migrants.[54] However, as evidenced by the subsequent documents referring to the Armenian landowners as victims in this case (one of them being a petition lodged by Agop Pekmezyan himself), it seems that the efforts of the government to correct its own negligence, which had caused this dispute in the first place, in finding available land for the settlement of the Circassian migrants did not succeed.[55]

Apart from the above example, causes of conflict and competition in the Geyve subdistrict seem to be centred more around unpopular bureaucrats and competition over profitable activities such as sericulture and tobacco smuggling, especially between the Armenian and the Orthodox Christian communities. *Kaymakam* [subgovernor] Behçet Bey, a former Babıali Translation Office scribe, is one of these unpopular figures that appears frequently in the Presidency Ottoman Archive during his tenure from 1889 to 1895. In spite of a series of never-ending accusations and oversights, Behçet Bey managed to retain office for approximately five years. A year and a half after his appointment to Geyve, firstly, he was accused of beating and dismissing Geyve telegram administrator Şükrü Efendi.[56] Then, he put himself in a difficult situation by sending a sum of money that he owned to Maiyyet-i Seniyye Tüfengi Bölüğü Çavuşu [Imperial Palace Guard Regiment Sergeant] Ibrahim Rüstem Ağa's wife Vasfiye Sıdıka Hanım to Hacı Haydar Bey's wife instead.[57] Later, he was blamed by Özbek *muhtar-ı sani* [second village headman] Ibrahim for

54 BOA.ŞD. 1280/29, 26.11.1289 [25 Jan 1873]; BOA.İ.ŞD. 25/1165, 29.11.1289 [28 Jan 1873].

55 BOA.ŞD. 2879/22, 17.11.1291 [26 Dec 1874]; BOA.ŞD. 2880/7, 17.11.1291 [26 Dec 1874].

56 BOA.DH.MKT. 1739/14, 16.11.1307 [4 July 1890]. The official sent to investigate the accusation, district administrator of secretariat [*tahrirat müdürü*] Faik Bey was also accused of misconduct. BOA.DH.MKT. 1774/35, 09.03.1308 [23 Oct 1890].

57 BOA.DH.MKT. 1780/51, 28.03.1308 [11 Nov 1890].

pressuring village headmen into paying for reconstruction expenses of the government building and wrongly imprisoning him, and by Hacı Panayot for unlawfully sending him to prison as well.[58] Afterwards, *kaymakam* Behçet Bey was accused of corruption in the way in which he dealt with a local-migrant dispute.[59] In the meantime, he appointed Hacı Said Efendi, a convicted man, as Taraklı *nahiye* mayor despite the public's disapproval.[60] Another complaint against him was made by Karatelli Clan member Hüseyin from Karaçam village.[61] It was also revealed that he owed five liras to tailor Francesko.[62]

Furthermore, Behçet Bey was warned by the government for unlawfully interfering in an ongoing court case regarding profits tax of silk factory owner Ali Rıza Efendi by summoning Yanako/Niyako Kahyaoğlu and demanding payment.[63] A year later, he was accused by the same Ali Rıza Efendi, who was also the tax collector of Saraçlıüstü at that time, of corruption and damaging the Treasury and the people of Geyve.[64] Perhaps the most serious of the accusations that eventually played a key role in his resignation was the one involving a girl named Fatma. The case was brought to the attention of the government by Hasanoğlu Reşid from Muttalib village who alleged that Behçet Bey arbitrarily imprisoned Süleymanoğlu Mehmed's daughter Fatma for three days and then had her beaten and threatened.[65] It was later revealed that Fatma's father wanted to wed her to a man against her will, which was probably why the

58 BOA.DH.MKT. 1870/107, 18.02.1309 [23 Sep 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1912/3, 16.06.1309 [17 Jan 1892].

59 BOA.DH.MKT. 1921/29, 11.07.1309 [10 Feb 1892].

60 BOA.DH.MKT. 1956/100, 07.11.1309 [3 June 1892].

61 BOA.BEO. 16/1146, 12.11.1309 [8 June 1892].

62 BOA.DH.MKT. 1989/1, 24.01.1310 [18 Aug 1892].

63 BOA.DH.MKT. 1989/47, 25.01.1310 [19 Aug 1892].

64 BOA.DH.MKT. 11/33, 23.09.1310 [10 Apr 1893].

65 BOA.BEO. 156/11667, 30.07.1310 [17 Feb 1893].

kaymakam Behçet Bey had treated her as such, with the intention of convincing her to wed the man chosen by her father.[66]

It would seem that arbitrary imprisonment was a method used often by Behçet Bey against those that opposed him. For instance, amid the ongoing accusations, he was blamed by a villager named Abdullah for wrongly imprisoning his father and brother over a dispute concerning a piece of land they had given to Behçet Bey upon his word that he would pay them but did not.[67] In another instance, he was accused by Ekmekçizade Ali Rıza Efendi[68] of unlawfully imprisoning him for three days, taking advantage of the fact that the accusations against him (Behçet Bey) were left uninvestigated.[69] In the end, the incident that left Fatma with serious injuries is what seems to be the last straw that led the case of Behçet Bey to be brought before the Izmit Administrative Assembly, with the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Justice being informed. Although he was acquitted from this case, his resignation was accepted by the government as it was deemed inappropriate for him to continue his work in Geyve.[70]

Local notable Ata Efendi was another example of an unpopular yet protected bureaucrat. As Geyve mayor, he was honoured in 1889 by the government around the same time as he was being accused multiple

66 BOA.BEO. 206/15390, 07.11.1310 [23 May 1893].

67 BOA.BEO. 160/11983, 08.08.1310 [25 Feb 1893].

68 Ekmekçizade Ali Rıza Efendi was a well-known merchant from Saraçlı and an official at the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. BOA.MF.MKT. 489/43, 29.10.1317 [2 Mar 1900]; BOA.ŞD. 1041/23, 23.09.1323 [21 Nov 1905]. He was killed by a group of Orthodox Christian individuals from Saraçlı in 1902. BOA.DH.MKT. 514/30, 19.02.1320 [28 May 1902].

69 BOA.BEO. 189/14132, 10.10.1310 [27 Apr 1893]. At the time, he was taken to court for by Anastaş Efendi his unlawful actions and also accused by doctor Nikolaki and Ekmekçizade Ali Rıza Efendis. BOA.DH.MKT. 17/6, 05.10.1310 [22 Apr 1893]; BOA.DH.MKT. 25/13, 14.10.1310 [1 May 1893].

70 BOA.DH.MKT. 139/27, 27.04.1312 [28 Oct 1894].

times for election fraud by the region's village headmen [*muhtars*].[71] The same thing happened five years later when he was rewarded for his services in cleaning and street sweeping at the same time as he was reported to the local government for misconduct.[72] Even after being dismissed due to his wrongdoings, Ata Efendi was reinstated as mayor by the Izmit governor in 1895.[73] But when the accusations and complaints continued, he was dismissed permanently. His removal, however, stopped neither the flow of complaints (including land usurpation) nor the government's honours that seemed to come together for Ata Efendi who had become Hacı Ata Paşa by 1901.[74] Surely the most staggering of revelations about him was reported in 1903 according to which Ata Paşa was responsible for the murder of silk factory owner Ekmekçizade Ali Rıza Efendi, who as previously reported had been killed by four Orthodox Christian villagers from his native village of Saraçlı, and was trying to disrupt the proceeding of the court case.[75] This shocking fact was withheld in previous reports on the murder and is only mentioned in one document, either invoking the possibility of a mistake or highlighting the indifference of the government to the crimes of powerful bureaucrats, given that even after this report Ata Paşa was awarded an Ottoman insignia [Osmaniye Nişanı] of third degree for his services to the government.[76]

Villagers had their fair share of problems in addition to the tyranny of bureaucrats. Although the Geyve *kaza* was the sericulture centre of the district, many a villager was engaged in subsistence farming. Even the

71 BOA.DH.MKT. 1651/103, 30.12.1306 [27 Aug 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1676/120, 01.04.1307 [25 Nov 1889].

72 BOA.DH.MKT. 271/71, 12.02.1312 [15 Aug 1894]; BOA.DH.MKT. 273/10, 17.02.1312 [20 Aug 1894].

73 BOA.DH.MKT. 377/12, 25.11.1312 [20 May 1895]. The governor of the Izmit district at the time was Musa Kazım Bey, but it is also possible Ata Efendi was reinstated earlier by the previous governor Selim Sırrı Paşa who was replaced in the winter of 1895.

74 BOA.Y.PRK.AZJ. 42/42, 15.02.1319 [3 June 1901]; BOA.İ.TAL. 263/74, 29.07.1319 [11 Nov 1901].

75 BOA.DH.MKT. 736/15, 17.04.1321 [13 July 1903].

76 BOA.DH.MKT. 1090/33. 21.04.1324 [14 June 1906].

largest and most populated mixed Christian village Ortaköy's residents were struggling to make ends meet, leading to tension between its Orthodox Christian and Armenian communities.[77] For the wealthier class of merchants, on the other hand, the competition was over the means of production. Many permits were acquired at the tail end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries to build dozens of new silkworm houses [*böcekhaneler*] and several silk factories [*harir fabrikaları*].[78] It was during this time, in 1899, that Azarik Garabedian had lodged a complaint, alleging that his silk factory was being usurped to someone else by the Geyve Court of First Instance despite the Ministry of Justice's knowledge.[79] It is understood that this new owner was probably Atanas Yorgiadi, who made a complaint a year later, stating that Garabedian was interfering with his silk factory.[80] It may be that this competition between the two communities was one of the reasons the Armenians were leaving Ortaköy in favour of Eshme in the early 1900s as Kasabian maintains. However, the villagers were not faring much better in Eshme either, considering their complaints over the tyranny of their village headman and silk factory owner Avadis Ağa Garabedian pertaining to tax collection.[81]

Another cause of competition was tobacco smuggling. It was a deadlier kind of competition, since smuggling was an illegal activity that pitted villagers against the Régie Company and the government, and sometimes against each other. One such clash was reported in early 1909 between Armenians and Orthodox Christians of Ortaköy. The report states that after an Orthodox Christian was killed by an Armenian over tobacco contraband, a group of Orthodox Christians raided an Armenian coffeehouse,

77 BOA.DH.MKT. 2476/115, 05.01.1319 [24 Apr 1901].

78 BOA.DH.MKT. 2107/104, 02.05.1316 [18 Sep 1898]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2106/32, 27.04.1316 [14 Sep 1898].

79 BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 24/65, 09.12.1316 [20 Apr 1899].

80 BOA.DH.MKT. 2357/60, 11.02.1318 [10 June 1900].

81 BOA.DH.MKT. 486/12, 14.01.1320 [23 Apr 1902].

accidentally shooting and killing a young man of their own. The shooter was suspected to be Estepan from Kurtbelen who had fled to Istanbul after the incident and was still at large in June 1909 after the investigation was completed.[82]

Although tension was high, relations between the communities were not defined by antagonisms only. As stated by Dr Greene of the American Protestant mission, when the Protestant community in Kıncılar needed a bigger place for their annual conference in 1892, they were given a newly erected large silkworm house by the village's richest man who was an Apostolic Armenian.[83] Moreover, the aforementioned silkworm house/factory (women) workers' movement and the post-revolutionary unionisation efforts were important instances of cooperation between the working class people of different ethno-religious communities, political parties and activists.

§ 4.5 An Ethnic-Religious Conflict

4.5.1 *Muslim-Armenian conflict in Akhisar (1895)*

The most and perhaps only grievous incident on a large scale between the Muslim and Christian communities in the Geyve subdistrict took place in the fall of 1895, not unexpectedly during the height of the Armenian crisis of 1894-96. While foreign and local Armenian eyewitnesses describe it as a massacre of dozens of Armenians by Circassians, the official take on the incident maintains it was the other way around.

As reported by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (including an alleged eyewitness account paraphrased by ambassador to Istanbul, Paul Cambon),[84] the incident happened on a Thursday, 3 October 1895, the day

82 BOA.DH.MKT. 2785/1, 13.03.1327 [4 Apr 1909]; BOA.ZB. 436/129, R21.03.1325 [3 June 1909].

83 American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 88, July 1892, 291.

84 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères (MEAE), *Archives diplomatiques : recueil de diplomatie et d'histoire - affaires*

of the market around nine o'clock in the morning. It is stated that upon seeing the Armenian villagers in the market with their firearms, the Akhisar administrator [*müdür*] persuaded them to hand over their weapons to avoid any potential quarrel with the Muslims. Then, under the pretext of a discussion between a Circassian and an Armenian stallholder over the price of a merchandise, as the report continues, the Circassians attacked the Armenians, killing about fifty people, very seriously injuring thirty-three people and ravaging the village, causing fifty more Armenian villagers to disappear. The report claims that the bodies were thrown into two wells as well as the Sakarya River and that the French Catholic Assumptionists came to the scene and removed thirty-five bodies from the wells. The report also claims more Armenian villagers were killed in several other villages around Geyve. In Türkmen,[85] for example, fifteen young Armenian wood workers were allegedly murdered in the forest where they went to cut trees by their Turkish co-workers.

On the officials' reaction to the incident, the report states the subgovernor [*kaymakam*], who happened to be Ismail Hakkı Bey at the time, having been informed of the situation, made efforts without success to stop the massacre, whereas the governor, who was Musa Kazım Bey, having investigated the scene, declared that it was not important. It was only after the requests made by the Armenian bishop Hovagimian and the Catholic Assumptionists that the governor permitted them to go back to Akhisar to heal the wounded and collect the dead. The report concludes

arméniennes (Paris, 1897, deuxième série, tome LXII, avril, mai, juin), 162; *Documents diplomatiques : affaires arméniennes – projets de réformes dans l'empire ottoman* (Paris : imprimerie nationale, 1893-1897), 211.

85 In spite of its name, Türkmen was an Armenian village of 2,630 inhabitants located in the Gölpazarı region of the *kaza* of Bilecik, which was part of the Ertuğrul *sancak* within the Hüdavendigar province to the south of Akhisar. Therefore, it was not in the Izmit district. Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 150.

that even though arrests were made subsequently, some Circassians escaped from prison, rendering null the efforts to repress them.[86]

The Presidency Ottoman Archive reveals an interesting detail about the government's response to the incident. A document dated 4 November 1895 (one month after the incident) shows that a decision was taken by the Sublime Porte to exchange Geyve *kaymakam* Ismail Hakkı Bey with Ali Nihat Bey, *kaymakam* of Mecidiye *kaza* of the Ankara province.[87] But the two subgovernors were exchanged once again less than a year later in July 1896.[88]

It must be said that the French version of the event sounds too much like a Catholic saviour story. But there is one problem: none of the works cited for population statistics in this thesis mention the existence of Catholic individuals in the Geyve subdistrict. Neither Roman Catholics (Latins) nor Catholic Armenians nor Catholic Greeks. However, this does not mean they did not exist. It is perfectly plausible Assumptionists, perhaps newly converted individuals, were living in Akhisar at the time.

The government's version of the incident was something else entirely. Rüstem Paşa's (ambassador to London at that time) letter to the British consulate states that it was two Armenian revolutionaries who started shooting with their revolvers at a crowd of 1,500 people at the Akhisar market.[89] During the following moments of panic, the letter continues, several people (without reference to ethnicity or religion) were killed and injured, and a doctor was sent immediately to the scene to care for the injured. While Rüstem Paşa's letter does not mention exactly who died, the internal communications were saying it was several Muslims, and not Armenians.[90] Similarly, for the government, the events

86 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères (MEAE), *Archives diplomatiques*, 1897, 162; *Documents diplomatiques*, 1893-1897, 211.

87 BOA.BEO. 700/52447, 16.05.1313 [4 Nov 1895].

88 BOA.İ.DH. 1336/46, 19.02.1314 [30 July 1896].

89 BOA.HR.SFR.3. 437/69, 26 Oct 1895.

90 BOA.İ.HUS. 42/90, 19.04.1313 [9 Oct 1895].

supposedly taking place in the vicinity of Akhisar, such as the murders in the Gölpazarı area of the Ertuğrul district mentioned in the French report on the Akhisar incident or rumours of arson attacks carried out by Armenians in Taraklı, were not true but lies of the Armenians themselves.[91] Regardless of the truth, the government took a drastic measure to prevent future conflicts: it moved the administrative and battalion centres of the Geyve subdistrict to its *nahiye* Akhisar due to "bad weather conditions."[92] Henceforth, the subdistrict was referred to as "Akhisar *nam-ı diğer* [also known as] Geyve" for three years until 1899 when it was decided that the *kaza* centre should be in Geyve once again.[93]

In spite of the official discourse, subsequent archival documents on the Akhisar incident raise some questions. For example, if it were the Armenians who attacked and killed Muslims, why did the Izmit governor Musa Kazım Bey request a few days later two *redif* [reserve] battalions over the possibility of an Armenian armed assault?[94] Why would the assailants or others from the Armenian community strike again? More to the point, a telegram by Armenian prelate Bishop Hovagimian to the Grand Vezirate reveals Musa Kazım Bey's anti-Armenian stance unless of course the bishop was lying.[95] In his message, the bishop blames the governor for actively plotting against the Armenian community by using offensive language, scaremongering and by admonishing the Orthodox Christian priests to stay away from the Armenian people. Moreover, he alleges that the deputy *kaymakam* of Geyve was provoking the Orthodox Christians against the Armenians after the incident.

Bahçecik native and ARF member Kasabian goes one step further in claiming that *mutasarrıf* Musa Kazım Bey was behind several attempts at

91 BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 655/8, 29.04.1313 [19 Oct 1895]; Y.PRK.ASK. 107/51, 01.05.1313 [20 Oct 1895].

92 BOA.İ.DH. 1329/54, 28.06.1313 [16 Dec 1895].

93 BOA.DH.MKT. 2195/90, 21.12.1316 [2 May 1899].

94 BOA.DH.MKT. 2070/60, 20.04.1313 [10 Oct 1895].

95 BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 655/17, 15.06.1313 [3 Dec 1895].

massacring the Armenians in the Izmit district. His account of the Akhisar incident,[96] based on information from witnesses as he claims, gives more context and details but it must not be forgotten that it was written approximately fifteen years after the fact. For him, the tension in Akhisar and the motive for the attack was rooted in the economic advantage the Armenians had over the Muslims who were envious of their Armenian neighbours, especially the Muslim migrants. He states elsewhere[97] that Akhisar was entirely "Turkish" until 1860 when a blacksmith from Kurtbelen, Yeghishe Chalekian, settled there for work and quickly made a fortune, largely thanks to the railway construction, purchasing property and Balabanoğlu's lands. It was after him that the Armenians from neighbouring villages arrived, becoming a community in Akhisar and, as Kasabian argues, taking over the market.

According to his version of the event, the first sign of something sinister was felt by the Armenian villagers on 27 September 1895 at the weekly market where the "Turks" were behaving differently.[98] Because the Armenians were suspicious of an attack for a few days, they had sent a wealthy man among them named Yağcıyan to Izmit to speak with *mutasarrıf* Musa Kazım Bey, who had reassured him that there was no reason to be worried about. On his return to Geyve, Yağcıyan had also been told by Geyve *kaymakam* Ismail Hakkı Bey that there was no danger. The *kaymakam* had even offered to send ten policemen for protection but Yağcıyan had refused. And the incident occurred the day after his return, having been assured that nothing was going to happen.

On that day, news of recent murders of local Armenians, a miller from Kurtbelen and two musicians, started circulating at the market. Then,

96 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 107-109.

97 Kasabian, 49-50.

98 He says this happened on a Wednesday and nine days after the Hnchag party-led Babıali demonstrations in Istanbul. This cannot be true because the demonstrations took place on 30 September 1895. Hazal Özdemir, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinin Göçünün Fotoğrafını Çekmek: Terk-i Tabiiyet ve Pasaport Politikaları," *Toplumsal Tarih* 304, Nisan (2019): 83.

Kasabian argues, the police and the Régie Company inspectors began confiscating firearms and any kind of weapon the Armenians were carrying, with the intention of rendering them defenceless against what was to come. What came was a group of "ruffians" from nearby villages made up mostly of Rumeli migrants including a few *delis* [mad(men)],[99] who began getting drunk on cognac that they had brought with them and harassing the Armenians, which quickly escalated into a full-scale massacre that lasted for five hours, killing twenty-seven people at the market including Yağcıyan, eight people in the surrounding villages and wounding others including Hacı Ghazar Donigian.[100]

There were efforts to stop the incident. Murad Ağa from Kurtbelen, an Armenian who had converted to Islam to escape a prison sentence, saved the lives of many by taking them under his wing. Ardashes Feslian, head of Akhisar's telegraph office, had sent messages to Istanbul, Izmit and Geyve at the beginning of the incident. Although the Geyve *kaymakam* Ismail Hakkı Bey responded quickly, he was apparently stalled on his way by the perpetrators and was unable to arrive on time to stop the killings (which he would have done if he had arrived earlier according to Kasabian).[101]

Like the French description of the incident, Kasabian is critical of governor Musa Kazım Bey's negligence, saying he did nothing upon his arrival at the scene. In fact, he claims the governor initially even rejected the idea to withdraw the bodies from the wells for they "had been covered with excrement and lime." But on Bishop Hovagimian's request, he acceded and the bodies were brought out to be buried in a mass grave near the church.

While the French account puts the blame on the Akhisar administrator [*müdür*] for the most part and to a lesser extent governor Musa Kazım Bey for negligence, Kasabian gives a full list of the perpetrators: Akhisar

99 Kasabian (108) contends that the plan was to use mental illness as an excuse to avoid punishment.

100 Nine victims were from Kurtbelen, six from Akhisar, six from Kıncılar and two from Arslanbey.

101 Kasabian, 109.

müdür Çerkes [Circassian] Hüseyin, Deli Hafız from Kozan and his friend Deli Mehmed from Urazlı, Kolağası Rasim, Kasım from Karabac, Fetvacı, Mercanoğlu Süleyman, Balabanoğlu Esad Bey, Muhacir Halid and all of the *ağas* and *muhtars* of the villages in Akhisar. He argues that only Deli Hafız and Deli Mehmed were jailed, albeit "for a year or two", *müdür* Çerkes Hüseyin was promoted to the rank of *kaymakam* (though not of Akhisar) and *kaymakam* Ismail Hakkı Bey was removed from office (but returned less than a year later).[102]

As for Musa Kazım Bey, even though he was to be dismissed in 1902 as a result of an investigation conducted due to his incompetence in administration and illegitimate practices, he was removed from office only after the July 1908 revolution.[103] And in 1912, he was arrested for high treason along with several other members of the CUP.[104]

102 Ibid.

103 BOA.DH.MKT.680/17, 06.01.1321 [4 Apr 1903]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2665/56, 27.10.1326 [22 Nov 1908].

104 Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (Paris, 24 November 1912).

5

The *Kazas* of Karamürsel and Yalova

Karamürsel and Yalova subdistricts constituted the western part of the Izmit district. The *kaza* of Karamürsel, which contained Yalova as its *nahiye* until 1900,[1] was situated to the southwest of the port of Izmit, across the Izmit Bay. Both Karamürsel, and Yalova further towards the west, were bordering on the Sea of Marmara all along their northern coastline. They were surrounded by the Hüdavendigar (Bursa) province to the south and by the Izmit central and Geyve subdistricts to the east.

Yalova Dağhamamı area was famous for its Byzantine-era thermal springs. In its 1909 issue,[2] the *Annuaire Oriental* wrote on Dağhamamı:

> In 1892, the Istanbul Imperial Society of Medicine was given by the Ministry of the Civil List the responsibility of studying the thermal waters of Yalova, belonging to the Crown, that spring from the cracks of a bedrock situated on the side of Dağ-Hamam at 180m of altitude and at 12km southwest of Yalova.
>
> …
>
> The water temperature exceeds 66o centigrade, according to the analysis, these waters contain iodine sulphide, iodine and nitrogen. – Very effective against rheumatisms, diabetes, inherited or

1 BOA.İ.DH. 1374/6, 13.01.1318 [3 May 1900].

2 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1909, 1684.

acquired constitution defects and chronic catarrhs, nerve, liver and stomach diseases.

The Istanbul Imperial Society of Medicine is of the opinion that these baths should be classified among the acratothermic and sulphurous baths because of their physicochemical composition which places them in the 1st rank of sources similar to those of Aix-les-Bains, Eghien, Gastien etc.

These ancient baths built under the reign of Justinian were newly discovered and rebuilt with all the comfort required as they existed 1,500 years ago.

This establishment has all the elements necessary for the success of the cures: hotel, casino, chalets for the well-off sick, modest but hygienic houses for the poor, reading room, shaded road, etc.

Daily service of steamboats between [Constantinople] and Yalova with a coinciding car service between this port and Dağ-Hamam, regularly organized to allow this trip to Constantinople in 4 hours.

§ 5.1 Administrative Structure and Government

5.1.1 *Administrative Structure*

Karamürsel and Yalova were the only large settlements in the two subdistricts that they constituted. In other words, there were not any administrative unit larger than a village in the Karamürsel and Yalova *kazas* excluding their eponymous town centres until Iznik's addition as a *nahiye* to Karamürsel in 1909.[3] As stated before, Yalova was the one and only *nahiye* of Karamürsel until 1900 when it was turned into a *kaza*, and remained as one until the end of the period 1877-1914.

The state yearbooks show that the villages in the Karamürsel subdistrict numbered sixty in 1889 (thirty-three in Karamürsel and twenty-seven in Yalova). After the next update in 1896, it was listed as a "class 3" *kaza*, with ten more villages added to Yalova, bringing the total to seventy.

3 1877-1912 state yearbooks; BOA.ŞD. 1607/22, 04.10.1327 [19 Oct 1909].

From 1901 onwards, Karamürsel and Yalova appear as separate "class 3" subdistricts, but with the same number of villages (thirty-three and twenty-seven, respectively) they had in 1896, indicating that the yearbook had not been updated since then. One more new village was established in Yalova in 1902 before a reorganisation took place the following year. It is understood that a number of villages in Yalova were moved within the administrative authority of Karamürsel after 1903, increasing its total to forty-one villages while decreasing Yalova's to thirty-three. From 1904 to 1909, officially, there were forty-one villages in Karamürsel and thirty-four in Yalova.

More changes came after the July 1908 revolution. Yalova was elevated to "class 2" subdistrict status and Iznik, formerly part of the Yenişehir *kaza* of the Bursa province, was added as a *nahiye* to the Karamürsel *kaza* with its fifty-four villages, bringing up the total to ninety-seven villages. The final figures for the two subdistricts in 1912 were: thirty-five villages and twelve estates [*çiftliks*] in Yalova and ninety-seven villages in Karamürsel.

5.1.2 *Government*

The *kaza* of Karamürsel (and later Yalova) had a Christian assistant subgovernor [*kaymakam muavini*] in addition to the subgovernor [*kaymakam*] because its population was consisting of more Christians than Muslims towards the end of the nineteenth century.[4] However, it is interesting that the assistant subgovernor was not only selected among the Orthodox Christians who constituted the largest non-Muslim community in the subdistrict but also from among the Armenians, who numbered about one third of the former at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the only time Karamürsel had a non-Muslim *kaymakam* was in 1910-

4 The government decided that it was appropriate for Yalova to have a non-Muslim *müdür* [administrator] when it was a *nahiye* of Karamürsel in 1897 because its Christian population was more than its Muslim population. BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 6/106, 02.09.1314 [4 Feb 1897].

12 when Muslims once again were the majority and not before, when Christians made up more of its population.

According to the Presidency Ottoman Archive and the state yearbooks, the assistant subgovernor was started to be appointed in 1897-98 and maintained office until 1906-7 when the position was moved to Yalova for there was no longer need for it in Karamürsel.[5] It was no longer needed because after Yalova's promotion to the rank of *kaza*, Muslims once again made up the majority of the population in Karamürsel. The position was removed likely sometime after the constitutional revolution of July 1908 as it does not appear in the remaining three state yearbooks after the revolution.

Table 5.1 Administration of the Karamürsel *kaza*, 1877-1914.

Year	*Kaymakam* [Subgovernor]	Assistant subgovernor	Judge [*Naib*]
1877-81	Hüseyin Bey	-	
1882-85	Ahmed Bey	-	
1886	Hakkı Bey	-	
1887	Nafiz Bey	-	
1888-90	Muharrem Efendi	-	Recep Efendi
1891-92	Selahaddin Bey	-	Arif Efendi
1893-95		-	Mehmed Şevki Efendi
1896	Muhiddin Bey	-	Şevket Efendi
1897	Ahmed Hayri Bey	-	Servet Efendi
1898		Nişan Efendi	
1899		Manol Mikail Efendi	Şevket Efendi
1900-1		Manuel Efendi	Hasan Fevzi Efendi
1902		Yakof Efendi	
1903		Kirkor Papasyan Efendi	
1904		Agop Efendi	Ali Haydar Efendi

5 BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 59/4, 05.05.1323 [8 July 1905]; 1877-1912 state yearbooks.

Year	*Kaymakam* [Subgovernor]	Assistant subgovernor	Judge [*Naib*]
1905	Rüşdü Bey	Misak Efendi	(Mehmed) Haşim Efendi
1906			
1907		-	
1908	Hüseyin (Hacı) Hüsnü Bey	-	
1909	Fevzi Bey	-	
1910	Hazaros Efendi	-	
1910-12	Yanni Efendi	-	Ibrahim Hakkı Efendi
1912-13	Rüşdü Bey		
1913-14	Kemal Bey		

SOURCE 1877-1912 state yearbooks; BOA.İ.ŞD. 57/3270, 28.03.1299 [17 Feb 1882]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1344/43, 17.07.1301 [13 May 1884]; BOA.İ.DH. 963/76173, 24.12.1302 [4 Oct 1885]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1371/81, 13.01.1304 [12 Oct 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1483/23, 23.05.1305 [6 Feb 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1761/94, 02.02.1308 [17 Sep 1890]; BOA.İ.DH. 1332/30, 27.09.1313 [12 Mar 1896]; BOA.BEO. 869/65114, 13.06.1314 [19 Nov 1896]; BOA.BEO. 2751/206313, 03.12.1323 [29 Jan 1906]; BOA.BEO. 3179/238412, 01.10.1325 [7 Nov 1907]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2638/7, 26.09.1326 [22 Oct 1908]; BOA.BEO. 3652/273860, 09.10.1327 [24 Oct 1909]; BOA.BEO. 3775/283063, 26.06.1328 [5 July 1910]; BOA.BEO. 4014/301009, 22.03.1330 [11 Mar 1912]; BOA.İ.DH. 1499/31, 05.07.1331 [10 June 1913]; BOA.İ.DH. 1512/31, 22.02.1333 [9 Jan 1915].

Table 5.2 Administration of the Yalova *kaza*, 1900-1914.

	Kaymakam	Assistant subgovernor	Judge [*Naib*]	Dağhamamı thermal springs director	Régie official
July 1900-2	Mehmed Şükrü Bey		Mehmed Tevfik Efendi	Alexandre Branzeau	V. Pezzer
1903-5			Osman Efendi		
1906			Kemaleddin Efendi		
1907		Misak Efendi			

	Kaymakam	Assistant subgovernor	Judge [*Naib*]	Dağhamamı thermal springs director	Régie official
1908			Mehmed Tevfik Efendi		
Sep-Dec 1908	Ali Osman Efendi	-			
1909	Necib Bey	-		-	Galib Bey
1910-11	Hüseyin Hüsnü Bey	-	Mehmed Kamil Efendi		
1912-13		-	Hasan Şinasi Efendi		
1913-14	Said Bey				Galib Bey
1914-15	Rüşdü Bey				

SOURCE 1901-12 state yearbooks; BOA.DH.MKT. 2380/115, 01.04.1318 [29 July 1900]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1290/15, 10.08.1326 [7 Sep 1908]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2686/9, 22.11.1326 [16 Dec 1908]; BOA.İ.DH. 1478/10, 18.10.1327 [2 Nov 1909]; BOA.BEO. 4182/313620, 07.07.1331 [12 June 1913]; BOA.İ.DH. 1505/70, 21.03.1332 [17 Feb 1914]; BOA.İ.DH. 1512/30, 22.02.1333 [9 Jan 1915].

§ 5.2 Population Statistics and Ethno-Religious Composition

5.2.1 *The Kaza of Karamürsel*

The Karamürsel subdistrict had a population of 23,547 in 1914, which was actually smaller than its population in 1893.[6] The reason for this oddity was Yalova's elevation to the status of subdistrict in 1900 that caused Karamürsel to lose nearly half of its population. Before the Yalova split, Karamürsel was the only *kaza* in the Izmit district to have more non-Muslims (Christians) than Muslims. In 1893, for instance, Christians numbered over 14,500 while Muslims were under 11,000. That is why the government had taken the decision in 1897-98 to appoint a Christian assistant subgovernor [*kaymakam muavini*] to Karamürsel.

6 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 184-185

The other administrative change in this period was the addition of the Iznik *nahiye* from the Hüdavendigar (Bursa) province to the Karamürsel *kaza* in 1909.[7] Although Iznik was elevated to a *kaza* of the Izmit district in June 1914,[8] it is mentioned in this section under Karamürsel since it did not have a long enough history as part of the Izmit district to warrant a chapter of its own. Cuinet states that the Iznik *nahiye* had a population of 25,570 in 1893 when it was part of the Hüdavendigar province, comprising 17,995 Muslims, 5,405 Orthodox Christians and 2,170 Apostolic Armenians. Karpat's estimates on Iznik for more than twenty years later in 1914 were: 13,785 Muslims, 1,632 Orthodox Christians and 126 Apostolic Armenians, about 10,000 fewer than its total population from over two decades ago.

Table 5.3 Population of the Karamürsel *kaza*.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912		1914	
	Karpat	*Cuinet*	*Karpat**	*Kasabian*	*Soteri.*	*A.poúlou*	*Kévor.*	*Karpat+*
Muslims	10,732	10,000	20,623		5,000			14,850 (13,785)
Hay-Horoms								
Orthodox Greeks	11,023	10,151	22,982		19,732	6,370		6,047 (1,632)
Catholic Greeks								-
Cath. Armenians	-	-		-				-
Apos. Armenians	3,549	3,875	5,144	2,651 + 40 houses	2,875		5,503	2,635 (126)
Prote. Armenians	-	-	-	-				-
All Protestants	-	-	-	-				-
Rom. Catholics	-		7					7
Bulgarians	-		1					8
Syriacs	-		-					-

7 BOA.ŞD. 1607/22, 04.10.1327 [19 Oct 1909].

8 BOA.İ.DH. 1508/63, 07.07.1332 [1 June 1914].

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912	1914	
Chaldeans			-				-
Jews	-	-	-				-
Romanies	-	-	-				-
Foreign Citizens	18		-				
Total	25,322	24,026	40,908		27,607		23,547 (15,543)

*includes Yalova even though Yalova was a separate kaza by then.

+the population of Iznik is given in parentheses because it was turned into a separate kaza in June 1914.

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 166-167, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154-156; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 369; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 48, 191-193.

5.2.2 *The Kaza of Yalova*

Yalova was the only administrative unit bigger than a village in the Izmit district with a Christian-majority population during the period 1877-1914. Orthodox Christians made up the majority of its population with over 10,000 people by 1914, followed by Muslims with nearly 8,000 people and Armenians with close to 3,500 people.

Table 5.4 Population of the Yalova *kaza*, 1901-1914.

	1909-10		1912	1914	
	Kasabian	*Soteriades*	*Anagnostopoúlou*	*Kévorkian*	*Karpat*
Muslims		5,000			7,954
Hay-Horoms		14,894	8,933 + 277 families		10,274
Orthodox Greeks					
Catholic Greeks					-
Cath. Armenians	-	1,000		3,324	-
Aposto. Armenians	3,024				3,304

	1909-10	1912	1914
Protest. Armenian	48		
All Protestants			-
Roman Catholics			-
Bulgarians			-
Syriacs			-
Chaldeans			-
Jews			-
Romanies			-
Foreign Citizens			
Total		20,894	21,532

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154-156; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 191-193.

5.2.3 *Local Muslims (Manavs/Turkmens)*

The 1845 income surveys [*temettüat defterleri*] on Karamürsel show the following were Muslim settlements: Cami-i Atik, Debbağhane, Hacı Mehmed Ağa, Ismail Ağa, Kayacık, Ömer Ağa neighbourhoods in the town centre which is described to be almost entirely Muslim in 1910;[9] Akçat, Dere, Ereğli-i Zir, Ereğli-i Bala, Halıdere, Hersek, Inebeyli, Karaahmetli, Kürtköy (today Çamdibi), Merdegöz (today Avcılar), Ulaşlı, Pazar villages and several *çiftliks*.[10] All of these settlements were in existence in the period 1877-1914.

5.2.4 *Local Armenians*

The Armenians of the west wing of the Izmit district were living in two clusters of villagers: Merdegöz (or Merdigöz) and Yalakdere (or Cedid) in

9 Kasabian, 34.

10 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3994-4013, 4015-16, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

Karamürsel; Shakshak (Şakşak), Kılıçköy, Çukurköy and Kartsi (or Laledere) in Yalova. Iznik's Nor Kiugh [New Village] was another Armenian settlement incorporated into this region (to Karamürsel) in 1909. This small village was situated in the north-eastern edge of Lake Iznik [Nicaea] to the southeast of Karamürsel and Yalova.[11]

Although Merdegöz has been referred to as an exclusively Armenian village on the eve of the First World War,[12] Kasabian mentions there being seven houses of Turks in 1909-10 in addition to 246 houses of Armenians. He also underlines the fact that Merdegöz was an entirely Turkish village before the Armenians moved in, which is supported by the 1845 *temettuat defteri* that shows the village had a wholly Muslim population residing in twenty-four houses. While the Armenian villagers' date of arrival is not known, Kasabian says they were subjected to a "migrant tax" in 1909-10, suggesting the migration of Armenians was probably a late nineteenth century occurrence.[13] Armenian residents of nearby Yalakdere had a similarly ambiguous past that Kasabian was unable to decipher. Other than the church that had been built in 1723 or 1734 and their dialect resembling the one spoken in Merdegöz, the questions on the origin or date of arrival of its 200 houses of inhabitants were left unanswered.

Table 5.5 Local Armenian population in the Karamürsel *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Köker & Hovannisian	Foundation date	Origins
Karamürsel	1 family (used to be 10 houses in 1883)	1,378	500		

11 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 34-39, 48-49.

12 Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 140; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 242.

13 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 35. The migrant families were from "Merdin", Harput and Cilicia who had first settled at a nearby area to the west of Merdegöz.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Köker & Hovannisian	Foundation date	Origins
Merdegöz	1,378	3,000	3,000	likely after 1845	"Merdin", Harput, Cilicia
Yalakdere/Cedid	1,125	1,125	1,000	possibly 1600	
Iznik's New Village or Yeniköy [Nicaea's Nor Kiugh]	148	40 houses		1817	
Total	>2,651	5,503 + 40 houses	>4,500		

SOURCE Ibid., 35, 57, 74, 191-192; Kévorkian, 555; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, 150; Köker and Hovannisian, 242.

Further to the west of Merdegöz and Yalakdere, in the *kaza* of Yalova, were the cluster of villages consisting from north to south of Kılıç, Shakshak, Çukur and Kartsi/Laledere. Kılıçköy, a village of 126 houses in 1910, was believed to be founded by migrants from Van sometime between 1600 and 1610. According to the tradition at that time the village was named by the Janissaries after the villagers had successfully defended their village against the former during a confrontation. The oldest among them, Shakshak, was a village of 110 houses in 1909-10 founded around 1560 by two different groups of migrants from Harput: one from a village of the same name (Shakshak) and the other from Abuçeh (Apçağa). The ancestors of the sixty houses of people living in Çukurköy in the early 1910s were also believed to be from Van, who had settled there in approximately 1610, below an old Turkish village of the same name. It is stated that the residents of Çukur were speaking and singing in Kurdish, for which they were called "Lolos". The village in the furthest south in the Yalova cluster was Kartsi/Laledere, comprising 227 houses in 1909-10. The reason for its two names was that the two groups of migrants that

established the village at the beginning of the seventeenth century were reputedly calling it by the names of their villages of origin near Agn, called Ghars and Lale. It is argued that the dialect spoken by the villagers was very similar to that of Ovacık and Michaköy, whose ancestors were from Agn.[14]

Table 5.6 Local Armenian population in the Yalova *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Shakshak	538	1,640 (including Kuruçeşme)	1560	Harput, Agn
Kılıç	802		1600-6	Van
Çukur	420	420	1610	Van
Kartsi/Laledere	1,264 (+ 11 Protestants[15] and 37 Adventists)	1,264	1600	Agn (Eğin); Tokat and Palu later
Total	3.024 (+ 11 Protestants and 37 Adventists)	3,324		

SOURCE Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 36-38, 74, 191-192; Kévorkian, 555.

5.2.5 *Local Orthodox Christians*

The origins of the Orthodox Christians in Karamürsel and Yalova are more elusive than elsewhere in the Izmit district. In any case, most of the settlements in these regions were likely to have been several hundred years old by the 1870s. It is generally agreed that the town centres of both Karamürsel and Yalova did not have large Orthodox Christian communities other than some merchants. Instead, the Orthodox Christian population was concentrated in several clusters of villages both near the coastline and the inland areas. Karamürsel's coastal villages were Tepeköy

14 Ibid., 36-38.

15 There were twenty-five registered Protestants in 1884. American Board, *The Missionary Herald* 81, May 1885, 195.

(Herakleion) and Gonca (Konçes) to the east of the town centre, while its villages in southern inlands were Kızderbent and Fulacık (Filaciki). The coastal villages were inhabited by Greek-speaking villagers who numbered about 2,070 people in 1912. Fulacık consisted of 1,800-2,500 Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians while Kızderbent had over 2,500 residents some of whose ancestors, according to tradition, were from Ohrid who had migrated to the region in 1467 during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, and spoke either Albanian or Bulgarian.[16]

Table 5.7 Local Orthodox Christian population in the Karamürsel *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Anagnostopoúlou, 1912	Foundation date	Origins (language)
Tepeköy (Herakleion)	209 houses	1,120		(Greek)
Gonca (Konçes)	200 houses	950		(Greek)
Fulacık (Filaciki)	2,500	1,800		(Turkish)
Kızderbent	2,800	2,500	1467	Ohrid (Albanian or Bulgarian)
Total	5,300 + 409 houses	6,370		

SOURCE Nakracas, 155; Çokona, 160-161.

The Yalova subdistrict had four coastal and four interior villages. Located from east to west along the Marmara coastline were Kuri (Koru), Çınar (Çınarcık), Aya Kiriaki (Engürü/Engere; today Şenköy), and Katırlı that comprised 2,080 inhabitants, ninety-two families, 1,350 inhabitants, and 2,663 inhabitants in 1912, respectively. The inland villages were Elmalık

16 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 161-162. Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 34) says Kızderbent villagers spoke a dialect of Bulgarian, while Nakracas (*Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 156) states they spoke Albanian.

with a population of 1,630 that was believed to have been established in the fifteenth century; Kadıköy with 185 families; Ayios Haralambos (Hacımehmet Çiftliği) with 657 residents; and Safran with 563 inhabitants in 1912. According to oral tradition, Ayios Haralambos was founded in the 1790s by Margaritopoulos and Kochiyorgos families from Epirus who bought the estate belonging to the widow of Hacı Mehmet Bey.[17]

Table 5.8 Local Orthodox Christian population in the Yalova *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Anagnostopoúlou, 1912	Foundation date	Origins
Kuri (Kuri-Dağhamamı; today Koru)	294 houses	2,080		
Çınar (Çınarcık)	92 houses	92 families		
Aya Kiriaki (Engürü/Engere; today Şenköy)	230 houses	1,350		
Katırlı (Esenköy)	523 houses	2,663		
Elmalık	350 houses	1,630	15th century	
Kadıköy	185 houses	185 families		
Ayios Haralambos (Hacımehmet Çiftliği)	130 houses	657	1790s	Margaritopoulos and Kochiyorgos families from Epirus
Safran	92 houses	563		
Total	1,896 houses	8,933 + 277 families		

SOURCE Nakracas, 155-156; Çokona, 161-162.

17 Nakracas, 155-156; Çokona, 161-162.

§ 5.3 Migration and Migrant Settlements

5.3.1 *Muslims*

As reported by several documents from the Presidency Ottoman Archive dated 1881, 1892 and 1895, there were several thousands of Muslim migrants in the Karamürsel *kaza* (including its then-*nahiye* Yalova) by the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the Russian war of 1877-78 and the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. Yalova had received 450 Circassians and 1,200 Batum migrants before 1881, while Karamürsel received seventy-two Circassians and twenty-seven Rumeli Turks. More than a decade later, 1,560 Circassians were residing in six villages (Hamidiye, Feyziye, Soğucak, Kirazlı, Tevfikiye, Tavşanlı); 312 Rumeli migrants in three villages (Ilyas, Kaytazdere, Denizçalı); 139 Batum Georgians in Başkiraz; thirty Batum Laz in Suludere; and lastly 1,293 Bosniaks in central neighbourhoods of Karamürsel (Kayacık, Hacı Ömer Ağa, Cami-i Atik, Ismail Ağa, Debbağhane) and in six newly established villages (Hayriye, Oluklu, Karapınar, Ihsaniye, Dere, Inebeyli).

Table 5.9 Muslim migrant population in the Karamürsel subdistrict (which included Yalova as a *nahiye* at that time), 1881-1895.

1881						
	Before the 1877-8 war	*During and after the 1877-8 war*				
Locality	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	*Total*
Karamürsel		72			27	99
Yalova		450	1,200			1,650
Total		522	1,200		27	1,749

1892					
Village	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Household size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity/ Origins*
Hamidiye	59	333	5,6	2,024,2	Circassian

Ilyas	13	81	6,2	306	Rumeli
Kaytazdere	34	132	3,9	293,2	Rumeli
Feyziye	97	439	4,5	2,759,1	Circassian
Suludere	10	30	3	725,3	Batum Laz
Soğucak	86	388	4,5	2,160	Circassian
Kirazlı	28	130	4,6	1,245	Circassian
Denizçalı	21	99	4,7	318,25	Rumeli[18]
Başkiraz	31	139	4,5	1,046	Batum Georgian
Sultaniye (Oluklu)	30	147	4,9	945,3	Bosniak
Tavşanlı	11	45	4,1	721,05	local people, Circassian
Tevfikiye	47	225	4,8	1,788,35	Circassian
Total	467	2,188	4,7	14,331,75	
by ethnicity					
Circassian	328 (70.2%)	1,560 (71.2%)	4,8	10,697,7 (74.6%)	
Rumeli	68 (14.6%)	312 (14.3%)	4,9	917,45 (6.4%)	
Bosniak	30 (6,4%)	147 (6.7%)	4,9	945,3 (6.6%)	
Batum Georgian	31 (6.6%)	139 (6.4%)	4,5	1,046 (7.3%)	
Batum Laz	10 (2.1%)	30 (1.4%)	3	725,3 (5.1%)	

1895

Neighbourhoods	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Ethnicity*
Kayacık	6	18	Bosniak (settled, given land and tools between 1879 and 1893)
Hacı Ömer Ağa	4	25	
Cami-i Atik	42	165	
Ismail Ağa	12	50	

18 It actually reads “Rum muhacirleri karyesi …” [Orthodox Christian migrants’ village …], but what was meant is probably Rumeli because the document is on Muslim migrants and nowhere else does it mention Orthodox Christian migrants.

Debbağhane	3	7	
New villages			
Hayriye	83	329	Bosniak
Oluklu[19]	39	218	
Karapınar	49	277	
Ihsaniye	27	118	
Dere	13	54	
Inebeyli	8	32	
Total	286	1,293	

SOURCE BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881]; BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892]; BOA.Y.PRK.UM. 32/65, 03.01.1313 [26 June 1895].

Some of the other migrant villages established in the 1890s and at the beginning of the twentieth century included Aktoprak (Circassian), Karadere (Circassian), Örencik (Circassian), Kadiriye (Varna), Havuzdere (Batum), Mecidiye (Aydos), Semetler (Bosniak), Çamçukur (Laz) in Karamürsel; and Sultaniye (Caucasian) and Burhaniye (Rize, Gorgor migrants) in Yalova.[20]

5.3.2 *Armenians*

It can be said that neither Karamürsel nor Yalova received any migrant groups from the outside (that the literature knows of) during this period,

19 They were from Koryanik *nahiye* of Trebin *kaza* in Hersek. They lodged a petition in 1885 requesting to be exempted from tithe and other taxes because they were unable to cultivate the land given to them for a couple of years due to the land being "all but coppice and forest". BOA.Y.PRK.UM. 8/51, 14.03.1303 [21 Dec 1885].

20 BOA.DH.MKT. 1782/71, 05.04.1308 [18 Nov 1890]; BOA.DH.MKT. 52/29, 14.11.1310 [30 May 1893]; BOA.ML.EEM. 270/15, R16.09.1313 [28 Nov 1897]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2466/30, 05.12.1318 [26 Mar 1901]; BOA.İ.DH. 1407/3, 04.12.1320 [4 Mar 1903]; BOA.İ.DH. 1402/43, 09.07.1320 [12 Oct 1902]; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 521/38, 02.01.1321 [31 Mar 1903]; Bi, 1337; Toumarkine, "*Entre Empire ottoman et État-nation turc*", 243; Toumarkine, "*Les Lazes en Turquie (XIXe-XXe siècle)*", 190.

or at least not any large enough to be recognised. Nonetheless, there was one group (probably Hemshin Armenians) from Artvin, Borçka's Hertvisi (Camili) village that had arrived in Yalova in the summer of 1890.[21] Furthermore, Kasabian argues some of the local Armenians from Yalova had moved closer to the Marmara coast by 1909-10 to establish tiny communities made up of several houses. These were Kapanca, a port of Yalova most of whose land were owned by the Shakshak community and Kuruçeşme, a hamlet created by Kartsi residents who moved there due to earthquakes in their mother village.[22] The Kapanca port was a centre for sand trade the villagers of Shakshak profited from;[23] but it was also an attractive hub for bandits and smugglers. For instance, in January 1914, Nadak and Garabet had robbed visitors and workers in Kapanca's coffeehouse, while boatman Dimitri had been jailed in January 1907 for smuggling Armenian women to Istanbul.[24] Additionally, the Jerusalem-owned estate to the east of Yalova within the borders of Yortan village was another Armenian(-owned) land that was the subject of disputes between the Ottoman government and the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Jerusalem to whom the estate belonged.[25]

21 BOA.DH.ŞFR. 144/66, R20.05.1306 [01 Aug 1890].

22 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 39, 54.

23 The sand quarry workers in Shakshak were paid directly by boat owners. BOA.DH.MKT. 2677/43, 16.02.1327 [9 Mar 1909].

24 BOA.DH.EUM.EMN. 112/38, 15.02.1332 [13 Jan 1914]; BOA.ZB. 434/53, R04.11.1322 [17 Jan 1907].

25 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 54-55, 115. The representatives of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem rented part of the farmland to Albanian migrants in the Hamidian era to protect it from encroachments by Yortan villagers. Armenian villagers of Michaköy and Chengiler were also trying to acquire parts of it in 1910. The Ottoman government referred to this land as the Mariakob Armenian Monastery estate or Kudüs-i Şerif Armenian Monastery. BOA.DH.MKT. 1126/86, 13.09.1324 [31 Oct 1906]; BOA.DH.H. 62/10, 13.02.1332 [11 Jan 1914].

§ 5.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

5.4.1 *Economy*

Principal agricultural products in Karamürsel and Yalova were more or less the same as those in the rest of the Izmit district, but less diverse: cereals, fresh fruits (primarily grapes), garlic and onions, fresh vegetables and legumes, honey, nuts, potatoes, eggs, poultry, vegetable oil, cocoons, cotton, wax and some raw silk. One of the distinctive products of the region was its white whey cheese called *misitra/mizithra*, which was a popular spring-time delicacy in Istanbul.[26]

Apart from subsistence farming, the villagers, especially the Armenians, were engaged in profitable activities such as sericulture, viticulture, olive tree cultivation, fruit and cereal production, and tobacco farming understood to be limited to Yalakdere. Some Armenian women were finding work as domestic servants, especially in Istanbul. The case mentioned above regarding boatman Dimitri's arrest for smuggling women to Istanbul was for this reason. The Orthodox Christian villagers were involved in sericulture and market gardening in Tepeköy (Herakleion); sericulture, viticulture, animal husbandry, charcoal production in Fulacık; animal husbandry and sericulture in Kızderbent. Over in Yalova, the main occupation of the Orthodox Christians of Elmalık was sericulture as well as market gardening of especially watermelons and cherries that they sold to Istanbul. Kadıköy villagers were florists, beekeepers and animal farmers. In Katırlı, the men of the village were working as sailors in the Black Sea for nine months of the year. Snow and ice transport from Uludağ (in Bursa) to Istanbul was also a profitable work in summer.[27]

The biggest enterprises in this region were the factory in Karamürsel and the eponymous thermal springs of Yalova's Dağ Hamamları area. The

26 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 370; Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1914.

27 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 127, 133; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 160-162.

Karamürsel fez, *çuha* [broadcloth] and *shayak* [coarse woollen cloth] factory was founded in 1890 by Bosnian merchants Çengiç Mustafa Bey and Volçitrinli Yusuf Efendi and began operating in 1893.[28] Linen clothes for the factory were made by families on primitive looms built by the villagers themselves, who also manufactured flax and linen thread. The main production centres of these fabrics to be bought by the factory and to be exported to the Arabian Peninsula were the *nahiyes* of Şeyhler and Kaymas in the Kandıra *kaza* as well as the environs of Adapazarı. Exports from Adapazarı by way of Izmit and Istanbul were estimated to be 400,000 pieces per year, with a total value of 920,000 francs or ten piastres for each piece of cloth.[29]

The Yalova Dağ Hamamları was a hot spot for patients and guests that the government reconstructed and actively promoted during the Hamidian era. The old Byzantine-era baths had been repaired and a new hammam had been built by the turn of the twentieth century.[30] A reporter for newspaper the Levant Herald was invited to the establishment with an all-expenses paid trip to write an article on the benefits of the thermal baths in 1906.[31]

28 Z. Iskefiyeli, "Karamürsel Mensucat Fabrikası (1890-1921)" [Karamürsel Textiles Factory (1890-1921)], in *International Symposium on Karamürsel Alp and History of Kocaeli,* 2016, edited by Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik and Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Culture and Social Affairs No: 35, 2016), 1117-1154. Kasabian (*The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 139) states the factory had about one hundred workers in 1910. He also mentions a separate *yazma* (painted cloth) factory in Karamürsel founded in 1911, employing 40-50 Turkish workers.

29 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 346-347.

30 BOA.ML.EEM. 397/8, R14.11.1317 [27 Jan 1902]. An album made up of the new hammam's opening day ceremony photographs had been presented to the sultan. BOA.HH.İ. 131/39, 21.07.1318 [14 Nov 1900].

31 BOA.ML.EEM. 562/95, R17.06.1322 [30 Aug 1906].

5.4.2 *Education*

The yearbooks of education [*maarif salnameleri*] issued from 1899-1903 demonstrate the existence of six state *ibtidai* [elementary] schools in the kazas of Karamürsel and Yalova. One of them was in Karamürsel's Ereğli village while five of them were in Yalova's Kocadere, Akköy, Gökçedere, Paşa villages and in another unnamed village. In addition to the elementary schools, there was one state *rüşdiye* [adolescence] school; two Orthodox Christian *rüşdiye* schools, with one of them being in Katırlı; and two Armenian Apostolic schools (Surp Sahakyan and Movsisyan) in Karamürsel.[32]

There were certainly more schools in the two subdistricts than listed in the yearbooks of education, especially on the eve of the First World War. As stated by sources exclusively on non-Muslim communities, it is possible to say, generally, there was one school for each non-Muslim "mother" village, except for Iznik's Nor Kiugh. The Armenian villages, in particular, are known by name. Karamürsel's Merdegöz had the Sahagian (the Surp Sahakyan in the yearbook of education) school; Yalakdere had the Nersesian school. Yalova's Kılıçköy had the Sarkisian school; Shakshak had the Mikayelian (or Aramian-Armenouhian) school; Çukur had the Vahanian school; and Kartsi/Laledere had the Mesrobian-Shoushanian school.[33]

5.4.3 *Social Interactions*

Competition and conflict pertaining to land was widespread in the *kazas* of Karamürsel and especially Yalova to such an extent that it would not be wrong to say the latter was the subdistrict with the highest rate of land disputes per square metre. The most noticeable difference in this region compared with the other subdistricts is the origins of migrants seen in

32 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 716-20; 1901 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 952; 1899 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 1456.

33 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 160-162; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 242; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 205-206.

the archival documents. Bosnia and Bulgaria appear a lot as places of origin despite there also being a significant number of Caucasian migrants, in fact even more than the Balkan migrants. These subdistricts were at the same time populated by the largest number of Orthodox Christians in the Izmit district and yet the Orthodox Christians do not seem to figure as much in disagreements reported by the government as the Armenians who numbered considerably fewer.

Estate lands were especially valuable and contested areas that caused much trouble to the government. Competition over ownership rights of these estates resulted in long-lasting disputes involving diverse parties such as in the cases of Kocadere and Baltacı estates, discussed in the next section, as well as Saraycık and Topçu estates.[34] These cases often put villagers, migrant or local, against a powerful figure such as a pasha or the state. It was through years of struggle, cooperation with community leaders, regional and sometimes international actors, and negotiation that the weaker side managed to obtain a piece of the disputed land or was given another elsewhere. Muslim migrants in particular had to fight even to keep the lands given to them by the government against influential landowners and local competition from fellow migrants and the natives alike. In some cases, the migrants virtually had no other choice but to appropriate land to be able to go beyond subsistence farming. For example, when migrants from Zağra-i Atik [Stara Zagora] in Bulgaria settled on land belonging to Altunizade Foundation of Ismail Paşa in the fall of 1888, they were told to move elsewhere by the government even though it was the government in the first place that had showed them where to settle. And Zeliha Hanım's insistent complaints afterwards to overturn the decision were in vain.[35] Similarly, Bosniak migrants in their newly established

34 BOA.DH.MUİ. 56/23, 14.04.1328 [25 Apr 1910]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1287/70, 03.08.1326 [31 Aug 1908].

35 BOA.DH.MKT. 1540/105, 03.01.1306 [9 Sep 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1545/62, 15.01.1306 [21 Sep 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1575/35, 13.04.1306 [17 Dec 1888].

village of Hayriye were victims of encroachment by the local people on the land to which they had the title deed.[36]

Settlement of a group of nomadic Yörük people in the Ayvalıca pasture in the early 1890s proved more difficult than migrants because the Yörüks were unwilling to settle down, but also because the area where they were ordered to settle was located on the Karamürsel-Gemlik border. However, the border issue was to be revealed later. It was first reported that an Armenian gang had raided a Yörük village in Karamürsel, but later reports revealed this to be untrue.[37] The reality was that the Yörüks had been shown by the government the Ayvalıca area to settle which belonged to the Armenians living in the nearby villages of Keremet and Çakırlı. The Yörüks actually had been encouraged by the Karamürsel Kaymakamlığı while simultaneously being pushed away by the Gemlik Kaymakamlığı because of Ayvalıca being a disputed area and neither subdistrict wanting to have the Yörüks within their borders.[38] The raid story was apparently the work of the Izmit Mutasarrıflığı (headed by Selim Sırrı Paşa at the time). Afterwards, when Batum migrants residing on both sides of the Karamürsel-Gemlik border wanted to establish a new village on the Ayvalıca pastureland, the border dispute between the two administrations had come to light and a report was ordered to be prepared for the Migrant Commission and the Ministry of Property Records in order to determine to where Ayvalıca belonged.[39]

It could be said that the effects of the 1890s were felt strongly by the Armenian communities of Karamürsel and Yalova. Even though the discomfort of Yalova's Armenians had once been reported to the

36 Boşnak Dizdar and his friends lodged two petitions in two weeks to stop the encroachment. BOA.DH.MKT. 1627/138, 12.10.1306 [11 June 1889]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1630/58, 22.10.1306 [21 June 1889].

37 BOA.Y.PRK.ML. 12/52, 28.11.1308 [5 July 1891]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1855/4, 26.12.1308 [2 Aug 1891].

38 BOA.DH.MKT. 2018/10, 15.04.1310 [6 Nov 1892].

39 BOA.DH.MKT. 2057/95, 15.08.1310 [4 Mar 1893].

government in 1879,[40] the Muslim-Armenian relations in the region seemingly took a turn for the worse towards the end of the 1890s.[41] The local Armenians began appearing at the receiving end of seemingly land-related disputes at an increasing rate. For instance, Armenian residents of Karamürsel's Merdegöz and Cedid (Yalakdere) were reportedly victims of encroachment and violence by the migrants who had settled on or near lands belonging to their villages. As stated by Kasabian, the first time an argument broke out was in 1886, when thirty Bosniak families settled on land belonging to the aforementioned villages, Merdegöz and Yalakdere. But neither the villagers' nor Istanbul Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian's protests to the government had proven successful. Moreover, the legal fees of three years had cost the villagers sixty thousand *kuruş*.[42]

The second dispute happened in 1888-89. This time Merdegöz villagers requested the government to relocate the Bosniak migrants to Koca Yokuş Düzü for the damage that they had caused where they settled.[43] As Kasabian states, instead of settling at Büyük Yokuş (probably the Koca Yokuş Düzü mentioned in the archival document) like they were supposed to, this second group of fifteen Bosniak families settled at a place between Katırcıoğlu and Topçudere which was legally owned by the Armenian villagers. The villagers once again took the case to court and proved that they were right.[44] However, it seems that the village (Ihsaniye) had been established anyway near the first one (Hayriye).

During this period of high tension, murders and clashes in this particular area became more frequent. In the summer of 1894, an Armenian

40 They had complained to the Armenian Patriarch about mistreatment by the gendarmerie. BOA.Y.PRK.AZN. 1/17, 11.10.1296 [28 Sep 1879].

41 It was even reported that the Muslim community of Karamürsel requested permission to be armed upon "feeling" that the Armenians were being armed to attack Muslim villages. BOA.DH.ŞFR. 181/26, R22.07.1311 [29 Jan 1894].

42 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 118. The author says this is how the Bosniak village Hayriye was established.

43 BOA.DH.MKT. 1524/100, 15.11.1305 [24 July 1888].

44 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 118.

man from Merdegöz (originally from Keremet) was murdered.[45] Moreover, a violent clash took place in the summer of 1901 between the neighbouring villagers, with the Bosnians allegedly killing a villager named Agop in the forest he went to cut wood, and stealing his silkworms and brushwood.[46] To make matters worse, in 1902, three Armenian villagers from Ortaköy, on their way to sell felt in Karamürsel, were murdered by Ali from Çakırlı village and six of his friends.[47]

The Armenian villagers in Yalova were not faring much better during this period. Kasabian argues that the residents of all of the Armenian villagers were involved in similar disputes with migrants and government officials during this time, having to abandon pieces of land that they legally owned.[48] For instance, Shakshak villagers and nearby *çiftlik* owner Karagözyan were in a dispute with Rumelia migrants as well as Yalova *kaymakam* Mehmed Şükrü between 1901 and 1905, eventually losing some of their land to the migrants who established there a village called Taşköprü. In contrast to the Armenians, Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Yalova's Fulacık village were the accused side in their dispute with Bosniak migrants over a period of a decade between 1893 and 1903, having been blamed for assault, arson and murder of three people.[49]

To be sure, social interactions between the people in this region were not limited to crimes and conflict. They often collaborated in the face of challenges. As a matter of fact, the examples above can be interpreted as a form of cooperation too. The solidarity displayed by the Muslim migrant villagers in their efforts to occupy land and their strategies towards achieving this goal constitute true examples of cooperation, negotiation and accommodation. Land was not the only common purpose of villagers. Economic motivations also drove them towards united action. The

45 BOA.DH.MKT. 273/38, 18.02.1318 [21 Aug 1894].

46 This was the accusation made by the Yalakdere villagers. BOA.DH.MKT. 2505/133, 16.03.1319 [3 July 1901].

47 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 127/21, 03.04.1320 [10 July 1902].

48 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 115-116.

49 BOA.DH.MKT. 2039/38, 16.06.1310 [5 Jan 1893]; BOA.Y.PRK.BŞK. 30/88, 24.10.1310 [11 May 1893]; BOA.DH.MKT. 466/55, 22.12.1319 [1 Apr 1902].

Muslim tobacco growers of Karamürsel, for example, had united against the Régie Company in the fall of 1902 over low prices offered to them by the tobacco monopoly. The group of villagers, made up of Muhyiddin and Ali from Hersek, Hasan and Korucu Salim from Çavuşçiftlik, Hoca Ali and Hüseyin from Tavşanlı, Boşnak Ahmed and Ömer from Oluklu, lodged a complaint to the government, stating that even though they stored their tobacco crop in the Régie warehouse, the price offered by the company was unacceptable and would render them near bankrupt.[50]

While some of the migrants were evidently engaged in tobacco farming, others were trying to join the local government. Bosnia migrant Süleyman Efendi, who had knowledge of the Turkish language, was interested in a place as a member of the Karamürsel Court of First Instance, for which he was told to take part in the elections.[51] Speaking the Turkish language was obviously indispensable for bureaucrats. In the villages, meanwhile, the everyday exchange between the people allowed for some to pick up the other's language. The Turks in Merdegöz, for instance, spoke fluent Armenian and the Armenians' dialect was mixed with Turkish words.[52] It is also stated that the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Fulacık were Turkish-speaking locals.[53]

§ 5.5 Land Disputes and a Kidnapping

5.5.1 *The Kocadere Çiftliği dispute in Yalova (1881-1910)*

In the spring of 1881, Şaziye Hanım made a complaint to the local government on behalf of a group of migrants from Lofça (Lovech, Bulgaria), who

50 BOA.Y.PRK.AZJ. 49/115, 05.08.1322 [15 Oct 1904].

51 BOA.DH.MKT. 1767/85, 20.02.1308 [5 Oct 1890].

52 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 35.

53 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 161.

had settled on land belonging to "Konko[54]" estate in the Uzundere village of the Yalova *kaza* after the War of '93, requesting that the encroachments of a man called Zenci Mercan Ağa be stopped on what she deemed to be their land.[55] The complaint was sent to Şehremaneti for consideration in June 1881 and that was the last time the case appeared in the archives until it resurfaced again more than five years later in December 1886.[56] The complaint from 1886 was the same as before, revealing that Mercan Ağa went so far as to torch the houses of the Lofça migrants and forced them out of the land.[57] It also mentioned this time the fact that the farmland was since sold to one Fazıl Bey, a scribe at the Mabeyn-i Hümayun [Imperial Court] and that the situation would be investigated further.

Two years later in April 1888, which saw changes in power and administrative structure (previous *mutasarrıf* Siret Efendi and Yalova *müdür* Ibrahim Efendi were replaced by Selim Sırrı Paşa and Eşref Efendi respectively in the newly independent Izmit district), a new village had been formed with the name of Kocadere-i Zir in the area that was likely a mixed village of some locals and the aforementioned Lofça migrants.[58] In spite of these changes, it would seem that the new administration had not done much to improve the situation as the Lofça muhacirs continued to be at the receiving end of further intrusion, even into their agricultural activities, which might be one of the reasons leading to the removal of the Yalova *müdür* Eşref Bey.

The dispute over the *çiftlik* land that then apparently belonged to Fazıl Bey was far from over during the time of the new *mutasarrıf* Selim Sırrı Paşa, as a new *arzuhal* [petition] by Fazıl Bey himself requested in

54 In the earlier documents, the farm is referred to as Konko or Kadınko located in the Uzundere village of Yalova, while from 1888 onwards its name becomes Kocadere once the Kocadere-i Zir village was established sometime between 1886-1888.

55 BOA.DH.MKT. 1335/109, 15.06.1298/15 May 1881; 1336/37, 12.07.1298/10 June 1881.

56 BOA.DH.MKT. 1336/37, 12.07.1298/10 June 1881.

57 BOA.DH.MKT. 1385/55, 19.03.1304/16 Dec 1886.

58 BOA.DH.MKT. 1502/50, 08.08.1305/20 Apr 1888.

December 1891 that the encroachments of migrants on his *çiftlik* land be prevented.[59] Days after this request, the Interior Ministry set out to put an end to what they considered to be as unjust encroachments carried out by migrants as well as neighbouring villagers.[60] The dispute continued over to the next year, with the clear indication from the state's point of view that the land was legally owned by Mabeyn-i Hümayun scribe Fazıl Bey and it was the other side, migrant and locals, whose actions, described as *tecavüz* [violation] and *müdahale* [intervention/encroachment], were unlawful.[61]

After more than a decade of this ongoing dispute, the government finally decided in 1892 to determine the cause and take concrete steps towards a resolution. According to a Dahiliye correspondence dated 30 July 1892, the decade-long antagonism was born out of a legal mistake, that both Fazıl Bey and the Lofça migrants who settled in the same region were given title deeds, thus justifying legally the struggle of both parties.[62] What seemed in the beginning to be a land dispute caused by migration, was in fact a mistake on the part of the state. To solve this problem, the local government decided to pay the price of the *çiftlik* land where the Lofça migrants had settled, which was the last step taken during the reign of Selim Sırrı Paşa and the Yalova *müdür* of the time Ahmed Efendi.[63]

When the local government changed hands[64] in 1895, the resolution efforts stalled and the dispute was ordered to be investigated and reported once again over the course of the next several years.[65] In the meantime, a document from 1899 informs us that the houses of the

59 BOA.İ.DH. 1256/98591, 08.05.1309/10 Dec 1891.

60 BOA.DH.MKT. 1901/40, 12.05.1309/14 Dec 1891.

61 BOA.BEO. 32/2341, 18.12.1309/14 July 1892; BOA.DH.MKT. 1975/103, 26.12.1309/22 July 1892.

62 BOA.DH.MKT. 1984/91, 15.01.1310/30 July 1892.

63 BOA.DH.MKT. 2043/93, 29.06.1310/18 Jan 1893.

64 The new mutasarrıf of Izmit was Musa Kazım Bey, and the new müdür of Yalova was Mehmed Şükrü Efendi.

65 BOA.ŞD. 1566/20, 29.03.1314/07.09.1896; BOA.BEO. 1233/92457, 13.07.1316/27 Nov 1898.

migrants within the Kocadere estate had been destroyed and that others began to claim rights on the land.[66] The mystery of the new claimants was solved when Fazıl Bey made a complaint to the local government, stating that the recorder of deeds Hasan Efendi was unlawfully granting people deeds for his own benefit, leading the government to make enquiries and a broader investigation of these claims.[67]

Two years later, there was another complaint this time by Fazıl Bey's son Mehmed Kani Bey from the Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Kalemi [Ministry of Foreign Affairs Translation Secretariat] concerning the Kocadere estate land that he and his brothers inherited from their father, indicating Fazıl Bey had passed away at that point.[68] Mehmed Kani Bey alleged that the *muhtar* of Kocadere-i Zir village ordered the construction of a mill on the *çiftlik* land and confiscated some of the land to his name using forged documents [*ilmühaberi*]. At this point, the dispute seems to have shifted from being a legal issue between a civil servant and a group of migrants as well as some locals towards being a corruption scandal of the local administration.

Another *arzuhal* from Fazıl Bey's other sons Şecaeddin and Vakkas Beys from the Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi [The Correspondence Office of the Ministry of the Interior] and Ertuğrul Bey from the Ticaret ve Nafia Nezareti [Trade and Public Works] in April 1906 reveals their request for exemption from the *vergi-i şahsi* [poll tax] on their inherited *çiftlik* land, citing that they were already paying poll tax due to their being civil servants, which again highlights the administrative turn this affair took since the turn of the twentieth century.[69]

The fallout between communities in the aftermath of the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 left a power vacuum that sometimes led to open

66 BOA.DH.MKT. 2210/66, 04.02.1317/14 June 1899.

67 BOA.DH.MKT. 2345/84, 16.01.1318/16 May 1900; BOA.DH.MKT. 2396/8, 30.04.1318/27 Aug 1900.

68 BOA.DH.MKT. 726/6, 22.03.1320/29 June 1902.

69 BOA.DH.MKT. 1064/75, 07.02.1324/02 Apr 1906.

conflict and an increase in crime. This was the case in certain parts of Izmit, Adapazarı in particular. In this type of atmosphere, it is perhaps not surprising to once again see complaints of violation [*tecavüz*] at the Kocadere estate, upon which the Ministry of the Interior decided to send a committee to investigate the claims in August 1910, all expenses paid for.[70] Two months later in November 1910, Yalova Meclis-i Idaresi [Administrative Council] sent a report to the Dahiliye Nezareti Muhaberat-ı Umumiye Idaresi [The General Communications Office of the Ministry of the Interior] concerning the Kocadere estate, explaining the reason for granting title deeds to both the Lofça migrants and Fazıl Bey way back in 1884-85 was that part of the farmland was considered to be empty.[71] Following this revelation, the heirs of Fazıl Bey filed a lawsuit requesting that the lands given to the migrants be returned to them.[72]

The Kocadere estate dispute shows the complications faced on the ground during the settlement of migrants after the Russo-Ottoman war and, it must also be said, after the land reform of 1858 which arguably created more problems rather than solving them. The affair serves as an example of the reality of settlement which is usually depicted as a highly organised and successful endeavour. What seemed at first a migrant-local dispute was revealed to be more of a legal mistake on the part of the state, with a civil servant on one side, the migrants as well as some locals on the other.

5.5.2 *The Baltacı Çiftliği affair in Yalova (1889-1914)*

The earliest mention of the Baltacı name in relation to the estate in Yalova appears in a Ministry of Foreign Affairs correspondence in the Ottoman archive, dated 11 May 1868, about aiding a man named Nogel, the superintendent [*nazır*] of an estate in Yalova's Kadı village that was under the

70 BOA.DH.MUİ. 100/21, 22.08.1328/29 Aug 1910.

71 BOA.DH.MUİ. 140/5, 14.11.1328/17 Nov 1910.

72 BOA.DH.HMŞ. 29/95, 21.11.1328/24 Nov 1910; BOA.DH.MUİ. 140/12, 27.11.1328/30 Nov 1910.

proprietorship of the heirs of one Todoraki Baltacı.[73] From that point onwards, the estate was referred to as the Baltacı *Çiftliği* in the archive which indicates Mr Baltacı being its first owner. The Todoraki Baltacı in question was in fact Theodore Baltazzi (1788-1860), a banker from the prominent Baltazzi family who was an Ottoman subject.[74]

After a re-evaluation of the estate's financial worth more than a decade later towards the end of 1884, its ownership came into question.[75] By then, both Theodore Baltazzi and his wife Elizabeth or Eliza (neé Sarell) had died and their children had moved to Austria.[76] Therefore, the estate seemingly had been abandoned by the Baltazzi family. A certain Hasan Tahsin was appointed to investigate the alleged *mahlul* [escheated] status of the *çiftlik* whose proprietors were accused of appropriating the nearby state-owned land and properties for a long time.[77] The investigation revealed that at that time the estate was held by an Englishman named Arthur Williams Rams who was still alive, with several children as heirs.[78] The problem appeared to be that the state was not informed as to how the estate's transfer of ownership had taken place, if it had, or how this

73 BOA.HR.MKT. 612/100, 18.01.1285/11 May 1868.

74 The Levantine Baltazzis were among a group of financiers that came to be known as the Galata bankers, who played key roles in the 19th century in financing the Ottoman Empire. Nursel Manav, "Devlet-Banker İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Baltazzi Ailesi" [The Baltazzi Family within the Framework of State-Banker Relations] (Ph.D., Marmara University, 2009), 13-14; Christopher Long, "Theodore (Evangelos) Baltazzi," last modified 6 Nov 2015, accessed 28 June, 2020, http://www.christopherlong.co.uk/gen/baltazzigen/fg15/fg15_251.html.

75 BOA.ŞD. 707/21, 24.12.1301/15 Oct 1884

76 Nora Şeni and Sophie Le Tarnec, *Camondolar: Bir Hanedanın Çöküşü* [Camondos: Fall of a Dynasty; Original: Les Camondo ou l'eclipse d'une fortune], trans. Yaman Aksu (2000, reprint, Istanbul: Iletişim, 2005), 183.

77 BOA.ML.EEM. 96/85, R01.12.1303/13 Feb 1888; BOA.ML.EEM. 97/29, R20.12.1303/03 Mar 1888.

78 BOA.HR.TO. 63/45, 20 Oct 1888. His last name is difficult to make out in the Arabic script and its transcription also appears as "Doms" or "Daunos" but the correspondence in the Latin script refers to him as Arthur Williams Rams. BOA.HR.SFR.3. 445/38, 18 May 1896.

Englishman came to be responsible for it. To make matters more complicated, the estate's then-superintendent Aleksandır sent an *arzuhal* [petition] to the palace dated 10 July 1889, requesting that the interference (or encroachment) of migrants to the Baltacı estate be prevented.[79]

In the meantime, the official investigation into its status apparently was incomplete. Hasan Tahsin and Ismail Eşref Efendis made two requests to the local government in order to bring the investigation to a conclusion.[80] The following month of August, Hasan Tahsin was appointed again by the government to determine the empty lands in Izmit, whose expenses was to be paid by the state.[81] However, by the end of September of 1889, Hasan Tahsin informed the government that he was not at all aided by the governor of Izmit Selim Sırrı Paşa during his mission and that he would return to Izmit as he had completed his work in Yalova.[82] Given the events unfolding around the same time, Selim Sırrı Paşa's lack of help to Hasan Tahsin was hardly surprising. Seven months after Hasan Tahsin's mission to Yalova for empty land inspection, in April 1890, the governor was officially accused (by Hasan Tahsin and Karamürselli Rıza) of corruption in the Yalova Dağhamamı road construction, of which he would be found guilty in 1894.[83]

The Yalova Dağhamamı corruption scandal took place around the same time (1889-91) as the investigation into the Baltacı estate by Hasan Tahsin, who was in fact the Yalova *tapu katibi*. That is why he had been appointed to investigate the *çiftlik*'s owners in the first place. More than a year after his first petition pertaining to the Yalova land inspection and still without a response from the Izmit *Mutasarrıflığı*, Hasan Tahsin repeated his petition to the government in October 1890, informing them

79 BOA.DH.MKT.1636/54, 12.11.1306/10 July 1889.

80 BOA.DH.MKT. 1636/96, 13.11.1306/11 July 1889.

81 BOA.DH.MKT. 1645/104, 06.12.1306/03 Aug 1889.

82 BOA.DH.MKT. 1761/53, 01.02.1307/27 Sep 1889.

83 BOA.DH.MKT. 1713/49, 10.08.1307/01 Apr 1890; BOA.DH.MKT. 1719/22, 27.08.1307/18 Apr 1890.

once again that he was awaiting a response from the Izmit *Mutasarrıflığı* over the lands in Yalova he had identified as empty.[84] The Interior Ministry found his request to be reasonable and ordered that the necessary steps be taken without losing time. But a few weeks later, the government ruled that Hasan Tahsin was not to be answered to or allowed to submit a request again.[85]

This sharp response was not unexpected considering Hasan Tahsin had been removed from his duty as Yalova *tapu katibi* by July 1890. He had been suppressed and silenced by Selim Sırrı Paşa and discredited before the authorities by then. Moreover, he was jailed the following year for embezzlement, ironically the same crime he had accused Selim Sırrı Paşa of in the Dağhamamı case. Since he was also never again mentioned in the documents pertaining to the Baltacı estate after 1890, it is evident that Hasan Tahsin as a threat was successfully eliminated by the governor in both cases. But the removal of Hasan Tahsin from the picture did not end the ambiguity surrounding the status and ownership of the Baltacı estate. The discussion was centred around how to carry out the transfer of its proprietary right.[86] It seems that after the Baltazzis died and their children moved to Austria, the *çiftlik*'s responsibility was given, without the government's knowledge or not in an appropriate manner, to Arthur Williams Rams, who was then residing in Istanbul. Once it was established that the transfer had not been made in accordance with the law and that the property was seemingly empty, the estate was then sold to Sultan Abdülhamid II at the end of 1898, making it part of the *emlak-ı hümayun* [imperial land].[87] The sum to pay for the estate was borrowed from the Bank-ı Osmani [Ottoman Bank], while the travel expenses of the committee appointed to oversee the sale, headed by *ziraat fen müşaviri*

84 BOA.DH.MKT. 1774/21, 08.03.1308/22 Oct 1890.

85 BOA.DH.MKT. 1779/67, 25.03.1308/08 Nov 1890.

86 BOA.DH.MKT. 1785/86, 14.04.1308/27 Nov 1890.

87 BOA.BEO. 952/71393, 17.12.1314/19 May 1897; BOA.ML.EEM. 300/99, R16.10.1314/28 Dec 1898.

[agriculture science advisor] Torkumyan Efendi, were paid by the Hazine-i Hassa [Sultan's Treasury].[88]

After its purchase by the sultan, the estate began to be called the Baltacı Çiftlik-i Hümayun, indicating its imperial status. First, a forest administrator [*orman müdürü*], Hekimyan Efendi, was sent to the area to make a reconnaissance of the forests.[89] Then, over the next eight years the premises underwent a restoration, with repairs to the Dereağzı pier, two watermills and several buildings within its borders as well as a public fountain and aqueducts in the nearby Samanlı village.[90] At the same time, the estate's revenue was used to finance other maintenance and repair works in the region such as the Dağhamamı hot springs.[91] When the repairs were being made, the government placed an order for a millstone from Europe for a man named Anasti. Anasti, son of Vasil, had won the bid to acquire one of the watermills under the *çiftlik* administration but was unable to operate it or pay his rent due to the ongoing repairs. After informing the *çiftlik* administration first, Anasti then sent a petition to the palace which resolved his problem.[92]

After the Young Turk revolution in July 1908, there was another transfer of ownership concerning the Baltacı estate. In 1909, the groves and forests as well as the horses within the estate were handed over by the Sultan's Treasury to the Maliye Hazinesi [Financial Treasury] while the fields in the estate and the Yalova Dağhamamı thermal springs remained at the Sultan's Treasury.[93] The following year, two hundred *dönüms* of land from the forests of the Baltacı estate and the Yalova thermal springs

88 BOA.ML.EEM. 302/20, R04.11.1314/16 Jan 1899; BOA.ML.EEM. 326/23, R15.09.1315/27 Nov 1899.

89 BOA.ML.EEM. 344/99, R01.05.1316/14 July 1900.

90 BOA.ML.EEM. 350/19, R17.07.1316/30 Sep 1900; BOA.ML.EEM. 362/14, R24.12.1316/9 Mar 1901; BOA.ML.EEM. 666/29, R09.02.1324/22 Apr 1908; BOA.ML.EEM. 680/58, R04.04.1324/17 June 1908.

91 BOA.ML.EMM. 702/9, R28.06.1324/10 Sep 1908.

92 BOA.ML.EEM. 707/47, R27.07.1324/10 Oct 1908.

93 BOA.ML.EEM. 735/5, R28.12.1324/13 Mar 1909.

were put up for auction to lease for fifty years, which was won by Ottoman Railway Company bureaucrat Mahmud Paşazade Reşid Iyaz Bey and architect Kostantin Papa Efendi.[94] The estate's *müştemilat* [buildings or outbuildings] were put up for a separate auction, provided that the border dispute between the Baltacı estate and the neighbouring villages was resolved.[95]

In the meantime, the government for the first time permitted the settlement of migrants on land that belonged to the estate in the summer of 1909.[96] Despite a report stating that it was in fact not appropriate for the settlement of migrants in October 1909, the government ordered that a piece of land from the estate be given to Dağıstan migrants that had arrived and settled in the nearby Elmalı village, who were poverty-stricken.[97] It was decided that the area of land in the estate that had remained at the Sultan's Treasury be distributed to the Dağıstan migrants as well as the locals in need of land from the neighbouring villages, to be paid in instalments, and the rest be put up for auction.[98]

It was the Birinci Numune-i Terakki-i Ziraat Osmanlı Anomin Şirketi [First Example of Agricultural Progress Ottoman Joint-Stock Company] based in Istanbul that won the auction in 1912 to rent for seven years the rest of the properties in the Baltacı estate: eleven buildings and 9,876 *dönüms* of land.[99]

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94 BOA.ML.EEM. 788/58, R25.11.1325/7 Feb 1910.

95 BOA.ML.EEM. 793/33, R29.01.1326/11 Apr 1910. The dispute mentioned here was likely referring to a previous complaint made by the Samanlı villagers accusing the Baltacı estate of seizing their grazing land. BOA.ML.EEM. 730/17, R07.12.1324/20 Feb 1909.

96 BOA.ML.EEM. 751/45, R23.04.1325/6 July 1909.

97 BOA.ML.EEM. 765/7, R22.07.1325/5 Oct 1909; BOA.DH.MUİ. 81/41, 01.04.1328/12 Apr 1910.

98 BOA.ŞD. 29/29, 06.09.1328/11 Sep 1910; BOA.BEO. 3823/286713, 13.11.1328/16 Nov 1910. The locals were given priority over the migrants since it was their right according to the Land Law of 1858. BOA.DH.İD. 135/61, 10.01.1331/20 Dec 1912.

99 BOA.ML.EEM. 911/41, R18.03.1328 [31 May 1912]. After the takeover, one of the estate's employees who lost his position as a result, a man called Zeynel Abidin, was appointed as estate police officer [*komiser*] instead. BOA.ML.EEM. 933/1, R23.06.1328 [5 Sep 1912].

5.5.3 *The land dispute between Taşlıcalı Tüfenkçi/Silahşör Mustafa Ağa and local Armenian villagers in Karamürsel (1897-1914)*

Tüfengiyan-ı Hazret-i Şehriyari ve Harem-i Hümayun Kapıcıbaşısı [Imperial Palace Guard and Imperial Harem Chief Gatekeeper] Mustafa bin Süleyman from Taşlıca (Pljevlja) was a Bosniak palace guard apparently much loved by Sultan Abdülhamid II.[100] In 1897, the family of Mustafa Ağa, was given a piece of land deemed as *mahlul* [escheated] within the Kaymas *nahiye* of the Kandıra *kaza*.[101] Whether this was carried out or not is not known, but another document from a year later reveals that Mustafa Ağa's family was also to be given land in the Adapazarı *kaza*.[102] However, since this piece of land was a pasture that belonged to two villages nearby, the government decided to leave it to the villagers and find available land in the Karamürsel *kaza* instead. It appears that the government purchased land in Karamürsel for Mustafa Ağa's family with money from the migrant relief [*muhacirin tahsisatı*]. That the purchase was made using funds reserved for migrants is very odd. It may be that migrant villagers were blamed for the failure of the previous attempt to allocate land to Mustafa Ağa in Adapazarı and the government thus used migrant relief fund to buy the land in Karamürsel.

In any case, the land had been given to Tüfenkçi Mustafa Ağa's family. But as often was the case after a transfer of proprietary rights of a piece of land, discord followed shortly after. Three months after the report on the acquisition, in November 1898, it was reported that Mustafa Ağa's land in Karamürsel was being encroached by Armenians.[103] However, the

100 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 119. On a related note, Kévorkian (555) mentions a "Tufenkci Mustafa" among the perpetrators of the Armenian deportations of 1915 in the Karamürsel *kaza*. Since Tüfenkçi [Musketeer] Mustafa Ağa was dead by 1908, unless there was another Tüfenkçi Mustafa in Karamürsel in 1915, he could not have been involved in carrying out the deportations.

101 BOA.BEO. 923/69220, 19.10.1314 [23 Mar 1897].

102 BOA.BEO. 1171/87796, 18.03.1316 [6 Aug 1898].

103 BOA.DH.MKT. 2137/8, 07.07.1316 [21 Nov 1898].

truth of the matter was that the land that was sold to Mustafa Ağa's family, 643 *dönüms* of it to be exact, was at the same time held under title deeds by Armenian villagers of Yalakdere (also known as Cedid).[104] This is corroborated by Kasabian,[105] who states that Mustafa Ağa appropriated cultivated land around Valide Köprü, to the west of Yalakdere, that belonged to the Armenians. He says that to recuperate their lands the villagers protested in front of the government building in Karamürsel and sent telegrams and representatives to Istanbul multiple times over a decade. But it was only after the restoration of the constitution in July 1908 that they were able to recover 4,000 *ardavars*[106] of their land. Moreover, he argues the court case was very costly and destroyed the Yalakdere village economy.

The Presidency Ottoman Archive provides more details on the Armenians' recovery efforts. For example, the Cedid (Yalakdere) villagers presented a detailed register on the appropriated land and properties to the British embassy in 1906.[107] Furthermore, as Kasabian stated, they sent multiple telegrams to Istanbul even as late as 1911, requesting the return of the appropriated properties as delineated in the registry they had prepared earlier.[108] It was also stated in the correspondences at this time that Mustafa Ağa had been deceased before the summer of 1908 and that his heirs had become the representatives of his estate.[109]

104 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 76/72, 17.06.1317 [23 Oct 1899].

105 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 119. The court case was still not finalised as of 1910.

106 Or *ardvars*; a unit of land measurement in the Armenian language. Kasabian, xiv.

107 BOA.Y.MTV. 289/126, 08.06.1324 [30 July 1906].

108 BOA.DH.MKT. 1251/92, 01.04.1326 [3 May 1908]; From local priest Nişan to new grand vizier Said Paşa: BOA.DH.MUİ. 149/24, 09.10.1329 [3 Oct 1911]. It was alleged by Priest Nişan that deputy *kaymakam* Selahaddin Bey had threatened them. BOA.DH.MKT. 2634/98, 23.09.1326 [19 Oct 1908].

109 BOA.DH.MKT. 1267/27, 07.06.1326 [7 July 1908]. The villagers had named Bosniak Hacı Süleyman as the culprit after Mustafa Ağa's death. BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 274/40, 11.08.1326 [8 Sep 1908].

In the midst of the Armenian villagers' struggle to recover their lands that they legally owned, a group of Hersek migrants from the village of Semetler, to the west of Valide Köprü, also blamed Mustafa Ağa for appropriating their land.[110] The heirs to Mustafa Ağa's estate, for their part, were lodging multiple petitions to the government during this period as well, blaming the nearby villagers for encroachment and requesting the authorities to put an end to the long-lasting dispute that had been going on since 1898.[111]

It is understood that the issue had still not been resolved on the eve of the First World War, but the government had admitted that the cause of the dispute was due to a mistake on their part: while the contested land rightfully belonged to the local Yalakdere (Cedid) villagers, the Ministry of the Interior assumed it was empty and had given it to Taşlıcalı Silahşör Mustafa Ağa.[112]

5.5.4 *The Yalova Dağ Hamamları kidnapping incident (1896 -1901)*

The kidnapping of several women at the site of the hot springs in Yalova took place in June 1896, at the height of the turbulent 1890s for the Turko-Armenian relations.[113] It is true that the Armenian revolutionary organisations were seeking the attention of European Powers during this period to increase the pressure on the Ottoman government with regard to reforms. They were doing so by employing guerrilla tactics, targeting important places and individuals for greater impact. For this reason, the government had initially considered the possibility of the bandits being Armenians.[114] It would have been convenient to ascribe this incident to the Armenian revolutionaries as part of this narrative of guerrilla warfare for the Armenian national cause. However, this particular incident was

110 BOA.DH.MKT. 2789/27, 16.03.1327 [7 Apr 1909].
111 BOA.DH.MKT. 1287/72, 03.08.1326 [31 Aug 1908].
112 BOA.DH.H. 75/2, 22.05.1332 [18 Apr 1914].
113 BOA.Y.PRK.UM. 34/114, 25.12.1313 [7 June 1896].
114 BOA.BEO. 791/59282, 26.12.1313 [8 June 1896].

actually carried out by what is understood to be a Greek band, with some Albanians joining them later.

At the time of the incident, the Yalova Dağ Hamamları spa resort was managed by Frenchman Alexandre Branzeau who had been awarded a year and a half prior with a Mecidi insignia [*nişanı*] of the fourth degree for his efforts in popularizing the hot springs.[115] The abductees were his wife Madame Branzeau and two Armenian women.[116] Taking into account the European pressure on the government during this period due to the Armenian crisis, Mkhalian says Sultan Abdülhamid II took the rescue operation very seriously.[117] The fact that nearly one hundred unique documents exist on this subject in the Presidency Ottoman Archive from 1896-1901 attests to how seriously it was taken.

The government's rescue operation began the day after the abduction was reported. Istanbul police chief Hüsnü Bey was ordered to take with him several policemen and go to Yalova by a steamboat to be prepared by the Ministry of the Navy in the morning after the incident. The entire Karamürsel-Gemlik coast had been put under surveillance by a small fleet of steamboats that were to examine any boat, big or small, to prevent the bandits from escaping to the sea.[118] The government's plan was to quickly pay ten thousand liras in ransom demanded by the bandits to first rescue the women and then to catch the culprits by surrounding them by land and sea.[119] To this end, the Istanbul-Yalova ferry was closed to the

115 BOA.İ.TAL. 68/22, 03.06.1312 [02 Dec 1894]. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1901-4.

116 BOA.HR.SFR.3. 453/81, 12 June 1896; BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 7/43, 06.01.1314 [17 June 1896]. In addition to Madame Branzeau, it appears as though there were dtwo women: Serbian embassy chief translator's nurse, Miss Paragamian, and his daughter. Unless the reports are wrong, since both of these women are referred to as Armenian, and Miss Paragamian appears to have been unmarried at that time, to have an Armenian daughter, the translator must have been Armenian too. Mkhalian (*Bardizag and its People*, 290) states Miss Paragamian was from Bahçecik.

117 Mkhalian, 291.

118 BOA.BEO. 791/5968-9, 27.12.1313 [9 June 1896].

119 BOA.Y.A.HUS. 352/147, 29.12.1313 [11 June 1896].

public's use and was used for sending the ransom with Mahsusa (Ottoman Steamship Company) officials from the capital to Yalova.[120] After the release of the women, police chief Hüsnü Bey was told to stay in the area to catch the bandits, and to maintain communications with the Izmit commander and the Izmit governor Musa Kazım Bey.[121] The French ambassador, too, went to Yalova since one of the abducted women was a French citizen.[122]

Soon after, the collective effort proved successful in capturing one of the bandits called Yorgi.[123] A part of the sum of money seized on him was to be used to pay for the expenses of the operation. In the meanwhile, the Izmit Commandership identified as bandit cells: Nemçe beer-house at the Galata pier, butcher Tanaş's shop in Tophane, Sabuncu Inn's tavern in Alaca Hamam, rooms above the Blafakya Tavern in Panayır Sokağı and at Çiçobili Tavern in Galata, and a house near Nuruosmaniye.[124] After the involvement of the Izmit commander, the government decided to send back governor Musa Kazım Bey and police chief Hüsnü Bey to prevent a dichotomy in the chain of command in Yalova.[125] However, the failure to catch the bandits was a growing concern for the government that was blamed on the discord between the commander and the governor as feared before.[126]

120 BOA.Y.PRK.ZB. 18/2, 01.01.1314 [12 June 1896]; BOA.BEO. 793/59462, 01.01.1314 [12 June 1896].

121 BOA.BEO. 795/59607, 05.01.1314 [16 June 1896]; BOA.BEO. 794/59507, 05.01.1314 [16 June 1896]. Governor Musa Kazım Bey was called to Karasu by the Izmit commander around the same time for another case of banditry near the villages of Liman, Deretepe and Tarla where bandits dressed in Laz clothes were seen. BOA.BEO. 795/59600, 05.01.1314 [16 June 1896].

122 BOA.Y.MTV. 143/49, 16.01.1314 [27 June 1896].

123 BOA.BEO. 799/59891, 07.01.1314 [18 June 1896].

124 BOA.BEO. 797/59732, 08.01.1314 [19 June 1896].

125 BOA.BEO. 800/59960, 14.01.1314 [25 June 1896].

126 BOA.BEO. 806/60408, 25.01.1314 [6 July 1896].

To facilitate the search and catch the bandits without further delay, a group of the sultan's troops [*asakir-i şahane*] headed by Miralay Cemal Bey were sent to Yalova.[127] The imperial troops successfully captured and sent to Istanbul a group of bandits including Hristo Kiço, allegedly leader of the band who agreed to collaborate to catch the others (Greeks and Albanians who joined later).[128] Another bandit among the captured was Manok, who was interrogated to find out where the others went and what happened to the ransom money.[129] With the information obtained from the captured bandits, the search was directed towards Beykoz and Şile, where the troops clashed with several bandits on the run, killing Stello and wounding and subsequently arresting the others.[130] Following the last confrontation and arrests, 1,463 liras were recovered and the total recovered money at that time stood at 3,460 liras out of the 10,000 payed as ransom, which was sent back to the Treasury.[131]

One of the bandits called Anderya gave himself up to the Izmit Military Department and with it the operation seemed to have concluded.

127 BOA.BEO. 807/60470, 26.01.1314 [7 July 1896].

128 BOA.İ.HUS. 48/84, 29.01.1314 [10 July 1896]. A picture of the caught men was published in the periodical Servet-i Funün [Wealth of Knowledge] with the Turkish caption, "(Yalova eşkıyasından olup geçende İzmit'e tabi Çayırköy Karyesi civarında derdest olunanlar)" [Those of the Yalova bandits who were captured recently near Çayırköy village in Izmit], and just below in French, "Les brigands de Yalova qui avaient capturé Mme Brenzau et sa compagne et qui ont été arrètés derniérement à Izmid." Among the captured were Stelyo (the only one to have been killed), a Greek army corporal who had illegally entered Dersaadet and joined the gang; Ergirili Espero, a former convict that had fled to the Ottoman domains; Vassil, a Greek "drifter" [*serseri*]; Kico Hristo, their leader; "Lampaparu"; Yorgi Papadopulo, a Greek army captain who had fled to Yalova after stealing 35,000 francs, and joined the gang before being captured near the Baltacı estate; and Petro, a member of the gang who was captured in Dersaadet where he was seeking medical care. *Servet-i Funün* 285, (1896): 388.

129 BOA.BEO. 812/60834, 08.02.1314 [19 July 1896].

130 BOA.BEO. 814/60985, 11.02.1314 [22 July 1896]; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 356/14, 15.02.1314 [26 July 1896].

131 BOA.Y.A.HUS. 356/25, 21.02.1314 [1 Aug 1896].

Newspapers were alerted and given pictures of the bandits that were caught dead or alive.[132] However, in September, the search continued for three more bandits in Istanbul with Binbaşı Mehmed Ali Efendi in charge of the new operation.[133] Shortly afterwards, the government was informed by the Izmit Commandership that Payas prison escapee and Yalova bandit group member Kel Hüseyin had been caught dead with two of his friends. Moreover, Arnavut Şahin, another friend of Hüseyin, had also been also caught and three others were being followed in Kağıthane.[134] Meanwhile in Yalova, to increase the security of the area, first an infantry police station and then a cavalry police station were built on the road to the hot springs.[135]

More than a year and a half later, it was reported that thanks to a letter that was sent to a man in Corfu by a convict at the Zabtiye prison named Panayi Davi Stanos, the government had learnt that two bandits called Nikola and Sero[136] from Lebhova (Libohova/Lihova) in Ergiri district of Yanya province, who had been involved in the Yalova kidnapping incident, were in the island of Corfu where they had been staying for the past year.[137] The reports revealed that a new band of bandits had been formed in the Yanya province consisting of over thirty men including the aforementioned Greeks and headed by a man called captain Yorgi who was described as their leader, and surprisingly also the leader of the Yalova band despite initial reports having claimed it was Hristo Kiço. Moreover, the government was informed by the Military Department of another

132 BOA.Y.MTV. 144/153, 26.02.1314 [9 Aug 1896]; BOA.İ.HUS. 49/3, 01.03.1314 [10 Aug 1896]; BOA.Y.A.HUS. 357/17, 02.03.1314 [11 Aug 1896].

133 BOA.BEO. 838/62802, 06.04.1314 [14 Sep 1896].

134 BOA.BEO. 846/63421, 25.04.1314 [3 Oct 1896].

135 BOA.İ.AS. 18/38, 02.06.1314 [8 Nov 1896].

136 One of the bandits caught a few years ago was called Ergirili Espero, who might be the same person as this "Sero" from Ergiri.

137 BOA.DH.MKT. 2169/67, 12.10.1316 [23 Feb 1899].

abduction organised by the new bandit group in Yanya over a border dispute.[138] After the latest developments, in the absence of the accused, Izmit Court of First Instance sentenced Yorgi to death and gave Sero a lifetime sentence in the galleys (*müebbeden küreğe*).[139]

As for the rest of the ransom money, two years after the Izmit Court of First Instance's ruling, in the summer of 1901, the government was informed by a doctor named M. J. Ikonomidi from Athens that the bandits had buried the ransom money in Yalova and that he was willing to show them where on the condition that he receives a third of it. The government seemingly accepted Dr Ikonomidi's offer and ordered the Izmit governorship to report back once the ransom was recovered.[140]

This incident is recounted by Mkhalian too.[141] His version serves as a complementary retelling that gives details not mentioned in the official reports. He states that Nişan Ağa Sinanian, former deputy administrator of Bahçecik[142] and head of its council of elders,[143] played a key role in the operation to rescue the abducted women, one of whom was his fellow Bahçecik native Miss Paragamian. Before rising through the ranks, Nişan Sinanian was apparently a travelling merchant, but after his marriage into the wealthy Bedigian family, he was put in charge of the Bedigian estate's large-scale cheese production business in Bahçecik, making a name for himself as a successful local businessman. Furthermore, he became a well-liked and respected figure in government circles thanks to summer banquets he organised at the Bedigian estate. The kidnapping incident happened when Sinanian had these strong government connections and apparently, he played an important role in the abducted women's release.

138 BOA.BEO. 1321/99012, 27.01.1317 [7 June 1899]; BOA.BEO. 1348/101059, 23.03.1317 [1 Aug 1899]. The first bandit to have been caught after the Yalova incident was also called Yorgi.

139 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 74/14, 04.04.1317 [12 Aug 1899].

140 BOA.DH.MKT. 2510/71, 28.03.1319 [15 July 1901].

141 Mkhalian, *Bardizag and its People*, 289-292.

142 He was awarded with a Mecidi insignia of the fourth degree in 1889 for his work as deputy administrator [*müdür*] of Bahçecik. BOA.DH.MKT. 1581/25, 01.05.1306 [3 Jan 1889].

143 Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891-93.

As told by Mkhalian, the sultan took this operation very seriously because of European pressure in relation to the execution of reforms at that time. After paying the ransom from the Treasury and having the women released safely, the government forces then pursued the bandits. Since the Marmara coastline was blockaded by steamboats, the bandits tried to escape by land. After a confrontation near the broadcloth factory in Arslanbey, the bandits retreated and sought refuge at Sinanian's estate. At that moment, Sinanian had a dilemma: if he helped the bandits, he would lose his business; but if he refused them, he could be harmed. In the end, Sinanian decided to help them travel to Istanbul by sea, disguised as sailors and had his brother Stepan settle them at a hotel there. But once the bandits were in Istanbul, the Sinanians alerted the government and the bandits were apprehended, which earned both of the Sinanian brothers medals for their services. As a result, Nişan Ağa Sinanian became a more regular and respected figure, even attending the sultan's birthday.

6

The *Kaza* of Kandıra

The *kaza* of Kandıra was the largest subdistrict of the Izmit *sancak* with a surface area of 3,500 km².[1] It constituted the northern part of the district and was bordered by the Black Sea to the north, Izmit and Adapazarı subdistricts to the south, Üsküdar *sancak* of the Istanbul province to the west, and the Kastamonu province to the east (until 1899, afterwards by Adapazarı since Karasu, the *nahiye* that made up its eastern border with Kastamonu, became part of Adapazarı). Unlike its size, Kandıra was described as the most backward area in the Izmit district in terms of communications due to its lack of links to main roads and railways.[2]

1 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 383.

2 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 17. The Izmit-Kandıra road was under construction at the time of the author's writing in 1910-12.

§ 6.1 Administrative Structure and Government

6.1.1 *Administrative Structure*

With the exception of a year or two, the *kaza* of Kandıra was made up of Şeyhler, Kaymas, Ağaçlı, Akabad and Karasu *nahiyes* until 1899 when Ağaçlı and Akabad were joined together to form Akçaova, and Karasu was moved within the administrative authority of Adapazarı.[3] From that point onwards, it had three *nahiyes* for the remainder of the period until 1914: Şeyhler, Kaymas and Akçaova.

By 1889, the Kandıra subdistrict had had 167 villages of which thirty-four were in central Kandıra, forty-six in Şeyhler, thirty-four in Kaymas, seven in Ağaçlı, twenty-five in Akabad, and twenty-one in Karasu. The updated 1896 yearbook shows an immense increase in the number of villages in the newly designated "class 3" subdistrict: to 119 in the centre, 174 in Şeyhler, 132 in Kaymas, seventy-one in Ağaçlı, thirty-two in Akabad, and forty-one in Karasu, for a total of 569 villages.

Even though the decision to organise a new *nahiye* by merging Ağaçlı and Akabad was taken at the end of 1896, the new *nahiye*, called Akçaova, first appears in the 1899 state yearbook, with 103 villages. At the turn of the twentieth century, after the exclusion of Karasu, the village total of the Kandıra subdistrict was standing at 528. With the exception of the change in its class category from three to two in 1910; the official figures on Kandıra's villages effectively stayed the same from 1896 to the last state yearbook of 1912.

6.1.2 *Government*

Like all of the other *kazas* in the Izmit district, Kandıra was governed by a *kaymakam* appointed by the central government. Likewise, the Court of First Instance was under the authority of a judge [*naib*]. However, it appears that the judicial changes proclaimed after 1879 that aimed to separate the civil and criminal sections of the Court of First Instance took

3 1877-1912 state yearbooks; BOA.DH.TMIK.S. 4/67, 12.07.1314 [17 Dec 1896]; BOA.İ.DH. 1362/47, 21.11.1316 [2 Apr 1899].

affect much later in Kandıra compared to the other subdistricts in the Izmit *sancak*. While the state yearbooks do not contain information regarding the president of the criminal section of the Court of First Instance (*ceza reisi*), an imperial decree dated Feb 1915 shows a *ceza reisi* was appointed (probably) for the first time in 1915.[4]

Table 6.1 Administration of the Kandıra *kaza*, 1877-1914.

Year	Subgovernor [*Kaymakam*]	Judge [*Naib*]
1877	Hüseyin Bey	
1878-79	Atıf Bey	
1880-82	Feyzi Efendi	
1883-85	Şevket Bey	
1886	Mahmud Celaleddin Bey	
1887	Muharrem Efendi	
1889-90	Mehmed Nüzhet Bey	Hasan Fehmi Efendi
1890-91	Mehmed Reşid Efendi	Osman Sabit Efendi
1892		-
1893		Mehmed Kamil Efendi
1893-94	Mahmud Aziz Efendi	Abdülrahman Nafiz Efendi
1895-96		Hasan Fehmi Efendi
1897		Ilyas Fevzi Efendi
1898-99		Mehmed Tahir Efendi
1900-1		Hasan Tahsin Efendi
1902-3		Mehmed Rıfat Efendi
1904		Mehmed Rüşdü Efendi
1905-6	Mehmed Tevfik Bey	Mehmed Nuri Efendi
1907		Mehmed Nazmi Efendi
1907-July 1908	Ali Bey	Üveys Naili Efendi
July-Dec 1908	Ismail Hakkı Bey	

4 BOA.İ.AZN. 118/35, 29.03.1333 [29 Mar 1915].

Year	Subgovernor [*Kaymakam*]	Judge [*Naib*]
1909	Musa Hilmi Bey	
1909-May 1910	Tevfik Bey	
May-Aug 1910	Cemil Bey	
Aug 1910-Oct 1911	Kenan Bey	Ismail Rüşdü Efendi
Oct 1911-Apr 1912	Halid Bey	Mehmed Naim Efendi
Arp 1912-Apr 1913	Ahmed Hicabi Bey	
1913	Galib Bey	
1913	Ahmed Hicabi Bey	
Nov 1913-Mar 17	Kamil Efendi	

SOURCE 1877-1912 state yearbooks; BOA.ŞD. 690/16, 17.08.1296 [6 Aug 1879]; BOA.İ.DH. 855/68532, 10.07.1299 [28 May 1882]; BOA.İ.DH. 869/69511, 28.01.1300 [9 Dec 1882]; BOA.ŞD. 2494/27, 19.12.1302 [29 Sep 1885]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1371/81, 13.01.1304 [12 Oct 1886]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1483/23, 23.05.1305 [6 Feb 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1717/33, 20.08.1307 [11 Apr 1890]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1876/99, 07.03.1309 [11 Oct 1891]; BOA.İ.HUS. 13/16, 07.12.1310 [22 June 1893]; BOA.İ.DH. 1363/4, 21.11.1316 [2 Apr 1899]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2372/9, 13.03.1318 [11 July 1900]; BOA.İ.DH. 1417/5, 30.09.1321 [20 Dec 1903]; BOA.BEO. 3020/226434, 12.02.1325 [27 Mar 1907]; BOA.BEO. 3360/251931, 21.06.1326 [21 July 1908]; BOA.DH.MKT. 1278/63, 11.07.1326 [9 Aug 1908]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2689/80, 29.11.1326 [23 Dec 1908]; BOA.İ.DH. 1481/46, 16.05.1328 [26 May 1910]; BOA.BEO. 3789/284128, 28.07.1328 [5 Aug 1910]; BOA.İ.DH. 1490/7, 24.10.1329 [18 Oct 1911]; BOA.İ.DH. 1493/6, 07.05.1330 [24 Apr 1912]; BOA.İ.DH. 1498/46, 09.05.1331 [16 Apr 1913]; BOA.İ.DH. 1504/1, 01.01.1332 [30 Nov 1913]; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 555.

§ 6.2 Population Statistics and Ethno-Religious Composition

Kandıra, like Karamürsel, had a smaller population in 1914 than it had twenty years earlier in 1893 for a similar reason: the incorporation of the Karasu *nahiye* to the *kaza* of Adapazarı in 1899 as previously discussed.[5] Another point to underline is the inclusion of the Armenian village of Pirahmed (Khasgal) which was officially part of the Kaymas *nahiye* of

5 Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 184-185.

Kandıra, but within the jurisdiction of the nearby Armash monastery and therefore generally considered part of the Izmit *kaza* in the literature. This could be to some extent why the Armenian population in 1893 given by Cuinet is significantly higher than that of Karpat, because Cuinet included Pirahmed as part of Kandıra while Karpat (the official census) likely did not (since otherwise it would be impossible to come up with a figure such as 532 in 1906-7 with the inclusion of Pirahmed's population, which according to Cuinet was 750 in 1893).[6] Even so, it does not account for the difference of 3,842 people between the two figures. Likewise, Cuinet's Orthodox Christian population is considerably higher than the official figure. This is the second biggest gap in the population of Orthodox Christians between Cuinet and Karpat for the same year (1893) after their biggest divergence, the Izmit *kaza* (14,890 to 3,576).

Table 6.2 Population of the Kandıra *kaza*.

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912			1914
	Karpat	*Cuinet*	*Karpat*	*Kasab.*	*Soteri.*	*A.poúlou*	*Kévork.*	*Karpat*
Muslims	40,686	38,452	38,296		37,452			40,495
Hay-Horoms	2,088	6,276	1,695		7,689	6,276		1,804
Orthodox Greeks								
Catholic Greeks	-		-					-
Cath. Armenians		-	-	-				-
Apost. Armenians	1,259	5,101	532	1,338*	5,101		1,782*	641
Prote. Armenians	-	-	-	32				-
All Protestants	-	-	-					-
Rom. Catholics	-		-					-
Bulgarians	-		-					-
Syriacs	-		-					-

6 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 383. According to the government, on the other hand, the population of the Kandıra *kaza* was entirely made up of Muslims in 1893. BOA.Y.PRK.DH. 6/72, 23.01.1311 [06 Aug 1893].

	1893		1906-7	1909-10	1912	1914	
Chaldeans			-				-
Jews	-	-	4				4
Romanies	-	-	-				-
Foreign Citizens	-		5				
Total	44,033	49,829	40,532		50,242		42,944

* Includes Pirahmed/Khasgal, Elmalı and Fındıklı, but not the villages in Karasu.

SOURCE Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 128-129, 166-167, 184-185; Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map*, 6; Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni*, 154-159; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 272; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 383; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 190-193.

6.2.1 *Local Muslims (Manavs/Turkmens)*

The Kandıra-Adapazarı-Izmit border region was an ambiguous area in terms of administrative division. Parts of it belonged to a different subdistrict at different times. Similar to the Karasu example, Şeyhler, a *kaza* itself in the 1840s comprising Kaynarca, Ferizli, Söğütlü and parts of Kandıra, had become a *nahiye* of the Kandıra subdistrict by the late 1870s. Yet, its former villages Ferizli and Söğütlü, located to the northeast of Adapazarı towards Karasu, appear as part of the Adapazarı subdistrict in the late nineteenth century rather than of Kandıra. It was a reasonable administrative change given that Karasu, further in the north than Ferizli and Söğütlü, was also incorporated to the Adapazarı subdistrict. In any case, the reality is that Söğütlü, Ferizli and Karasu are closer to the Adapazarı town centre than the Kandıra town centre.

Taking these points into account, among the local Muslim settlements in Şeyhler's 1845 income surveys [*temettüat defterleri*],[7] only those in Kaynarca as well as Kandıra were taken as settlements within the borders of the Kandıra *kaza* for the period 1877-1914. These old Manav/local Muslim villages and village groups [*divans*] that were in existence in the period in question were: Bozburun, Canos, Dudu, Eğrioğlu, Gölce,

7 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 4737-64. 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

Gölkebiri, Gündüzlü, Iskenderli, Karaçalı, Kayacık, Kertil, Kırktepe, Kızılcaali, Osmanlu, Sabırlı, Sarıbeyli, Şeyhtımarı, Taşoluk, Topçu, Yanıkkebir, Ziamet *divans*; Abdurrahmanoğlu, Akbaşlı, Akyığarlı, Alefli, Arabacı, Balcılar, Bayramoğlu, Bektaşlar, Belen, Bezirciler, Birciler, (Aşağı and Yukarı) Cebek, Cedid, Cinler, Ciyaklar, Çelikler, Çengelli, Çoralar, Çubuklu, Davutlar, Dedeler, Dırmandılar and Habibler, Divanlı, Dokuzoluk, Durmuşlar, Emirler, Gırgırlar, Gicikli, Gökçeler, Hacımuharremler, Hacımustafalar, Hacıoğlu, Hamzalar, Hasanbey, Hoca, Hatipler, Hayaller, Imamlar, Kabaklar, Kadı, Kalburcu, Kalaycılar, Kalyoncuoğlu, Kanatlar, (Aşağı and Yukarı) Karaçalı, Karamanlar, Kayacıklı, (Küçük and Büyük) Kaynarca Keçili, Kızılelma, Kulaklı, Kuloğlu, Kurudere, Lazlar, Manavlar, Mandıra, Mehter, Mevcütler, Müezzinler, Nalbantlar, Odacılar, Okçular, Ramazanlar, Reisler, Sarı, Solaklar, Sucaflı, Şaşdılar, Tömek, Uzunhasanlar, Zıngılkışla villages.

Besides, Muslim settlements listed in the Kandıra registers of 1845 are: Çarşı, Karadurak, Karanlık neighbourhoods, Ahmedli, Akçabeyli, Antablı, Bağırganlı, Bancalar, Balcılı, Bollu, Çakıcaali, Çalköy, Durceleb, Erikli, Hacılar, Kıncıllı, Kırkarmud, Kurtyeri, Lokmanlı, Morgeli, Nureddin, Özbek, Safalı, Süllü, Tekke-i Bağdaş, Töngelli, Yali Yadeş, Yusufça *divans*; Abduhbeşeoğlu, Akçamehmedler, Alaybey, Aşçılar, Bıçakçılar, Çerçili, Kabalı, Kargın, Ketenönü, Kili, Saraçoğlu, Yılanlıca, Yuboğlu villages.[8]

6.2.2 *Local Armenians*

Even though it would be possible to argue otherwise, the present study considers Pirahmed (Khasgal), Elmalı and Fındıklı as villages of the Kandıra *kaza*. As explained in the corresponding section of the second chapter, while Pirahmed was under the administrative authority of the Kaymas *nahiye*, as Cuinet points out,[9] which was part of the *kaza* of Kandıra

8 BOA.ML.VRD.TMT.d. 3962-93, 16133, 29.12.1261 [29 Dec 1845].

9 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 367.

during the period 1877-1914, it is more common to include it in the Izmit *kaza*, as Kasabian, Kévorkian, Köker and Hovannisian do,[10] because it was under the jurisdiction of the Armash monastery which was part of the Izmit *kaza*. Since the present study uses the official administrative division of the Ottoman government, Khasgal is included in this chapter as it was officially in Kaymas, a *nahiye* of the Kandıra subdistrict. As for Elmalı and Fındıklı, they were referred to as villages in the Kandıra *kaza* in several documents at different times over the years and therefore legitimately part of it despite being closer to the Adapazarı town centre.[11]

Khasgal was one of the oldest Armenian settlements in the entire Izmit district. Located to the north-east of Armash, local tradition held that it was established by two separate groups: one from the nearby Kışla village, the other from Eğin (Agn) around 1560. It would seem that the village was first named after a local *ağa* named Pir Ahmed for protecting the villagers after several young girls from the village, out to get water from a nearby spring, had been abducted never to be seen again.[12] Given that the village later became to be known as Khasgal (in honour of the village of same name in Eğin, home of the Eğin group), the Kışla group might be even older than the Eğin group, which would put their date of arrival before 1560.

Elmalı was located to the north of Adapazarı, within six hours walking distance from the town of Kandıra. The ancestors of its inhabitants living in eighty houses in 1909-10 were thought to have migrated between 1660 and 1710 from several different regions including Tekirdağ, Persia, Karadağ and Van as evidenced by their last names reflecting their places of

10 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 28; Kévorkian, 551; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 239.

11 BOA.DH.MKT. 295/34, 14.04.1312 [15 Oct 1894]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2542/62, 25.06.1319 [9 Oct 1901].

12 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 28. It was officially called Pirahmed. See also, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 367 and BOA.DH.İD. 94/36, 12.01.1330/02 Jan 1912.

origin. Fındıklı, further in the east towards the cluster of villages in Karasu, was made up of several settlements of Hay-Horoms as well as a small number of Apostolic Armenians whose ancestors had migrated from Eğin around 1610 like most of the Eğin migrants in the Izmit district. The Apostolic community was living in Lower Fındıklı in about eighteen houses in 1910.[13]

Table 6.3 Local Armenian population in the Kandıra *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Kasabian, 1909-10	Kévorkian, 1914	Foundation date	Origins
Pirahmed (Khasgal)	779	811	1560	Agn (Eğin)
Almalu (Elmalı)	471	471	1660-1710	Tekirdağ, Persian Armenia, Karadağ, Van
(Lower) Fındıklı	88	500	1610	Agn
Total	1,338	1,782		

SOURCE Kasabian, 29-30, 73, 186, 190; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 551, 554-555. The table was made using information available in the works by the authors quoted, but in such a way so as to be in accordance with the administrative structure adopted by the present study.

6.2.3 *Local Orthodox Christians*

The Orthodox Christians in this region were Hay-Horoms (Armenian-speaking Orthodox Christians) whose ancestors had migrated from Eğin in the early seventeenth century. They were residing in the villages of Fındıklı Levent (Papazköy), Kantarköy (Kantar Papazı) and Asaköy that together made up the upper part of the Fındıklı village, where Hay-Horoms lived alongside their Apostolic Armenian neighbours of the upper section.[14]

13 Kasabian, 29-30.

14 Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 159; Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 30, 93; BOA.DH.ŞFR. 597/105, R08.10.1334 [8 Oct 1918].

Table 6.4 Local Orthodox Christian population in the Kandıra *kaza* before 1914.

Locality	Çokona, early 20th century	Anagnostopoúlou, 1912	Foundation date	Origins
(Upper) Fındıklı:				
Fındıklı Levent/ Papazköy	150 houses		1610	Hay-Horoms from Eğin
Kantarköy (Kantar Papazı)	80 houses			
Asaköy	70 houses			
Total	300 houses	6,276		

§ 6.3 Migration and Migrant Settlements

6.3.1 *Muslims*

The Kandıra *kaza* had received nearly 5,000 Muslim migrants from Batumi, Sokhumi and to a much lesser extent Rumelia by 1881, however, this was including the 1,532 Batum migrants in the Karasu *nahiye,* which was incorporated into the Adapazarı kaza in 1899. The largest group of migrants in Kandıra seem to be Abkhazians, in the Şeyhler *nahiye* in particular, some of whom were inhabiting nine villages in 1892 including: Acıelmalık, Kolcuoğlu, Fethiye (Ağaçlı), Cafer Bey, Karaağaç, Adatepe, Koyunağıl, Kozcu and Limandere. There were surprisingly few Circassians in Kandıra considering its size and compared to the other subdistricts. Ihsaniye was one of the Circassian villages with twenty-nine houses in 1892. Some of the other known migrant villages in the subdistrict were: Kubuzcu (Crimean Tatar); Karasu's Sultaniye (Sokhumi), Adatepe (mixed

Caucasian), Hamidiye (Caucasian); Ağacık (Tırnova), Abdürrezzak (Rumelia).[15] Moreover, a group of Bosnia migrants were residing in Kefken.[16]

Table 6.5 Muslim migrant population in the Kandıra subdistrict in 1881 and 1892.

1881						
Locality	*Before the 1877-8 war*		*During and after the 1877-8 war*			*Total*
	Tatar-Nogay	Circassian	Batumi	Sokhumi	Rumeli Turk	
Kandıra			378			378
Şeyhler				2,059	48	2,107
Kaymas				791	44	835
Karasu			1,532			1,532
Ak Abad			65			65
Ağaçlı			68			68
Total			2,043	2,850	92	4,985

1892					
Village	*# of houses*	*# of people*	*Household size*	*Given land (dönüm)*	*Ethnicity*
Acıelmalık	70	294	4,2	3,660	Abkhaz
Beylerbeyi	62	166	2,7	4,880,2	Batum Laz
Kolcuoğlu	-	-	-	1,316	Abkhaz
Fethiye (Ağaçlı)	38	115	3	159,2	Abkhaz
Cafer Bey	-	-	-	5,128	Abkhaz
Karaağaç	23	114	5	5,700	Abkhaz
Ihsaniye	29	90	3,1	3,667	Circassian

15 Kırımlı, *Kocaeli Havâlisine Kırım Tatar Muhacir İskânları*, 1362; BOA.DH.MKT. 1519/115, 27.10.1305 [7 July 1888]; BOA.DH.MKT. 8/80, 18.09.1310 [5 Apr 1893]; BOA.BEO. 710/53183, 12.06.1313 [30 Nov 1895]; BOA.DH.MKT. 2097/43, 10.04.1316 [28 Aug 1898]; BOA.A.}MKT.MHM. 513/1, 07.11.1318 [26 Feb 1901].

16 BOA.ŞD. 856/9, 05.07.1322 [15 Sep 1904].

Adatepe	-	-	-	7,724	Abkhaz
Koyunağıl	115	428	3,7	286	Abkhaz
Kozcu	40	151	3,8	4,681	Abkhaz
Limandere	47	389	8,3	6,900	Abkhaz
Total	>424	>1,747	4,1	44,101,4	
by ethnicity					
Abkhaz	>333 (78.5%)	>1,491 (85.4%)	4,5	35,554,2 (80.6%)	
Batum Laz	62 (14.6%)	166 (9.5%)	2,7	4,880,2 (11.1%)	
Circassian	29 (6,83%)	90 (5,15%)	3,1	3,667 (8,3%)	

SOURCE BOA.Y.PRK.KOM. 3/22, 20.12.1298 [13 Nov 1881]; BOA.Y.MTV. 63/108, 20.11.1309 [16 June 1892].

§ 6.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

6.4.1 *Economy*

With its vast arable lands, the Kandıra *kaza* was the leading cereal producer in the Izmit district. For example, 325,000 hectolitres of maze had been produced in 1893, which was more than the yield in the Izmit and Adapazarı *kazas* combined for the same year. Yet, it was behind Adapazarı, Izmit and even Karamürsel in fruit production. Moreover, Kandıra was the only subdistrict where sericulture was not practiced. The main agriculture products included cereals (especially maize, wheat, millet, rice and oats), fresh fruits (especially grapes) and vegetables, potatoes, garlic and onions, linseed, beans and lentils, nuts, honey, cotton, chickpeas and wax. Şeyhler and Kaymas *nahiyes* were important flax producers that yielded linseeds to be exported to Europe. Even though Kandıra was part of the "sea of trees" area along with Adapazarı, its lack of roads made its lush forests nearly impenetrable for timber production. Nevertheless, hornbeam forests in the Kaymas *nahiye* provided the Naval Department with trees to be used as *felenk*, a kind of wooden cradle. In the fall of 1892, the government had decided against the settlement of

migrants in the villages near the forest in order not to disrupt timber preparation and transport.[17]

Table 6.6 Means of subsistence and main exports in the Kandıra subdistrict.

Locality	*Main Agricultural & Forestry Products and Exports*	*Main/Other Economic Activity*
Kandıra	Cereals (maize, wheat, millet, rice), fresh fruits, grapes, fresh vegetables, potatoes, garlic, onions, linseed, beans, nuts, honey, lentils, cotton, chickpeas, wax	Timber, sawmill, coalmine industries: plank, beam, walnut magnifying glass, charcoal and others; yarn, tow, cloth/linen
Şeyhler	Flax (linseeds exported to Europe)	Textiles: flax into tow, yarn, linen cloth; exported to Arabian Peninsula
Kaymas	Flax, cereals, fruits	Cultivator, weaver, spinner (flax into tow, yarn, cloth)
Karasu	Millet	Fishing (palamut or Atlantic bonito), charcoal transport
Ağaçlı		Coalminer, seaman

SOURCE Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 384-392.

6.4.2 *Education*

It is nearly impossible to present an exhaustive list of schools in the Kandıra subdistrict, but the *maarif salnameleri* [education yearbooks] give an idea about the state of education in the *kaza* shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. According to the yearbooks of education published briefly from 1899-1903, the *kaza* of Kandıra had three (four if Karasu is included) state *ibtidai* [elementary] schools in the Çarşı neighbourhood and in the *nahiyes* of Şeyhler (Hoca village), Kaymas (and Karasu); one

17 BOA.DH.MKT. 2025/106, 08.05.1310 [28 Nov 1892].

state *rüşdiye* [adolescence] school; and one *medrese* (Muslim religious school) in Hamidiye.[18]

While "officially" there were not any non-Muslim schools in the subdistrict, it is stated that Elmalı had an Armenian Apostolic Lusavorchian school that was founded in 1850, with forty boys and twenty-five girls in 1909-10, and Fındıklı had the Mesrobian Armenian Apostolic school and multiple Orthodox Christian schools.[19]

6.4.3 *Social Interactions*

The *kaza* of Kandıra appears mostly unaffected by the defining moments that shaped social relations in the period 1877-1914 except for migration. There are hardly any noteworthy examples in the Presidency Ottoman Archive other than communications pertaining to migrants (their requests and needs, the government's food and other kinds of aid, determining the suitability of areas for settlement, the locals' reactions, and associated disputes arising from competition over land) as well as isolated incidents of violence. This lack of reflections of major events in the subdistrict is, paradoxically, more noticeable during the 1890s and in the post-revolutionary period after July 1908 when tension was high between the ethno-religious communities of the Empire. It is as though Kandıra existed outside of the big events that defined this epoch with the exception of migration. The absence of roads that linked Kandıra to the other *kaza* centres; the absence of large non-Muslim communities, of a tobacco or silk industry; and the remoteness of its location were factors in this relative calm.

The British deputy consul of the region Major Warlow had reported in July 1880 an instance of local-migrant land dispute between the

18 1903 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 716-720; 1901 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 956; 1900 yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education, 1630.

19 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 204; Köker and Hovannisian, "Armenian Communities in Western Asia Minor," 241; Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, 159.

Fındıklı villagers and Abkhazian migrants. In this report, it is stated that the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Fındıklı, who had been reputedly quite prosperous a decade earlier, were impoverished because of the previous winter's famine and their Abkhazian neighbours, who stole most of their animals, crops and appropriated their lands near the Sakarya River after the government had the Abkhazians settled in the area eight years ago in 1872.[20] It was alleged by the Fındıklı villagers that the government had not helped the Abkhazian migrants after their settlement who as a result had been unable to cultivate their land. For this reason, the migrant villagers, especially those with firearms, had turned on their wealthy neighbours, seizing their crops, animals, lands and driving them away from the land to which they held the title deed. Although the Abkhazians rejected these claims when confronted by Warlow, they admitted to taking possession of the fertile lands near the river since their neighbours had allegedly left them uncultivated. It is also argued in the report that the Fındıklı villagers' pleas to the government were left unanswered. This incident is also mentioned by Kasabian, who states that the Abkhazian migrants (as well as Pomaks) appropriated the plain called Koyun Ağıl (which appears as an Abkhazian migrant village in the Ottoman archive; see Table 6.5) even though the Fındıklı residents were holding its title deed and paying its taxes.[21]

Poverty appears as a recurring problem in Kandıra despite the government's efforts to attend to the needs of the migrants. For example, 500 Varna migrants were in a state of destitution in the summer of 1879 due to not having received provisions for three months.[22] Local villagers, too, were struggling to live and pay taxes from which migrants were

20 Şaşmaz, *İngiliz Teğmen Kitchener ve Binbaşı Warlow'ın Izmit Konsoloslukları 1879*-1882, 764. The report refers to Fındıklı as a wholly Orthodox Christian village but Kasabian says there were also Apostolic Armenians in Lower Fındıklı (see Table 6.3).

21 Kasabian, *The Armenians in the Province of Nicomedia*, 122.

22 BOA.DH.MKT. 1327/96, 25.08.1296 [14 Aug 1879].

exempted for a period of time.[23] When they failed to pay their taxes, their crops were confiscated as tax collector Hüseyin had done in the fall of 1901.[24] This move put Hüseyin against the longest running Kandıra subgovernor [*kaymakam*] Mahmud Aziz Efendi who took the side of the villagers and obstructed Hüseyin's work as the latter complained to the government a few months later.[25] Those with guns, on the other hand, as in the example above, were able to take matters into their own hands such as the Abkhazian and Circassian migrants in the Şeyhler *nahiye* who had stolen the villagers' animals in the region, although it must be said banditry appears to be at a negligible rate in the Kandıra *kaza* compared to elsewhere in the Izmit district.[26] Similarly, ethnic-religious violence was not a common occurrence; however, as reported in January 1888 there was one instance in which four Batumi migrants had robbed and tortured an Orthodox Christian man called Ilya Reis in his house at the Kumcağız Pier.[27]

It is understood that the migrants were not welcomed by the local people with open arms. Several petitions by both parties attest to that. Local Ibrahim Edhem from Melen village group, for example, had lodged a petition complaining that there were attempts to settle migrants near their villages.[28] Caucasian migrant Süleyman from Caferiye, on the other hand, had sent a petition requesting that the encroachment of Cafer Bey on land given to them be stopped.[29] It was a few months after this request that a new village for migrants was established near Caferiye named after

23 For example, Bosnian migrants in Kefken were exempted from animal and military tax in 1904. BOA.İ.ML. 60/27, 15.08.1322 [25 Oct 1904]; BOA.BEO. 2439/182861, 21.18.1322 [31 Oct 1904].

24 BOA.DH.MKT. 2539/19, 19.06.1319 [3 Oct 1901].

25 BOA.DH.MKT. 2575/82, 06.10.1319 [16 Jan 1902].

26 BOA.DH.MKT. 1523/9, 09.11.1305 [18 July 1888].

27 BOA.DH.MKT. 1473/108, 17.04.1305 [02 Jan 1888].

28 BOA.DH.MKT. 1706/114, 18.07.1307 [10 Mar 1890].

29 BOA.DH.MKT. 373/25, 16.11.1312 [11 May 1895].

the sultan (Hamidiye).[30] Since Cafer Bey (Caferiye) was listed among the Abkhazian migrant villages in a document dated 1892 (Table 6.5), it could be that the migrants had first settled in this village, but after the dispute with Cafer Bey moved out to set up a new village nearby.

Apart from material support, it seems that the government also offered religious counsel to the migrants because abducting girls (probably with the intention of marrying them) was rife in the Circassian community.[31] Slavery was another custom of the Circassians that was challenged by one of the sultan's soldiers (*asakir-i şahane efradından*) named Osman, who requested the government to release Çerkes Mehmed Bey's slaves who were being forced to work without a salary.[32]

30 BOA.İ.DH. 1329/9, 09.06.1313 [27 Nov 1895].

31 BOA.DH.TMIK.M. 89/20, 28.02.1318 [27 June 1900].

32 BOA.DH.MKT. 2252/10, 22.05.1317 [28 Sep 1899].

7

Conclusion

The period spanning from 1877 to 1914, consisting of the disastrous wars against Russia in 1877-78 and Balkan nations in 1912-13, saw an influx of migrants into the Ottoman domains. The resulting demographic change in this period brought about far-reaching social, economic and political changes in the Ottoman Empire. Both the Empire's territorial and societal composition underwent a sea change during this period, becoming significantly more Muslim and concentrating in an increasingly important Anatolia that laid the foundations of the rise of Turkish nationalism. In addition to external post-war obligations and pressure for the application of reforms regarding the rights of its non-Muslim communities, the societal and administrative changes of this post-migration period were engendered by the Ottoman Empire's internal dynamics and its own experiences in managing these events.

Undoubtedly, there is a strong literature on migration into the Ottoman domains after the 1877-78 Russian war consisting of quantitative studies, but also works on the political, economic and to a lesser extent social aspects of migration and settlement. However, it can be said that the social impact of migration not just for migrants but for the public in the receiving regions is an understudied field. The evolution of social relations between migrants, locals and state officials, and everyday realities of life in the subsequent period following the settlement of migrants

remain a lacuna. This thesis has been an attempt to fill this gap by including, as much as the sources permitted, the everyday experiences of the migrants, the local communities and various other social actors in relation to each other over the course of a period of nearly forty years.

The present study has underlined that in spite of the government's migrant relief efforts (such as allocating land and provisions, and temporary exemption from certain taxes as well as military service), competition over land determined the everyday interactions not only between migrants and local villagers but also a diverse group of powerful landowners ranging from bureaucrats to foreign citizens. As the majority of migrants were common villagers of very modest means, the common post-migration experience for them was that of struggle and competition, first and foremost, for occupying and retaining land because having been allotted a piece of land even with a title deed sometimes was not enough to keep it secure for a long time. The government often allotted land that it deemed empty/available to migrants or individuals only to become aware sometimes years later that the given land was actually owned by local villagers or an owner residing elsewhere. Evidently, such mistakes pertaining to proprietary rights that frequently ended up in court and dragged on for years had a much bigger financial and psychological impact on poor villagers. That is why long-term retention of land whether by local or migrant villagers required perseverance.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the poor parties on the receiving end of land disputes or judicial injustice were helpless victims. The thesis demonstrated that in most cases, the villagers displayed great resolve and did not give up easily, sending petitions and if necessary, requesting help from regional and international actors of importance like foreign consuls and religious leaders. Furthermore, large groups of migrants such as the Circassians, who had already arrived in large numbers before 1877, had relatively little trouble settling and integrating into society after the Russo-Ottoman war. These large communities like Circassians and Abkhazians brought with them social organisation through their clan structures. By the 1880s the (more senior) Circassians had already joined the ranks of the local bureaucracy, and even the common villagers

gained a reputation as fierce fighters not to be crossed, if not as bandits. Communal migrant notables, especially Circassian clan leaders, also quickly become important regional actors who were able to defy local authority owing to the power afforded to them by the female slave trade with the pashas in Istanbul. These established networks and migration routes of large clans and smaller groups alike provided later arrivals with tested and proven ways of migration. Such networks not only helped those belonging to the same clan or family to join their relatives in the receiving region, but also set an example for different ethnic groups residing in the same point of origin. For instance, Hemshin Armenians from around Ordu followed previously tested migration routes used by their Orthodox Christian neighbours to arrive and settle around Adapazarı. However, settlement was not entirely contingent on the migrants' free will. Even though joining ones immediate family members was authorised by the government, settlement of large groups belonging to the same clan was discouraged to prevent concentration of power that could threaten local state authority. Less fortunate groups without the safety nets such as those of the Circassians, too, displayed pragmatic problem-solving methods through persistent resistance, negotiation, but also through illegal means such as encroachment, animal theft or even murder.

Even though illegal activities were usually born out of the immediate necessity of daily survival, a life of crime was also seen as one way to escape poverty. Banditry and smuggling were so commonplace that they were seen as legitimate occupations, as an alternative to living in poverty. Whether Circassian, Abkhazian or Hemshin Armenian, bandits did not differentiate much between locals or migrants. In the case of the (Christian) Hemshin Armenians, for instance, Hnchag (socialist) influence turned picking their targets into a class issue rather than ethnicity or religion. Once the Hemshin Armenian bandits adopted socialist principles, they began targeting rich people regardless of their ethnicity or religion. For the Muslim bandits, while it is true that "infidels" were their more preferred targets, they did not have much regard for religion or other identities either, such as local or migrant, as evidenced by the examples

documenting Muslim-on-Muslim incidents irrespective of the categories of local and migrant. On the other hand, this disregard for loyalties and categories allowed cooperation between smugglers and bandits of different ethnic-religious communities that on occasion worked together against the state in response to unsatisfactory laws and regulations.

It would seem that the real losers of the impact of mass migration were the non-Muslim, particularly Armenian and Orthodox Christian communities of the Empire, who at the time were arguably in an economically advantageous position compared to their Muslim neighbours, particularly in trade and skilled professions. Although, it must be said that the Muslim subjects of the Empire did not constitute one big homogenised group made up of only poor villagers. On the contrary, Muslim bureaucrats, for example, were among the principal landowners who held significant regional power compared to their Christian counterparts. Still, it may be said that, from the perspective of the ordinary villagers, it was this enviable position coupled with the atmosphere of tension dictated by an anti-Armenian and later anti-Greek sentiment, increasingly pervasive from the 1890s onwards due to the Armenian revolutionary activities, pogroms against Armenian civilians, and the boycotts of Greek goods between 1909 and 1914, that soured the relations between the Christian and the increasingly larger and agitated Muslim communities, who came face to face on a daily basis due to the constant competition in relation to land and resources.

From the perspective of the local Christians, Muslim migrants were seen as pawns in the central government's population strategies that neglected the interests of the Empire's non-Muslim *millets*. In this regard, the present study has demonstrated to what extent the impact of the growing anti-Armenian sentiment of the 1890s affected the residents of the Izmit district, which was a region fortunate to have escaped the worst of the crisis of 1894-96 that gave Sultan Abdülhamid the epithet "red sultan". The palpable tension of this period was one of the main determinants of administrative decisions at the local level and daily interactions between people. It was not a coincidence, for example, that the long-serving Armenian mayor of Adapazarı, Stepan Efendi Dimidjian, was replaced

by Muslim Galib Efendi in 1895 and that no non-Muslim mayor was appointed again until 1912 when Stepan Efendi returned after seventeen years. Likewise, important Armenian villages like Bahçecik and Armash had changes in their administration during and after this period. As regards the villagers, archival documents and eyewitness accounts both attest to the deterioration of relations and the growing sense of mutual paranoia during this period.

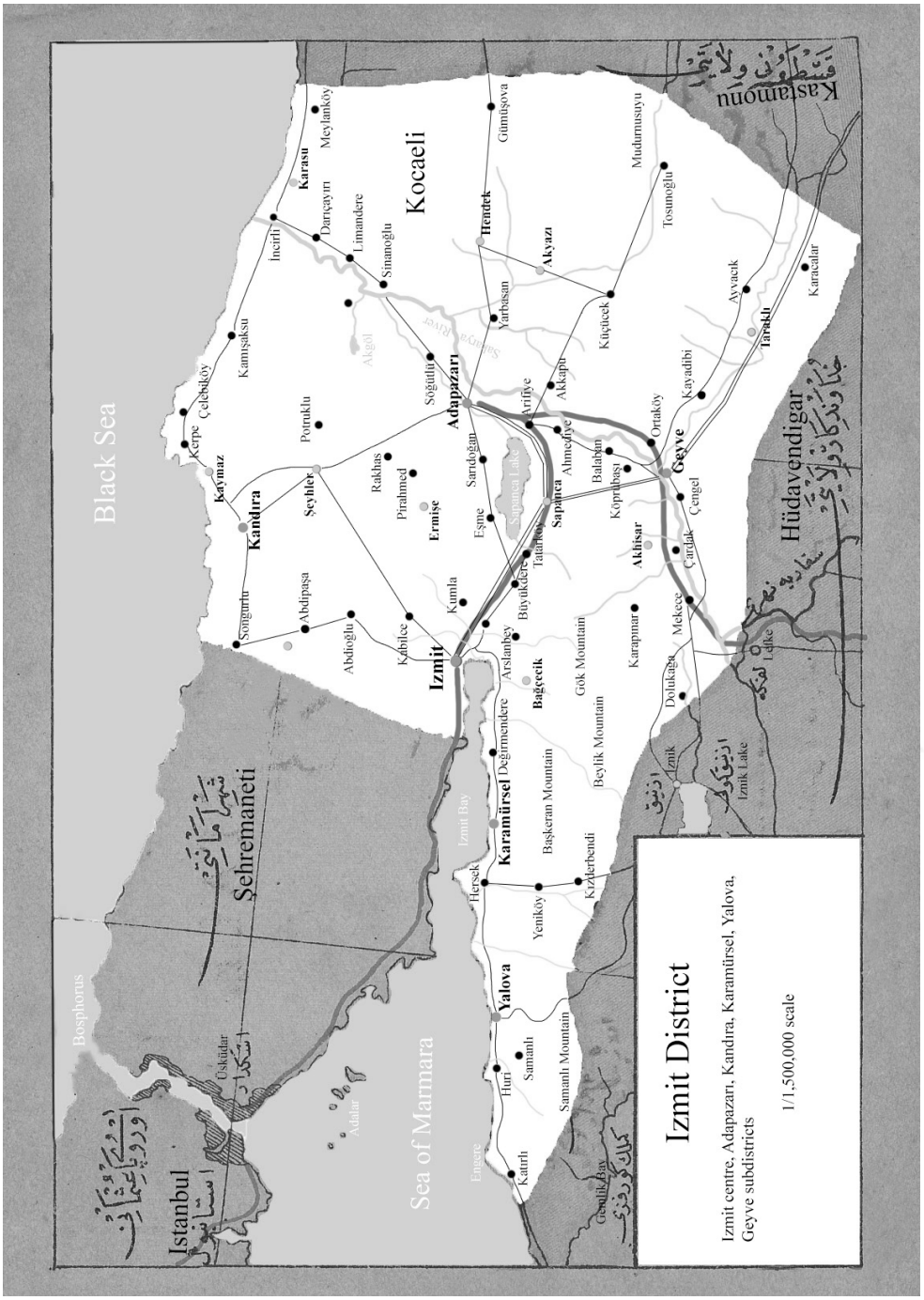
By examining these developments on the ground, the present study also revealed the ways in which ordinary villagers participated in state formation through their daily interactions with various representatives of the state, and the evolution of the state's responses over the period in question. Even in the Hamidian era, labelled as the period of tyranny, the Ottoman government was in close contact with its subjects as evidenced by the great number of petitions and related correspondences, responding especially to the needs of the migrants to the best of its ability despite the apparent shortcomings. In this respect, the Second Constitutional period after the July 1908 revolution revealed a very different outlook. Although the early days of freedom gave way to the forming of various unions and organisations, workers' protests, and other forms of public expressions, the freedom to travel and the political power vacuum that the new and inexperienced government(s) failed to fill turned the Izmit district into a breeding ground for crime and open conflict. In spite of the initial promises of the CUP regime, on the eve of the Balkan Wars, the result was actually a less responsive government soon to be flung further away from their promises by the upcoming wars. However, not all of the Izmit district shared an identical history. Each subdistrict had certain distinctive demographic and socio-economic regional differences, and accordingly varying histories and experiences of people.

Undoubtedly, this study only offers but a limited perspective on the post-migration contacts and experiences between people in the district of Izmit. Even with its limited scope, there are still many aspects of relations between the people, the communities, and the state that could have been studied in more detail with access to a greater variety of sources in different languages. For instance, Greek-language or area-specific

sources on the Izmit Orthodox Christians would have helped illuminate the causes of this community's silent exodus from the district of Izmit a decade earlier than the actual population exchange of 1923 between Turkey and Greece. Furthermore, the sources admittedly focus mainly on disputes and conflict. Finding the positive, more pleasant aspects of daily life requires further research. The difficulty of this task is that ordinary people rarely left behind written texts and therefore memoirs or travel notes of educated but still somewhat ordinary people such as Krikor Mkhalian, who was a local teacher and silkworm breeder, or Ahmet Şerif, who was a journalist, hold extraordinary value as they tend to recount the good along with the bad. Similar works by natives of Izmit and its environs would have greatly complemented this study. In this respect, interviews with local families living in Izmit, Adapazarı and Yalova provinces today also could have been enriching.

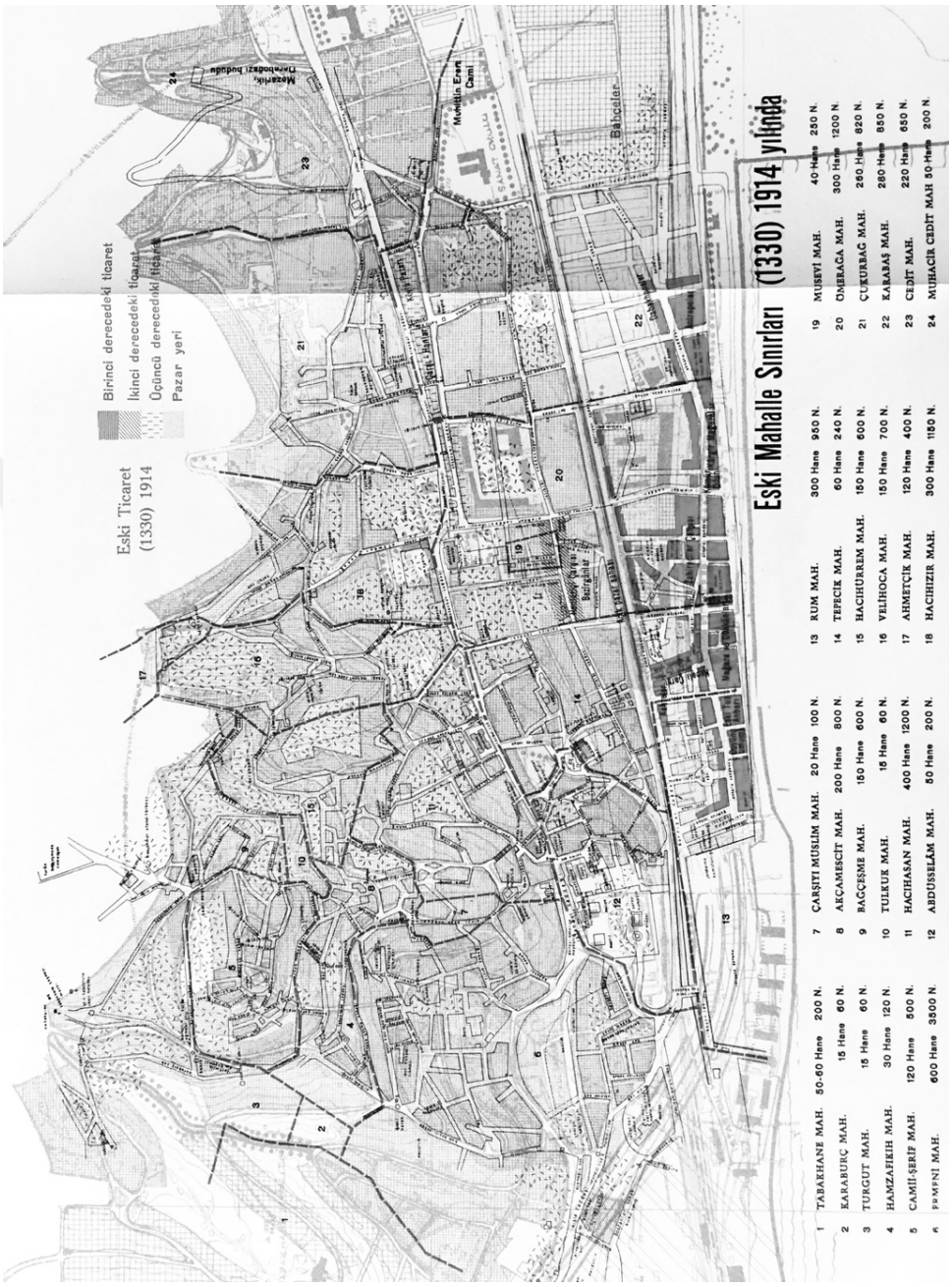
While the mind does wish to absorb more than it is humanly possible on the subject of one's research and include in it all the related information, the limits of time and linguistic skills, and the scope of this study made it a necessity to present it in its current state, which, despite its weak spots, nevertheless provides a monographic study on the late Ottoman district of Izmit and more importantly the people who lived in it at a time marked by multiple wars, mass migration, and change of the regime, with an emphasis on the everyday in relations between the Empire's largest ethnic-religious communities themselves, and in relation to the state. In this way, the present study contributes to the history of Ottoman people and to the historiography of migration, particularly the consequences of displacement and experiences of post-migration processes of integration, adaptation, and reception.

Appendix A Izmit district, late nineteenth century



SOURCE: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Osmanlı Cep Atlası*, Istanbul, 1907 [1323].

Appendix B Neighbourhoods in the Izmit town centre in 1914



SOURCE: *İller Bankası, İzmit Analitik Etütleri* [Izmit Analytical Studies] (Ankara: İmar Planlama ve Yapı Dairesi Reisliği Şehircilik İşleri Müdürlüğü, 1970), 11-12.

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